EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXV.

No. 1.—REWAH PLATES OF THE TIME OF TRAILOKYAMALLADEVA: [KALACHURI] YEAR 963.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

This set of two copper-plates was found in 1929 at Dhureti, a village about 7 miles from the Rewah town, by a cultivator while ploughing his field, and is now preserved in the Treasury at Rewah. During my visit to Rewah early in 1936, I came to know of this find and later in the same year the Political Minister of the State very kindly sent me the plates for examination and taking impressions. The record has already been noticed by me in the Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1935-36, pp. 90-91 and I am now editing it in the Epigraphia Indica with the kind permission of the Rewah Darbar.

The plates measure 15 1/2" x 10 1/2" each and are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced about the middle of each plate. They are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. They have highly raised rims which have protected the writing beautifully. There is a seal attached to the ring, bearing at the top the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi in relief, rather crudely executed. Below the figure is a legend in one line which reads Śrīmat-Trialokyamalla. When the plates were received by me the ring was found already cut but there can be no doubt that both the ring and the seal belong to the plates under discussion. The seal measures 6 3/4" x 4 1/4" and the plates including the ring and the seal weigh 419 tolas.

Each plate has 11 lines of writing, the letters being approximately 1/2" in height. The engraver appears to have left too much margin between the lines in the second plate and had to engrave the last two lines in slightly smaller characters so that the record could be completed in this face of the plate. The engraving was done rather carelessly. Some of the letters are ill formed and while syllables have been dropped in many places, only in two cases the missing letters have been supplied at the top of the line concerned. The characters are Nāgarī, the language being Sanskrit. The whole record with the exception of three verses in ll. 1-5 is in prose. Several mistakes in grammar and syntax show that though the record was composed by two Pandits, neither of them was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit. The script does not call for any special remarks but attention may be drawn to the following minor points. The anuvṛtta has sometimes been represented by a circle above the syllable to which it belongs, e.g., śīva (l. 8), Śriśānta (l. 9), pāṇḍita (l. 11), etc., and sometimes it has been written in an ornamental way, e.g., ōṁ (l. 1). mātri, maṅgala (l. 8), śāntiḥ (l. 8), etc. In writing ś sometimes a cross bar has been used joining the two limbs of the letter thus making it look like ś, cf. Śivāya (l. 1), śarangah (l. 4), śrī-Malayasiṁha (l. 8). Śaṅkūchārya (l. 11), etc. Due to shabbiness in writing it is sometimes hard to distinguish between r and ch. For the same reason pra in pravarddhamāna and tha in Jyeshthā (l. 7) look like ra and ra respectively. As
regards orthography the following points may be noted: (1) The same sign has been used for writing v and b, e.g., Karṇa "karnā" (l. 6). (2) While consonants in conjunction with a subscript r have never been doubled, those joined with a superscript r have sometimes been doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., sarrva- (ll. 4, 5, etc.), prava-rdhama-nā (l. 7), chakra-varti- (l. 11), Du-rivāsa (l. 12), etc., as against samartho (l. 3), Chatur-mukha (l. 4), dhrāmō (l. 9), kārya (l. 19), etc. (3) Anusvāra has invariably been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., nāmadānō (l. 1), kōna-lāngō (l. 2), Nila-kamtha (ll. 2-3), -ānibhāja (l. 4), etc. (4) Rēpha has been wrongly dropped in Tīpura (l. 3) and visarga in Nila-kamtha (ll. 2-3), tapa, kusala (l. 11), Śevarāja (l. 14), etc. (5) While š and s cannot always be distinguished for reasons stated above, š has been definitely used for s in haṁsa (l. 4), śandhī (l. 8), -āsvāsa (l. 17) and vice versa in Śevarāja (l. 14) if it stands for Śevarāja. (6) Sandhi has not been observed in many places, sometimes not even between members forming a compound, e.g., ṛa-śivapati (l. 5), Vāha-da-artha-lēkkī (ll. 8-9) and wrong sandhi is found in -sūta Śāṁta (l. 13). In l. 13 though honorific plural has been used in Śiṁtaśīva-ṛāṇāḥ, all the qualifying epithets have been left in singular. The genitive in Dhāriksaya (l. 14), however, has been correctly used, as this person was not the recipient of a permanent gift. The term viñcatara-baṁdha (ll. 13, 19) which I have taken in the sense of ‘mortgage, or pledge for money received’ is of lexicographic interest. All the errors occurring in the record have been corrected either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The inscription opens with the sacred syllable ōṁ and obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati which are followed by three invocatory verses. The first two of these verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva respectively and the third is a quotation of the verse found at the commencement of Daṇḍin’s Kṛyādāra. A similar instance is found in the Rewah Plates of the Mahārāṇa Kumārapāla (V. S. 1297) and the Mahārāṇa Harirāja-deva (V. S. 1298) where the last of the three introductory verses is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa’s Kūdambaṇi.

The record (ll. 5-7) refers itself to the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, who was endowed with all the royal titles commencing with Paramabhāṣṭāraka (i.e., Paramabhāṣṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who was the lord over three rājas (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who was a veritable Vāchaspati in the investigation of the various branches of knowledge, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva, (and) who was the lord of Kanyakubja*. In l. 12 he is also called triṣaṭi-rājy-ādi-pati, an epithet not met with elsewhere.

The date of the record is given in l. 7 as Saṁma(va)nt 963 Jyēṣṭha-sūdi 7 Sōmē dānām- (mē), i.e., on Monday the 7th day of the light half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the year 963, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The date is, however, irregular, unless Sōmē is an error for Saunyē in which case it would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 9th May A.D. 1212.

Lines 7-9 mention some of the officers of the king and the offices they held. Malayāsinaḥ who bears the titles Mahōmahattaka and Maṇḍalika was the minister (mantrin) of the king. The other officers mentioned are: Thakkura Haripāla, the Sandhivigrāhika or the minister of Foreign Affairs, Vāhaḍa, the city-prefect (Kōṭipāla) and Śrīchāndula, who was a merchant (śrīkaṁkhīḥ), the writer of deeds (artha-lēkākīn). The last three among others appear to have been the members of the paṇichakula and the dharmādikaraya.

1 Cf. Tattvābhāṣā on the rule Karṇa-vat okākāraṇa sa sampradānam (Pāṇini, 1.4-32): dānam chāśvanar-grahāṇyā svav-svadīva-nivṛitti-pārvakam para-svadī-pārvakam.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and 235 ff. For another inscription where the benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa’s Skandapāda is cited as an introductory verse, see above, Vol. XI, p. 65.
The record is interesting in that it is not the usual land-grant but is a *vitta-bandha* or -deed of mortgage for the village *Alirā*, situated in the *Dhōvahāṭṭa-pattana* of the *Dhanavāḥi-pattalā*. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher *Śantaśiva*, son of the royal preceptor (*rōja-guru*) Vimalaśiva, to the Rāpaka *Dharāka*, but no mention is made of the actual amount of money that was taken as loan. The mortgagee, who belonged to the Vatsa- gotra, was a son of Śevarāja (Śivarāja) and grandson of Rāsāla. The document is said to have been issued from a camp in a certain auspicious place, apparently in the city of Dhōvahāṭṭa (ll. 10-14). The deed was executed by Nādaśiva, another son of Vimalaśiva, on the authorisation of his elder brother Śantaśiva (ll. 15-18). The mortgagee was given all the rights of collecting taxes. As far as it can be made out from l. 19, the meaning of which is not quite clear, he also appears to have been given the right of holding the village in pledge as long as he wished, probably meaning thereby till all the dues were cleared. There were seven witnesses to the deed, *viz.*., the Paṭṭakula Maṇḍāre, Śīlē, Šākur Sūpaṭa, Šākur Gāṅgē, Raṇadhavala, Gāṅgasēva and Kavita (ll. 19-20). It appears from the use of punctuation marks in lines 20-21 that Šākur Gōllana, probably an additional witness, was also authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee. The document was drawn up by the Pandits Viśvesvara and Gāṅgādhara and engraved by Śiruka. As it is not a land-grant, it naturally does not contain any imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In connection with the identification of Trailōkyamalla mentioned in the present record we may observe that most of the *birudas* used by this ruler were used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri and also by the Gāhādevāla rulers of Kanauj. But though places in the neighbourhood of Rewah were within the Kalachuri territory we do not know of any Kalachuri ruler of this name. I would therefore identify this Trailōkyamalla with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Rewah Plates of Harirāja of V. S. 1298. Cunningham and Kilhorn have already suggested that he is no other than the Chandella ruler Trailōkyavarman for whom we have records dating from V. S. 1261 to 1298 (A.D. 1265-1241). But while Trailōkyavarman, like his predecessors, calls himself *Kālaṇja-rādhipati* in both the sets of Garrah plates of V. S. 1261 and *Trikaṇja-rādhipati* in the Rewah plates of the Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla dated V. S. 1297, he is called *Kavya-kṣubja-rādhipati* in the present inscription, a title used by the Gāhādevāla rulers of Kanauj. Though this last-mentioned title is not found in any other Chandella record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of the Gāhādevāla power, Trailōkyamalla assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikaṇja-rādhipati* borne by the Kalachuris of Dāhal. Many years ago a hoard of 48 silver coins of the Chandella Madanavarman was found at Panwar in the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State. This find tends to show, as has been already suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray, that even in the time of this ruler the Chandella power penetrated into Bāghelkhand, north of the Kaimur range. But that the country around Rewah still continued to be under the Kalachuris for several decades is certain. We have two inscriptions of the Kalachuri Vijayasinhā's time to support this view. The first is the Rewah plate of Salakshaṇavarman, the chief of Kakareḍi (modern Kakretri on the border of Rewah and Panna States) and still a feudatory of—

1 For a deed of mortgage engraved on brick which was found in a village near Jaumpur, see J. A. S. B., Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56. It is dated *Samaṇ 1273 Asadh-a-sudi 6 Bacau* (= Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217) and records the loan of 2,250 *drāmmas* on the pledge of certain fields.
Vijayasimha in V. S. 1253 (A.D. 1195), the date of the record, and the second, the Rewah inscription of Malayasiśhva dated K. 944 (A.D. 1192-93). Verse 24 of the latter record seems to show that already before K. 944, Salakshana had tried to throw off the yoke of subordination of these rulers, probably by joining hands with the Chandellas, an attempt in which he was not apparently successful. I have noticed elsewhere a damaged inscription of the reign of Vijayasimha, the date on which seems to read (Chedi year) 962. Unfortunately the provenance of this record, which was issued from Tripuri, is not known. But as it is now deposited in the Rewah Treasury, it is likely that it did not come from a place far from the Rewah town. If that is so, it is clear that the Kalachuris were still holding sway in this part of Bāghelkhand in K. 962. The record under consideration, however, shows that in K. 963, i.e., only a year later, their territory contiguous to the Rewah town had passed under the Chandellas.

In the inscription of Vijayasimha of K. 962 referred to above, we find the name of one Mandalika Malayasiśhva mentioned among the officers of this ruler. The Rewah inscription of K. 944 also mentions a Simanta Malayasiśhva who was responsible for the excavation of a tank and also for the setting up of the record in the reign of the very same Kalachuri ruler. Now there is nothing against our taking Malayasiśhva mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasiśhva, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalachuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasimha sometime between K. 944 and K. 962. But what is surprising is that the record under consideration also not only mentions a Malayasiśhva bearing the titles Mahāmahottakaka and Mandalika but in addition calls him a mantrin or minister of the ruling king, i.e., Trailokyamalla. As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasiśhva mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person. If this view is correct, then we have to admit that one of the chief officers of Vijayaśihva not only transferred his allegiance to the conquering ruler but was also appointed a minister under him. It is reasonable to assume that he had to accept the Chandella suzerainty to save himself and his estate. We have a parallel instance in the history of the chiefs of Karkaṛi. We know from his Rewah plate that in V. S. 1253 Salakshana varman was still a feudatory of the Kalachuri Vijayasimha. But in the Rewah plates of Hārītāja (V. S. 1298) and his son Kumārapala (V. S. 1297) we find these chiefs owing allegiance to the Chandella ruler Trailokyavarman. But what is puzzling in the present record is the appointment of Malayasiśhva as a minister by the Chandella ruler. It may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration his services were utilized in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Chandella supremacy.

In conclusion it would not be out of place to say a few words about the Saiva teachers mentioned in the record. As I have already pointed out Vimalaśiva mentioned in the record is no other than the Rājaśvī Vimalaśiva of the Jabalpur Kotwali Plates of Jayasimhadēva of K. 918. Though the name is not found elsewhere it is probable that he belonged to the line of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan who were held in great reverence by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri. We know from the present record that Vimalaśiva had two sons, the elder being Śantaśiva and the younger Nāḍaśiva. The epithets applied to the latter two teachers show that they, like their father, were also held in high estimation. Śantaśiva is said to be the incarnation of the

---

3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 93 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 ff.
sage Durvīśas in the Kali age. The interpretation of another phrase used in connection with him is rather puzzling. It is *teṣaṁ-vāpya-ādhīpati-srīṁat-Trilokâyamallā-pād-ārāchāra-ratnā* (l. 12). Probably this has to be translated as ‘whose feet were devoutly worshipped by the illustrious Trilokâyamalla, the lord of the kingdom (consisting) of three hundred.’ If that is so, it is reasonable to conclude that this teacher was getting some patronage from the new ruler as well, who also calls himself *a Paramamāhēśvara*. It is not clear under the circumstances why he should have to alienate what was apparently one of the gifts these teachers received from the Kalachuri rulers. Probably the Chandiša conquest was very recent and as such these teachers did not get the same patronage as was hitherto extended to them by their former patrons and as a result they had to mortgage one of their gifts to raise funds. A somewhat similar instance is provided by the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Plates of the Gāhavālā Gōvindachandra which record that in Y. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in presence of this ruler, the village of Karṇḍalā in the Antārala-pattālā which was originally given to the Rājagaurī-Gīvāchārī-Bhāṭāraka Rūdrāsaśa by (the Kalachuri ruler) Yāśākara was transferred to Ṭhakkura Vasiṣṭhaśaṃ. Dr. F. W. Hall, who edited this record, suggested that the village which changed hands lay in the country conquered by Gōvindachandra from Yāśākara.

Of the localities mentioned in the record *Dhōvahattā* which was a *pattara* at the time is identical with the village of Dhandari where the plates were found. The other localities mentioned in the record, viz., Dhanavāḥi-pattālā and the village Alra, I am unable to identify.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1. Oṁ nanaḥ Śivāya; Gaṇapatayē namaḥ. Jayatu jayatu dēvō Dēvakī-nātīdanō-yatī; jayatu jayatu Kṛṣṇāḥ Vṛṣṇī-varīṣa-prājīpatā [\*] ja-।

2. yatu jayatu mēgha-śvāmala[h*] kōmal-abhāy jayatu jayatu prithvi-[bhājra-nārōṣi] Mūkundalā [\*] ।

3. lakāṇṭha[h*] Smārārī-Tī śrīprāthana-samartō mūrīni(udīhni) bhāṣva-[ch*]-elhaśāṅkālā [\*] Tuhinārī-surāyā vallabhā Śālaṇājī।

4. sakala-jana-saraṇyaḥ sarva-lōk-ānā-mārīḥ [\*] mānasā ramatāni ni-।

5. tyan sarva-suklā Sā[m*]-svarā [\*] Paramabhaṭāraka(k-ōty-ādi-samāta-rājāvalī-\*] virājanāma-Paramamāhē[śva*]ra-āsvapaṭi-gajapati-।

6. naraṇapati-rājaṭray-ādhīpati-vīvīda-vīdāya-vīchāra- Vāchaspati-srī Vāmadeva-pād-anudhyātā-(ta-)Kanyāruvī(h)-ādhīpati-mahī।

7. [prajā]vandhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrīṁat-Trilōyā(lō)|kyamallādeva-rājyē Sam-।

8. maṭha(n)ka-maṇī(n)ta(m)uṣa-maṇi-lāla(lika-srī-Malayaśīṃha-vyākhyāmānē sām[sa]mbi-dhūjī[\*]graহika-ṭhakkura-Haripāla-kōṭṭapāla-Vāhaḍa-।

* From impressions and the original plates.
* Danda unnecessary.
* "Matra".
* There is an excess of a *matra* in the second *pada*. Read -dakana-sakīḥ mārdhī, etc.
* "Matra": Anuvātāḥ.
* The letter n which was at first omitted is written above the line between ja and h.
* Read ‘rādıpati-’
9 arthalékhi-Sri[cha]tīda-śrēthi4-vathavarta[nam]-samasta-van[pi]-jana-ya[vṛhi](vyavahri)-ya[mā]-pa[nc]hakula[dharmādikarā]-chi[nā]-yām

10 Dhōvahat-[pattanē Dhanavah]-pattalayām yatra kva[ch]a[na]-subha-pradēśa-samā-[vāsita]-katākṣ[a]-t yama-[nivana]-svādhāya-

dhyān-ānushtāna-[tapa[*]-chakravartti-paṇḍita-chakra-chu[k]āmaṇi-saiv-ā[ch][j]āry-ādhipati-sarvva-vidyā-ku[l]a[*]i Ka-

Second Plate.


13 ekāgra-chittatāyā baḥṭāraka-srīmad-rājaguru-Vimalásiva-sutō[ta]-sān[ī]-Śāntasiva-charaṇaḥ Vatsa-gōtr-anvāy[Vita[ta]-va[u]-ba[m]-dha-

14 [sva][r]ūpatayā ṭa[śa] Rāṣāla-suta-[Śa[śi]varāja[*]-tā]-suta-Rāṇaka-srīmad-[Dha][kekṣya A[la][*]-grāmasya bhāga-bhoga-pravaṇi-


17 nām-ādārabhibhūtaḥ jaṅtūnām-āśvā[sa]-ḥ[hu]m[ī]-[h]* sarvva[śu kalasā c]h[ura[h][h]* sastra-sāstra-visāradaḥ baḥṭā[tt]-rāka-srīma-

18 d-rājaguru-Vimalāsiva-sutaḥ Śāntasiva-anujo Nādāsiva[s=t]*na paṭṭasa [ha]j[es]hα-rūpatayā yāvād[*]-diyate tāvad-avā-

19 pitam[*]-iti [*] Vitta-va[u]-ba[m]-dha[y]atayā kine[ci]*-kā[ri]-kāraṇāpī vā Rāṇa-srīmad-[Dha]-[kekṣya yāvad*]-[i]-ch[hh]-pratipadyate ā. Atrā-


---

1 Read Vahad-arthalēkhi. There is a superfluous medial ē sign at the top of a in artha.  
2 Read Śrīkanda-śrēthi.  
3 The anusvara meant for po ha been wrongly placed on ṣa.  
4 It seems that lu was first engraved which was then corrected into li.  
5 Read gkēvā-dhārāyaṇa.  
6 Read gūrūdama.  
7 Purba[n] unnecessary.  
8 Read sar[l]apa[ma].  
9 Read -kāramāt-pi ca.  
10 If we read yad-ichchhā, then Vitta etc. will form a stanza in the Āsāṣthādha metre.  
11 I am unable to state what the abbreviation ei stands for. In the grant of Mahārṣikāla Harṣikājēva it stands for visā. But in the latter record as this term is always followed by certain figures, it apparently indicates shares in the donated property. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 231 and n. 62.  
12 i.e., Rāṇadhavā.  
13 Read -buddhā or -buddhi-.  
14 The intended reading may be bālāpā-śīma-śukrirātan.  
15 This portion appears to be in śrīgnīti though the metre is faulty.  
16 There is an ornamental mark between these two sets of dandas.
No. 2.—RAMTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAMACHANDRA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirasli, M.A., and L. R. Kulkarni, M.A., Nagpur.

Ramtek is the head-quarters of a taksil of the same name in the Nagpur District of the Central Provinces. It is situated 28 miles North by East of Nagpur and derives its name from the temple of Rama on a hill close to the town. The place is regarded as very holy on account of a number of temples and tirthas on the hill and in its vicinity. A fair is held in the month of Karttiika, which attracts thousands of people from even far-off places. The sanctity of the place can be traced back to the fourth century a.d. at least: for the Riddhapur plates, which were issued from the foot-prints of the Lord of Ramagiri (modern Ramtek), record a grant of the Vakataka dowager queen Prabhavatigupta on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Karttiika. Kālidāsa also mentions in his Mehaadāna that the hill was marked with the foot-prints of Rama. These references indicate that the shrine at Ramagiri at first contained only the foot-prints of Rama. Later on the images of Rama and Sītā appear to have been installed there and another temple dedicated to Lakshmana was built. This is probably the reason why the temple of Lakshmana is at present situated in front of that of Rama and Sītā. The present images of these deities are said to have been found in the Dudhalā tank at Ramtek and were substituted some years ago for the earlier ones which had been mutilated. These temples are surrounded by a number of smaller shrines. They are situated in the innermost of three enclosures on the hill and none but caste Hindus get access to them.

The present inscription is incised on a large slab let into the wall on the right hand side of the door of the garbhagriha in the temple of Lakshmana. It was first referred to by General Cunningham’s Assistant Beglar, who visited Ramtek in 1873-74. He was not admitted to the innermost court-yard of the temple, but he got the inscription copied by his Hindu servant and noticed in it the name of Rāmadeva. He could not, however, offer any conjecture about the identification of this Rāmadēva. Subsequently from a faint rubbing of it supplied by Dr. Fleet, Prof. Kielhorn first noticed in it the names of Siṃhasa and Ramachandra whom he identified with the homonymous princes of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty mentioned in the Khalari and Raipur stone inscriptions. In 1904-05 Mr. Cousens visited the place, but he too was not admitted inside and was therefore unable to give any account of the contents of the inscription. Finally Rai Bahadur Hiralal briefly noticed the inscription in his Inscriptions on the C, P, and Berar and identified many of the tirthas mentioned in it in an informative article entitled ‘A Visit to Ramtek’, published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202-08. Though referred to or noticed several times the inscription has remained unedited so far. In the absence of a reliable edition it has given rise to some misconceptions about its historical contents. We have, therefore, edited it here from the original stone which we could examine several times during our visits to Ramtek.

---

2 ब्रह्मा: पुस्तक ४ वर्षलिखित सिंहलासु (Verse 12.)
5 This occurs in lines 54 and 61 but there it denotes the deity Rama.
7 P. R. A. S., Western Circle, for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 125.
As stated above, the record is inscribed on a stone fixed in the front wall of the garbhagriha in the temple of Lakshmana. It now contains 75 lines of writing covering a space 2' 9" broad and 3' 3" high, but a few lines may have been lost at the top. The extant portion falls into two parts, separated by some ornamental figures in lines 31 and 32, the first part comprising ll. 1-31 and the second ll. 31-75. As the surface of the stone has flaked off in several places the record has suffered very much, especially in its upper and lower portions and on the left hand side. The loss of the upper portion is very much to be regretted; since, judging from the fragments still extant, it seems to have contained a description of the exploits of the reigning king and his ancestors.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we find that the vowel ri is in some places wrongly written for ri, see tribhurana l. 31; r is throughout used for b, see vala for bala l. 26; sh is employed for kh and vice versa, see e.g., vishaydita l. 13 and namaskarikhye l. 54; the visarga before k and p is changed to sh, see tushurush-kap-pantē l. 47 and nippush-Paṅktirathā l. 48, etc.¹

The sign of aragraha is also noticed in some places.

The first four lines of the inscription are too much mutilated to yield any coherent sense. The fifth line contains the words Yādava raniṣāh and Yadu-raniṣākajah evidently indicating that the reigning king called himself Yādava and traced his descent from the legendary hero Yadu. The exploits of some king of this family are next described, but the only names of his adversaries that can be made out are Rudra in l. 7, the lord of the Andhras and Ghōḍa in l. 8 and possibly the lord of the Gurjaras in l. 9. The syllables Jaitra which occur at the end of l. 9 probably denote some name like Jaitrapāla. The name of the king Simhaṇa occurs in l. 15 in the course of the description of his successor, who is said to have made the Earth forget her grief on account of separation from the illustrious king Simhaṇa. This name seems to have occurred at the beginning of l. 13 also, but the first two aksharas of it have now been broken away. Line 16 mentions the genealogy of a person named Śrī-Rāghava. He was a descendant of one Vāyinayaka. From l. 17 we learn that the king, the illustrious Rāmachandra, bestowed on him (i.e., Rāghava) fortune which appeared lovely owing to the prosperity of his empire and himself enjoyed the company of ladies skilled in all arts. This means that the king entrusted the government of his kingdom to him and being free from care gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. This Rāghava is probably referred to again in ll. 18 and 21 as Sāyāpāla (guardian of the royal bed-chamber). His wife Rājāyī is mentioned in l. 19. Once upon a time Rāghava asked his preceptor how he could cross the ocean of worldly existence. In answer to this the latter seems to have given a description of the hill as well as of the temples and tirthas situated on it and in its vicinity. The first part of the record seems to have described the hill and the temples on the four sides of it, viz., Ghaṇṭēsvara, Sudēsvara, Kēdāra and Āṇjanēya. The second part, which is better preserved, names and describes the temples and tirthas on the hill and in the town of Rāṃṭēk after the manner of the tirtha-māhāmya. As a matter of fact many of them find mention in two Sīndūra-giri-māhāmya, one of sixteen and the other of forty-five adhyāyas.² The description and topography of these temples and tirthas given in the present inscription agree with those in the māhāmyas. Some of them are again mentioned in a work of the Mahānubhāva sect in connection with the itinerary of Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, who lived in the

¹ Probably this sh is intended to represent the sign for both jihramāliya and upadhōniya.—Ed.] ² Of these the former was published together with a Marāthi translation some years ago at Nāgpur, but the latter is still unpublished.

² An extract from this work called Sīhānapōthi was kindly supplied to us by our friend Mr. H. N. Nene.
time of the Yādava king Rāmchandra (13th century A.D.). Most of these temples and tirthas can even now be identified at Rāmṭēk. The traditions about them are thus at least seven centuries old.

As stated above, Prof. Kielhorn, in his article on the Khalāri stone inscription, expressed the opinion that the kings Śiṁhaṇa and Rāmchandra mentioned in the present inscription were identical with the princes of the same names who were respectively the grandfather and father of Haribrahmađēva, a Haihayya or Kalachuri prince who ruled in Chhattīśgarh in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. From this he concluded that the rule of the Kalachuris extended in the west as far as Nāgpur. An examination of several Kalachuri dates had led him to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first tiṭhī of the bright fortnight of Āsvina, but he had no evidence of the actual use of the Āsvinādi year in any territory under the rule of the Kalachuris. This was subsequently furnished by the remark of Colebrooke in his Journal of Occurrences at Nāgpur that the year at Nāgpur commenced on the first of the bright half of Āsvina. Kielhorn thought that this usage was reminiscent of the use of the Kalachuri era in the territory round Nāgpur, which on the evidence of the Rāmṭēk inscription he believed to have once been under the rule of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur. The identification of the family to which the princes Śiṁhaṇa and Rāmchandra mentioned in the present inscription belonged is, therefore, important not only for the interpretation of the record, but also for the determination of the beginning of the Kalachuri year.

Kielhorn had no opportunity to examine the inscription in situ. He had before him only a faint rubbing of it. The characters of the inscription have become very shallow, being choked up with oily dust and white-wash. It is therefore extremely difficult to decipher the record from rubbings or inked estampages. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who personally examined it, read the words Yādavā vaiśāh (I. 5), but he chose to stick to Kielhorn’s view that the kings Śiṁhaṇa and Rāmchandra mentioned therein belonged to the Haihayya dynasty, because he thought that the Haihayas being descended from Yadu could be called Yādavas. It is no doubt true that the Haihayas were descendants of Yadu; for their ancestor Haihayya was, according to the Purāṇas, a grandson of Śahasra-jīt who was himself a son of Yadu. But the name Yādava was by usage restricted to the descendants of Kṛṣṇā, another son of Yadu. Nowhere in their numerous inscriptions have the Haihayas or Kalachuris called themselves Yādavas. Besides, in the genealogy of the Haihayas there occurs nowhere any name like Jaitrapāla, which, as shown above, appears at the end of line 9 of the present inscription. But the most important objection to the identification of the kings Śiṁhaṇa and Rāmchandra with their namesakes who ruled in Chhattīśgarh is that neither these latter kings nor any of their immediate ancestors achieved any victories over Rudra, the lord of the Āndhras, the Chōla and the lord of the Gurjaras; for they were petty princes, whose rule did not extend much beyond the modern district of Raipur. Besides, there is no king of the name Rudra known from history as ruling in the fourteenth or fifteenth century

1 His Khalāri stone inscription is dated Vikrama Śaṃvat 1470 (for 1471), corresponding to A.D. 1415.
2 The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āsvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā’s festival, the New Year’s day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.’ Life of H. T. Colebrooke by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.
3 See his article entitled ‘Die Epoche der Cedi-Aera’ in the Festgruss an Roth (1893), pp. 53 ff.
4 In the second edition of his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (p. 3) he has admitted the possibility of Śiṁhaṇa being a king of the Yādava dynasty.
6 See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 87.
A. D., who may have been defeated by these kings. It is therefore difficult to uphold the identification first proposed by Kiellhorn.

We find, on the other hand, the names Jaitrapāla, Śimhaṇa and Rāmachandra in the genealogical list of the Later Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Jaitrapāla, whose name seems to have occurred at the end of line 9, is probably identical with the homonymous king who was the father of Śimhaṇa. The names of Rudda, the kings of Andhra and Chōla in ll. 7-8, seem to have occurred in the course of the description of Jaitrapāla’s victories; for we know from the introduction to Hāmādri’s Vṝtakhaṇḍa as well as from the Paṭaḥan plates and other Yādava grants that Jaitrapāla killed the Kākatiya king Rudda. This latter king is in some places called the king of Andhra. We can therefore unhesitatingly identify the kings mentioned here with the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri. That the kingdom of the Yādavas extended in the East as far as Lānji in the Bālgāḍh District is known from a stone inscription of the dynasty found at Lānji which mentions the Yādava king Rāmachandra.

We know from other records that Śimhaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Krishṇa, but his name does not occur in the extant portion. We can, however, conjecture that he must have been described in line 15, which speaks of a king having made the earth forget its grief due to separation from Śimhaṇa. The names of Krishṇa’s brother Mahādeva and his short-lived son Āmapāla may have been omitted in the present record. As no successor of Rāmachandra has been mentioned here, it seems that the inscription was put up during his reign. It may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D.

As the kings mentioned in the present inscription are thus proved to be of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri and no inscriptions of the Kalachuris are found in the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, Kiellhorn’s view that the Kalachuri year commenced in the month of Āśīna cannot be supported by any usage current in the territory round Nāgpur.

The mutilated condition of the inscription makes it difficult to say what it was intended to record. But the fact that the genealogy of a personage named Rāghava is given in lines 16 and 17 where he is also said to have been entrusted by Rāmachandra with the government of his whole empire combined with the statement in l. 63 that this Rāghava felt gratified on doing something seems to show that the object of the inscription was to record some service rendered by Rāghava to the deities at Rāṃtekk—perhaps some repairs done to the temple of Lakṣmana where the inscription is put up. Mādēva, who is mentioned in ll. 70-71, seems to have been a local official in charge of the work.

The hill on which the main temples of Rāma and Lakṣmana are situated is called Sindūragiri and Tapaṅgiṛi for Tapāgiri in the present inscription. The tradition about the former

1 Cf. तिरुभाणापी: यहीविषयम् रूपम् मौरियांः:
कला पुरुषकिशवत्वसिद्धिस्य नवनविनाशकितम्.
3 See Hiralal—Inscriptions, etc. (Second Ed.), p. 20. Lānji is about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur.
4 Hiralal remarks that ‘some passages of this record correspond exactly to those given in the Rāṃtekk Lakṣmana temple inscription’. We have examined the Lānji inscription in the Nāgpur Museum, but have failed to notice any such passages.
5 As a matter of fact Colebrooke was mistaken in supposing that the year commenced in Nāgpur in the month of Āśīna. As shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 122), the era current at Nāgpur in Colebrooke’s days was the so-called Sālvāhana or Saka era, its months were amānda and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśīna. For the commencement of the Kalachuri year, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.
6 In the larger Sindūragiri-nāḥātana the name occurs in the correct form Tapāgiri.
The name was apparently given in line 23 which is partly mutilated. What remains of it is, however, sufficient to show that the hill was called Sindūragiri, because it was reddened by the blood flowing from the breast of Hiranyakaśipu which was torn by Narasimha with his sharp claws. There are two temples on the hill containing huge images of the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. As conjectured by Cousens the name Sindūragiri may have been originally given to the hill because of its red stones which when broken or newly dressed appear blood-red. The second name of the hill Tapāṅgiri (for Tapōgiri, penance-hill) which occurs in this very form in one of the Sindūragiri-mahātmasya owes its origin to the tradition that Śambūka, a Śudra ascetic, practised penance here. He was afterwards killed by Rāma with his sword called Chandrabhāsa. But, the Māhātmya says, he asked for three boons from Rāma, viz., that his mortal remains should be transformed into a līṅga in situ, that Rāma should live on the hill for ever and that he himself should be worshipped before Rāma. In accordance with this, pilgrims first worship the līṅga, now called Dhūmrēśvara, situated on the southern plateau of the hill outside the citadel, before they proceed to the temples of Rāma and Lakṣmana. The story of Śambūka is given in line 45 of the present record, which mentions the līṅga Dhūmrākṣha.

The story of Śambūka occurs also in the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far the topography of the place where Śambūka was practising penance suits Rāṃtek. According to the Epic the Śudra ascetic was engaged in austerities on the bank of a large lake to the north of the mountain Śaivala. This mountain is not mentioned anywhere else. But from the Rāmāyana itself we learn that a king named Daṇḍa was ruling over the territory between the Vindhyā and Śaivala mountains. His rape of a Brāhmaṇa girl led to the devastation of the country measuring a hundred yojanas round the Śaivala mountain and this country came consequently to be known by the name of the Daṇḍaka forest. This Daṇḍa or Daṇḍakya is called Bhōja elsewhere and it is well known that the Bhōjas were ruling over Vidarbha. So the site of Śambūka’s penance must have been situated in Vidarbha to the south of the Vindhyā mountain. The Rāmāyana tells us that after killing Śambūka, Rāma went in his aerial car to the hermitage of Agastya which was situated not very far from the Gōḍavari, but it gives us no idea of the distance between the site of Śambūka’s penance and the hermitage of Agastya. Still the description in the Epic shows clearly that the former lay somewhere in ancient Vidarbha between the Vindhyā mountain and the Gōḍavari. The description in the Rāmāyana of the site of Śambūka’s penance suits Rāṃtek where there is a large tank at the foot of the hill. As there is no hill in Vidarbha where there is such a tradition connecting it with Śambūka’s penance, it would not be wrong to identify Rāṃtek with the Śaivala mountain.

2 Rāmāyana, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhyāya 75, verses 13-14.
3 Ibid., adhyāya 79, verse 16.
4 Ibid., adhyāya 81, verse 8.
5 See Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra, adhyāya 1, prakrava 3.
6 Rāmāyana, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhyāya 76, verses 16-20.
7 The larger Sindūragiri-mahātmya mentions Mahāśaivala as a name of the hill at Rāṃtek in addition to the two names noticed above, and explains it as being due to Śiva bringing the Śaivas to the hill. According to the colophon the Māhātmya has been taken from the Kaumārakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa; but the portion dealing with Śambūka’s story seems to have been copied verbatim from the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki. We have not been able to trace the Kaumārakhaṇḍa in the printed edition of the Purāṇa. Still this description corroborates our inference that Śaivala was one of the old names of the hill at Rāṃtek. For the identifications of the tirthas mentioned here see Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202 ff.
TEXT.  

1  .....................................  "शु  .....................................  "स्वाधु .....................................  "  

2  .....................................  पूजित .....................................  खलेचे न .....................................  "  

3  .....................................  देवसूरेश [ग⁹] .....................................  वचनिती .....................................  "  

4  .....................................  "क: सुकविसापेंचे म[विष*] ु" .....................................  "खो-  

5  .....................................  कुम्:  || ततोभ्रात्यों वेंच: ु  .....................................  " किं  

6  .....................................  विषयालक्षणः ¹¹ प्रायेहृसुवीरचः ¹²  .....................................  जम्भ-  

7  .....................................  वासामितीयस्वर्णांषन ्  .....................................  लंडजर्मर्क्ख  फार्ति या  

8  .....................................  विषयालक्षणः ¹³  .....................................  लंडजर्मर्क्ख  लं रे चोड  

9  .....................................  धी(प्रक)भूभूतीम् े गिर[स्य ्] .....................................  [गुज्*] रिन्द: परासूहि वस्स पूरो रश्यमुरूः ¹⁸  .....................................  हेव महा-  

¹ From the original stone.  
² From 15 to 18 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 1-3.  
³ About 25 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 1-3.  
⁴ About 45 aksharas are gone at the end of ll. 1-3.  
⁵ About 13 aksharas are gone in the beginning of ll. 4-6.  
⁶ वसेनदेवलक्ष्यः.  
⁷ From 23 to 27 aksharas are lost here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 5-6.  
⁸ From 35 to 45 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 4-7.  
⁹ अनुभुमिच्छारित.  
¹⁰ मेत्रेऽ: इंद्रद्राजः.  
¹¹ रोद.  
¹² भाषण: काजः.  [See above, p. 8, n. 1.—Ed.]  
¹³ मेत्रेऽ: मैसूना.  
¹⁴ About 18 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 7-14.  
¹⁵ From 18 to 22 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 8-14.  
¹⁶ मेत्रेऽ: शारदालोकरिता.  
¹⁷ About 5 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 8-14.  
¹⁸ मेत्रेऽ: उपेन्द्रवार्ज्रा.
10 ............ यदवरामसिंहप्रतिमांतिकढ़कं* [मौलिक] [मौलिक] - बोधेश्वरसभ्य सतारे संथाय सं [चं] रोकरावाश वैद्य ।

11 ............ [चं] नित्यारंभ ॥ भूमिपालो तत्तत्त्वो निर्मितित्वमनोक्षण्यां प्रदुषण ॥ कसुंकाक्षमान ।

12 ............ महादेवस यवमान च [ढ] ॥ वाचस्यात् : ॥ ॥ तेजोमित्रदिनकुदुम्बिक चढ़ादा [विच] [क] ॥ .....

13 ............ [ढ] षडद्वारतमा ॥ गुणाभिमन ॥ [॥] ... ...

14 ............ [मा] सावध शालिनि परमानंद ॥ ॥ ॥ जगति चित्रोक ॥ ग्राम (स) विभावत्रस्त विश्वलेखणि ॥ वंचक-पविपत्ति ॥ ठंगारावां भालाता लांच (च) दश ...

15 ............ ॥ चित्ताय मनालयता नृत्यकं [बंध] ॥ ... [॥] अत्यंत सारसमुद्रसारसर्वंध दुष्कोष्ठ यदीय: औषधिष्ठ चोखान्यिगतंताय जहै ॥ [॥] ब ॥ ....... ॥

16 ............ [मा] होतं ॥ वायुनायक देवि चमत्तले नि ॥ ततः तौकलाकनिघ्नो न शृंग: चचिदीदौ मयं ॥ तस्यायां राधवादेव [नाम] ॥ ...

---

1 * Metre: Mālīnī.
2 * Metre: Vasantaśīlā.
3 * Metre: Prūshī.
4 * Metre: Śārdulaviktīderā.
5 * Metre: Upendravajrā.
6 * Read विवस्त्र:: वनिविन्दः.
7 * Metre: Upajāti.
8 * Read य: भलेविजयः.
9 * Metre: Śikharī.
10 From 20 to 24 akeharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 15-20.
11 The metre of this verse is irregular. The first hemistich is in Upendravajrā.
12 From 5 to 8 akeharas are lost at the end of ll. 15-20.
13 * Metre: Rathāddhālā.
14 * Metre: Indrāvajrā.
17. [ग]षणोपरिशिष्टम् गौरमान्चकः प्रभुः सामाज्यसत्वः संदर्भः पार्थ विवाह श्रयः। कृदियानतिष्ठतिःविष(विष)लोकवल्लकालिनावः। लोकनालायः।

18. गौरभूपल्लधरस्य मधुपालीकुलायामभवनसतः (चम)॥ गौरवान्तिव्यपारपोजमधुविशिष्टकालसतः (विष)लम्बल(विष)पदाय तथाः। क्रे के ग्रण ज।

19. नित्यरेण चालितरे प्रधानकुलम् तथा यथा शालिवं (विष)कं अ(कम)|। तद्नुस्मातिः च ये प्र(प्रि)यत्स भूमायाभीत् भूमायाभीत् राजायाभीत्य गुणा-श्रय गुणमणानाः भरः।

20. दिनवद्धितिभुगतिः (निम)। गुणमात्रीनिमित्य प्रस्य तदनु हिजम्।। जाणादिः सव्ये भगवंशसतःस्व एक्षास्मि एक्षास्मि प्रस्यक्षतमुपयेन:। ब्राह्मणस्वसारप्रयोचिः।

21. चिण्डी(चिण्डी)लघुस्थः॥ मधुपालकुलाविवेच निविशोऽदि वची मभ।। संसारस्मारकका संस्कारं न बचं: परं(रम)॥। चवतारा द्विवध्वस्त स्रामोऽ(च)॥।

22. वासुप्रशुको वस्त्य स्तम्योगिविन्य:। महोधरस्या तथागतिः प्रभुवस्या निऋतः चह्वान्धारमिः। विवाह शन शो।।

23. साधा रघुवरः॥ प्राणच देवी नुष्ट्रिः सुरार्चिः(विष)कृष्य वत्सः कर्णः सन्तायः। तद्रिपुराशितितस्तोत्रः।

24. [ग]तःकथा बौद्धयासाः। मनसन्निस्मोऽस्मि श्री जानाति क।। पप्पी सातूर्य उत्तुनेन यस्त्र सुनीश्(श)॥ ॥

1 मेत्र: शर्कुलक्रिटिका।
2 मेत्र: वसानतिलिको।
3 मेत्र: अनुश्कुब्ख।
4 मेत्र: उपायति।
5 नं 29 to 34 अकाहरस are gone in the beginning of ll. 21-25.
6 मेत्र: विन्द्रवन्याः।
7 मेत्र: अनुश्कुब्ख।
8 नं 9 to 11 अकाहरस are lost at the end of ll. 21-25.
9 मेत्र: उपेन्द्रवन्याः।
25. ................................ मनो भ्रुद . . . [रा]*मिखर वननीच कोहरे . . . श्रीरामाय सुनीलर लक्षणमुखधृतसमं ब्र(ब)द्रष्टः कुलैतख गरि. प्र[भाव*]1

26. ................................ बिलोक्ष सादर जनतुमटते ब्र-(ब)द्रक्षया ॥ गोविन्दवा(वा)लभमदवाधिपतीपृष्ट्यां रच4 ............. 5

27. ................................ लयमंगलेण ॥ कलीपवास सरचारे दे कुर्वेन्ति राजो रघुनाथनाथे । तप्येनिन्ति जागर[ण*] ...........

28. ................................ मसाधिकामः ॥ घोड़ेर्मे चैव सुलेखरे च क्षेत्रर्मेयं च तथानंतेय(यम) । दशार्ये4 .........................

29. ................................ [स*]जनन दूरितं निश्रिं ब्र(ब)धचिह्द्रा खाचट्टैं मनुजा भजितं भवेन भृगुं यत्वंर(रम)1 ॥ स . . . . .

30. ................................ प्रभावं श्रीलिङ्गं न गुष्यु सुरानाम-न्याख । तक्षण1 ........................ 

31. ................................ श्रीराम(ख)नारि ॥ ॥ ब(ब्र)-भृगुनन्दतपूज्यपादारविंद्र खाला शी.9

32. ................................ ॥ ॥ लक्षणलं समयः[प*]भवः मश्कपालस्तिलकः ॥ तामसम्भितायाभावः विभृतय4

33. ................................ [च*]स्व(स्व)तीर्यं नरं खाला पूजतन्द्र-चिव(ब्र)कार्तिर(तिं) । चव(ब्र)कानायवस्तने याति भोगेकुमितां(ताम)3 ॥

चबिंगमय वणशक्तीयः

1 Metre : Śārdūlavākridita.
2 About 45 letters are gone at the beginning of ll. 26-31.
3 Metre : Anuśaktubh.
4 Metre : Indrawajrā.
5 About 9 letters are broken off at the end of ll. 26-29.
6 Read तप्येनिन्ति. Metre : Upañjāni.
7 Read सुरानामं । चरणः.
8 About 20 aksharas are gone here.
9 Metre : Srugākara.
10 From 60 to 60 aksharas have been lost in the beginning of ll. 32-33.
कथा: 1. वक्षशालिकोपालेनाद्वित्तिन्

कथा: 2. वधूलक्षोऽस्मिनसंवेदीतत्वां जाते पुष्करं (क्रम.) नरपं-वानां(नाम.) तद्वमिश्रितंमहामयो(क्रम.)नामोधिनं लगभं न तपोभिमि।

कथा: 3. तीः शुकसंहलं कथः (क्रम.) द्वारेषु पु(क्रम.) समासाय दुराल्पूर्वः। नवसम लोकः (क्रम.) तत्त्वं किमीन्ति नानां दुराल्पमकरः। च च च कुरुक्षेत्रस्थि तौर्यं द्वारा नर। निम्न(क्रम.) च (क्रम.) द्वारा साधविधेज्जा। शुकी किरिं वर्षा वः। तीर्थं पथिनाविद्विनं विद्विन(भ) (क्रम.) साधविधेज्जा। तद्वमिश्रितं महामयं।

कथा: 4. विराहसुवधालोकाणि द्विधोकाणि विद्विन(न) (क्रम.) साधविधेज्जा। तद्वमिश्रितं महामयं।

कथा: 5. विीहारसु तथा प्रभावः प्रभृतिपुष्करं (क्रम.) लक्ष्मनखु यथा (क्रम.) व्यवस्थिरूपायें हदीसी द्विधोकाणि विद्विनमलमति। श्रीसभ्यांश्च सौम्याणि साधविधेज्जाः गुणं ध्वनिमार्यव नरसं श्वानवित्ति। यवसं तवसं भगवत्व देवमिश्रितं साधविधेज्जाः श्राद्वां मुदातंसृंख्य।

कथा: 6. शद्यनास्तिक(क्रम.) श्वाला पवतितीयवजीर धन्य ग्राहाय देशादिज्ञातं साधविधेज्जाः। नरो विद्विनक्तपपापाधिमय शोकोपिणः बदनं प्रयात्ति। तीः पितृपयं पितवस्य-वाण्य शाला च शाला पितवस्थष्टिद्वं। कौंडः पितृपयं नियतः (त) पविवे सोधधे (स) त्यज्य किरिं वर्षा वः।

कथा: 7. विीहारसु प्रक्षणं ददिम वाज्यमितीयां सम्बंधिकल्लोकाः साधविधेज्जाः। नरो निम्नाधारानवा समेतसन्तप्भावानां लम्बी वधायाः। या राजस कल्लो-कालातो विद्विनमलम्बवक्तव्यथानंदि। सा नन्दका कल्लोपितं विनुस्खा साधविधिव विज्ञानं चरुवलं (क्रम.)। चुर्णरक्षे च सुरीधः।
40 समाधिता निकटतीर्थ वध्यचल्या सा। सुरिन्द्रतनभोगसद्भिद्या मकरियचारस्य

मनानिर्मातुः तुषांस्य(शाम)। कत्यापयुरवंधुः(वव) समाध्याकारजीतुः(वव)। सर्वः न

गणपुर्वुच्चसुर्वुष्य(स) सुनिविवताः। नायर्यमिक्रियाणिकाकुंड तीर्थंस्यं श्रवण

समस्तस्विद्धिः।

41 प्राणोति मलः। खलु मुसिरस्य प्रशादं। सारिपु न दूरस्वः ॥ [सा] चकुः

समस्याः दच्च(चिं)ण्याः। महाभृताः। दुर्भाविपि भवेयोः। सुलभं। प्राणिनां

चषात्। भोगमातीवं विभायति। तीर्थं सालाखद्वर्तं प्रतिप्रार्थ्वं (वम)। तस्त्यां

बुधास्त्रात्रोद्रवा(श) राष्ट्रायसक्तसायमात्राः। दशकङ्गरः।

42 च। ॥ एकाशोवासवासभाज्यं तीर्थं सुभाष्यं दशकं घोराः।। मुसिरसार्थी कार्यंजन

र्या करोति स्वातं। सुदाःस्त्रिक्रिा। यकारस्करेः माणी नरी नित्यम(वव)

भोगमातीवं दशकं घोरारः (सिम) ॥ भक्ता प्रपाधमधुरीकोटलामायाति कद्रस्य

राजा ॥ मकरमयायां मित्रवाच कार्यं जयमायल।

43 रीति य। जमले पितरस्य मुसिरस्य लुक्षर्यां (वम) ॥ भोगमात्रस्य मोदपतोः स्विनतर्यापो भुत्त्रप्रकाश। सा। यथा विस्तुष्णि विपायकदं विज्ञ सुरं

समपूर्वते मुक्नीं (सिम)। कृपावान प्रभुतप्याप्पुर्लयं। पूर्वस्य किमु वणवीनोया।

देवस्य तोतायद्वित्याः पार्थे दार्श रीति। यथा। कुष्ट्कंपि।

44 मुक्नीं। ॥ काशो नीच्यतिनयं न चापि मयुरा नी हारका नो पुरी तदनुष्ट-भरं प्रयर्धाति। चण्यां काशच नित्यमायाः। यदयासरीकरस्तविति (कत) सिंधुरभूमीजः। भोगमात्र द्वाराकितं कित्यात्मकमात्र। जच्चंगलभाष्यते

यथा कुंभव्यौ खुदा। ॥ गन्धवदनः।

45 सालाखदस्ते रामकार्यः।। श्रास्तेष्य पृथ्वीस्य नित्य स रामस्य गिराविच।

पौड़ितं कोविना पृथ्यः यो कलापानुपालनुः।। भोगमात्रसः करणं। चंद्रहस्ताः

सार्वत: प्राप्तं पुरार्या।। स श्रास्त्रूकः। शुद्धिवशमधुरविष्णुस्व धृष्टाच

दृतिः प्रसिद्धः।। प्रध्यात। निम्बेनवार्तामध्येः मित्र विवानः।

1 Metre : Drutavilambita.
2 Metre : Anushṭubh.
3 Metre : Upaṭṭi.
4 Read सार्वत: फलविद्वाता ।
5 Metre of this and the next verse : Upaṭṭi.
6 Metre : Indravajra.
7 Metre of this and next verse : Anushṭubh.
8 Metre : Sādālavikṛṣita.
9 Metre of this and the next three verses : Upaṭṭi.
46 नायबिष्क्षापंसि । शिवतथा: शिववाससे वेष शिवमार्गि तिष्ठावेषि ति
गोपीलोकमुखानन्दसुप्रसूति चालोकोषि । गोपालकुशर्चिणेनवीः
तिथिवासलसावध चालोकोषि । चतोष तंगःप्रसरतार नमकम्पं चधवा रचि
योर्य चतुर्कोषिरूक्तसुकुमार। श्री-

47 मायुषकंसोविता सतबीयपिता शिववासायां दंडयां
योर्य भान्ति सर्वजीतलक्ष्मी महते यहयानूः। यं रोमानकुलदोषः
नन्दनो वेदवेयसुहुव्यक्त्याः दमकंदरासिद्धीन्ती सोपाधिकीलः प्रकृतः
चन्द्रम्य लेखामुक्तिनां सप्तविंश्टीनि.

48 परिवर्त्य महेन्द्रदत्ताः(साम) । श्रीयाचरणकंसोविता गुप्तोख्ता वस्त्रवर्ण विशिष्टसाताः
हुते योराचरणसे निरीकणवाक्षं । दशाते कबितादल महाकेशाजा जगायण
भूः। सातवीरविधि महाराजवाक्षः योगाविनाये योगाविनाये
चर्च निर्देह भक्तारामधीपसर्वारंभास चारख ज्वाच ।

49 करोति सकलं श्रीलोकमेत्रत्वादालालक्षालालक्षवदनं यक्षालक्रिक्रियसमूहं
सिद्धरामलोकायां चर्ममय सोयाश्वायताः सायामसुधाय करोति महावाक्षां
वा महासाइरवः। चारख चंद्रमृतकं दममुहुतुहोखेतिभामभास चारख
हवा ।

50 — सिवराजगुरुकृतनृणासं(छ)दांगकस(साम) । दुर्धशी महालोकवाधकदाराः चरितवर्यं नरः
स्वादेशी शिवसमायसित प्रति: सोजः रामाकृष्णः। माला गुणमयो-
भिव चितमसां शिवविभिन्नश्रेष्ठं योरामावतः हरे: सहचरः शंकोऽ
प्रश्नाखारः। चार्को सो[त] स्—

51 मस्मकान्तातात्तसनवीराधिकं(छ) संयुक्तात्तसां(छ) नवकादिरागातनायाधिति लक्षणः। यज्ञामर्क्षापवायाति निषिद्ध(छ)। पाण्डुऽक्रुद्धवरिष्टिः चर्च या
विशेषतिनिर्यात्तत्तनिगुष्टविं देखीकाप। या शापेन निनाय महोकाविकावृत्य । चारख चर्चाति
कर्त्ते में देविताः[छ]

---

1 Perhaps उक्तमयम् is intended here. [This reading would involve a sandhi with the preceding word, which would spoil the metre. I would suggest -dalam=किर्ति दमके यादविनय मनोन as the intended reading.—Ed.]
2 Read युक्तं: काशिका.
3 Read जीवनमहुः: पांडुऽक्रुद्धाः.
4 Metro: सार्धावंतिकीला.
5 Metro: उपशास्त्री.
6 Metro: उपशास्त्री.
7 Metro of this and the following verse: अममुखान्तिकीला.
8 Metro of this and the next verse: सार्धावंतिकीला.
52 नायमिति साप्याविसा रामानिति ॥ इहांवनंदे दशकंटगणोजर्वेलोक्य कूलेन खकः
—० मर्याः । परं दाले न करोति भौति कालसिंहोः संल सतिचारसूक्ते। ॥ मकर सहक महामादिराम्य जगमुख्रा (खा) रामानिति निरौचा । नारः
सुरस्वादिकरोपनितसुप्रायापातलसुतेति] निः

53 खं (खस) ॥ श्री[ओ]गराममिब्राम्बतन्तन्त् निरीखा खोराफ़ि(खि) नासरणि: शरणे सुरारे: ।
भोगा[नवनास्त्रा] सुखसं विविधानाग्रिनि कल्याणमित्ति देवदारुः ॥ इहां प्रजस- सहिष्मानमनल्लक्ष्या तं गुरुममातिगुप्ते च संकिर्मि । प्राप्ति यज्ञ चिन्तने
किं नयु देवर[जो] — — Öz

54 सहुराविकस्वरीपि चौरिपि ॥ श्रीसंहकारौ प्रणिपल्य र्यां: पर्य समथेति वि श्रंख- पाणी: ।
विशंकायन्त्र खुदा महदसुखादिदेवसविभामानः ॥ जगभानमन्दीनाग्रीमिं श्रीमेषिनिलखण्डेवादुः(खम) ।
श्रीरामदेवं प्रणिपल्य सुहः नमस्कारख्ये- (घो)खर्तरैः (चोमः)ः ॥

55 देव श्रीरुसंदन खं (खि)जगातमहत्तवादमो भाषिष्यमहाभिव्वनणिं काश्यसानकार ।
चैलोक्यविधायत्मकं खजुखकेलांसतययिं या — — Ö Ö — — Ö Ö
tे चैलोक्योत्ते नमः। ॥ देव चौरस्वायसंग्रामहेरी[निः]बृंढा चॊक्तसं तत्तताद- क्षयन — — Ö

56 — — — विलक्षणः नमः । श्रीरामाय इनमदा दिवदर्वन्योजयावंद्रभामायेः श्री-
जनकरिनीग्रं देवदारुः[क] धाय च ॥ देव लां सुरदुस्तोक्त प — — — — —
— — — — — — — दारस्तुरसुतिप्रभावरों नमस्कुर्दे । तावाः[ला]प्र-
विविधिकास्यमितिताताशाग्यम — — Ö

57 — धताः (खिं)नयुसुधास्वरचर्यभाषानिस्पादां(खु)ञ्जं (र्यम) ॥ देव लां गिरिपादपेलि(खि)-
लघुजातुप्रियारी ह — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — निषेक्षम(खि) चैलोक्यनामचर धाता
 — — सहर्षपुष्करिक्षम — — — म म नमः ॥ — — — — — — —

1 Metre of this and the following verse: Upajåti.
2 Metre of this and the next verse: Vasundharaka.
3 Metre of this and the next verse: Upajåti.
4 Metre of this and the next seven verses: Sāndalaśikṣita.
58 विष्णुरोगजगतीनागाविदविश्वमात्रिभक्षणसंबन्धदेवतां नमस्ते। गंगा-
तिमा ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 唵
No. 3.—A GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA: SAKA 653.


This set of three copper-plates was presented by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to the Archeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and is now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery.

These plates have not been published so far nor have they been noticed anywhere. Their authenticity is, however, unquestionable and therefore they are taken up for publication in this journal.

Each plate is 10"×5½" in size. The whole grant runs into 45 lines. A circular hole with a diameter of about 1" is found in all the three plates. There is neither any ring nor any Royal seal attached to the set at present. The first and third plates are written on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. As regards orthography the record has no peculiarity worth mentioning.

Vijayaditya, the donor of the present grant, seems to have ascended the throne in 618-619 Saka as the Bāḍāmi Sanskrit and Kanarese inscription is dated Śaka 621, in his third regnal year.1 The present grant was made in his 36th regnal year when 653 Śaka had passed. His reign seems to have ended in 654-655 Śaka as his son Vikramāditya II issued from Raktapura a grant in his 2nd regnal year in 656 Śaka expired.2

The donation was made on the full-moon day of Vaisākha to Bhavasvāmi-Bhāṭa of the Viśvāmitra-gōtra, who was well versed in the Vaidika literature and who was the son of Pasa-patiśarman and grandson of Yajñāśarman. The donation was of a village (?) in a certain vishaya.3 The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Raktapura.4

The writer was Niravadya-Puṇyavallabha. We know that in the reign of Vinayāditya the Mahaśānikhivigrahika was one Rāma-Puṇyavallabha.5 But in the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita alias Udayadēva-Paṇḍita, a Jainā to whom Vijayāditya granted a village.6 Niravadya-Paṇḍita who was of the Mūla-Saṅgha was the spiritual guide of Vinayāditya.7

The inscription opens with Svasti followed by a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. Then it successively refers to the famous Mānava-gōtra, the descent from Hariti of the Chaliyyas who were guarded by the Seven Mothers, the receipt of a banner bearing the figure

---

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 60.
3 [According to my reading of lines 35-37 the name of the village granted would be Tārāvadra which was situated in Tāllād-dhāra, a district in Navasāri-vishaya. I read the portion as follows:—
35 भक्तसमस्मितस्मि सभासारितविष्णु तेषादेिर्
36 कोवणतवलहस्यवदेशेऽभयावसाना वृद्धे तारायनाम—
37 मद्यास(ः) रागुपानि विक्षयादेशन इत्यादि—N. L. R.]
4 This Raktapura was a famous place in the times of the Western Chalukya kings. Vinayāditya issued a grant from this place. Cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112. Vikramāditya II issued one more grant in 656 Śaka, cf. ibid., p. 104.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 85.
6 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 112.
7 The late Prof. Pathak has suggested (above, Vol. X, p. 15) that the name Niravadya, which seems to have been a biruda, originally of Vijayāditya, was assumed by the writer of his grants.—N. L. R.]
of a Boar on it through the favour of Vishnu, etc., as found in most of the other grants of this dynasty.

The genealogy begins with Pulakēśī-Vallabha (I) who had purified his limbs with the holy waters at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by him. Then his son, the famous Kirtti-varman (II) who had defeated the kings of Vanavāsi, is referred to. Then we find mentioned his son Satyāśraya otherwise famous as Pulakēśīn (II) who bore the additional titles Mahārāja-dhirāja and Paramēśvara; the last-mentioned title he obtained by defeating Harsha-vardhana. Then comes his 'favourite' son Vikramāditya (I). Mounted on the back of his favourite steed Chitrakanaṭha and with only a sword in hand he is said to have retrieved the fortune of his father which had been taken away by the alliance of three kings. He also broke down the power of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōḷas, Kērāḷas and Kāḷabhras, and made the king of Kāṇchī bow down in reverence to him. Then is mentioned Vinayāditya, who is also stated to have subdued the triple alliance. He subdued the kings of Kāvēra, Pārasika and Sīrīhāja and by defeating the king of the north acquired the emblems of greatness such as the Pālidhvaja, etc.

His favourite son was Vijayāditya-Samastabhuvanāśraya, the donor of the present grant. He secured peace at home while his grandfather carried on wars with the southern kings and he assisted his father in a campaign in the north and going further to the north (more than what his father had done) he acquired for himself the emblems of Gaṅgā, Yamunā, the Pālidhvaja banner and the Dhakā drum. He was once caught by the enemies but he skilfully contrived to escape and brought peace and order unaided by others in the provinces where disorder reigned supreme for a while.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 खलित [1*] जयवाढ़िकृष्ण विश्वासवासूभार चार्मितार्कवं (वम्) [1*] दचितिरवाल-
   धेम्यानव्यायाम् वर्; [1*] ची-

2 मता शक्लभुवनसब्रह्माणमानवस्तगित्राणां समरकमानां-

3 सचितानुमातिरिवविम्बनां वासंतिकेत्यपरिच्चरच्चरणारसिकारपररावां समाव-

4 दारायवसस्तससमासांरीतवराजालायणवचयवणीविज्ञानवणीविदायतीयात्मित्तात्मित्तात्मित्तात्मित्तात्मि

5 चालिकानां कुलमार्गविनिवेशाधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधি঵्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधिव्याधि

¹ His title Satyāśraya is not given here, unlike in Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73.
² From the original plates.
³ Read -bhuvanāth.
⁴ Read 'cya samara.- [This emendation is unnecessary as the reading of the text in II. 3-9 is correctly -paramāshā-sūkṣma-jaya.- Ed.]
⁵ Read śri-Harsha-vardhana.-
9 [ह]स्व सत्यायथीविवीकभमभाराजाचिन्तायमवरसुरभिन्नश्राद्धतया प्रियतनय-
10 स्व प्रजानरेन्द्ररत् खड़माशहायक चिवकाशाभिधानवरसुरभिन्नश्राद्धतया-
11 केनेवीठातिकोपितिविवीकनिवितचित्तांत्यालितां खुरोऽशिष्माशाः-
12 दक्ष(ल) प्रभावकुलकविश्वलिपि प्रक्षोदकरकस्मश्वर्णकमुक्तिभुक्तदाध्वि-
13 भम्मानवन्यनन्तकाशीपतिमुकुटपुनिष्ठापावांवुज्ञ विक्रमादिक-

Second Plate; First Side.

14 सत्यायथीविवीकभमभाराजाचिन्तायमवरसुरभिन्नश्राद्धतया प्रियतनयोऽपि-
15 तुराज्ञा वालेन्द्रशरस तारकारातिरिवैवनंमतसुवं चैराज्ञका-
16 चीपहमवलमवस्त्व कर्त्तिकलमसेवा(व)स्वरसीविषष्ठकादात्सितपदार्पणसखी 
17 भोतरापनन्तकाशीपतितपक्षादित्यादिसंयुतपामपेश्वस्थितिचिन्नकथा
18 विनयायायसंगतसत्यायथीविवीकभमभाराजाचिन्तायमवरसुरभिन्नश्राद्धतया
19 प्रियामकशैशाख वार्षिकाविवेकसांह दिवसायायाविद्यमन पतिमावं
20 समुस्वलिततिरिचकशस्त् तमृत्वेऽपरिप्रथवेद्वः गीयोगोरोयव एवाइव-
21 व्यापायाचर्चारातिरिवधरापणनिवीयमाणकाण्डारस्यभिन्नश्राद्धतया
22 त्रेसशस्त्र(क) इसरंशिसत परझु(छ) खोजत्रस्वमशस्त्र(क) गंगायुनापायिक्षणजं
23 पद(ह) ताभमस्वकुलविफिलिकमाणकाण्डारस्यभिन्नश्राद्धतया(व) साकुवर्ण(ह) एवत्यामाने-
24 राजाय साधयो विशिवादर्पनी रोपयाङ्कदेश वित्तां क्रृतकमराजक-
25 सुभाषिनकरण ववानविकितापसथाकस्भुतवचारस्य ग्नायुनापायिक्षणजं

Second Plate; Second Side.

26 भुजावल्लभमाक्षाचिन्तायमवरसुरभिन्नश्राद्धतया प्रियतनयोऽपि
27 त्वाघृष्णात्मण्यमलादीवलाविवीकनिवितमासश्रुवनां

1 Read "गुरु".
2 Read "कुल".
3 Read "समस्त".
4 Read "अवजय".
36 — — — — लुः — पञ्चभः — — — सीमा — — — — — — — — —

37 — — — — — — — — — विज्ञादिवेशेन दत्तः तदागमिमिभिनामेव

38 श्रेष्ठवर राजभिरात्वेष्ट्यपादोऽविकारितं विलसितसिद्धांग्यां

39 नमवः[ग]स्वर्गकोऽविरागविशिष्टिसंपकालयात्विभिः[ः]* स्वर्गितः

40 निन्दिष्ठ विषयं परिपालनीयसुभुषं भववत्वं वेद्यसेवन वासेन [॥]*

41 ब्रह्मचर्यशुष्का भुजा राजभिराजरादिभिः[भिः] यं यथा यथा यः

42 दा भूनिमस्तस्तथा तदस्त्र तदार्क[लम्] [॥]* द्वारातु दुस्मक्षवं दुःखसमेतः

43 वस्त्र पालन[लम्] [ः]* द्वार वा पालन चेति द्वाराल्लोकार्यमन्[लम्] [॥]*

44 द्वारा यदन्त वा यो चरित वस्त्रवर्त[राम्] [ः]* विषयार्थमहसिंहि विषयः

45 यां जावते कथम् [॥]* त्रिनिर्विषयसुक्षमेऽविषयान्त विकृतामिद् शासनं [॥]*

---

* Read "भ्र-त्री.
* Reading doubtful. [It is विन्द।—N. L. B.]
* Read पारसूपति।
* The order of the words in the compound is incorrect.
* [See note 3 on p. 21.—Ed.]
* Read यहम/उद्द-चाहा.
No. 4.—ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA : SAKA 663.

By S. K. Dikshit, M.A. New Delhi.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the earliest Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga were discovered at Ellora (ancient Ēlāpur) in Aurnagbād District of H. E. H. the Nizām’s Dominions. They were handed over to Sir John Marshall by Major Garforth, Under Secretary, Public Works Department, in the year 1921, but originally belonged to a widow lady, by name Mrs. Plunkett, from whom they were subsequently purchased by the Archaeological Department. Unfortunately they have somehow remained in oblivion for more than 17 years, until Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit happened to come across them. He has kindly lent them to me for editing, which I am doing under his guidance.

The plates are two in number, each measuring in the middle roughly 6 inches in length and 4¼ inches in breadth. They are joined together by a copper ring which is oval in shape, being roughly 1½ inches in length and 1¼ inches in breadth. The letters, which are engraved with fair accuracy, vary in size from ½ in. to ¾ in. of an inch. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and the engraving is fairly deep, though the letters do not appear on the other side except in a few cases. The edges of the plates are thickened only very slightly, so that the first plate is worn out in the middle of the upper edge though no damage is thereby caused to any letters. The copper ring which joins the two plates together has a seal attached to it, on which appears a winged figure sitting cross-legged. The figure must be of Garuḍa who usually appears on the Rāṣṭrakūta seals. The language is Sāṃskṛta and the inscription is throughout written in prose, except for the imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 23 to 28), which are usually found near the end. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following ā is generally duplicated (cf. Dantiduranga, l. 8; avatargata and vivartgata, ll. 13 and 14: Aśhokagya, l. 14; avatappādāṭhā, l. 17). A certain amount of laxity in rules relating to sāndhā, etc., is also observable.

The palaeographical peculiarities found in this inscription mark it out from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions like the Muktā and Tiwarkāśa plates of Nannarāja Yuddhānura,1 the Bhāndak plates of Krishnarāja I,2 which, according to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, have character-belonging to the “Northern class of alphabets”. On the other hand, a comparative study of the record with some of the Valabhi and Southern Gujarāt plates betrays their closest affinity in palaeographical details. Thus the Ilā (Broach District) plates of Dadda II-Praśīhārāga,3 Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata,4 Anirōh-Chhārū plate of Karka II (dated Saka 679);5 and Baroda plates of Suvaṃavarsa (dated Saka 734)6 bear a much closer resemblance with the present record than the first-mentioned three grants from the Bētūl and Chāndā Districts. Special attention may be drawn to the form of the letter ś (l. 10), which could easily be mistaken for ‘ga’ or ‘g’, but is obviously meant to be of the same type as is found in Ēlāpur-Śahala, etc., of the Baroda plates.7

The object of this inscription is to record the grant of a village called Pippalāla in the district of Chandanapuri-eighty-four, to certain Brāhmaṇas originating from Navasārikā, by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, son of Indrarāja and grandson of Karkkarāja. The grant was issued

---

2 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, plate facing p. 158, text l. 14.
from, and probably recorded at, Badarikā-vāsaka, though it was originally made at Elapura (Elapura) by the donor after bathing in the Guhāśvara-tirtha. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is the earliest dated record of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty so far known. The inscription is dated in the Śaka Salavat 663, Śāvīna Śuddha trayośaśi, Soma-vāra. According to S. K. Pillai's Indian Ephemeris the date is not regular either for Śaka 663 current or for 663 expired. The details cited, however, regularly correspond to Monday, the 17th September 742 A.D., in the Śaka year 664 expired. The present inscription, whose authenticity can be borne out by the palaeographical test, is thus dated 12 years earlier than the Śamangad plates of Dantidurga, which are dated in the Śaka year 675. The genuineness of the latter has been called in question by scholars like Dr. Sukhānkarā and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who base their arguments mainly on palaeographical grounds, which are, however, 'hardly convincing' to Dr. A. S. Altekar, when the difference is only of a few decades. One may not perhaps fully agree with Dr. Altekar in his doubts as regards the validity of the palaeographical test, which has always to reckon the district in which the inscription is found, the district in which the grant is given and the personality of the writer; but one cannot set aside the Śamangad inscription altogether, especially in view of the possibility that it might have been copied from an earlier and authentic inscription which really gave the correct date of Dantidurga (viz., S. 675). The present record also bears out Dr. Altekar's suggestion that at any rate there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga being a ruling prince in 753-4 A.D."

Another point to be considered is regarding the titles that were borne according to this inscription by Dantidurga and his predecessors, Karka and Indra. All the three bear only feudatory titles, such as Smānta-vatā-pañjika-mahāśabda and Mahāsāmanantāyikā. Thus Dantidurga had not as yet assumed the imperialistic titles which appear in the Śamangad plates. No doubt, he bears in this record the title of Prithvirālalabha, but that may signify at best his increased importance. It is true that the title Prithvirālalabha was often borne, along with Śīrālalabha, by king- of the Imperial lines of the Chālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas; but while the latter title, like the simpler Vellabha, was exclusively a suzerain's title, the former, viz., Prithvirālalabha, was borne also by important feudatories. Thus in eiron 645 A. D. Chandrāditya, the eldest son of Pulakēṣī II. is styled Prithvirālalabha and Mahārāja. About a century later, i.e., in or before 739 A. D., the same title of Prithvirālalabha was conferred upon Pulakēṣī (the repeller of the Tājikas) along with other titles, viz., Avanijanāśa, Dukshigāpathosahārā-Chalukyakulānākara, etc., by Śīrā-Vallabha-bhavasena, who evidently was his suzerain. Dantidurga also seems to have defeated certain enemies, before 742 A. D., since he is said in this inscription to have obtained victory in many battles. One may therefore suggest that he too was honoured by Śīrā-Vallabha-bhavasena with the title Prithvirālalabha in recognition of his service in some battles, possibly fought in collaboration with Pulakēṣī-Avanijanāśa. The date of the present record is only three years later than the date of Pulakēṣī's record. The connection of the Rāṣṭrakūta predecessors of Dantidurga with Gujarāt is borne out by the fact recorded in the Śanjan and other inscriptions that the mother of Dantidurga (called Bhavagāṇa in the Bhāndak plates of Krishnarāja) was a Chālukya princess who was carried away by Indrātāja from Khetaka-manḍapa in accordance with the Rākṣasa form

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.
4 Rāṣṭrakūtas and Their Times, pp. 33-34, footnote 11.
5 Ibid.
Sēndraka a...ma the title Prithvirālalabha.
7 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 124, text l. 19.
of marriage. Further, the connection of Dantidurga with Southern Gujarat is perhaps betrayed by the fact that one or probably all of the donors of the present grant hailed from Navasrîkā. Lastly, as shown above, close palæographical examination of this inscription confirms this connection, for the inscription was probably engraved somewhere in South Gujarat. Thus, there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga helping Pulakēśi-Janapādāvārya, when the Tājikas were penetrating into Daksināpātha at Navasrîkā, though it has to be admitted that this is nothing more than a supposition.

When did this struggle between the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Tājikas take place? Several scholars have averred that it must have taken place soon after 721 A.D., when Janāyak under Caliph Hisham carried raids into the dominions of the Hindu kings. But it seems to me that the Chalukyan skirmishes with the Tājikas did not take place before 731 A.D., since Pulakēśi-Avamānārāyaṇa who claims for himself the credit for repulsing the Tājikas, did not come to the throne till after A.D. 731, for an inscription of Viyapāditya Janāśrāyi, Yuvalahamalla Managālārā, the elder brother of Pulakēśi, is dated in that year. Pulakēśi must have, therefore, encountered the Arabs sometime between 731 A.D. and 739 A.D., i.e., probably in the reign of Vikramāditya H who ruled from 733 A.D. to 745 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya was probably the Śri-Vallabhabhavānāvēdra who conferred titles on both Pulakēśi and Dantidurga. The assumption of the title Pṛthvīvārādhaka and the bēda Khadgāvālaka on the part of Dantidurga shows, at any rate, that he had materially added to the dignity and prestige of the Kṣitigarbhas before the grant was issued: while the issue of a land grant itself shows a certain amount of independence enjoyed by Dantidurga.

Dantidurga must have required some time to achieve victory in many battles as is claimed in him in the present record, or at least to add to the dignity and prestige of the family, as is indicated by the assumption of additional, if not higher, titles. Hence, Dantidurga's career probably began sometime before 742 A.D. This would probably invalidate Dr. Altekar's supposition that Indra I married the Chalukya princess Bhavagānā in or after 725. When he very probably served in the campaign (against the Valabha kings) as one of the feudatories of the Chalukya king (Mañjalasā) 3. Another statement of Dr. Altekar that "Nanna Guṇavalokā, a younger brother of Indra I, was still alive in 792 A.D., as the Dantabābad plates show", 4 also needs correction, since it is nowhere told in the original record that Nanna was still alive at that date, though his son who issued the grant was then certainly living. Hence, the dates suggested for Dantidurga and his ancestors by Dr. Altekar have to be revised in the light of this record and the suggestions made above and we have perhaps to assign the following approximate dates to Dantidurga and his ancestors:

- Dantivarman (A.D. 613-40),
- Indra-Pṛthvīvārādhaka (640-63),
- Gōvindarāja (665-90),
- Karka I (690-715),
- Indra I (715-35).


---

3 Altekar, Rashtrakutas and Their Times, p. 32.
Consideration of the above facts would make it clear that the suggestion of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji about the identity of Karka I of Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates with the grandfather of Dantidurga is more probable than Dr. Altekar is disposed to agree. According to him, "the drawback in this theory is the necessity of assuming that Dhrūva, Govinda and Karka II were, all of them, the eldest sons of their parents." This is because he would assign later dates to the predecessors of Karka I, and would place Nannarāja in 793 A.D., when he probably did not exist. Thus the various branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family emanating from Karka I may be shown with their known dates as follows:—

Karka I.

- Dhrūva.
- Indra I.
- Kṛishṇa I.
- Nannarāja.
  758, 768 and 772 A.D.

Govinda.

- Dantidurga.
- Śaṅkarāgāṇa.
  742 and 754 A.D.
  793 A.D.

Karka II.

757 A.D.

As stated already, the palaeography shows a close similarity between the letters of this record and those of the Āntrōli-Chhārōli record of Karka II, which favours Dr. Bhagwanlal’s hypothesis. Dr. Altekar, however, tries to connect the line of Dantidurga with Nannarāja Yuddhāsura of Multāi and Tiwarkhād plates, which palaeographically differ from the present grant.

A verse in the Śāmanḍal plates possibly connects early activities of Dantidurga with the Mahā and the Rāvā as also with the Mahānādi. But this does not necessarily show that he was connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Berār. He might have led an expedition and gained a victory on the bank of the Mahānādi. As regards Dantidurga’s revolt against the Vallabha it is possible to hold that it did not take place till the death of Vikramāditya II who had bestowed on him the title Prithivirāvahā, while the accession of Kṛttivarman II in cira 747 A.D. probably gave an impetus to his desire to catch hold of the royal sceptre, which he did, according to the Daśāvatāra cave, Śāmanḍal and many other inscriptions, by means of daṇḍa or daṇḍabala. In view of this definite statement of the use of force, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Altekar’s suggestion that ‘the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor was brought about by strategem or treachery.’ The very fact that Kṛttivarman II was alive at least up to 757 A.D. shows that very probably there was no intrigue against him, but that he was defeated in a regular battle by Dantidurga, who had raised the standard of rebellion in consequence of the weakness of the central authority. Another fact that I should mention here is about the reading Sandhubhūpa found in l. 10 of the Daśāvatāra record, which Dr. Bhagwanlal reads as: daṇḍenayāra purāya Vallabha-balānī yaḥ Sandhubhūpa adhipam. According to Dr. Altekar, Sandhubhūpa "is obviously a mistake for Sindhubhūpa." But

1 Altekar, op. cit., p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 39.
3 Ibid., p. 30.
then, it would mean that Dantidurga conquered “the overlord of the kings of Sind”. The correct reading, so far as I can see from ink-stampages of the Daśāvatāra inscription, kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, is: daṇḍaśa-avasa jajaga Vallabha-nipāna (1) yaḥ sarva-bhūpādi-pam, etc., that is: “He conquered Vallabha, the king of all kings by means of force”. We may here note that Ballana “signifies king of kings”, according to Ibn Khuradab, Al-Idrisi, etc.¹ There is thus no question of Dantidurga conquering Sind according to this reading.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Badarikā whence this record was issued probably lies as indicated by the palaeography of the record, somewhere in southern Gujarāt, though an alternative that the writer who inscribed the record might have hailed from that region is not altogether barred out. Navasārikā is the famous Nauśāri (Baroda), while Elāpura² is the famous Ellora, where Dantidurga built the Daśāvatāra cave temple as can be inferred from his inscription found in that cave, and where his successor Krishna built the Kailāsa temple. As regards the Gubēśvara-tīrtha, which, according to this inscription, seems to be in Ellora, one may suggest that this Isvara of the cave (gūḍha) is none else but Tilēśviśvara of Ellora,³ one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. Chandanapuri is the same as the moksha Chandanapura; a small town on the Ghara river, three miles to the south-west of Malegaum, and about forty-five miles to the north-west of Ellora while Pippalālā is the same as the moksha Pimpal 12 miles south-east of Chandanapuri, and about 33 miles from Ellora. Since Pippala changes into Pimpal in Marāṭhi, there is little phonetic difficulty with regard to the equation Pippalālā=Pimpal. This geographical consideration therefore suggests that the Rāṣṭrakūta territory included at least the Aurangābād District and parts of Nashik and Khāñdesh Districts as early as 742 A. D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 एँ स्निति [1*] वदरिकावासकाकमधिगतप्तवस्माशुद्धम-  
2 हसाम्बालापनिराश्र्करात्योग्यातिकारीक-  
3 राजः[४*]तत्यदातरात्तवस्माशुद्धमपराश-  
4 हसाम्बालापनिराश्र्करात्योग्यातिकाराजस्वल, राजस्वलुकारी भेमामोघ-  
5 निरर (ववर)खशरविकारस्मुद्वः विकारतयाची द्वारिव सराब्राशा (श्री) -

¹ Elliot’s History of India, Vol. I, pp. 13, 75, 86, 88, etc. [To me the reading appears to be Vailabha[fr]auc. Is arasa here to be taken as the Kanarese form of rija as in Vitarasa (Vishnuma)?—Ed.]

² For the history of its name and the traditions connected with it vide A. S. W. L., Vol. V, p. 26, footnote. I may point out another tradition narrated in the Brahmaprāsa, Ch. 108 (Gautami-Māhāmya), according to which Hapa owes its name to king Ila. The story says that Ila changed his sex on entering the forest called Umāvana due to a curse of Siva and came to be known as Ilā. Wishing to regain her former sex Ilā worshipped Siva on the banks of the river Gautami (Gōdāvāri) in the forests of Danjaka. She succeeded and hence the town established there came to be known as Hapa. The tīrtha, according to Dr. Burgess, “was originally at the caves” (A. S. W. L., Vol. V, p. 4).

³ I owe this suggestion to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, as also the reading Elāpura.

Vide : विमण्डले तु केदार प्रयोगेन तु विवासवे ।  
स्त्रावराविकारस्मुद्वः समुपबोधे न अवमरेकर्यः ।  
वदे सहारातसुभाषेष्य प्रक्षारावम इत्यावदे ॥


* Expressed by a symbol.
6. चन्द्रमणकाल महाजपा, तोमरांसमयानां एवंमधुसूदनसमयानां
7. अथवादी: (यो) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
8. प्रीति(प्र) विवेकविद्वानांसमस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
9. सर्वत्र राजसम्बलिम्बिकाविधिपरिवर्तानांधुर्महत्त्वानि
10. धिकारिकारात(न*०) समाजपयत्रसू वा विद्वत् यथा सत्या एवं(ना)पुरः
11. अवश्यन्तन अमले जयराज्यादेशसू स्वस्थन पाद्व(नो) प्रजाः
12. या परग्रहणमहाजपयत्रसू भद्रकल च गुला वदनपुरिः
13. वृहत्यथा(वीर) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
14. ददाय तथा साहवात्तथा व[गो]विवेकविद्वानांसमस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति

Second Plate.
16. धिकारिकारात(न*०) समाजपयत्रसू वा विद्वत् यथा सत्या एवं(ना)पुरः
17. अवश्यन्तन अमले जयराज्यादेशसू स्वस्थन पाद्व(नो) प्रजाः
18. वृहत्यथा(वीर) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
19. अधिकारात(न*०) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
20. अधिकारात(न*०) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति
21. अधिकारात(न*०) समस्तिनिर्धारणमह्षवर्गमहासामान्तापंति

1. The epigraph 'aṇekā-chaitā-vṛddhanta-gaja-ghatā-āṭopa-samara-sangha-bhāsya-vijayā' is also found in the Khākhābāl plates of the time of Pratapaśś, edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (Sprim, Vol. XXII, p. 95). The letters being partly illegible, the editor has read them as: 'aṇekā-chaitā-vṛddhanta-gaja-ghatā'... [prāṣṭā*: vijayā'. In the Khākhābāl plates there is no room for so many syllables after ghatā. — Ed.] But the present record has a greater similarity with the Bagumārā grant of Nākumbhalaśakti Sēndraka (Prithivivallabha) than with the Khākhābāl plates. Cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 267. — Mirunādhara-vijara-sthira-ruchira-samāyukta vikasita-mahati yakṣa (vikasita-yakṣa mahati) Sēndraka-rājjan-anvayē naika-chānu(t)vṛddhanta-gaja-ghatā-āṭopa-samair(ār)saṁgha-bhāsya-vijayā, etc. (The reading cited here will be found slightly different from the one given by Buhler.) The writer of our inscription thus seems to have before him a Sēndraka record, which he blindly copied till he inscribed the words 'vikasita-yakṣa mahati sa', as if he had to write 'Sēndraka-rājjan-anvayē.' Immediately after he wrote 'sa', however, it seems to have dawned upon him that this deed belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭas and not to the Sēndrakes. So he inserted an obviously unnecessary word 'Indrārājān(jā)-nivāyē.' After stating that Dantudurga belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family and that he was a son of Indrārāja it was certainly not necessary to add that he was a member of Indrārāja's family.

2. The letter 'a' is incised below the line. It was evidently omitted at first by mistake and was supplied later on. The kākspada sign over the foregoing 'a' indicates the omission.

3. Bhūgopati is the same as Bhūgopāka, a governor of a bhūki.
No. 5.—BHIKSHUNIS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Here I am concerned to put together the evidences which Indian inscriptions bear to the existence of the Buddhist Bhikshuni order in India, and to examine how far they tally with the facts that may be gathered from literature and foreign travels.

It may be observed at the outset that the epithet bhikshuni (bhikshuni, bhikshuni) is nowhere employed in Indian inscriptions to denote a religious woman other than a Buddhist female mendicant, sister or nun as she is usually represented. In rare instances samāvāka or pannaṭikā is used as the epithet of a Buddhist nun.4 This is, however, not to deny that Indian inscriptions are wanting in references to the female members of the Jaina Order, although they are not called bhikshunis.5

The Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśoka go to prove that the Buddhist community was constituted in the 3rd century B.C., precisely as in the Buddha’s time, of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upāsakas, and upāsikās. The text of Aśoka’s ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṅgha fomented by bhikshus as well as bhikshunis (c chānu bhikṣhū vā bhikṣhunī vā saṅgho vah bhākhān). Thus the bhikshuni had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of unity or division in the Buddhist Fraternity.

The information about the bhikshunis which may be gathered from Aśoka’s edicts may be supplemented by the account of Saṅghamitra’s mission to Ceylon as met with in the Dipavāraṇa

---

2 Aśoka’s Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts; Lüders’ List, Nos. 175, 292, 341, 344, etc.
3 Lüders’ List, Nos. 163, 168, 183, 187, etc.
4 Lüders’ List, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.
5 Lüders’ List, Nos. 16, 18, 21, 23a, 24, 32, 39, 39a, 45a, 48, 50, 59a, 67, 70, 73, 76, 99, 199, 121.
6 Sārnāth Pillar Edict. Cf. also Saṅehi and Kauśāmbi Pillar Edicts.
and the Mahāvīra. The Dīpavamsa informs us that Asoka’s son and daughter, Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign. The renowned Dharmapāla was, according to the Mahāvīra, Saṅghamitrā’s preceptress (uṣajīvā), and Āyupallā her teacher (ācharyā). The brother and the sister, Bhikshu Mahendra and Bhikshuni Saṅghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like the sun and the moon. In about the 19th or 20th year of Asoka’s reign after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable bhikṣuṇīs went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa and taught the three Piṭakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikṣuṇī Order in the island of Lanka, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā. The Dīpavamsa immortalises the names of a few other bhikṣuṇīs who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon. The nunneries (bhikṣuṇi-pātaya) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of bhikṣuṇīs was known as the Upāsiṣṭa-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings. King Devānampiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunnery for Saṅghamitrā and other bhikṣuṇīs round about the Thūparāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthālihaka-vihāra.

The state of things which prevailed in India regarding the bhikṣuṇīs after the reign of Asoka, both before and during the Śunga-Mitra period, may be easily inferred from some of the donative inscriptions on the Sānchi Stūpa, the Bharhut Stūpa, and the Bodh-Gayā railings. These epigraphic records reveal the following facts concerning the Buddhist nuns, each of importance:

1. That the nuns are mentioned generally as bhikṣuṇīs or bhīchchhūṇīs, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as bhadantā, bhagavantā, aya (ārya) and bhadantaya, a fact which may not be unreasonably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks.

2. That there are instances where a senior nun had junior nuns as female pupils under her or a nun was a female pupil of a monk, but none where a monk was a pupil under a nun.

3. That the nuns, precisely as the monks, either received Buddhistic names at the time of initiation and ordination or were allowed to retain their quondam names, the names given by their parents or guardians.

4. That the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated: Ījēni (Ījāyanī), Kākandi, Kāchupatha (Kāncupatha, Kānchipatha ?).

---

1 Dīpavamsa (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22; Mahāvīra (ed. P. T. S.), V, 209.
2 Mahāvīra, V, 208.
3 Ibid., V, 211.
4 Dīpavamsa, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80; Mahāvīra, XIX, 64-65; Samantapassādikā, pt. I, p. 101.
5 Dīpavamsa, XVIII, 14-16.
6 Mahāvīra, XIX, 68-71.
7 Ibid., XIX, 82-83.
8 Barus, Bharhut, Bk. I, p. 45.
9 Lüders’ List, Nos. 573 (Dhamadevā, antēkāraṇī of Mitaśī), 589 (Mālā, antēkāraṇī of Gaḍā).
10 Ibid., No. 36.
11 Such names as Arahaṭṭi (ārahabhāṭa), Arahaṭṭa (ārahadhāṭa), Isidatta, Isidīna (īsikidattā), Isidatta, Gotami, Jīmattā (jīmattā), Dīgamgā, (Dīsongā), Dhamarakhita, Dhamasītī, Buddhakhīti, Saṅghapāliṭā.
12 Such names as Devabhāṭī, Chāṇḍā, Kāvi, Chintā (Śīrā), Yakṣī, Sāgarinī, Girigutā, Pusā (Pus padyā), Asabhā (āsabhā), Goḍā (Goṇḍā), Vāsava, Ratini, Sīrī, Sīhā, Suriya.

In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gaya railing Kuranjī is introduced as the elderly wife of King Indrāṇimitra; 2 while in all the fifteen shorter inscriptions on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as Ayā Kuranjī (Āryā Kuranjī). 3 Having regard to the fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet ārya or āyira (ārya) is applied to the name of a person who has attained Arhatship, it may be presumed that Kuranjī passed a retired life as a bhikshunī in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality. 4

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the bhikshunīs in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (bhikshunī-apasaya) in the town for the residence of the bhikshunīs of the Dharmottarīya sect. 5 So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the Bhikshunī Dhanavatī, the sister’s daughter of the Bhikshunī Buddhāmitrā, is said to have set up a Bōdhisattva image at Mādvuravanka (Māthuravanka). This bhikshunī is praised as one who knew the Tripītaka (Trepītakā) and introduced as the female pupil (antvāsini) of the Bhikshu Bala who himself was a master of the three Pitakas (Trepītaka). 6 It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the Bhikshu Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvaṇa and Sārnāth. At Amarañavatī, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of bhikshus, bhikshunīs, upāsakas and upāsi-kās. In all of them the bhikshunīs, otherwise called samāyikā and pravajit-kā, figure as female donors. 7 In one instance a bhikshunī, called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Chetiya-vandaka Bhadanta Budhi, 8 and in two records the bhikshunīs are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly thesas, Budharakhīṭā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakhīṭa, 9 and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budhārahikā. 10 One inscription speaks of Vasā (Vaṣyā) as a parajit-kā (pravrajitā) resident in Kevururā. 11

The continuance of the Bhikshunī Order at Mathurā up till the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era is clearly attested by the testimony of Fa-Hien and that of a Sanskrit inscription. In speaking of Māhu-la (Mathurā) Fa-Hien observes: “The bhikshunīs principally honour the tower of Ananda, because it was Ananda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders: śrāmāyeras mostly offer to Rāhula.” 12

---

1 Almost all the places were situated near about Sānchī and Bharhut.
2 Lüders’ List, Nos. 943, 944.
3 Ibid., Nos. 939-42.
5 Lüders’ List, No. 1152.
6 Ibid., No. 38.
7 Ibid., Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1315.
8 Ibid., No. 1223.
9 Ibid., No. 1250.
10 Ibid., No. 1284.
11 Ibid., No. 1240.
A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (=A.D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikṣuṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhāṭṭā at a monastery called Yaśovihāra.\footnote{Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 273-74.}

So far as our present knowledge goes, this is the latest epigraphic record having either mention of or any reference to the bhikṣuṇīs.

Huen Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavarman has nothing whatever to say about the bhikṣuṇīs in his Sī-yü-ki. But Bāṇa in his Harshacharita puts the following words in the mouth of Rājaśāri and Harshavarman, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikṣuṇī Order, however lingering it might be:

Rājaśāri: "Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe."\footnote{Harshacharita (ed. S. D. Gajendragadkar), p. 247: āṣaṁ kāśyāgraṅa-abhyasajñay-anugrihyatām. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 254.}

Harshavarman: "At the end, when I have accomplished my design, she and I will assume the red garments (kāśyāyīṃ) together."

Even apart from the evidence of Bāṇa’s Harshacharita it cannot be doubted that the Bhikṣuṇī Order continued to exist, in some form or another, in India, though not among all Buddhist sects. The continuance of this order is unmistakably proved by the following observation of I-tsing whose visit may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.:

"Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."\footnote{Ibid. (translation), p. 258.}

At about this time, or a little later, flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivratikā Kāmadakī among the female characters in his famous drama Mūlatī-Mādhava, together with her three female pupils, Avalokitētā, Buddhakarṣitā, and Saudāmīni, and Subandhu who, in his Vāsavadattā, spoke of a bhikṣuṇī as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (bhikṣukṣa-īṃ śārīra-sūkhā-rati-śānava-dhāriṇī). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śriyāvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (cīṁra-cīṁravā-paričchhada) and lived on pīṇḍapāta only.

Tatarkaragupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranaya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the bhikṣus, the bhikṣuṇīs, the śrāmaṇerás, the bhikṣuṇīśrāmaṇerás, the upāsakas and the upāsikās.\footnote{Takakusa, A Record of the Buddhist Practices, p. 80.}

I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmānical or Buddhist, containing references to the bhikṣuṇīs in the 9th or 10th century A.D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became defunct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.\footnote{Takakusa, A Record of the Buddhist Practices, p. 80.}

Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

\footnote{Quoted by Haraprasād Śastri in the Vangīya Śāhīga Parishes-Pātrikā, 1331 B. S., p. 62, from Tatarkaragupta’s Adikarna-racana: tatata upāsakā-upāsikā-śrāmaṇera-bhikhu-śrāmaṇerī-śikṣamāna-bhikṣuṇī-śrī-sepūnām śhrī-panorākṣā-dvātra-bhīkṣā-rati-śānava.}

\footnote{This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the Mahāyāna and the Chaṭṭhāvāna. These two Pāli chronicles (Mahāvīra, Ch. 18, v. 12; Ch. 19, v. 68; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 2, 49; Ch. 34, v. 36; Ch. 37, v. 43; Ch. 39, v. 43; Ch. 46, v. 27; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139; Ch. 49, v. 25; Ch. 54, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (bhikṣuṇī-veśasāya) in Ceylon from the time of Devāṃapīya Tissa to that of King Bhūmichanda (7th century A.D.) and nothing of the kind after that.}
No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Eriechhûva-devî shrine in the Siva temple, situated on the northern bank of the Tâmraparâsi at Ambasamudram, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tirunelvelly District. This god who is called Tirupôttudaiya-Bhaṭṭâra (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pâṇḍya kings Mârâṇâ-Jâdaïya and Sâdaïya-Mârâ are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only. But when the adjacent and more imposing Kâśi-Visvanâtha temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pâṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north prâkâra of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 16 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut Vaṭṭeluttu characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. Grantha letters have been used in the words Svasti Śri (l. 1), Sûrya-grahâya (l. 11), and Brahma (l. 12). The letters ta and ra and consequently tav and râ are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special orthographic peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chôla and Pâṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, ñâman (l. 2) for i-ñânâ; puhâva celi (l. 3) for patta-celi and nâl-um (l. 15) for nâlyum. The Sanskrit words ãhârya and ãrikârya are transformed into ãhãrêkhiya (l. 19) and srikârêkhiya (l. 22); the colloquial form seyya for seyda is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the 15-5th year of the Pâṇḍya king Sôla-ralai-koṇḍa Vira-Pâṇḍya, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer Chôlântaka-Brahmamârâya. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of the Pâṇḍya king’s reign, and enables us to fix that date.

From the inscriptions copied hitherto, it has not been possible to determine the exact years between which Vira-Pâṇḍya reigned. All that we know is that the Chôla king Parakâsiravarman Aditya-Karikâla II claims to have cut off the head of a Vira-Pâṇḍya, in the title Vira-Pâṇḍyan-ralai-koṇḍa assumed by him from the 2nd year of his reign, and that the highest regnal year so far found for Vira-Pâṇḍya is 15-5 or 20.

The predecessor of Râjarâja I (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chôla throne was Parakâsiravarman Uttama-Chôla, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70, and as he had a reign of about 16 years, he must have reigned from A.D. 969-70 to 985-98. As both Aditya II and Uttama-Chôla had the same title of Parakâsiravarman, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

---

1 No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.
2 Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.
4 No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15-4th year, while the present record quotes the 15-5th year.
between Rājakēsari Sundara-Chōla and Rājakēsari Rājāraja I. The Uḍaiyārgudi record1 dated in the 2nd year of Rājakēsarivarman (Rājāraja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōla, that he had himself coun tenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōla throne. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu2 plates while slurring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya’s death make, however, the significant remark that ‘ Rājāraja did not wish to succeed to the Chōla territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla coveted it’. These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōla’s actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 969-70.

The Leiden plates3 of Rājāraja I mention that while yet a boy, he (Āditya) played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion’s cub (does) with a rutting mad elephant, proud of (ite) strength while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates are more explicit in stating that ‘he killed the Pāṇḍya king (who must have been the same Vira-Pāṇḍya) in battle,’ and ‘having deposited in his (capital) town the lofty pillar of victory, (viz.), the head of the Pāṇḍya king, Āditya disappeared (from this world) with a desire to see heaven’. From these statements, we can infer that Āditya II had won his military spurs even during the reign of his father and that he did not live for a long time after his own independent victory over his Pāṇḍya adversary. Though the title talai-kōṇḍa assumed by kings, has, in some rare instances, been interpreted to connote a simple capture of the crown of their opponents, this specific statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates warrants the conclusion that Vira-Pāṇḍya literally lost his head, i.e., met his death, in his encounter with Āditya.5 The highest regnal year found for Vira-Pāṇḍya in the records so far copied is only 15–5, i.e., 20, and it was probably the last year of his reign. As the earliest year in which the title Vira-Pāṇḍiya-ralai-kōṇḍa is applied to Āditya is 2, we may assume that the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the 2nd year of Āditya’s reign.

Of Āditya’s father Rājakēsarivarman Sundara-Chōla, it is stated in the Leiden plates that he fought a fierce battle with his enemies at Śevvūr (Chēvūra), while the Kanyākumāri record mentions that the Pāṇḍya opponent of this king fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. The earliest record6 of Sundara-Chōla crediting him with this achievement in the title Pāṇḍiyana-chevūra-amirakkina is dated in his 7th year; and as he is considered to have reigned from about A.D. 956 to 973, this conflict with the Pāṇḍya king, who must have been Vira-Pāṇḍya himself, could have taken place only in about A.D. 964. It seems probable therefore that the Pāṇḍya king was then simply defeated and routed, that he actually lost his life in another subsequent near engagement in which Āditya distinguished himself, and that this signal victory gave Āditya the title of Vira-Pāṇḍiya-ralai-kōṇḍa, in common with the two feudatories Pārthi-vēndravarman7 and Bhūti-Vikramakēsarin8, who must have both helped him in this exploit.

1 No. 577 of 1920 and ante, Vol. XXI, p. 165.
4 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastrī: The Cēlas, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.
5 No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruvaiyaramur, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that ‘he destroyed Vira-
Pāṇḍya and took his head’ (Vira-Pāṇḍiyana erindu talai kōṇḍa).
7 No. 201 of 1908: ante, Vol. XII, p. 126.
9 No. 223 of 1915. Pārthi-vēndravarman’s identity with Āditya II himself or with Pārthihipati II seems doubtful.
10 No. 129 of 1907.
As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were:

(1) A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
(2) A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and
(3) A.D. 960, May 28 (Mithuna 5), Monday.

If the week-day on which the eclipse occurred or the sākṣatra which was current on that day had been specified in the present record, it would have been possible to verify the exact date referred to; but in their absence we shall have to select a plausible equivalent, only by a process of elimination.

If we suppose that A.D. 950 was the 12th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya’s reign, it would give A.D. 957 as his final year, and as this will have corresponded to the 2nd year of Ādiyta, the Chōla king’s date of accession would be A.D. 956. This would yield the inconsistent results that Ādiyta killed him in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A.D. 963; so this date of accession for Ādiyta is not possible. Similarly, A.D. 960 which would yield A.D. 967 as the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya and the 2nd year of Ādiyta and A.D. 966 as Ādiyta’s date of accession, may have also to be discarded, because in that case Ādiyta’s reign which extended to the 5th year would overlap into the reign of his successor Uttama-Chōla (accession A.D. 969-70), which is not possible, since, as stated already, Ādiyta II should have passed away before Uttama-Chōla could have succeeded him. On the other hand, if we take A.D. 959 as the 12th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya, his 20th year and Ādiyta’s 2nd year would have corresponded to A.D. 966, giving A.D. 964-5 as Ādiyta’s initial year. This date would satisfy the presumption that his fight with Vira-Pāṇḍya could have happened in about A.D. 966, which would be only a year later than the defeat of the Pāṇḍya ruler at Sundara-Chōla’s hands in about A.D. 964 before the 7th year of the latter’s reign, and that a five-year rule for Ādiyta II could also be accounted for between A.D. 965 and 969. These results may be tabulated thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vira-Pāṇḍya’s 12th year</th>
<th>Vira-Pāṇḍya’s 20th year = Ādiyta’s 2nd year</th>
<th>Ādiyta’s accession</th>
<th>Vira-Pāṇḍya’s accession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these three dates, No. 2 may therefore be considered as the best suited for the record under review, and it would yield A.D. 947 to 966 as the period of reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya. His position in the Pāṇḍyan genealogy may be taken to be between Rājāsimhā, who was defeated by Parāntaka I before A.D. 922, and Amarabhujanga, whom Rājarāja claims to have conquered. The Pāṇḍya king himself claims to have taken the head of a Chōla, as evidenced by the title Soln-balai-kondu assumed by him from the 6th year onwards (i.e., from A.D. 953-54). 1

1 As there is only one record of the 15th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.
2 Three records of Ādiyta II from Uḷaiyārugūli in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.
4 S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pāṇḍya king. We have no means of determining this at present.
5 No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.
this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vira-Pāṇḍya the Chōḷāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called 'Pomāḷigai-tuṇiṭa-dēva' (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the Kanakaśabha) ¹; but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (= A.D. 973) are found for him. Ariṇṭaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called 'Āṛgur-tuṇiṭa-dēva' (he who died at Āṛgur) ²; but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a pālippadai was erected for him at Melpādhī ³ in the Chittoor District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāṣṭradēva king Kriṣṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called 'Mērk-eṇḍaruṇiṭa-dēva' (he who proceeded west) ⁴, but he could not have been Vira-Pāṇḍya’s adversary, because, having probably succeeded as yuṛadāya-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśili, who is mentioned in two records ⁵ dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka’s reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village ⁶ and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

According to the calculation arrived at above, Vira-Pāṇḍya must have assumed the title of Sōḷaṇγ-balai-kōṇḍa from about A.D. 953-54; and this date coincides with the 46th or 47th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. Parāntaka’s records of the 46th year are only two in number and none of his 47th year has been discovered yet. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the last year of the Chōla king’s reign and that it was Parāntaka himself who had lost his life at the hands of Vira-Pāṇḍya, ⁷ thus giving the latter an opportunity to avenge the defeat and possibly the death of his father (?). Rājasimha at the Chōla king’s hands, some years earlier. It was left to Āḍitya II to follow up the family vendetta by killing Vira-Pāṇḍya in his turn in about A.D. 966. These conclusions appear to be warranted by the sequence of events that happened in the eventful half-a-century preceding the accession of Rājarāja I in A.D. 985. There is, however, one solitary Kannada record at Vanamaladinme in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, situated in the northernmost border of the Chōla dominion of the time, which quotes the 48th year of Parāntaka’s reign; and this has perhaps to be explained by supposing that the recent news of the death of the Chōla king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised. This need not surprise us, as such instances are not unknown in the history of this period.

As regards the subject-matter of the record, it is stated that in the 15th year of Sōḷaṇγ-balai-kōṇḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya, Chōḷāntaka-Brahmadārāyar, the officer of the king (adikāram-sēyakara) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 reli of land as kuḍiṇga-nērādānom ⁸

¹ That tribute ‘he who died in the Pomāḷigai’ has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla’s death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removal as certainly he must have had in Āḍitya II’s death?
³ No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.
⁴ Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in The Cōlaus, Vol. I, have been followed.
⁵ Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.
⁶ Uttamaśili-chaturvedimagalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśili-vāykkāl (No. 169 of 1907).
⁷ Vira-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vira-Pāṇḍya’s records are not found very much to the north of Madura.
⁸ In No. 122 of 1905 from Tiruppudaimarudur in the Tinnevelly District dated in the 22nd year of a Sōḷaṭa-Māran (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vira-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.
⁹ This record (No. 268 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—Madura-gonda Čō-Parākēsari nalavattēḻga.
made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra. had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription of the king dated in the 15th year at Suchindram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chōḷāntaka-Brahmārāya. Chōḷāntaka (Death to the Chōḷa) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chōḷa king (Śoḷan-rālaikōpya), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chōḷāntaka-Brahmārāya, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called Chōḷāntakan-nāḷi was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of Pāṇḍimārttāya, the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaḷaiya-Māra (Rājasinīha).

The names of the several revenue officials who were cognisant of the endowment made to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra are enumerated:

1. The officer who was supervising the king’s secretariat duties in the 12th year (eṇa-karnam-ārāčhe mēḷ-ēluttu śeykiḻgra) was Tamilavēḷai belonging to Kālandai community (?);
2. The ērī-nudal was Araiya Māṇābharaṇaṇ;
3. The oḷai-ēluttu was an officer, whose name is lost;
4. The vāyāḷēḷi was [Chū]jāman-kilavain of Mēyūr alias Kuralaiyaśīnganallūr in Aṇḍa-nādu; and
5. The bōjāra-pottaṭam was Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷai alias Kaṭṭinakkan Iranṭ of Velīyāṛūr in Kīl-Kuṇḍāru in Koḻuvūr-kūṟam.
6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullai-Korraṇ; and
7. The engraving of the record in the 15th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēva-Kiriṇaṇ, the śrikiṟyam of the temple.

From the surnames of two of these officers (Nos. 2 and 5), we can infer that there were Pāṇḍya princes having the names of Māṇābharaṇa and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya even before Vira-Pāṇḍya’s time. Another record of this king testifies to the existence before this period of another prince Sundara-Pāṇḍya, in whose name a shrine called Sundarapāṇḍyaśvaram was erected at Pallimadam in the Ramnad District.

The details of the scale of offerings, etc., that had to be provided for from the endowment registered in this document are given at some length:

For one day—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To god</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppōttudaiya-Dēvar</td>
<td>32 nāḷi of rice (for four offerings),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āṇṇa-bali</td>
<td>6 nāḷi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari-amudu</td>
<td>1 nāḷi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvēṇkaṭṭalilai-Dēvar</td>
<td>4 nāḷi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumūlattāṭutta-Dēvar</td>
<td>4 nāḷi,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Travancore Archeological Series, Vol. III, p. 71. An officer called Chōḷāntaka-Pullavarsaiyan alias Māṇā-Āchechaṇ of Pōlyūr is mentioned in another record from the same place (ibid., p. 72).
2 An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1932-3, para. 30; and No. 122 of 1303.
3 The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.
4 An officer of the name of Tennavan Tamilavēḷ figures in records of this king from Kilmāttur, Madura Distrcits (Nos. 624 and 626 of 1926), and he was probably identical with this officer.
5 No. 26 of 1895 from Tillaయయం (Tanjore District) mentions a Māṇābharaṇa in the 8th year of a Parakāśarvarman. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Māṇābharaṇa, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājaḍhiraja I in A.D. 1046.
6 No. 421 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
to god Gaṅgapatiyār. 2 nāţi: i.e., in all 49 nāţi of rice
or (its equivalent of) 1 kalam, 9 kurusu and 2 nāţi of paddy.

For one year—it will be

680 and odd kalam of paddy.

The land set apart for the several requirements of the temple were—

for the stipulated quantity of paddy...
for the āchārya Munnūṟuṟuṟu-Sēndar...
for the kusa(kk)-bāgāram Śōla-Vīra...
for eight men-servants (māsā)...
for ten men (vaśichār)... 1 ½ + ½ nēli,
for the sēkkāram (for 4 nāţi of rice per day)...
for the potter (kavaṇā)... ½ nēli,
for the firewood supplier (vīrapāḷiām)
for sweeping (tirumelakkuṟuṟuṟuṟum)...
for the washerman (trangollī)...
for festivals (tirukkāṟṟuṟum)...
and for the architect Meñakkha-ran-Sēndar who erected (?)
the temple, as pudukkuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟum...
in all—extents the land endowed was 10 nēli.

At the end it is stated that this arrangement was made by Chōlāntakādīavar.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, Iaṅgōykkudi was the ancient name of Ambāsāmudrum. It was a brahmādēya in Muḷiḷi-nāḍu. Raṇaśīṅga-mangalām, a village perhaps founded by or named after an unidentified Pāṇḍya king having the title of Raṇaśīṅga, was situated in the sub-division called Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkit, which was probably irrigated by the tank at Maṇalūr. Kuvalayāśiṅganallūr was in the sub-division called Aṇḍa-nāḍu which is represented by Periyakoṭṭai and its vicinity in the Madura District. The temple of Tirumūlandāṭhar referred to in this record is situated to the west of the Eriĉchāṉudaiyār temple at Ambāsāmudrum.

TEXT.

1 Svasī Sri [*] Śōla-(rai)-kōnda Kō-Vīra-Pāṇḍi[iyadēvarku] yānḍu pāṇpirandu
ivv-āṇḍu Mīran[i]-kāṇijjuṟu Śūrāyā

2 Muḷiḷi-nāṭtu brahmādēya Iaṅgōykkudi Tiruppōṭṭudaiyai-Bhāṭāra[r*x]kku i-[nhāṭṭu
Vaḷudī-ūr

3 āru-pāchchadal nāḷu pāṭiṟṟu nēli pa[i]-diṟṟu veliīm kuṭṭigaišiū kāṭ[a[n*x]mai-āḻavum Dēvaridu
mī

* Tirumelakkuṟuṟuṟuṟuṟum—this duty included sweeping, as well as smearing the temple premises with the purificatory cowdung.

* Trangollī is an interesting name for a washerman, 'he who takes off the wet from clothes'.

* Tirukkāṟṟuṟuṟuṟum is the provision made for the conduct of festivals in the temple.

* Pudukku means 'renovation'; but the architect is stated to have ēgyēn or erected (?) the shrine. As earlier records are found in the shrine, the shrine was perhaps begun earlier and completed only at the time of the record.

5 The expression 'Mājakkuḷakkīl Madurai' occurring elsewhere has been taken as 'Madurai to the east of Mājakkuḷam'. But from similar expressions—Vaḷur-kkuḷakkit Śṛkundadēvi-chaturvedimāṅgalam (No. 740 of 1919), Mājakkuḷakkīl Kōḍimāṅgalam, and Vīrapāḷiāma-kkuḷakkit Pulipuṟṟūr (No. 49 of 1890), we have to infer that no directional significance is indicated, but that the particular villages were included in the aya cut of the respective irrigation sources, which gave their name to the sub-divisions. In the Śṛnagūṭṭai plates also Raįjaśīṅha-kkuḷakkit is mentioned as the name of a territorial sub-division (Raįjaśīṅhakkakkit āuyktē rōshṭe)—S. J. I., Vol. III, p. 453.

* Probably ṭraḥanaṇṭi nāṟṟu.

* Probably maįṭṭeḻiṟgavum dēvā-. 

ṛratu Kaḍandaikūḍapīddi-tTanīlavēlaṅ-āyī[na] . . . . .

nāḍum Maṇalīr-kkulakk[i] Ṛṇaśaṅgamaṅgalat-t-p . . . . .

ʿa Araiyān Maṅabharanaṇa ēvi-[mu]d[al]-āgavum Ūḍaiyāṛṛu-nāṭtṛu . . . . . . .

m [ōlai-]eluttāgavum Āṇḍu-nāṭṭṛu Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr āyīṇa Mēyūr Tiruppattūr .

[']āmaṇi-k[i]vaveṇ[va] ṛ(y)*kēl[vi]-āgavum Koḷuva[k]-kkūṛattu Kīl-Kuṇḍāṛu Velīyāṛṛu Vīk[kira]-mapāṇḍiyā-Mūvēndā-

[vaḷḷaṅ-āyīna Kāṭṭinakkan Iraṇaḥ]n banḍāra-ppottagaṁ-āgavum Ilaṅgōykkūḍi Tiruppottuda[ya] [Pa]ramēṣu[ra]-Paḍārār kōyilil iruṇdu

[pāṇiṭīnd-dān]u Mithuna-āyīṛru Sūrya-grahapatti[nāṃṛu]3 ivv-āṇḍiṅ edirāṇḍu-mudal kuṭiṅgā-ṭṭev[va]ṭa[m]aṅg-āṇa[ma]*-ágā kuṇuttom [*] tāṅga-

[jum]* idu kaṇḍu pāṛpaṭtu-kkuḍukka ['] Pullāṅ-Korgan eluttu [*] enṛa i-ttirumappaḍī koṇḍu adikāra-[s]e[ya]ṅka ḍhōḷāntaka-[bra]hmanāṛṛyār i-ppadir-

ṛu vēliyaiy nivandam aḍaichchapaḍi kalmēl eluttu veṭṭuṇa enṛu padiṅ-aṇjām yāṇḍiṇ edirāṅām yāṇḍu śṛṅkaṅya[ma]* peṛṛa Ba-

. . . maṇanakku amacchu i-tTirupppotuda[iya]-Dāvarkku śṛṅkaṅya Dēvaṅ-Kiṃaṅg soḷla kalmē[*] eluttu veṭṭiṇapaḍī [*] Tiru-

ppotuda[iya]-Dāvarkku nāṅgu-pōdaikku ari[i]* muppattiru-nāḷiṇum aṅṇa-balikku ariśi aru-

nāḷiṇi karī-amidukku aru-

[']i nāḷiṇ Tiruvēṅkaṭanila-[t]ēvāṛku nisadi ariśi nā-nāḷihum Tirumulatṭaṅattu-

tēvāṛku nisadi ariśi nā-nā-

[i]jum Gaṅavatiyāṛku ariśi iru-nāḷiṇu ē[r]īri nisadi ari[i]* nāṛpatt-onpadi-nāḷiṇum āga o² . . . .

. . . . . . . kku nel-kaḷaṅēy onbadin-kuruṇi iru-nāḷiṛy=ūrī ṛaṅṭṭaṅku nel a[runū]ṭṛu-

eṛbat-te⁶ . . . . .

'yeṭṭu mā-kaṅiṅyum āḥchērcheiyan Muṇṇāṛtruvan-Sēṇaṅkuku nilaṅ arai[ium] [*] kaṇakka-

banḍāraṁ śṛṅkaṅya Śolai-Vīru . . . . . periyāṅkuṇku nilaṅ arai[ium] [m][m]* [mā]-


21 kal[ṇ]-udaiya mā=ṇaṁlum [*] Dēvar paduvāram ēḥḷ-ṛṛgṛ uvaichchagal[ṇ]kkum puḍavai-

mudal-āgavum [*] aṛu-kūṛum etṭu-maan[ṇ]kkum puḍavai-mudal-āgavum [*] uvaich[cha]-

1 This expression is not understood. Can it be ūri[ju] poṛ? 
2 The full name probably is Chīḷāṃṇaṇi. 
3 An alternative reading is "atr[ṛ]ṇa pōṭu". 
4 This was read on the stone. 
5 The missing letters are probably "ru nālīṭe.[a]ni. 
6 There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the annual requirements. 
7 Between lines 18 and 19 are visible the syllables Sṛasti ēṛi apparently belonging to another record, which apparently had been erased so as to make room for the present inscription. 
8 This word is written over an erasure.
22 Gaṇapati Kumāraṇī mulad pattiḻukku nilam ogre-kāl [*] śriṣṭī[r*]chchiyam ärāīvāṅukku niyadam arisi nā-gāḻiyiṅāl nilam ēḷu-mā [ * ] kuśavaṅukku ni-

23 lam irāṇḍu-mā [ * ] virakiduvāṅukku nilam-irāṇḍu-mā [ * ] tirumēḻukkuppurā[m*] nilam-


24 laṅ vēli [ * ] pudukuppira[m*] i-tittirukkalai sēyēsā āchāriyā MānābharāṇāŚendaṅukku

nilan kālum āga nilan padiruru-vē-

25 liyum chandir-ādittavaḷan chelvadāga vaittār Chōḻaṅtakadēvar [ * * ] Idu paṇ-Māhēśvarar

rakshai [ * * ]

No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Śalāṅkāyana-Mahārāja, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, Andhra-Patrikā, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia office.¹ The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called KANTERU in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vēgi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at KANTERU, one is a charter of Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of Mahārāja Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vēgi copper-plates belong to the Śalāṅkāyana-Mahārāja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society² as well as in the Telugu monthly Bhāratī for Raktākshin, Srāvaṇa (1924) in which the genealogy of the Śalāṅkāyanas is discussed at some length. The two KANTERU plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society³ but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prākrit Plates of Vijaya-

Dēvavarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the KANTERU plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

While editing the two sets of KANTERU plates in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society Mr. Lakshmana Rao who was the first to examine the plates, with seal, assigned the seal of the present grant to the set of king Vijaya-Nandivarman instead of to that of Vijaya-Skandavarman as noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1924-25. This raised a doubt about the correctness of the description given in the Annual Report and to clear it and make a comparative study of the known seals of the family, I obtained on loan, through the kind

¹ Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1924-25.
² Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. An indistinct plate of the seal of the present record is published here. But see foot-note 1, p. 43, below.
offices of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, the original plates with seal of the two Kantĕru sets as well as the Ellore Prākrit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavaram from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. On examination I found that the seal attached to the plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman bore the distinct figure of a couchant bull with a partially indistinct legend which, as stated below, indisputably mentions Mahâraja Skanda[varman]. Hence the description given by Mr. Lakshmana Rao has to be revised since the legend conclusively proves that the seal belonged to Vijaya-Skandavarman and not to Vijaya-Nandivarman. It may be observed here that the seal of Nandivarman of the Kantĕru plates though badly worn out can be made out to represent a couchant bull with a seated figure at the top which looks like Siva wearing a crown and with four (?) arms, while the figure on the seal of the Ellore Prākrit plates looks like a tiger or lion. The wavy line representing the clouds which is prominently visible in the present grant is partially seen below the bull in the seal of the Kantĕru plates of Nandivarman described above.

The subjoined grant consists of four thin copper-plates strung together on a ring of the same metal passing through a narrow hole at the proper right margin of the plates. To the ring is firmly attached a circular copper seal with the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right cut in relief on its slightly concave face. At the top of the bull is seen what looks like a Linga sheltered by a triple-fooled serpent, with an aṅkara-like object to the proper left and a lamp-stand and a fly-whisk (?) to the proper right. Below the bull is a wavy line which may be taken to represent a cloud line as is conventionally done in sculptures and paintings. In the right portion of the seal along the fringe are some worn-out letters in relief of which the syllables Mahârajâja [Śkanda] can be made out. The plates are damaged on account of age and the first line at the top of the second plate has broken away. Also some small holes are found on the plates owing to the corrosion of the metal. The plates measure 5 1/2 inches long and 1 1/2 inches broad. The hole through which the ring passes has a diameter of 1/4 inch and the diameter of the ring holding the plates is 2 inches. The diameter of the seal is also 2 inches. The plates with ring and seal together weigh 36 1/2 tolas. They are now purchased and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

The alphabet belongs to an archaic variety of the Kanarese and Telugu script prevalent in the east between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. In general appearance, it resembles the one found in the Ellore Prākrit plates and the Ongōdu grant of Skandavarman II and is more archaic than the writing of the three grants of Sīhavarmāṇ. The following are a few noteworthy points in the palaeography of the record: (1) there is no loop to distinguish t from n which is generally found in the three grants of Sīhavarmāṇ, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman II and the Vishpukundin charters. As in the Hirāhadagalii and Ellore Prākrit plates the t is distinguished from n by a slight curve at the right; cf. pādāṇudhyātaya (l. 2), oṇupālat (l. 15), tāṇyeva (ll. 18 f.), etc. The Kantĕru plates of Nandivarman, however, mark the loop both for t and n without distinction. As first members of a consonant group, both t and n of the present grant look the same as in the Hirāhadagalii and Ellore plates, see for instance, dattā (l. 15) and mantā (l. 18). (2) The exceptionally looped archaia y from which the one with a small circle or curve at

---

1 Mr. R. Subba Rao who has published an indistinct print of this seal along with his article on the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., follows Mr. Rao and wrongly considers the seal as that of Nandivarman of the Kantĕru plates.

2 Except the syllables mahā and the bull and the line beneath it nothing else, including the name of the king, is visible in the photograph of the seal.—Ed.

3 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff.

4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

5 Prikra (above, Vol. VIII, p. 159), Uruvupalli (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 50) and Māṅgaḻūr (ibid., p. 154) grante.

the left is apparently derived is found here alongside the unlooped linear ꞌ as in the plate of Vijaya-Dēvavarman; cf. Śālaṅkāyana (l. 3), Śivārya (l. 8), moryāsāy (l. 10), viṣhaya (l. 12) and sa Grove (l. 7), taṭavāmpa (l. 8), niṣudāyorukta (l. 11). The plates are numbered like the pages of a modern book with the numerical symbols for 2 to 6 on the left margin, the first side of the first plate being marked with the symbol for dūn as in the Ellore plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman. The numerals 1, 2, and 3 appear also in the three grants of Śīrājāvarman where they indicate a definitely later development in their shape. In the present set, each engraved side contains three lines of writing except that the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the latter having four lines.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose with two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end. The language is simple and business-like and the formula or the draft of the preamble, e.g., the passage Mahārāja-śri-Vijaya-Śkandavarmano vacanēna Kudrāhāra-Chintapuraśaṇāya vahetvā Kudrāhāra (l. 3-5), resembles closely that employed in the Ellore Prākrit plates of Dēvavarman and the Maṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmodaravarman belonging to the period of traditional Prākrit, as well as the one found in the Ōki grant of Vijaya-Śkandavarman II and the Uruvupalli grant of Yuvā-Mahārāja Vishṇugūpaśarman which are assigned to the time of the earliest Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. The inscription is dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the first year (in words, ll. 13 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Śkandavarman (l. 3 f.) who issued this grant from Vēṇgi (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Chintapura in the district of Kudrāhāra (l. 4-5). The donee was one Śivārya of the Maudgalya-gōra, a resident of the village Lēkumāri (l. 7-8), who received the village (i.e., Chintapura) exempt from all imposts (l. 8-9). The king is described as the Śaṅkāyana, the meditator on the feet of the holy Chitraraṇagūṇa and one devoted to the feet of Bappabhaṭṭāraka. He does not bear the epithet either Parama-Mahēśvara borne by Dēvavarman or Parama-Bhāgavata assumed by Nandivarman of the Kāntēru, Kollēru and Peddā-Vēgi plates.

Of the five copper-plate records of the Śaṅkāyana family known so far, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman alone give the genealogy for four generations as follows:—Hastivarman-Mahārāja, his son Nandivarman-Mahārāja, his son Chandavarman-Mahārāja and his eldest son Mahārāja Nandivarman II, Parama-Bhāgavata. Since the aṃṛṭi in these as well as in the Kollēru plates is the same person Mūlakura-bhōjaka, the two Nandivarmanas might be identical with each other. Now, Nandivarman of the Kāntēru plates (Set II) may, from the likeness of names, be identified with either Nandivarman I or Nandivarman II of the above genealogy, preferably with the former, since the script employed in his charter is more angular and antique than the one found in the Pedda-Vēgi and Kollēru plates, which is rounded and more developed. Vaiśeṣyaka Hastivarman mentioned in the Allahābad pillar inscription as the contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A.D.) might be Hastivarman, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II mentioned above. He must have been preceded by Vijaya-Dēvavarman.

---

1 Other instances bearing numerical symbols on the margin of plates are: (1) The British Museum plates of Chārudēvi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) of which i i and i 2 are marked by 2 and 3 like the pages of a book. (2) The Ellore Prākrit plates (cit., Vol. IX, p. 56), and (3) the Maṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmodaravarman (cit., Vol. XVII, p. 327).

2 Text, lines 6-8.

3 Text, lines 3 and 4.

4 Text, lines 8-10.

5 Text, lines 16-17.

6 [See f. n. 5 on p. 46.—Ed.]


whose grant is worded in Prakrit since the inscription of Samudragupta whose contemporary Hastivarman was, is couched in chaste classical Sanskrit. From the similarity of script and phraseology adopted in the present grant with those found in the Prakrit plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman and the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II as well as the Uru-vupalli grant of Sinhavarman II, it may safely be said that Vijaya-Skandavarman of the present record flourished close after Vijaya-Dēvavarman and some time during the period of the above-mentioned Pallava Sanskrit charters, and was evidently a predecessor or an elder contemporary of Hastivarman. The arrangement of the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy given in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25 which follows the one worked out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is not tenable since Vijaya-Nandivarman (correctly Vijaya-Skandavarman) and Yuva-mahārāja Buddhavarman of the so-called Elliot’s unpublished grant accommodated in it, do not belong to the Śālaṅkāyana family.

The territory of the Śālaṅkāyanas consisted of Kudrāhāra-viṣaya and Vēṅgi which lay to the north of the Krishṇa river. We know from the Mayidavolu plates that Dhanaṅkaḍa was included in the kingdom of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The two Ōṅgōḍu grants of Skandavarman II and Sinhavarman respectively and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāra-Viṣṇu mention Kammarāśṭra in which some lands were granted, while according to the Māṅgaḍur grant of Sinhavarman, the Pallava territory contained a division called Vēṅgorāśṭra. It is quite likely that during the time of Svaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu plates also, the Andhrā-patha comprised the two divisions Vēṅgorāśṭra and Kammarāśṭra. If Vēṅgorāśṭra is identical with the Vēṅgi-viṣaya of later inscriptions, the Pallava territory would, then, include the modern districts of Kistna, Guntur and Nellore, while the country to the north of the Krishṇa was for some time at least ruled by the Śālaṅkāyanas. The fact that Vijaya-Dēvavarman calls himself the performer of a horse-sacrifice points to his having raised himself to the status of an independent monarch after overcoming all his enemies among whom the Pallava must have been included. The rebellion of the Śālaṅkāyana king against the Pallava overlord appears to have synchronised with the rise of Kadamba Mayūrašarman in the vicinity of Śrīśailam and his carving out a semi-independent kingdom at Vaijayanti in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

Among the places mentioned in the record, Vēṅgi is generally identified with Pedda-Vēṅgi near Ellore; Kudrāhāra which is probably the same as Kudurahāra of the Koṇḍamudi plates.

---

1 [As the paleography of the present plates of Skandavarman closely resembles that of the Pedda-Vēṅgi plates of Nandivarman II, Mr. Panchamukhi’s arguments, mainly based on paleography, for placing Skandavarman long before Nandivarman cannot be accepted as certain. Until more reliable evidence can be found, it will not be possible to determine the position of Skandavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana family. (See also Mr. D. C. Sircar’s ‘Successors of the Śatavāhanas’, pp. 59-60, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI.—Ed.)]

2 While editing the Kollecu plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175), Fleet considered it as a Śālaṅkāyana grant. But subsequently he edited it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 100, where he corrected his first mistake by stating that Vijaya-Buddhavarman was a Pallava king and had, therefore, 'no genealogical connection with Vijaya-Nandivarman of the Vēṅgi grant (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 175) who was of the Śālaṅkāyana goṭra'. The grant has since been published in this Journal (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) by Dr. Hultsch under the caption “The British Museum Plates of Chāṛudēvī”. Dr. Dubreuil and the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao have, without noticing the subsequent corrections, followed Fleet’s original suggestion (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 89; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 27) and this mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. M. S. Sarma (*Bhārali for Raktākṣha, Śrāvaṇa*, Mr. R. Gopal’s *Pallavas of Kānchi*, p. 74) and Mr. K. R. Subrahmaniam (*Buddhist Remains of Andhradēkas and Andhra History*, p. 89, f. n. 4 and p. 91). Mr. Sarma’s placing Hastivarman before Vijaya-Dēvavarman, it may be observed, cannot be accepted since the latter, as stated above, lived during the period when Prakrit was the documentary language before Sanskrit began to be used in inscriptions.

3 Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.
of Jayavarman⁴ was the name of the district with its headquarters at Kudūra mentioned in the same plates and in the Amarāvatī Buddhist sculpture inscription.² The district was apparently named after Kudūra the modern Kudūr in the Bandar taluk of the Kistna District; Chintapurapura may be identified with Chinnāpuram in the Bandar taluk and Lēkumārī with Lōkamuḍi in the Kaikalur taluk of the same district.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 लक्ष्मी (कान्ति) [II*] विजयवेल्या [I*] भगवद्विचारयापारमः
2 पादानुमा वस्थ बस्माद्यारकारबमः
3 कुञ्ज शालाक्षलयनख्य महाराजा विजया

Second Plate; First Side.

4 स्तन्वयायश जविन्म कुडासा (क्रिया) रविन्मपूरे
5 प्रामियका: वक्ता: चक्षुस्माधि [चर−]
6 लक्ष्मीजयोभवोभव [एनाम]

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 भोजवस्तोज्य [ले] कुमारीपांमवा
8 श्रवाय शिवायर्य सर्वपरि[वा] रणा
9 सा पश्चिमा दता [I*] [तत्तदिवसा भवनि: पूव−

Third Plate; First Side.

10 महोद्या साधु प्रेमशा (प्रेणा) कर्तव्याधिति [I*]
11 चविच स [च] नयोगमनयुक्तायुक्तः
12 विधयपारित्मार्न: सा पश्चिमा परिश्रा (द) सम्बा [I*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

13 प्रवर्दय [भान] श्रीविजय [रा] थमस्वर [र] प्र−
14 धम्म वैश्वतपो [क्ष] भास्यां दता पश्चिमा [II*]

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.
² Lüders' List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, No. 1295.
⁴ From ink-impressions.
⁵ The letters enclosed within the brackets are partly preserved but they can be made out with certainty on the original. [I am not able to read the syllables Kudrā in the impression.—Ed.]
⁶ The letter ra is very much worn out.
Seal.

(From a photograph).
15 बहुभिष्यता दसा बहुभिष्यातुपालिता \[^{*}\]

*Fourth Plate.*

16 यदि यदि \[यदि भूमि\]सङ्क तथ न\[दा\]

17 फलम् \[^{*}\] वर्त्ते वर्षभिषानि ष्ठमें कौड़.

18 नि भूसिदम् \[^{*}\] भाषीया चानुभन्ना च तामः

19 \[व नरसे\] वसित् \[^{*}\]

**TRANSLATION.**

(Lines 1-5) Hail! From the victorious (city of) वौंगि by the word \[(o)\ command\] of the illustrious शालंकयना, a शालंकयना, a meditator on the feet of god चित्ररात्रास्वामिन one devoted to the feet of बाप्पा-भाट्टारका \(i.e., \) father\), the villagers of चिन्तपुरा in कुड़हारा should be informed thus:

(L. 5-9) That small village \(\text{पल्लिका, i.e., Chintapura}\) has been granted by Us to this\(^1\) शिवर्या of the \(\text{मौदुगला-गोत्र, a resident of the village लकुमारी, free from all}\) imposes, for the increase of the prosperity and fame of our family \(\text{kula}\) and clan \(\text{gōtṛa}\).

(L. 9-12) Knowing this, you should behave well \(\text{with the donee}\) with affection as hitherto \(\text{पूर्व-मार्यादायी}\). Further, that village should be exempted \(\text{from impose}\) by all the presiding officers appointed to carry out \(\text{Our}\) command, agents \(\text{āyu{k}taka}\) and heads of districts.

(L. 13-14) The \(\text{copper-plate}\) charter\(^2\) was issued on the \(\text{full-moon day of Vaiśākhā in the first year of Our ever-increasing, illustrious and victorious reign.}\)

(L. 15-19) [Two imprecatory verses are cited here.]

---

**NO. 8.—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.**

**BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHMACCHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.**

**NIBINṆĀ AND NIVINṆĀ.**

In the Nibinnā charter of Mahā-Śivagupta edited by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar,\(^3\) the name of the gift village is given in two different forms, \(i.e., \) (i) निबिन्ध in I. 5 and (ii) निबिन्ना in I. 17 of the text.\(^4\) It is thus evident that even at the time of the charter the name of the village was spelt in two different ways. Though there is no special necessity for it, Mr. Mazumdar reads \(b\) where the original contained only \(v\), both \(v\) and \(b\) being indicated in this record only by the sign for \(v\). Consequently the place might also be called Niviṇḍā or Nivinnā. It was attached to the गनुषपता-माण्डला of the कृषान-देशा \(\text{text, I. 4 f.}\). We are now confronted with a possibility of this village being identical with the village Nivinā the gift of which is recorded in the Nivinā grant of the Śailodbhava king धर्मराजदेवa published by Dr. N. P.

---

\(^1\) The donee had evidently been introduced to the royal presence at the time of the grant. Cf. \(\text{class...}\)

\(^2\) The word \(\text{प्रेषि}t\) is used in this sense in other \(\text{copper-plate grants of this early period, viz., the Hiraḥadgallī plates\(\text{text, I. 51}\), Mayidavūlī plates \(\text{text, I. 28}\), Kondamudi plates \(\text{text, I. 40}\), Matṭepāṭi plates \(\text{text, I. 14}\), and Kōḍagere plates of Kadamba Śiva-Śivabhūtīvarman \(\text{text, I. 18, above, Vol. VI, p. 14}\).}

\(^3\) Above, Vol. XI, p. 95.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 96.
Chakravarti.\(^1\) In the latter record Nivinā is stated to be attached to the Khidinagara-viśaya. But it is likely that this village which was originally attached to this viśaya in Dharmarāja's reign was later on included in the Kōsala-dēśa. Khidinagara has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Khidisingi and Nivinā with Nimina\(^2\) in the Kudala taluk of the Gañjām District. I think that Ganuṭapāṭa-maṇḍala or Ganuḍapāṭi-maṇḍala in which Nibinā or Nivina of the other charter was situated is identical with Gvṛṭhapaṭi, a Zamindari village of the same taluk. Moreover, since the Sonepur Feudatory State attached to the district of Sambalpur is a part of the Chhatisgarh division which roughly corresponds to the ancient (Southern) Kōsala-dēśa in which Nibinā or Nivinā (with its variant names) lay and the Gañjām District in which the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja was found is adjacent to that tract, the possibility of the identity of both the villages is strengthened. This is also confirmed by the form of the name Nivinā in which it occurs in the latter grant.

If the suggested identity could be granted it follows that the gift village Nivinā changed ownership in the interval between the reigns of Dharmarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta and that the latter monarch granted it afresh to a Brāhmaṇ of a different family from the original donee's.

Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra suggests the identification of the village Nibinā with Nimna about 15 miles south-east of Binka, a town in the Sonepur State. This is not altogether impossible though we can take it only as an alternative. In this case the headquarters of the Ganuṭapāṭa-maṇḍala in which the village was located must be identified with the modern Gaṇṭapāra on the right bank of the river Tēl one of the tributaries of the Mahānadi in the Bānd State. (Vide Imp. Gaz. Atlas, 1909, Plate 29, A 4.)

**URUVUPALLI.**

In the Uruvupalli grant of Pallava Yuvarāja Viṣṇu-gōpa issued in the reign of Sīhhatvarman (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 50 f.) the boundaries of the 200 niṣātan vac of land actually given are enumerated in detail very much in the style of the Brādi copper-plates of a later period. Among these boundaries occur the names of the villages Kāṇḍukūrā, Kurupūra, and Koṇḍamuruṣuṭu and the river Suprayōgā. The grant was intended for the benefit of the Viṣṇu-hāra temple founded by the Sēṅgapati Viśṇu-varman at Kāṇḍukūra. So it is evident that we have to look for the villages mentioned in the grant in the vicinity of modern Kandukurū in the Nellore District. A reference to the taluk map shows that Uruvupalli must be identical with Ulavapāḍu which lies east-south-east of Kandukurū. Of the other villages, Kurupūra would correspond to modern Kared alias Kuruvaḍe in the eastern direction of Kandukurū, and Koṇḍamuruṣuṭu would be the modern Koṇḍamuruṭupāḍu due south of Kandukurū. Since the lands are stated to lie adjacent to those of Kāṇḍukūra, the river Suprayōgā which lay to the south of the gift-lands would be identical with the modern Mānārū flowing in a north-easterly direction between Kandukurū and Ulavapāḍu. Ulavapāḍu is a station on the Madras-Calcutta line of the M. & S. M. Railway.

**VIRIPARA.**

This village in Andhrāpatha (i.e. the Telugu country) the grant of which is recorded in the Prākrit Mayidavālu plates of Śivaskandavarman cannot be identified by Dr. Hultzsch. He, however, rightly suggests that it must have been situated near Amarāvati, (formerly Kistna now)

---

\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

\(^2\) The List of Villages gives the name as Nimina. There are two villages of this name one in the Kallikota and the other in the Athagada Zamindari of the Gañjām District. The district Map shows also a third Nimina village on the bank of the Mahānadi canal in the Aska taluk.
Guntur District. The plates were found in a pāḍa (old village site) near Mayindavolu, a village in the Narasarasopet taluk. There can be the least doubt that the gift village Viripara is identical with the modern Vippur in the same taluk situated at about 8 miles west-north-west of Narasarasopet. It is to be noticed that the village possesses not only some pre-historic remains like dolmens, etc., which prove its great antiquity but also that an inscription of the early Eastern Chalukya king Sakalalokāśraya Jayasimha-Vallabha and another of Vishnuvardhana Vijayarāditya dated in Ś. 996 (=A.D. 1074) have been found here. In the former the village is called Vippari and in the latter Viripar. In still later times it was called Vippur. These facts go to prove definitely that the village mentioned in the copper-plates must be identical with Vippur.

**Dattānuyōga and the village Kōḷāla.**

In his article on ‘Two Kadamba Grants’ (above, Vol. VI, p. 15, n. 6) the expression Dattānuyōga is rendered by Prof. Kielhorn in the sense of an āchārya (anuvāya-krit). From the context we must expect the term to refer to a concrete or proper attribute of the donee Dēvasarman and not to a general attribute, viz., an āchārya, especially as the expression occurs between his gōtra and his ākākhā. We should therefore naturally expect in the middle of these two epithets a reference to the donee’s school of philosophy. We know that Datta is the name of an Upanishad, and the donee must have been a student or professor of that Upanishad. Dattakasūtras are mentioned in Western Gāṅga copper-plates.

The land gifted was in the village of Kōḷāla as read by Kielhorn. It might be read as Kōḷāla also in which case there can be no objection to our identifying it with Kōḷāla, the Kōḷālapura or Kuvajalapura of the Gāṅga inscriptions and identified with the modern Kolar.

**Śempoṇmāri.**

In his article on the Šendalai pillar inscriptions (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.) Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer notices the mention of Śempoṇmāri as one of the places where king Perumbidugu Muttrairāyan gained his victories. Regarding the identification of the village Mr. Aiyer suggested that it was probably situated in the Pudukkōṭai State. I would identify it with the village Šempoṇmāri of the Tiruvadanai taluk of the Ramnad District. The present village is divided into two units one called Kīl-Śempoṇmāri and the other Mēl-Śempoṇmāri.

**Tāmbāpa-sthāna.**

This is the place from which the Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman issued the Ōṅgōdu grant (above, Vol. XV, pp. 250, 251, etc.). This can very well be Dāmaramadugu in the Kovur taluk, Nellore District. Madugu represents a pond and Tāmbāpa might be the modern corrupt Dāmaramadugu. This lies in the ancient Pallava country and is not very far from Vavvēru where the Vilavaṭṭi grant of Sinhavarman of this family was recently discovered.

---

1 Above, Vol. VI, p. 85.
2 Ibid., p. 84.
4 S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 584 to 586.
5 Ibid., No. 588.
6 [This argument is not convincing to me. The full name of the Upanishad is Dattātṛīṛga. Moreover, Datta or Dattātṛīṛga being a minor Upanishad it is doubtful if proficiency in it should be regarded as a high distinction. I also do not know of any other inscriptions where a donee is mentioned as a student or a professor of a particular Upanishad alone. After gōtra usually comes the pravara of the donee which is not specified in the present record. Can the expression under consideration not simply mean ‘who is given to meditation’ (anuvāya)? It may also be pointed out that the Dattaka-sūtra occurring in the Western Gāṅga copper-plates has been taken to be a work on erotics—see J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 183 ff.—Ed.]
7 See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296 ff.
This copper-plate, edited here for the first time, was unearthed at Nālandā in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1 near the copper-plate of Dēvapāla. In 1935 it was transferred to the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present housed. A preliminary note on it was published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri and it is also summarized by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India.

The copper-plate measures 10½" x 9" and weighs 45 tolas. No seal was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken. The inscription is neatly engraved and runs to 12 lines, but owing to the much damaged condition of the plate large portions, including nearly the whole of l. 7, have either broken away or are utterly obliterated. The whole of the text, however, can be restored by a reference to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta except the place-names and the adjectives of the donee.

The palaeography of the inscription shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records, with the exception of y, which is bipartite in the present record. s is of the looped or so-called eastern variety, but σī is unlooped. H is of the same type as appears on the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and presents a contrast to the form that we come across in the central and western records of the age. The average length of letters is ½ inch. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the upadhmāna in such cases as utparama-prama (l. 4) and ch-vaidik-prabhiti (l. 8), the doubling of consonants in anncca (l. 1, etc.), mēdh-āvartur-umahārāja (l. 3), duhktrasya (l. 4), utraividyā (l. 8 and 9), etc. Another feature, remarkable for the Gupta period, is the indiscriminate use of b and r, as exemplified in viditaṁ bō for viditaṁ vō (l. 6), sambat for samvat (l. 10) and mahā-valabhikyita for mahābālābhikyita (l. 11).

The inscription records the grant of two villages to a Brāhmaṇa Jayabhatṭi by name, who is called traiṣṣu in the subsequent lines, by the mahācāryādhirāja Samudragupta, whose usual adjectives are given from the victorious camp at Anandapura in the year 5. The grant was written at the orders of Gopasvāmin, the akṣapatālābhikyita, mahāpilūpat and mahābālapat, da. At the end of the name of the prince Chandragupta occurs, possibly as the Dātaka.

I am not sure of one of the names of the villages that were granted: the first is Bhadrapushkarakara in the Vaivalītya, while the second is Pārīpāta(?)nā(?)ga in the Krimilā-viṣaya. Krimilā, a name of a viṣaya also appears in the Monghyr grant of Dēvapāla, where it is stated to have been situated in the bhūti of Śrīnagara or Patna. The same place-name occurs as Krimilā on a Nālandā sealing (Site No. 1, Reg. No. 821), reading Krimilā-
vishaya-Kāchāla-grā̄n̄e maha ṭāma-Naṃśeśvaraḥ in 8th century character. I cannot propose any identification of this place.

The only other copper-plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta is the Gayā copper-plate, but as Fleet pointed out the plate cannot be regarded as genuine on the following grounds: (1) in the genealogical portion of the inscription the adjectives of the king are in the genitive, while the name of the king is in the nominative—which shows that the dater of the inscription was copying this portion from some grant of one of the successors of Samudragupta, and (2) while some of the letters are antique others are more modern. This shows that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe to imitate the old script, which also explains the hesitating nature of the writing; when the difference between the earlier and later forms of a particular letter is only slight, the scribe has betrayed himself. cf. s. in which the right vertical member invariably projects above the upper horizontal member of the letter—a feature which is definitely later than the early Gupta times.

If the present document can be proved to be genuine, it would rank as the earliest record of the Gupta’s and also the earliest copper-plate grant in Northern India. Thi fact makes the task of determining the genuineness or otherwise of the grant all the more difficult, as we have no means to ascertain whether it conforms to the genuine records of the age. The two scholars who have previously noticed the record have opined differently. Dr. Sinha rejecting it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaving the matter open. The question, therefore, to be considered afresh.

A perusal of the text given below will show that the present record is similar to the Gayā plate in that it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (...sravhit-tak...pratimattāya...prapattīṣaṇa...patriṣaṇa...dakṣaḥṣaṇa...upāraṇaḥ Samudra-guptah). If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the scribe of both the lines has committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion. This will also explain why the inscription is full of mistakes, e.g., the dropping of āta in Gupta (l. 3), śava for śava (l. 6), krātāyam for krātāyam (l. 8), grā-pratgyā for grōma-pratyagyā (l. 8) and the lengthening of the vowel in mo in niyatam-ugrāhar-akṣhepaḥ (l. 9). One can legitimately expect greater care in a real state document of the mighty Samudragupta. It cannot be denied, however, that the document was forged in early Gupta times, as there is no trace of any late forms in the morphology of the letters. And as the texts of the Nalanda and Gayā plates are mutatis mutandis identical, it is very likely that both of them were copied from some genuine Gupta grant.

1 Or vishya Kāchāla.
2 In Cunningham’s A. S. R., Vol. XIX, p. 60, Garrick speaks of a copper-plate of Samudragupta, said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Benares. “The inscription”, he adds, “had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it”.
3 R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, says: “The Gayā copper plate of Samudragupta, issued in the 9th year of his reign, was regarded as spurious by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. When his work was published our knowledge of Indian Epigraphy was no less extensive as it is now. Our knowledge of the form of Imperial Gupta land-grants was limited to the Indor-khara inscribed copper plate of the time of the emperor Skanda-gupta in 1833. The Nalanda or Dhanadaha plate of Kumāragupta I, the six Damadarpur plates of the emperors Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhāṇagupta and finally the three Faridpur plates of the kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra have thrown a flood of light on the procedure of issuing grants of land or deeds recording transfers of the same. In the face of this mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copper plate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged. It cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi plates and in the writer’s opinion it is genuine.” (Age of the Imperial Guptas, pp. 7-8.)
The inscription is dated in the year 5, 2nd day of Māgha, followed by the word nira(ba)-ddha[ṃ]. So far as I am aware, this word does not appear with a date in any other Gupta record, but is found in some Prāthāra grants. 1 The date of the Gayā plate, year 9, was referred to the Gupta era by Fleet, 2 which would mean that Chandragupta I had died by A. D. 328. If the date of the present record too be referred to the Gupta era, his life is further shortened by 4 years, leaving him a reign of only 4 or 5 years. assuming that the year 5 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of Samudragupta. It is unlikely that he could have created an empire within such a short time. so that we are forced to meet another alternative that the years are in reality the regnal years of Samudragupta himself. But as the Gupta era is universally regarded as having been established by Chandragupta I, it is difficult to understand why Samudragupta should have reverted to the practice of using regnal years in state documents. Was Samudragupta himself then the author of the Gupta era? It must be admitted that this conjecture is not prima facie impossible, as the ascription of the era to the first mahārājaḥ/āja of the dynasty is only a plausible conjecture which does not conflict with any known facts. But if Samudragupta really founded the era, we have to distribute 136 years (A. D. 319 to 455) an abnormally long period—among three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that both being spurious documents, the dates on the Nālandā and Gayā plates need not be taken seriously for historical purposes.

The text given below is from a set of photographs of the copper-plate kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. I found that some portions were more legible on another photograph of the plate before it was chemically treated, belonging to the office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle. In deciphering the text I have received much valuable help from Dr. N. P. Chakrabarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

**TEXT.**

1 Oṃ svasti [*] mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvār-Ānandapura²-vāsakūṭ-[as]-rvva-rā[j]-ôchchhētt[ḥ]-prīthivyām-apratirathasya chatur-udadh-saliḥ[1-āsvā].


5 vai[shayika]-Bhadrapushkaraka-grāma-Krimilā-vaishayika-Pū[rṇa](l)nā(?)iga-grā [mayōḥ brāhmaṇa-purōga]²-grāma-v[a]l[k]au-abhyā(?)m²-āha[?] []*}


2 Cf. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, p. 8: “According to the established custom to be found in Gupta inscriptions, we should regard the date of the inscription as one expressed in the Gupta era; i.e., it was issued in 328-29 A. D.”

3 Read as Nṛṣipura by Sastri, who evidently reads the portion as skandhārāṇa(n).Nṛṣipura.

4 At first ma was written which was then changed into mē.

5 The left extremity of the subscript u of the following letter appears after ka and looks like a separate letter.

6 Restored from the Gayā plate.

7 The word is spelt with ska in the Gayā plate. The letter bāyā is doubtful both here and in the Gayā plate.
NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTY.

Survey of India, Calcutta.
tad-yushmā-

bhira=a[ṣ]ya
ttraividya-ya śrōtra(tajvyam=ājñā cha karrta[vṛcv-sa]rvē [cha sau]mucītā grā[m]*-pratyā (pratyavā) mēya-kiranỹ-ādayaḥ dēvā na cha=ṭaḥ=pra.3

9 bhṛty-anēna ttra[vṛcv-ān]-ṣaya-ṛamā-ādi-kaṇḍa-kuṭumbi-[kārak]-ādayaḥ-pravēṣya-yita]-
yā [a]jnyathā niyatam-āna graha-āk[sh]paḥ

10 syād-itē samba(sārνa) 5 Māgha di 2 aiva[baudhā[n*] [*]

11 [Anyaj*-grām-ākshapatalādhi[kṛta]-mahāpālūpari - mahāv[a]lādhi kṛta - Gōpasvām[y*]-

ādī-l[i]khit[m*] [*]

12 [Kumār[a]-sri-Chandraguptaḥ [*]

No. 10.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MUMMUNIRAJA: SAKA 971.


This set of three plates was first handed over to the Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, for decipherment by one Hasan Razak, a Muhammadan water-diviner. The Curator after carefully examining these plates kindly passed them on to me for decipherment in details. I am highly obliged to him for the kind permission to edit the same in this journal. The grant consists of three plates. Each plate is 11"×9"×¼" in size. The written space in each plate measures 7½"×10". The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second has writing on both the sides. A circular hole of about 3" in diameter runs through them. The circular ring which holds the plates together, has got a seal (at present with the owner) with the figure of Garuḍa. The whole grant runs into 94 lines.

The characters are similar to those found in the other Śilāhāra copper-plates of the same period. However, they differ to some extent from those in the Ambar Nātha temple stone inscription of the time of Māmvāṇi dated Śaka 982,4 the chief reason of the difference being either the roughness of the material or possibly the inefficiency of the engraver. The language of the grant is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, a consonant following r is sometimes doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., Kapavā (1.8), svaprapya, māṛṛga (1.13), kar-

mvaṇśi (1.13), smaradhvaṛūd (1.29) etc. The dental sibilant is often used for the palatal one (ll. 8, 9, etc.), but in certain cases what has been read as s may be a badly written ś.

In the benedictory verses Garuḍa and Śiva are invoked. The genealogy begins with the well known mythical story of Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtakṣu, who offered himself as a prey to Garuḍa in place of the serpent Saṅkhacchandra.

1 There is a hole due to damage over tv which in the photograph looks like an avāra.
2 The portion that is lost here no doubt contained adjectives of the donee, of which one must have been traśīda, as he is referred to in the following lines.
3 The Gayā plate reads na cha=ṭaḥ-prabhṛtyaḥ etc.
4 After this follow four short horizontal strokes.
5 Restored from the Gayā plate. D. R. Bhandarkar conjecturally reads Nālanda. [In the present record the second syllable seems to be nu.—Ed.]
In his family was born Kapardin (I) who was adventurous like Sāhasāṅkā and was the forehead-mark (τιλάκα) of the Śilāra line. His son Pulaśakti who was well versed in politics and who conquered his enemies is then mentioned. Next comes his son Laghu-Kapardin. He is described in the usual poetical and vague manner. His son Vappuvanna is next mentioned in the usual way. His son Jhanjha is then mentioned. That he erected twelve Śiva temples is particularly mentioned here as in the Khārepāṭaṇa plates.

Nothing particular is said of his brother Goggrāja and his son Vajjaṭa, except that the former was valorous like Bhīṣma. Drūga and Arjuna. Vajjaṭa’s son Apparājita who was benevolent, truthful and brave is then mentioned. He is given the title Suraśāyana-rajarāja and the record particularly mentions the facts that he helped a king named Gōmna, and made firm the rule of Āyapadeva. He is also said to have protected Bhilama and two other kings whose names seem to be Amma and Maṇjavuva. His son Vajjaṭādeva (II) and his younger brother Arikē-arina are then mentioned. The latter had been on a pilgrimage to the temple of Śoṃśavara.

Then his nephew Chhittarāja (son of Vajjaṭa II) is mentioned as in other inscriptions. Next comes his younger brother Nāgarjuna. His younger brother Mummuṇi is then mentioned. He vanquished his foes and ruled over 1,400 villages the chief of which was Puri. At the time of this grant his Mahānāpya was Śri-Daddapaiya and the Mahāśānta-bhigvadhaka Śri-Vittaha-paiya, who along with other officers were in charge of the Śiṅkara. The writer of the document was Nāgalaiya.

The grant was given on Friday, Sudduha 15, Bhādrapada in the year 971 of the Śaka era, corresponding to Tuesday the 29th August 1049 A.D. There was a lunar eclipse at that time.

---

1 The Khārepāṭaṇa plates, Śaka 1016 (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 33) also do not give any further information about this prince. His adventurous nature might have enabled him to be a valuable lieutenant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōzunda III and hence he might have been his feudatory ruling over North Konkaṇ (Altekar, Indian Culture, Vol. II, p. 403).
3 The Kaṇṭhēri inscriptions of Amoghavarsha, Śaka 775 and 799 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.), describe Kapardin (II) as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory and master of Konkaṇ.
4 The Bhāṇḍūp plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 277, ll. 7, 8) describe him as bhuvanaikavira and name him Ghyuvanta but on comparing the reading (in facsimile, Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 313) Vappuvanna seems to be the right name as has already been suggested by Buhler.
5 These names are also found in the Khārepāṭaṇa plates. Nowhere else do we meet with the verse containing these names. This Bhilama might be the same as Bhilama II of whom we know from his Sangammer plates, Śaka 922 (above, Vol. II, p. 272). The Bhāṇḍana plate of Apaṟājita, Śaka 919 (above, Vol. III, p. 272), gives him the title of Mṛgānaka.
6 According to Bhāṇḍūp plates, the word ograṇa would go with Arḳēśarin. But on the evidence of other documents Vajjaṭa was the elder brother of Arḳēśarin. The Vādavalli plates of Aparāditya, Śaka 1049 (J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 508), confirm this.
7 He is mentioned in the Khārepāṭaṇa and Vādavalli plates. Altekar’s suggestion (Indian Culture, Vol. II, p. 410) that he died before Chhittarāja seems to be baseless.
9 According to the Ambar Nātha temple inscription (ibid., pp. 329-30) these officers in Śaka 982 were different persons.
10 Indian Ephemeris, Vol. III, p. 101. [The corresponding date in Christian era is Tuesday the 15th August (not the 29th which was a Sunday and when there was no lunar eclipse). A.D. 1049, when there was a lunar eclipse. The week day seems to read Sutē and not Surtē as Mr. Upadhyaya reads. Probably Suta here stands for Māhīṣuta (Tuesday).—Ed.]
The village granted was *Kūchchhita*. It was in the *Mandaraja* district. To the east there was the sīr-Enara hill and rivulets running from it. To the north was the Nīmvā village, to the west the Mātara village and to the south the Sāmvīna river. None of these places can be identified at present.

The grant was made to twelve Brahmins (a list of whom is given below) to enable them to carry on their religious duties. Among the donees there were Brahmins who had emigrated from Gauḍa, Madhyadēśa and Lāta. They belonged to various gōtras and sākhās. Some of these names are given in the vernacular ending in *aiya*. The grant contains towards the end the approval of *Mummunirāja*, son of Vajjadiḍēva.

**List of the Brahmin donees.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's name</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Sākhā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kēkō Paṇḍīta</td>
<td>Putāmaha</td>
<td>Gauḍa</td>
<td>Sāṇḍīya</td>
<td>Kauṭhuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvadāra Dikshita</td>
<td>Yajña Dikshita</td>
<td><em>Mumujasthāna</em> in Madhyadēśa</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>Bahṛchīa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmōdara</td>
<td>Kēṣavā Dikshita</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bḥāradvāja</td>
<td>Mādhyandīna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śūdanāyā</td>
<td>Śūndāśvara Upāḍhyāya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bḥārgaya</td>
<td>Bahṛchīa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmōdara</td>
<td>Śūdana Dikshita</td>
<td>Bahṛgukachchē in Lātadēśa</td>
<td>Upamanyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyanā</td>
<td>Dāmōdara Upāḍhyāya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ātṛēya</td>
<td>Rāgāyani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śripati</td>
<td>Kēṣava</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kuśika</td>
<td>Bahṛchīa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śripati</td>
<td>Dūṇāya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ātṛēya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakēśvara</td>
<td>Vēlāṛtya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jamadagnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēlaiya</td>
<td>Dīgaiya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ātṛēya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvvaḍēraiyā</td>
<td>Iśvara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lōkāksha</td>
<td>Yajña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīthapaiya</td>
<td>Sūdhalaiya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ātṛēya</td>
<td>Bahṛchīa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT.**

[Metres:—*Anuṣṭhāna*, vv. 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38; *Vasantarākṣa*, 3, 4, 5, 15, 18, 39; *Prithūr*, 6; *Śrāvyakāśīra*, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20; *Swagatīra*, 8; *Gṛī*, 13; *Indravajrā*, 17, 26, 33; *Mūlinī*, 21, 22; *Vamāṣṭikāvīla*, 23; *Śālūni*, 32.]

**First Plate.**

1 ऋ Sauṇḍya 
2 पायदपायायजनायक: ॥

[1] [See p. 62 n. 5 below,—Ed.]

* Denoted by a symbol.

* Read 'śikṣa'.

1 [See p. 62 n. 5 below,—Ed.]
3 श्रीचन्द्रकुपलकोपमा॥२॥ जीमूतकेलिनयो मिथां। दयालुजीमूतवाण
इति तिङि गणसिद:॥(१)

4 देशस्वरूपः वणिकालकर्मयथा रायें श्रविता श्राद्धार्थकुं तं(श्र)खुच्छु॥३॥
तथास्ये निधिले। ॥५

5 निमीलिमुतुरभुव्यन्तिकुफितनियंत्रणप्रकटः। श्रीवाससंक इव साधिकः कपडः
सिवारवंस(श्र) ॥६

6 नित्यको न्यातिरिक्ती(श्र)भूवः॥४॥ नागाद्युस तनयः पुलसं(श्र)शिनामा सोमाभिन्म:
सम्। सुरुकुदितिसागरः। ॥

7 निधिक्षणः संस्मरुके। छुरिके। प्रवर्जनाशः। ॥ ॥

8 किः(श्र)रोजिफाकरः॥६॥ सितः। निमीलिमुत्थुविकुलकरः कपडः। लघुः। यदीवास(श्र)सा
सम्बन्धितमः।

9 येन लघु(श्र)क्षोभः न भावित। बुधवारवः। न तस्मि(श्र)ी न तस्मि(श्र)ी न तस्मि(श्र)ी न
दुर्गाम्बु(श्र)विचः॥१॥ नागाद्युसवर्जनप्रकटः ॥ पावकः॥१॥

10 जनाधिकारविवेकः। श्रीवाससंक इव सम्बन्धितकः। संरक्षणारंगविद्विदितयाः
लघुः॥

11 श्रीवाससंक येन विनायको निरिच्छता विद्विदितया दलितः॥१॥ नागाद्युसस्
स्तानुः॥ श्रीवाससंक इव सम्बन्धितकः। लघुः॥

12 यशोद्वासः। श्रीवाससंक कर्मकर इव ध्यानः॥२॥ श्रीवाससंक कर्मकर
इव ध्यानः॥(१) सं(श्र)भोजः। हादसा(श्र)पित अर्घः॥

---

1 Read chandra.
2 Read niyatam.
3 Read deha=nijam.
4 Read paraśa.
5 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
6 Danda or dandas unnecessary.
7 Read nirjitiya.
8 Read niskhasakam.
9 Read patriam.
10 Read parivriti.
11 Read lina-aika.
12 Read 'e-tanujō.
13 यद्विविवकोणाय ऋषिना सांपतानानीव मधे प्रणततवृष्टां सङ्गमात्मायतां (नाम) ||५२५ || भाषा तबः ॥
14 तत्त्वात्तत्त्वो ज्ञानं ज्ञानं (यशो) गमनः (गिः) प्रकाशी (शो) कराशि पञ्चाननवयो च (च) को च (च) नवतां भीमाकोणागांभवतु ॥
15 चया कक्षणमाकेथे प्रवर्तकाय वचनान्तरं भूयाना भोष्ट्राणप्रमाणणात्र्यत्रसंपुष्पन्याविले । चस्तः त्वा त्वा ॥ [८२४] ॥
16 तमाहिम्म्यकाविरिमिथिरलिपत्वान श्रीमतः सुतः योमाहादृढंव्रृत्तियो वृत्तुव्रचनान- माणः ॥ द्री- ॥
17 द्रेण द्वीव (व) लेन यस्य संहिता संहितामाणगंगाराम्या वायुमाय वायुमी गतिः चक्षु मुहारंधवः ॥ [१००४] ॥ नय- ॥
18 न द्व द्वारः पुष्मनं पुष्मनः । तनः श्रीमाहादृढः सहस्रिचं याजितः ॥ [१२४] ॥ कालान्तरमाणः
19 यः मारावणे च स्विंचिः । प्रतापदेवमकमलं जालदर्शय यो धियाः (पाम) ॥ [१२२] ॥ म(श्री) जयात्मकमाणः
20 मन्त्रः उपासियः । जयाति रचिता येन । म जयाति यशवर्णानां मंडलां गतवचः पंजारः ॥ [११३] ॥ ये- ॥
21 न स्मायमानताय विज्ञां गोमयान नानाविं येनेवयदेवनाधि चचिति राज्ञे स्विंचकारित(त) ॥[१] ॥ भिनः
22 भयाशस्माः सुवक्तितेनाना द्रान्य च वेनायं तम्य श्रीवि (विं) करक्षमुपजोवेन्यात्म (ज्ञ्ञत) किंवा[व] (विं) गण्याः (स्वयं) मे ॥ [१४४] ॥ को- ॥
23 शाल्लुभास्वत स्वायत्तेवर्णाना भूपालमयक्षम्यस्तयं नयः [७१] ॥ चयापि यस्य च। ॥
24 रिचनि जना: समस्ता रोमाचंकुलिकानान्तला: स्वरूपः ॥ [१५४] ॥ तवात्तम तोरतिरिक्तिः

1 Read tanya.
2 Danda or danyas unnecessary.
3 Read chāpaः.
4 Some Śilāhāra records have sāreवे tīrakārīलोह.
5 Read prakhyāta-.
6 Read ratim.
7 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
8 Read Paṇārērśiva.
9 Read simāntā.
10 Read aparā api , the absence of santhi being in favour of the metre.
11 Read karaśāः.
25 न्यायेनापि यथार्थम् सत्सागर निष्ठालोचनासन्य इमोक्तिलोकान्त दृष्टि। गल्व
सेवाप्रेयम् स्ये- ।

26 नायकार्तिकं द्वारा च संभवं रेत वृक्षादेश पितुराध्य boxing जगद्व य: कौलायित्वः।
गतः इलाईलाई" तद्भाया।

27 व्यक्तिवेदनीः श्रीर्मण्डलारम्भः नृपतिः (व)भुव (प) सीमार्कमः (श) सिद्धा (श्रीम्)।
नार्या येन नीति: परामुक्तसिद्धविनन्द इलाईलाई" तन्।

28 वा (व) नित्यानाम् कृतक्कर्मोपपक्षप्रचाराधिकारिनि निविन्यानन्दः इलाइलाई।
उत्साहातीशः
वाचकानविद्वारसन्त्यः।

29 योजनः पुराणः परिष्ठितिविद्वारतः चक्रे इलाईलाई। इन्कारिनारिनिविन्यः सकस्मवेंद्रावित्व।
वाचकानविद्वारसन्त्यः ये।

30 यथा कौलायित्वः (व) नित्यानाम् इलाईलाई। इन्द्राज्ञिकार्किनि कोषपक्षाधीक परामुक्तसिद्धविनन्दः
संस्फृल्यायणयाः वार्षिकः (श्री) तनोऽजः समः।

31 भववाजुः ज्ञापितः यथायात् शुभस्मुस्मितः भुजवः (व) नृ मृदुश्रिमनम् दिशाः
निद्रातिवश रणंगणावभावः।

32 नी द्वारकाधुरता। इलाईलाई। यदसंभवचरितमर्गर्म्भंगिरियासमरसदनरथु (श्री) यमो-तसी दिग्मलिनः।

33 चतुर्ग्रामादिदं तामिलिकाभाष्यमविवरणमीलोकीः नृदिमलिनः इलाईलाई। इलाईलाई।
तदनुः

34 रन्धनानककेतुः जनयुत्त पितुभवीमुख्यमुष्मितिकोचिनियः। श्रवन्तिधुनः यथानिदानिनोरा-
ज्ञानाति व (व) ल।

1 Read śālikā.
2 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
3 Read kṣaya.
4 The syllable rd in sārd should ordinarily be short.
5 Read m-ārṣjaṁ.
6 Read nāśaṁyā.
7 Read kṣayāluḥ.
8 Read -spu.
9 Read -śthryā.
35 हिदीप्र. बएलायोन्याचे चापमवक्तु ॥१२॥ चय शब्दयुपेक्षायो प्रया। सविनी-गतामं (श्री) पर्य चमहामु (च्रो) महा- ॥
36 सामनाचि समगुरुपर्यमूक(य) रशोलोमा डारत्वरं जो मृत्तवाहै नक्की भूत्वयस जगुकदजाभि-मान।
37 संहोदित्व चाग्यमश कृष्णमव चाचाचयं (श्री) चरणायत्व वं जग्मुखितसमस्मार जतलाचिनितम।
38 चामण्डनेश (श्री) गाधिपिनिमायमण्डुमुचिराजदेव (वा) निजसुज्जापिक्तित (त) तंकमचादलसहि-तपुरो- ॥
39 प्रभुवनतम (श्री) ग्रामश (श्री) तत्तमन्वितकोकणमण्डलयु गामति । तवेद्वियराजचिनि-मर (भारे) निर- ॥
40 — — — ॥ महामाय सोचिपै (य) महामार्थिंविधिक व। निर्गुर्जन्याचिनित्वाच ॥ म ॥ च मं ॥
41 मणिलिख (श्री) गाधिपिनिमायमण्डुमुचिराजदेव: सवर्णेन भरमव (श्री) अभनिकात्व चान-वि समाग।
42 मिर (जुकुभंतिवरुशितामलोकि अदानादभान (न) निवामिकानियचिनिकाचन्तरा राजपिनगिर।
43 यत्तनियारित्वगिरवन व ॥१६॥ तथा जगमनगरपारिवर्गमार्गशिर्णी चालालामु चालालामु ॥
44 लकारसेह (श्री) पूरांक संवेद (वा) धुरिखु व: ॥१० ॥ सविनी-वया ॥ चला विमूलित: चणबौंगाय यावतेन कर- ॥
45 तान्त्रलातात्वति जोगित (तमू) । तर्कावश या वर्तुकावशेन मुनामको विस्मयकर चेत- ॥
46 दिति (तमू) ॥१२॥ तथा चालालाजगराराजसीमाय (अ) पास याबन- ॥१९ ॥ चालालाज- वाला निग्रहाचि नामसमाहितस। ॥
47 मायमवियोगमियोगदुःखः ॥१९॥ कथनीकाणमधभेदसर: संसार: ॥१० ॥ महाजगरारमण- ॥

1 Read "git:omadhi".
2 Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
3 Read "dhipati".
4 Mark of punctuation unnecessary. There is inscribed a "chha" before this which is redundant.
5 Read "mamnu".
6 These three letters cannot be read definitely.
7 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
8 Read "manakān-.
9 Read "nagar- and correct it into "prama-."
10 Daya unnecessary.
48 याविसाधारणं स(श)रीरं ॥ पवनचन्द्रिकामिलोदश्रीकन्तकस्वततिः स्नायुयोगिन्त-(श्री द्रित) मलवा इवतविर-

49 किंवुधा(वुधा) संग्रहः ख्रिणच्यायदानकरः ॥ कलवेतादापरमु(ष) तपस्यां प्रस(श)खः ॥
मुनियोजः प्रथ(श)समि दानभोः ॥२

50 अः कलो युगोः ॥२१॥* न तथा सफला विषय न तथा सफल तपः ॥ यवायुः मुनियः प्राप्तमंशः कलो युगोः ॥२४॥*]

51 तथा चहसं भगवता यसिनः ॥ अमेत्पत्यं प्रथं सिद्धं सुवर्णं सुवेशविवं सुखघुतां गावः ॥ लोकांतः तेन भ-

52 विष्णु दत्त योः काच्छन गान च महीं च द्रायतो ॥२६॥* आत्मेवतिः एतमपः प्रकाशिता पितामहः ॥ स्विनिहः स्वकुलेः जा-

53 तः स मन्त्राः संता(संता)सििष्ठित ॥२७॥* भूमिदानं सुपत्रेषु सुलोकेषु सुत्वं ॥
बस्मादारापरमसारसागीताः ॥

54 वः भवितः ॥२८॥* धवलायात्परमां दत्तिनं समृद्धता: ॥१* भूमिदानम् पुराणं फलं खर्णसुरदतः ॥२८॥* श्री

55 भम्रीवशतिरचंदरचन्तरिवचनसुविचनस्वर्धायं मानापिरशास्तराध्य एवोऽधिनां मथ्या
म(श)ककुप- ॥

56 कलालीतसम्बरस(म)तें नवसु एकस्मार्धेकपु विरोधी(१)सम्ब(क्र)रा[न्त्र*]गृह-भादपशु(ष)यष्ठदश्या(श्र्यो) यदाँ-

57 कामोधि सम्बं ॥१० यशोः भादपशु(ष)ह ॥१५ सुक्रों संजय(त)सोमवेशस्पष्वविं
सूतीर्यः साला गगनेकः

1 Danda unnecessary.
2 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
3 The first pada of this sthob does not conform to the ordinary rules of Anushtubh.
4 This letter is redundant.
5 Read "saun-kulé.
6 This letter rā is redundant.
7 Read "itttaranam.
8 Read "pūjapānī.
9 Read "svarga Purandara.
10 Mark the way of writing t in the plate.
11 Read Śukrě. [See p. 54 n. 10 above.—Ed.]
58 चक्रचूडामण्ये कस्मिनिकााकुयये भगवते भाक्षरये न(न)नानविघर्षकथायमये
द्वारा(श्री) भगवते सुः

59 रासुरसुरे वितीकारपसिमानपितम्यये जजनयाजनादिकायझीक्षितमये: क्रुद्धक्रीकाष्ठ-

60 श्रीगाम्ये: महामायेशोद्धर्पेविविचित्र(ब)झापुविक्ष्ये: । यज्ञप्रकारे नामगोवाना
दोषे

61 मार्देस(श्री)विनियतमा(श्री)विश्वासकोयुमसाकमा(श्रीकः) काकापठित: पितामहसी
पणितसुत: मधुरे

62 स(श्री)नजपारि:जज्ञांमाद्विमानितात्वकगोव(ब)हस्ससाख(श्रीकः) देवधर्मित[.] यज्ञ
दोषितसुत: तथा

63 महाजागोत्रमाख्येत्रितमाखा(श्रीकः) दामोदरः[.] केम्यादीतितसुत: तथा भायावीगोव-
व(ब)हस्ससा-

64 खा(श्रीकः) सूदेवय मानिस्व(श्री)रैयोपायसायसुत: नानथाल्पारसारितभृस्मक्ष्चाक्ष्मिनिताममवाय
मन्यागो

65 ब(ब)हस्ससाखा(श्रीकः) दामोदरः[.] शून्यदीतितसुत: तथा भायावीगोवरायानोसाखा(श्रीकः)
नृसारायोपायसने दना

66 मोदोवायायसुत: तथा कुविश(श्री)मोगोव(ब)हस्ससाखा(श्रीकः) श्रीपतिः[.*] भास्मकोवी
कैश(श्री)श्रीवायायसुत: त-

67 या भायावीगोव(ब)हस्ससाखा(श्रीकः) श्रीपतिभइ[.*] दुग्मयापायसने सुत: तथा य(अ)-
मदरमीगोव(ब)हस्ससाखा-

68 (श्रीकः) कनकेश्व(श्री)गः[.*] वेनानानोपायायसुत: तथा भायावीगोव(ब)हस्ससाखा-
(श्रीकः) वनेयावायसने दोषे

69 श्रीयात्मिहीनोयुसुत: तथा लोकाभोगोस्त्रसाखा(श्रीकः) सहदेवे ईस(श्री)रैयोपायाय
सुत: तथा

70 भायावीगोव(ब)हस्ससाखा(श्रीकः) विनियोपायाय[.*] सोदेवोपायायसुत: एवमा

71 दिभ्य: यज्ञयाजनादिसृष्टेकर्षणय(ब)विचक्ष(श्री)निषेधोक्षतुक्रियायुप-

¹ Read "ntabāṭi. [What has been read as श may be the upādhyāya sign.—Ed.]"
Third Plate.

72 समर्पणायः च मंदलज्वियाः (नृपति कि) इच्छुतायामः समा।पञ्चकामितः चायामः
73 कालोरिणाः समविलयः [[९] यथा चायायानि || पूर्वेन: अंपनर्पर्यत्तोर्यायोवाधिमोमा]

74 उत्तरते नोपछायामोमा || पार्थिवतो मात्रायामोमा || दृश्यम: साम्जन- ||
75 दौ सा। एवं चतुर्वागानोपलित: स्वसोमाप्येष्ठ: सत्यसमकाळिकोपिपत: पूर्वेन-दन्तदेवायाय(प्र)।धारा- एव
76 यथा: चन्द्रिका(स्व:) चन्द्रिक्ष: रूपुत्र्याः मात्रायायांद्रश्य(श)तथा(थ)कष्ट्याः प्रथम।[८]
यताकोसी- ||
77 वि द्रमाः १५०० प्रयात्तितिमितमाणानों आचर्याकें यावदन्तिमितिहीण परम्या
भवः
78 मा(श्र)कमेन[८] प्रतिपादितः । तदर्थ(द्वार) प्रभुजत मोजयं कश्चं कर्घयतः
च एव। चन्द्रिको परियन्त्रे कर्णे- ||
79 याः । यदि तु परात्मचांमानमुनिभ:। व(व)हुभिर्वेदुभा भुक्ता राजभ: मगरादिभ:।
यथा यथा यदा भृगु- ||
80 सत्या तथ्या तदा फल(सम्) [१५०८] सधो दानं निरायामं सायस: दीर्घावाण-न(सम्)।
चत् एव। सुनवः। प्रवृंदावनाङ्गोदयं -
81 नन(सम्) [१५१२] दत्ता(व)भृगुभविष्णुभृत्यो भृमो यथासे रामभवः।
सामायोर्चन रमायेतुर्नराणीं काः
82 ले काकाःले मातानेभ: भवन्तः [१५२२] मातानि पुरान नरंद्रनानामि
धसा५ तन(श)स्थारण। || निर्दारणावालम्प-
83 तिमलन तलि का नाम माखु: पुनराद्धर्त ॥जूके॥ इववधाय नमागामिशक्ति-पतितस्वेति हर्षमालस्यनानन्दा॥

84 भ एव करकोऽधि: न पुनरस्तहीपनपापकालकारीमयैः क्षनायभिज्ञः ॥एवम-भ(अ)धितोपि नोभादशान-

85 लिनिमरणाह(5)नमतिराह्वर्दःदिक्कहर्वमादनयुद्धविनायी। खण्डः च महायात्रकविश-पातकश्वरः निमान।

86 रूपमन्दरपृथविदेशादिवशीर्मनमनभवित्वाः। उक्तं च भगवता आयमन॥

87 खर्देन(जन्तु व)मः वरां। स विद्याय ज्ञाित्वा कर्षिताय कर्षितः महह पर्यतेः ॥जूके॥

88 [म]हांयो च जायले भूमिद्राधिर्हर्षितेः देवे ॥जूके॥ गामकों खण्डकों वा भूमिभुक्तगलण ज्ञावको॥

89 द्वायदातान्त्वमवर्जनव(वस) ॥डूके॥ भारामाणा मदकोण तागानां स(श)लिन च ॥[१०]॥ गवल् कांटप्रदानन भूमि॥

90 तत्ता न सु(श)हारन ॥डूके॥ खर्दद्विवस्माहारीयं खर्द निन्दिन मानवः।

91 आश्चर्य चाणुमला च ताम्येव नरक च।

92 विशेषः ॥डूके॥ ————-———। महद्व(व)जः ॥ परे॥ महापति(व)म-जाः वा पापद्वपतमनस्म सुवि भविष्यूः।

93 वे पाण्यलित सम धमामिश(म) समस्तं तंक्तं स्या निर्दों जलिंदमुग्रः ॥डूके॥ यथावतें दाय॥

94 को लेखकाद्वृत्तेण स्कूलविधितमारोपयित। सम सम महभगबलसह(व)राधिक-पलित*रोम्भूस्मुषिणय॥

1 Read म्रापिेर्मिन्यर्नियव।
2 Read मानास्नु।
3 Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
4 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
5 Read skashits वरः।
6 Danda unnecessary.
7 About seven letters are indistinct here.
8 Read virachiśि-शिजिल।
No. 11.—TIRUPPUṆAṆAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

TiruppuṆaṇam, a village in the Śivaganga Zaminbari of the Rāmnāl District and a station on the Madura-Rāmnāl section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called Vēṟavaṭi in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Śivaganga.1 The Pushpavanāvara temple of the village is an ancient one: it is celebrated in the hymns of the three Tamil Śaiva saints TiruiruṆaṇasambandha, Appar, and Sundaramūrtti-NāyaṆār.2 Invited by Kulachirai-NāyaṆār, the Pāṇḍya minister, and Mahānaiyakkaraśi, a Chōla princess and queen of the Pāṇḍya king known in Tamil literature as Nēkāli-pōrvanuṇaṇaṆaṆi-NēlumāṇaṆ, saint TiruiruṆaṇasambandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jainas under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the Jainas back to the Śaiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by NēlumāṇaṆ, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pāṇḍya country which were held sacred by the Śaivas and sung hymns on them.3 From the hymn on TiruppuṆaṇam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained the residences of wealthy families of weavers.4 The Śiva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipping by the three kings of the South; i.e., the Chōla, Chōla and Pāṇḍya.5 Sundaramūrtti-NāyaṆār is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families.6 The Pāṇḍya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chōla. It was at a spot near the city of TiruppuṆaṇam that the Jainas had been impaled in the days of Māravarman, the victor of the Nēkāli.7

The TiruppuṆaṇam temple is in possession of twelve copper-plate leaves. Having learnt through the kind offices of the Brahmin lady trustee of the TiruppuṆaṇam temple residing in Madura, that the plates in question are safely preserved in the kovilam of the temple, I went to the place and made a fruitless attempt to get the plates for comparing the published text and correcting it in situ. Frustrated in my endeavours I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India to obtain the plates on loan and take their impressions and supply me with one of the sets of imprint for editing the text in the Epigraphia Indica. He took prompt action on my

---

2 TiruiruṆaṇasambandha has contributed ‘AvirāṆa puram’ 11 verses and ‘Māmunar mēṆiyanāṆi’ 11 verses, while Appar has sung ‘UṆidēṟa tiriciāḷam’ 11 verses. Of Sundaramūrtti’s decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his pegyum commences with ‘TruvanaṆaṆi’.
3 These fourteen places are Tiruvalavāy, Tirupparankuram, Tiru-Āppanāy, Tiruvēṟagam, Tirupputṭār, TirukkoṆukuram, Tirukkāṇappē, TiruppuṆaṇam, Tiruchchuliyal, Tirukkurciāḷam, Tiru-Nēlēci, Tiruvirā-Mēyār, Tiruvādaśi and Tiruppanavāśi.
4 ‘Tirai ṇiṭi maṭra-kīṭa taṆ-TiruppuṆaṇam’.
5 ‘Māravēṟa māṭu-iṭa Tiruvāra Sōrṣuṭṭam kanagum tiraiyai-oli-iṭa koṭimai-āṅga taṆ-TiruppuṆaṇam’; ‘Māṟur-caṅkiṟ-Rēnvar Sōrṣuṭṭal pēṭriniippa’.
6 P. 1123 of Periyapurāṇam, 1934 edition.
7 ‘Bānumarai panum-āḷam PāvaṆa-ṆaṆyai-Mariyai-kāṟiṆēri velaiiyadu kalvar-padaśīṟṟam’. (Tiruvalavāyaiyai-TiruṆaṆaṆam, 38, v. 50).
8 About them Sewell wrote as follows in his List of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 298 :—
   "A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves."
The writer must have meant ‘sides’ by ‘leaves’, for Burgess and Natesa Sastri correctly note ‘Five plates only of the āḷam are there (i.e., in the Indian Antiquary) given in fac-simile from Sir Walter Elliot’s impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians" (A.S.S.I., Vol. IV, p. 21).
suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the Archaeological Survey of South India, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below:—

"Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately 16½" in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly 5½" except of the 4th and 10th which are 6" and 6½" respectively. The eleventh plate is 17½" long and 6¼" broad. The plate of Könērin-
maikoṇḍān (supplementary plate) is 17¾" long and 6¼" broad."

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin. There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, Vlb, VIIb, VIIIb, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, VIIIa, IXa, Xa, and XIIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 345 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, IVa and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the Archaeological Survey of South India require revision. There are serious misreadings especially in proper names. To point out a few, the volume gives pūrarnātī for ṛ-a-tāta mu (l. 3), grāmasya-ucadhiśātiṃ for grāmasya-vyāhātā-
klīptām (l. 4), Kakānī for Nakānī (l. 33), pūvakāppada for pūvakāppad (l. 38), janaikā (janaikā t) for maṇijā (l. 44), Kakēkūda for Kadukkūda (l. 47), Śambērī for Śilērī (l. 48), Tirappa for tirappa (l. 49), kara-pāikkayan for kara-pākkīnāya (l. 60), Natarājanāmunāmun-
Kyanāvalām for Natarājanāmun-ānān Varauṣā-Valūvām (l. 60f.), kara Māḍār-Śilāyag for kara-pākkīn-Śilāyag (l. 61), pāsilāyag for Pāsilāyag (l. 90), ūlānum for dēnōnu (l. 91f.), Mhā-
vēlānum for Mēdīnum (l. 112), Paliśānī for Pollāyī (l. 119f.), Kēśarāyam for Kēśa-
van (l. 128), Kēśavan for Advaiya (l. 130f.), Sīrājul-ārāy-Battān for Si-Kayalāy-
Battān (l. 135), Valliyān pūttalai for Vīlliy-ānān Maṭṭalai (l. 137), sarvanā-y-ikkārpmu for sarvanā-y-ikkārpmu (l. 191), cādākka cārayam for cādākka-cārayam (l. 195f.), Pāla-adigapī for pāla-adigapī (l. 197f.), i-n for te (l. 200), nuraḷāra for Māḷā (l. 219), Śeyyāi for śeṣārī (l. 235), kāra for kēr (l. 242), and kavāyil for agavāyil (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The caligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been incised at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete. On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line nākki of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face karaikē-te which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables l-karayē which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, ciz., ikkārpmē. In volume IV of the Archaeological Survey of South India, by reading the second face of the seventh

---

¹ Like: Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as ācire pestru. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.

² This is easily done by reading through the first and last lines of each face of the plates and marking out the second face by the fact of the first line reading in continuation of the syllables at the end of the other face. This done, we know the first face of each plate. Then we have only to see where the syllables at the end of the second face of one plate run on with the first syllable of the first face of another.
plate after the end of the sixth plate and then reading the first face after the second. A mistake has been committed. The order of the rest of the plates as given there is correct and none of the plates is missing. Another defect in the published text is that it has omitted to give one full line found on the second side of the ninth plate. This mistake has occurred as two consecutive lines (II. 272-3) commence with the same syllables ku nōkkisčēhenṣu Miša-gaṇīṣ-kṣu. There are many instances where final consonants have been treated as the first combined consonant and vice versa. These defects and the summary treatment of the contents in the *Archaeological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, make the re-publication of the inscription a great desideratum.

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in Sanskrit verse written in Grantha characters, the rest of the inscription is in Tamil language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphics of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the sardho rules are not observed. In the Tamil portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see Vīdra, Śāstra (l. 16) and brahmādeya (l. 19). The superscript r is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., ṛbu (l. 2), ṭuṇa (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double paḷali and visarga-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long i is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 19, 20, 42). Ṛk and ṛ are often used for rkk and rṭt: see, for example, Miṣagaṇīṣku (ll. 272-3), Miṣa-gaṇīṣti (l. 270) and Miṣa-gaṇīṣti (l. 269). The words miṣa-gaṇīṣti (l. 288), ellaiy-śiri (l. 284) and ēmārāṭ (l. 309) ought to be miṣa-gaṇīṣti, ellaiy-śiri and ēmārāṭe. There are instances of doubling of consonant where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary: e.g., cheppi-Kani ṣ (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like vākkōlaiy-irantu and kalaiy-irangi. In these cases, Tamil would require kōli. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

The inscription is in two parts of which the first, which is very brief, is in Sanskrit and covers only five lines. It gives the mythical genealogy of the Paṇḍyas traced from Hari (Vishnu) through Atri, Moon, Budha and PurāVAS, and states that RājamābhiraDāśa, in the 25th year of his reign, on the day of Śānti, corresponding to a Sunday and the eleventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month in which the Sun was in Dhanush, ordered the determination of the boundaries of the village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. It is to be noted that not even the king’s immediate ancestors are mentioned in the record. The king is said to have been apprised of the formation of the new village by Sundaraśa. Who this person is it is not possible to say definitely, as the corresponding Tamil portion omits this fact altogether. Since the formation of the kind is generally conveyed to kings by officials such as Secretaries and Ministers and sometimes even by princes who were in attendance on them, we may not be wrong in thinking that Sundaraśa was one such person of distinction. We know from a record of Jataśvarma Kulaśekhara I (with Pāṇiḍikālī introduction) found at Chaturvedimangalam 2 that the king had a brother-in-law by name Alagappurumal, and our plates also enable us to gather that Pāṇiḍiyā ∞ Alagappurumal held a high position, for a person under him bearing the official designation aliyāran acted as kaṇkāṇi in the settlement of boundaries.

---

1 This defect was noticed by me when I arranged the plates in order and got them strung on a wire. It was independently noticed by Dr. Chakravarti also when he had the impressions taken of the inscription on the plates.

of the new village. It is not unlikely that måcchēnuṇār Alagapperumāḷ and Pillaiyār Ajagapperumāḷ indicate two different persons. Sundarēśa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Alagapperumāḷ, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The second part which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jatāvarman Kulasekharaya commencing with the words Pāṇḍakilattu and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate IX) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate VII) with sīrada, and the second commencing with the words pādaṇ-ayaṇ-vārnam-ē Dios in line 139 (plate VII) and ending with the word sūvarī in line 338 (plate X). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested to it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and immediate object of the inscription is Kulasekhararavakku pāṇḍaḷi 13-vāna nālā-vigroha māṇiyarā arupadinaḷ (ll. 141) pādai-nāṇandha elāikkku or pānāikkku aravāḷai āviroku kālōrā paraṇēnā (ll. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixty-sixth day of the reign of Kulasekhararaya (embodifying the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant "). The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates: and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvedimaṅgam as brahmāṇḍa. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as viśe rāvarṇa vāsana-vināśe Chāupālāvārāttra-chāpē Kanakapatnamūrthi krisnu-palā-kā Particle Smārakāvārā Sriśrīgōv and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words pāla-māṇi-nāṇandha elāicṟu pānāikkku māṇiyarā īrāyēnu pāṇḍaḷi-nāṇandha uḷā-vārnam-ē Dios apara-pakshuṇu elāicṟu pāṇāikkku Sūvarī-śrīkālāvārā pēṇa Sūvarī nāu (ll. 139ff.). This earlier date had been calculated by the late Professor Kielhorn and found to agree with Saturday, 29th November A.D. 1214. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (=the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A.D. 1214. November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (i.e., 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign plus 40 days of the 26th year (i.e., 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the brahmāṇḍa and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the kariṇi-bhranamaṇa was given on the 29th November A.D. 1214. This is plain by the statement nīkki vallai nādat marṇiyāvaru pālam pēran vēḻāṟa-vagamun nodam-tāṟriṟṟa oru-nādam or-ārum oru paravei nāki Rājagambhirā-vālāṉātu Rājagambhirā-chaturvedimaṅgam-mon = tīruṉarmattāl brahmāṇḍaṅg-veṭiyadurai (ll. 70-72) meaning, the remaining lands had been constituted as the brahmāṇḍa village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvedimaṅgam so called after the sacred name (of the king) and included in Rājagambhirā-vālāṉādu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as vēḻāṟa-vagai, cultivating roots and nodal of the lands removed and classed under one nāṭu, one paravei and one village. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the record order issued on the 29th November A.D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (svābhāvabagā grāmasya-grāhā-kīrttana-parat sapadi kāvēya gamayīnu-avatārā Rājagambhirāvarēṭak), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,
for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *irurā rāya-ēlāyān-kairāłapālalā-pūpanā-kūla-pīḍi-śālādu pīḍi naḍānda ellaikkku aṟṟalai* *ṣeydu kadukkaṟ-mṇa ṭuruiy-molindanduṇamaiyil* (l. 72-74).

We have referred above to three dates that occur in the inscription and have shown that two of them are identical and relate to the day on which the boundaries of the new village were ordered to be determined by the king and that the third, which is expressed in years and days, and which is later than the other two was the day on which the document was drawn up. The identical nature of two of the dates being assured by the details, the mention of the year in two ways, viz., *paṇcha-viṃśe* (the 25th) and *paṇḍu-muṇḍāḍu edir paṇṭāndu* (the 12th year opposite the 13th) shows that the number of years given after the word *edir* must be added to the number expressed before it. Two other dates occur in the inscription, viz., *paṇḍu-muṇḍāḍu edir paṭṭām-ṇedu-paṟai* (up to the 10th year opposite the 13th) and *pulin-muṇḍāḍu edir paṇḍu-ṇeḻāndu-panal* (from the 11th year opposite the 13th), in connection with the clubbing together of the villages and lands in the new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadeya*. The first refers to the state of the items of lands as they stood up to the 23rd year and the second refers to the fact that the *brahmadeya* had to take effect from the next year, i.e., the 24th year. Evidently the omission to recognise this particular fact, viz., that the 25th year of the king’s reign is expressed by *paṇḍu-muṇḍāḍu edir paṇṭāndu*, though recognising the identical nature of the astronomical details given both in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, has led the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, who seems to have taken all the years to be one and the same, to postulate the following theory:

"Nothing definite can be made out of this phrase *(paṇḍu-muṇḍāḍu edir paṇḍu-ṇeḻāndu)* for the present. Some are of opinion that one of them refers to the age of the king and the other to the number of years he had reigned, but this *Śūsanam* contradicts that theory; for in I, l. 10, we have the 10th year opposite the 13th year, and in Vb, l. 2, the 12th year opposite the 13th year. The following theory may be suggested:—The description of the day of letting loose of the elephant in Ia and of the day in Va (correctly Vb) exactly coincides; and fortunately in Va (Vb) instead of merely stating in the 13th year, it is said in the 12th year opposite the 13th year; from these and bearing in mind that at the commencement of the *Śūsanam* it is stated “in the 13th year, 4364th day”, and that according to the rough Hindu calculation of 360 days for every year, 4364 days come to \[
\frac{4364}{360} = 12 \text{ years and 44 days, I think that in the 12th year opposite the 13th year, may mean, after the completion of the 12th year in the 13th year of the reign. Similarly “11th year opposite the 13th year” may mean after the completion of the 11th year, i.e., in the 12th year of the reign. Similarly 10th, in each case the present year of the reign is also added”}.1

Against this, Burgess noted: “This theory of the Pandit’s is ingenious, but will not do; the 13th year cannot coincide with parts of three years. Can it be 1310, 1311, and 1312 Śaka that is meant by the dates? If so, the number of days may refer to the reign.”2

Except in showing the difficulties felt in explaining the double dates, these theories have no value whatsoever to us now, and we pass on with the remark that the singling out of a particular year—in this case the 13th year—still remains to be definitely and satisfactorily made out.

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words *‘pīḍi naḍāppittu’ after ‘śālādu’* in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase *‘pīḍi naḍāṭta-ppūḍi naḍandadapadikkku’* (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

---

2 Ibid.
was issued and what formalities were observed by the recipients. Judging from other copper-plates it may be said that the order must have been addressed to the assembly of the district of Rājagambhīra-valanāṇu. It could not have been issued to the assembly of any of the sub-divisions in it: for the villages and lands that had been clubbed to form the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, belonged to more than one sub-division. Then again, the inscription does not state to whom this document of boundaries was ordered to be given or was granted. The verb kudukka (shall be given) in the passage extracted above, has no object. But it may be reasonably presumed that it should have been directed to be given to the donees and must have been left in the possession of the sabha of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam representing the vast number of one thousand and eighty donees. If this was the case, there arise the questions as to how the Tiruppūṭam temple has come to be in possession of it, whether it is the original document that was granted, or only a copy, and if a copy, whether such a copy could not be found elsewhere. The answer to these questions is given below in the introduction to the article on the supplementary plate.

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-83) are given in Appendix A. I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the Tiruvāyilōkai officer Pōmaṇ Śriyamāṇaśa vīramaṇaśa Jayadharapallavaraiyan, another (No. 5) was the kānkōri of Pōyāmōjadiśva, a third (No. 6) was the kānkōri of Śrīrāmaṇa Tiruvaṇjavaiyānaiśa Pottappichchōlar, the fourth (No. 7) was the kānkōri of the mālāyēkapappāyōla officer Śrīvaiyaṇa Alāyamāṇavaiyānaiśa Kāḻikāraṇaiyan, the fifth (No. 8) was the kānkōri of Malavāyōla, the sixth (No. 9) was the adiyōla of Viḷḷaiyōla Alāyaperumal and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the aṇkōkai of Alāyapāṇḍiyōla, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Śōlapāṇḍiya-valāṇi. Along with the 11 kānkōris, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and nādu (Appendix A. II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to Xlb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, i.e., this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the bhūmaṇḍaṇa, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppūṭam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one: and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, viz., Kāṇumūnī-ṇādu, Panāţīlō-ṇādu, Tiḻandai-kōdi-ṇādu, Mēḻkūṭi-ṇādu and Pūrapparai-ṇādu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Śeḻyakulattōr there passed three roads, one to Vēmbeṇgūḍi (ll. 333f.), another to Kāḻambeṇgūḍi
(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 143). From Mānaviramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbāngudi (l. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 147), Neṭṭūr (l. 154), and Piḍāvūr (l. 149f.). Between Kaṅñānūr and Dēḍava(koṭṭai (l. 223), there was another road. From the village of Milagānur there were roads leading to Iruṅchirai (l. 258) and Kōṭṭakirī in Kānai-Irukkai (l. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēḷāṅēri and Aravaṅkuḷi (l. 205f.), and Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and Vēmbāngudi (l. 319 & 330).

The inscription may be said to express in action the abstract laws laid down by the ancient law-givers in the determination of boundaries of villages and lands. The number of villages that were directly concerned in this matter were as many as sixteen. As I have already discussed the laws to be observed in such cases it is needless to reiterate them here.

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimaṅgalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Maḷavarajaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Mēdakkulam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a bīkmādiyata, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas, who were versed in the Vēdās and Sāstras and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king’s reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark āga iṟṟūṟalavēra palar-dīvadānvas pakkichchavādu kāṟēmaiy-ēga nāḷam nīki, i.e., ‘excluding from these villages such lands as are old dīvadānas, pakkichchavādu and kāṟēmaiy’. This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being dīvadānas, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three dīvadāna villages, Vāgaikudi (l. 20), Muturāṉāṟōṭṭai (l. 59f.), and Śīrūkilēkkāṭṭūr (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of Tiruppūvāṉamudaiyār. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Saṅkaramaṅgalam just to the south of Mānaviramadurai, that Niramaiyirūr was to the east of Sōmāttēr, that Vēḷāṅēri was to the south of Karuṅgulam, that Milagāṉur was to the north of both Kōṭṭakirī and Kānai-Irukkai, that Karpakirī in Kānai-Irukkai was situated just to the west of Mēr-Chēli, and to the south of Puvāṉnallūr, that Neṟṟukēṭam was immediately to the east of Kuvalaiyēli, that Vāgaikudi was to the north of both Tirumāḷirinjōḷainallūr and Śīrūkudi alias Virakāmum-amaṅgalam, and to the east of Veḷḷūṟkuruĉchi and to the south of Mānābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which lay to the north of Tiruvāṉam situated just to the east of Veḷḷūṟkuruĉchi, and lastly, that Kuḷāṅjēdi was to the south of Sundankuruĉchi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimaṅgalam had on its west Kēṟṇūr-nāḍu,

1 Mānaviramadurai, 2 Marudūr, 3 Mēr-Paśai, 4 Kiṟ-Paśai, 5 Poliyūr, 6 Kaḷḷikudū, 7 Iruṅchirai in Kānai-Irukkai, 8 Milagāṉur, 9 Milangūdu, 10 Śīrūkulāṭṭūr, 11 Śīrūkudi, 12 Veḷḷūṟ, 13 Veḷḷūṟkuruĉchi, 14 Perumpuliyūr, 15 Veḷḷūṟ and 16 Tiruvāṉam.

2 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 30ff.
on the north Paṇḍagālur-nādu, on the east Tiyandaikudi-nādu, and on the south Purapparālai-
nādu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaṅgaiai $alas$ Śrīvallabhappērāru (l. 16) Paṇaiaiyāru
(l. 198), Kaḷavaṇaijanāṇāru of Paṇaṅgālur (l. 318) and Paṇaḷakkuḷ (l. 193) and states that three of
the đeśadana lands of the temple of Tiruppuṇaṇamūlayār, named Mutūrnanarottai.
Vāgaikudi and Siṟukilaikāṭṭūr, had been added on to the new village of Rājagambhi-
chaturvedimāṇgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the đeśadana of the temples of
Paśalaināṭhar and Śrī-Vaikunda-Vignāgar-Alvār of Meḻ-Paṇalai alias Śrīvallabha-chaturvedi-
maṇgalam (ll. 48–51).

Like the three đeśadana villages of Vāgaikudi, Mutūrnanarottai and Siṟukilaikāṭṭūr, the
whole village of Miḷaganār had been taken up and included in Rājagambhi-chaturvedimāṇ-
galam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, viz., Kuvalaiyōṭ, Puduk-
kuḷam, Māṇkiṟṟu, Kaḷidaiillaḷ, Kaṟjambamaṇgalam, Śāṭṭiyāṟ-ēmbal in Aechchāṅkāṭṭuṟukkai,
and that part of Arayakulam in Kānai-Irkkai which remained after removing the holding
(kānī) of Mandari Rāman alīus Pallaḷaratikar (ll. 110–114). Care was taken to have the
previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitu-
tion altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhi-chatur-
vedimāṇgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Miḷaganār was given the
name Rājendrasaṅgamāḷḷ. It was placed under the division Aechchāṅkāṭṭuṟukkai and entered as
such in State accounts (ll. 114–116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of
this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A: they were among the party that accom-
panied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also,
which was not a Chaturvedimāṇgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring
the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, viz.,
oru-nādu or-rūru oru-patruṇu ṛkl, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constitut-
ue with single class of interest as Chaturvedimāṇgalam was.

With the aid of this and a few other allied records, we propose to consider here firstly the
constitution of the Chaturvedimāṇgalam referred to in the preamble and what it implies, secon-
dy whether the king represented in the plates had any other introduction than the one
beginning with Pāṇagikattu and thirdly the geography of the districts and division of the Pāṇyā
country mentioned in the plates. On all these matters the existing notions seem to need
correction.

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements
of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various
branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doc-
tors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the
Vēdas and Śāstras was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found
a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvedimāṇgalams, brāhmagānas, aparās or aparākāṇas
and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvedimāṇgalams by run-
ing through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions ranging
from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that
each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent
men who had studied the Vēdas and Śāstras and that each one of the villages had an administra-
tive body called the sabhā, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several commit-
tees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large
and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning,
there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and sys-
tematic study of the Vēdas and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were
hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted brahmādeva village of Rājagambhirachatarvēdaīi mångalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the Vēdas and Śāstras but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction um in the phrase Vēdamum śāstrumum pāy and the use of the adjectival phrase yākkhyātakālāy irukkum qualifying Chaturvedi-Bhaṭṭaraṅga leave no doubt that the subjects of the Vēdas and Śāstras were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled yākkhyāta, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word porupada, i.e., with meaning, before the verb pāy had gone through. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttangaṅgāl dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkharar with Pārṇīkēllattii introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tiruppūravānam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king’s officer Kāliṅgarayaṇa for creating a brahmādeva village called Kulasēkharar-chaturvēdaīi mångalam by joining together four dēvadāna villages about Tiruttangaṅgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named Pugalagōṇaṇanallōr. We may refer to another inscription dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction Pūmalar-tiruvadu which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śrī Rāma Alagāṅaḷ Alagīvāṇṇaḷi-Brahmādhiraṅgan had originally established, in the name of Vēṇīvudaiyār, a village called Ravivarman-chaturvēdaīi-Bhaṭṭaras who had learnt with meaning porupadai the Vēdas and Śāstras and were capable of expounding them yākkhyātakālāy irukkum, and twelve Bhaṭṭaras who had to recite the Vēdas in the temple of Uḍaiyar Tirunelvēḷi-Uḍaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayya Manavarayaṇa, the king granted all the lands situated in Kāṇanaḷiḷiḷiḷaḷ Manabharanappadi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the old dēvadānas and palkchehandas, to be included in Ravivarman-chaturvēdaīi mångalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śrī Rāma-Vinçagar-Āḻvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimāḍiśircaramudaiyār may have two shares and Tondaimāṇi-Vinçagar-Āḻvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one puraru, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdaīi mångalam was entirely a Brāhmaṇical village. And as we know that the sabhā was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōja king Rājaraṇa I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmaṇical Villages (brahmādeva), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājaraṇiṇi temple at Tanjore. Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a sabhā. Numerous transactions of the sabhā are

---

1 No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
2 No. 446 of S. I. F., Vol. V.
3 S. I. F., Vol. II, No. 69
recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇas as the titles and the goiras show.

Still another medieval Pāṇḍya inscription dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jañavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellāntalaiyāya-Perumāi, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the Vedas and Śāstras and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four cetis of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147 cetis of land in the village of Rājaśikāmaṇiullār alattu Pulyangudi were acquired. The following cṛttis were also provided for:—three for teachers of the Vedas, one for teachers of the Śāstras, and one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for ambudiyas, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, one-fourth for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for iriṅkollis, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for vettiyān. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the nattum land outside the Brāhma quarter, was set apart for Veḷḷān-kāmpyālar and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king’s reign, i.e., from the first year of the constitution of the new agahāra village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, 500 kulam of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvēdimāṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the nattum lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the sabhā which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Utraramallār inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of sabhās in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the sabhā was the administrative body functioning in Brāmanical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇan members. More direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chōḷa king Raṭādbhiraja I to the officer Sōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Mūvendavēḷar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by Brāhmaṇam-Koḻal (Brāmanical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrahmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrahmaṇas performing purīchārvaka work, he directed the person that was looking after the

---

1 Nos. 968 of S. I. I.; No. 133 of Vol. IV; and 231 of Vol. VIII.
2 Nos. 277 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913; and the review in part II of the Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, p. 92.
temple affairs (Köyil-Sirkāyam) to make the nimandās. In the nimandā that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of 'Brāhmaṇa-ūrgal' as at first mentioned, we find the 'sabhās' of the five villages Śīrakachhippēdu, Uttramāsāla-chaturvēđimangalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēđimangalam, Mālayaimangalam and Aparājīta (Aparājita)-chaturvēđimangalam. The substitution of the 'sabhās' of these five villages for 'Brāhmaṇa-ūrgal' makes it plain that the sabhā was the functioning body in Brāhmaṇical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as ār. nāgarā, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as ār. nāgarā, sabhā, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Vellān landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the ār. the members of which body were Vellān landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the nāgarā. And if it was a Brāhmaṇical village having in it mostly Brāhmaṇ landlords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the sabhā for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., ār. nāgarā and sabhā, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the ār or the sabhā, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the ryots who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the śritti assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras. Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscriptions under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish. viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēđimangalam consisted exclusively of Brāhmaṇ land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term sabhā, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the dōnes who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the Vēdas and Śastras and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Śāyaṇa, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by Śastras are meant the subjects forming the Vēdāṅgas.1 Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēđimangalam referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmaṇs specified, viz., 1080, 108 and 60 who had studied the Vēdas and Śastras and were vyākhyātis of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Taṇḍantō-

---

1 The author of the Amarkōśa (3, 3, 179) defines Śastras as Nidēsā and granthas, and the commentary of Mahāvīra adds that by granthas are meant vyākaraṇadāyasā (Nirmāṇaśāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).
tam plates, though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayāmukha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla got the village which acquired the name Dayāmukhamaṅgalam granted to no less than 308 Brāhmaṇa scholars of Vēdas and Śrutēs, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons, though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 Chaturvēdas, 29 Tivēdas, 24 Shādayuṛdīs and about ten Kramāvīḍas, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a Shādayuṛdī did not know the import of the mantras for the very object of the Nirukṭabhāskya, one of the Shādayuṛdas, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns. As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvēdāṅgalamas preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names Sūrāhvaṭra-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Nārāśinga-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Paramēśvara-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Sivachulamaṇi-maṅgalam, Vijayāṅkura-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Avaninārāyaṇa-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Ekaḍhūra-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Vayiramaṇa-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Mārapidugdēvī-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Vidvāvinita-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Pallavamahādhēvī-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Āparājita-chaturvēdāṅgalam and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōlas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names Viśāyālaya-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Kōḍaṇḍarāma-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Paranataka-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Jananātha-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Gāṇḍārāditya-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Arijjigai-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Śōlamittāṇḍa-chaturvēdāṅgalam, Hājārāraya-chaturvēdāṅgalam and those that were called after the Chālukya-Chōlas that followed Adhīrajendra, and for the continuance of the study of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

2 These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 317 ff.), but while editing the Paṭṭattāṅgalam grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).
4 The selection of rite for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the Nirukta, it was believed that the student of the Vēdas would be able to know the meaning of other mantras without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the Nirukta and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other mantras. Ėtāha pariṣīṭāt ēkaṃ sahyatē mananārāha pariṣīṭātum tē ēva jīvāpā bhavanti. (Durga's commentary on the Nirukta: Introduction).
5 No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
6 No. 9 of the same collection for 1930-31.
8 Ibid., p. 229.
9 Ibid., p. [28].
10 Ibid., p. [23].
11 Ibid., p. 325.
12 Ibid., p. 529n.
13 Ibid., p. [27].
14 Ibid., p. [23].
15 Ibid., pp. [22], 321.
16 Ibid., pp. 325.
17 S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 3.
19 Ibid., p. 321.
20 Ibid., p. 76.
21 Ibid., p. 74.
22 Ibid., p. 103.
23 Ibid., p. [23]n. and No. 20 of 1928-29.
In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimaṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the sābhā. As instances may be cited VaragunaMaṅgalam, Triyambakamaṅgalam, Kaṭṭārīmaṅgalam, Pariṣumaṅgalam, MāravaMaṅgalam. Avanipaścaramaṅgalam and KaṇūgōMaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguna II. All these places were in the Tinnevelly District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaṇūgō, Māravarman, Varaguna and Śrīmāra flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neṇunjžālayán (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēljukudi plates to have founded Śrīvaramaṅgalam, so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in VaragunaMaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai.

If we carefully study the constitution of Dayāmukhamamaṅgalam as detailed in the Tāṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the 8th century A.D. and compare it with what is said about the constitution of the villages as described in the mediaeval Pāṇḍya inscriptions cited above, we can clearly see that the principles followed were the same both in the 7th and 13th centuries A.D.

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūrvaṁ plates, the principal donees numbered 1,090 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Tāṇḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimaṅgalas (or simply Maṅgalas in the earlier grants) were Brāhmans well versed in the Vedas and Śāstras. While some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as Vedamavyāstramāṇa pōy vyākhyātākkaḻāy irakkam, others add the word paratpāṭa before pōy. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Tāṇḍantōṭṭam plates: Vēdā-traya-smṛti-jñāhām viduśhām deviḻañā. In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled Chaturvedi than Trivedi or Śaṅgavard.

iii. All the records state that the villages had temples in them, or contemplate the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees and make provision for them.

iv. In the Tiruppūrvaṁ plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for dēvadānā-papīṣey-virattī-pāṅgu. Here dēvadānā may either be taken independently or as qualifying the next papīṣey. The phrase may be construed in two ways, viz., (i) `shares meant for the dēvadānā and shares for the maintenance of those who had to render service or (ii) shares for the maintenance of those that had to render service pertaining to the dēvadānā'. The former meaning is obtained by taking dēvadānā and papīṣey-virattī as separately qualifying pāṅgu, and the latter is obtained by considering dēvadānā as qualifying papīṣey-virattī which qualifies pāṅgu. As it is seen from the other records cited above that the extra shares were meant both for the temple and for the various kinds of servants, we think it better to adopt the former view. The grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam provides 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the Vēdas in the temple of Udaiyar Tiruneveli-Udaiyar and two shares each for the

---

2 K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan, p. 132.
temple of Śrī-Rāma-Vināgam-Āḷvār and Pāṇḍīmādevi-varamūḍaiyār and one share for Tondai-
mān-Vināgam-Āḷvār. The earlier Daśāmukhamangalam grant provides five shares for Tiruvaḍi-
gal, i.e., Vishnu, and two shares for Mahādēva.

v. The grant of Vīramapāṇḍaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam provides three cṛddis for the teachers of the Vēdas, one for the teachers of the Sūtras, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for ambadiyās, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for iṅkalli and barber, three-
fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for cētiyān. The earlier Tanaḍantāṭām plates provide one share each for the reader of the Mābhārata and the drummer, one share for each of the three māṭhyasthas, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-
sluice and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

vi. Other cṛddis such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library, etc., provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police, etc.

To an earlier date belong the Kūram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kūram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinīta, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Para-
meśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kūram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramaṅgalam divided into 25 shares of which 22 shares were given to 22 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vēdas, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a maṇḍapa and one share for the reading of the Bhārata in that maṇḍapa. Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaramaṅgalam grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēś-
varavarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four Vēdas. The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramangalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas: in it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvēdimaṅgalams and the grant of them as brahma-
dēyas, or agrahāras by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭā-
varman Kulaśēkharā I (A.D. 1190-1215), Māavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Sāyanāchārya, the prodigious commentator on all the Vēdas, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

1 S. I. I., Vol. VII, Nos. 32 and 33-A.
2 S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 147 and text-lines 51-2. Provision for fire and water corresponds to 'hot and cold weather changes'.
3 Ibid., p. 150, text-line 49 f.
Besides the grant of brahmādīga villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the Vedas were taught. Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning. The charities of the Vaiśya Dānayan Madhava recorded in the Tirumukkudāla inscription of Virarājendra included provision for the teaching of the Vedas. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallīr, which is partially built in, makes provision for a Bhaṭṭa-vṛtti by a lady named Śaṅgaichchāṇī also called Uttaramallīr-Naṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the vṛtti must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the Vedas, in the Vyūkaraṇa and the two darsānas of the Mimāṃsā as well as the Nṛita (Virakta)-bhāṣhya and is capable of expounding the Vyūkaraṇa, Nyāya-bhāṣya with vārttikas, and Vaiśeṣika with Tikā, and that he must remain in the maṭha erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the Vedas and Vēdāṅgas and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

We have now to consider how many of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings bore the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and settle also which one among them is the king represented in the larger Tiruppūvatam plates. During the past several years, a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period have been collected and noticed in the Annual Reports on South-Indian Epigraphy. None of them gives any genealogy: most of them give only the regnal years and not the corresponding years of any known era. It is mainly due to the efforts of the late Professor Kielhorn, Swamikannu Pillai and Sewell in verifying the astronomical details found in some of them that epigraphists have been able to register the important facts and events revealed in inscriptions about these kings in some chronological order. The fact that several members of the family had been ruling at one and the same time and over the same tract, besides swelling the number of kings that could possibly cover a given period of years, has made it difficult to attribute particular achievements to particular kings. If we leave out the mere texts of some of the inscriptions of these mediæval Pāṇḍya kings published in the volumes of the South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), the records of almost all of them remain still to be critically edited. The notices made in the Annual Reports on the Madras collections are our only guide. But these reports, however valuable they are, cannot be substitutes for full texts of inscriptions, as they could not furnish all the information the inscriptions contain. At present, two kings of the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara are taken cognisance of and they are assigned the accession dates A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1237. To the first king of that name all records commencing with the introductions Pārvikalati, Pālalamadandai and Pālalavinitai are being assigned. The second rests purely on the results of the astronomical calculations. The reasons for the assignment of the three different introductions to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I are not known. We need not concern ourselves with ascertaining as to when this idea started and why all the three introductions were

---

2 See also An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 ff.
3 See Nos. 312 and 316 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.
4 It was the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.
5 For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.
attributed to the same sovereign. It is proposed first to examine the correctness or otherwise of such an assignment. For this purpose, it is highly necessary to have separate lists of inscriptions of the three different introductions, and we present underneath such lists. They are not exhaustive but are sufficient to serve our need. If the result of our examination prove that the introductions belong to more kings than one, a fresh endeavour will have to be made to separate the facts known about each king from the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy which have been putting them under the single head of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>296/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>2+1st year.</td>
<td>307/16</td>
<td>3rd year and 2,766 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437/29-30</td>
<td>3+1+1st year.</td>
<td>No. 506 is connected with this.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464/16</td>
<td>4th year and 50 days.</td>
<td>672/16</td>
<td>3+7th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>707/16</td>
<td>4+1st year.</td>
<td>673/16</td>
<td>3rd year and 2,593 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614/26</td>
<td>4+1st year.</td>
<td>674/16</td>
<td>3+7th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>449/16</td>
<td>4+1+1st year.</td>
<td>349-350/16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450/16</td>
<td>4+1+1st year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634/16</td>
<td>4+4th year.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4th year+1,745 days.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297/27-28</td>
<td>9th year.</td>
<td>607/26</td>
<td>2nd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>9th year and 44 days.</td>
<td>290/23</td>
<td>3rd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438/29-30</td>
<td>9+1st year.</td>
<td>540/16</td>
<td>3rd year and 291 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31-32/24</td>
<td>3+1st year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33-34/34</td>
<td>3+2nd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>459/09</td>
<td>14th year.</td>
<td>27-28/24</td>
<td>3+3rd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660/16</td>
<td>14th year and 345 days.</td>
<td>435/29-30</td>
<td>3+3rd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327/08</td>
<td>13th year.</td>
<td>368/29-30</td>
<td>3+3rd year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333/16</td>
<td></td>
<td>362/S. I. I., V.</td>
<td>3rd year+1,002nd day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3+4th year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>720/16</td>
<td>2nd year.</td>
<td>337/16</td>
<td>3+4th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>2nd year and 35 days.</td>
<td>29/28-29</td>
<td>3+4th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>3rd year+504 days.</td>
<td>484/16</td>
<td>9th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>664-668/16</td>
<td>3rd year and 2,638 days.</td>
<td>438/29-30</td>
<td>9th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370/16</td>
<td>3+7th year (2,690 days)</td>
<td>543/22</td>
<td>9th year and 218 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>302/29-30</td>
<td>9th year+925 days.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Pāviṅkitātī—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>303/29-30</td>
<td>9+1+1st year</td>
<td>685/16</td>
<td>13th year+2,230 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>519/11</td>
<td>9+1+1st year</td>
<td>687/16</td>
<td>13th year+2,313 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313/23</td>
<td>9+3rd year</td>
<td>78/28-29</td>
<td>13th+6th year (13th+2,140 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654/16</td>
<td>*+3rd year</td>
<td>35/27</td>
<td>13th+7th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655/16</td>
<td>*+3rd year</td>
<td>613/26</td>
<td>13th+8th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/29-29</td>
<td>13th year</td>
<td>502/16</td>
<td>13th+8th year (13th+3,090 days)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>546, 549, 550/16</td>
<td>13th year and 148 days, 13+1st year.</td>
<td>37/24</td>
<td>13th+9th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>412/8. J. I., V.</td>
<td>13+1st year.</td>
<td>40/24</td>
<td>13th+9th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/27</td>
<td>13+1st year</td>
<td>375/29-30</td>
<td>13+10th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269/29-30</td>
<td>13+1st year</td>
<td>319/23</td>
<td>13+10th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295/29-30</td>
<td>13th year + 500 days</td>
<td>123/08</td>
<td>13+11th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275/29-30</td>
<td>13th year + 902 days</td>
<td>616/26</td>
<td>13+12th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431/29-30</td>
<td>13+3rd year</td>
<td>99/07</td>
<td>13+12th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>581/15</td>
<td>13+4th year</td>
<td>322/23</td>
<td>13+13th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378/29-30</td>
<td>13+5th year</td>
<td>54/27</td>
<td>13+13th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654/16</td>
<td>This is connected with No. 685/16</td>
<td>298/27-28</td>
<td>13+14th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545/22</td>
<td>13+5th year</td>
<td>59/28-29</td>
<td>13+14th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677/16</td>
<td>These are connected with No. 678/16</td>
<td>60/28-29</td>
<td>13+15th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679/16</td>
<td>13+5th year</td>
<td>279/29-30</td>
<td>13+15th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-310/16</td>
<td>13th year+1,445 days</td>
<td>466/16</td>
<td>13+47** days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>683/16</td>
<td>13th year+2,312 days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By a glance at list A, it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 plus, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 plus, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 plus. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings represented in them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, i.e., Pūtalā-
madavandai extends to 15 years, the second, i.e., Pūtalaravatī to 11 years, and the third, i.e., Pārīkṣikātī to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with Pūtalamadandai introduction through Pārīkṣikātī to Pūtalaravatī. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

We shall now see whether the evidence of the astronomical details furnished in the above collection and their verification support or controvert the finding we have arrived at above or remain neutral. In the collection of 16 epigraphs with Pūtalamadandai introduction there is but a single one that supplies us with details of date fit for calculation, while there are at least three in the Pūtalaravatī group and 6 in the Pārīkṣikātī epigraphs. All of them except one of the Pūtalaravatī group have been examined and their equivalents determined as noted under:

No. 297/27-28 Pūtalamadandai. 9th year. Mina . . . . . . . . dvitiyā, Saturday, Rōhini. This date was calculated for Jātāvarman I of Pārīkṣikātī introduction with A.D. 1190 as the date of accession and equated to A.D. 1199, February, 27, Saturday, with the remark that Rōhini was not current on the day. The date is irregular.

No. 370/16 Pūtalaravatī. 3+7th year, Mārgali 20 tōdi. Sunday, saptami, Uttara-Bhadrapadā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1216 and it was 20 Mārgali. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is "The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II of A.D. 1237".

No. 729/16 Pūtalaravatī. 2nd year. Mina 22. śū. 19. Wednesday, Pushya. "On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (=22 Mēsha). śū. dasamī ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara as the above."


No. 80/28-29. Pārīkṣikātī. 13th year. Ṡani 19, śū. trayōdaśi. Tuesday, Mālam. "Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. 39. The tithi was, however, chatudāśi which was current till .85 of the day."

No. 337/16. Do. 3+4th year, Karakaṭaka. 13 tōdi, śū. 12, Monday, Jyēśthī= A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karakaṭaka) on which day śū 12 ended at .89 and Nākṣatra Jyēśthī at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13+5th year, Kanni 9, śū. 11, Thursday, Satahāśaj = A.D. 1207. September 6, Thursday; 97 ; .44.

No. 313/23. Pārīkṣikātī. 9+3rd year, Vṛiṣīchika 27. Friday, dvādaśi, Śōdi =Friday, 23rd November. A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (An. Rep. on S.I. Epigraphy for 1924, p. 88), the solar month-date is Vṛiṣīchika 27 according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The frame of the inscription must have obtained it from a Paśchānga calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.
No. 32223. Pārīṅkiliṭṭi. 13-13th year, Karkaṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttiqai-
A.D. 1215. July 21, Tuesday. The tīki ba. 10 commenced at 97 of the day and the Nakṣatra
Kārttiqai ended at 96 of day.

The Large Tiruppāṉam plate. Pārīṅkiliṭṭi. 13-13th year, Dhanuṣ 4, ba. 11, Sat-
urday, Śvāti. Saturday, 29th November. A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn’s Southern List, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted (i) that the particulars of date furnished in the Pūtālaṇaṇḍadai
collection do not work out correctly for Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra I whose reign commenced in
A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi group examined so far work out
correctly for Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for
Kulaśekhāra I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the
Pārīṅkiliṭṭi group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently
under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, i.e., Jāṭāvaram Kula-
śekhāra I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (Pūtālaṇva-
ṇiṭṭi) is that of Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra I. Having considered this information also, the late
Śwamikāṇṇa Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—
points only to the later reign, i.e., Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of
the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi being one of Jāṭa-
varman Kulaśekhāra II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D.
1190 and who had the introduction Pārīṅkiliṭṭi. The late Śwamikāṇṇa Pillai’s calculations and our
finding that the records of Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra with the introduction Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi belong
to a later reign is still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show.
In the latter part of a Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi record of Teṅkarai whose text is given in the South-
Indian Inscriptions, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tula, ba. 6, Thursday,
Mṛgaśiṛṣa. For Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra I, whose accession took place between 8th April
and 29th November. A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D.
1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for
Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December,
A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238,
Tula, ba. 6 ended at 90 and Nakṣatra Mṛgaśiṛṣa at 35 of day on Thursday, September 30.
Like the two records calculated by Śwamikāṇṇa Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction
Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi belongs to Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra II and not to the first of that name.
The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with Pūtālaṇvāṇiṭṭi
introduction and is dated in the 3-7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chola.1 Vikrama-
Chōla figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōla prince, who, a few years later,
ascended the throne in A.D. 1253. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the
Pândyas were staying with and serving the Pândyag kings before the time of their own accession is
amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra the introduction
Pūtālaṇaṇḍadai belonged. An inscription from Tiruputtūr in the Ramnad District of Tribhu-
vanachakravartin Kulaśekharadīva without the title Mārvārvar or Jāṭāvarman, is dated in
the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkaṭaka 27, Rōkiṇgi, Sat-
urday. This date was calculated by the late Śwamikāṇṇa Pillai and found to agree correctly with
A.D. 1166, 23rd July, Saturday.2 From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said
that it is one belonging to the reign of Jāṭāvaram Kulaśekhāra with Pūtālaṇaṇḍadai introduc-
tion for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic

---

1 Nos. 672 to 674 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
feature, viz., of counting fresh regnal years after the 4th. Thus, it is now clear that the three different introductions belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jañavarman and the name Kulašēkharā. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the Pātalamaṇḍandai introduction, the middle one adopted the Pāraiṅkāti introduction, while the last used the Pātalacōndai introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least 15 years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (=A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. Thus is there no doubt that this must have been the Kulašēkharā who killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākrama-Bālu of Ceylon. The importance of the year is brought out by the fact that the members of the assembly (Mūlaparishad) of Tiruppattūr in the Ramnad District wished to pay their respects to His Majesty the Pāṇḍya sovereign and utilised the amount realised in making tax-free, a land given to the temple in order to meet the expenses of their journey to Madura, the capital of the empire. It is not unlikely that other villages also sent in their representatives to the capital for the same purpose. Perhaps it was then that Kulašēkharā launched on the momentous programme of war against Parākrama, laid siege to the city of Madura with a view to capture it, and forced Parākrama to sue for help to the king of Ceylon. We learn from the Mahārāmnasa that the first event in this war was the siege of Madura by Kulaśēkharā-Pāṇḍya. There is an echo of the fact in a lithic record of the South Koṅgu king Rājakēśarivarman Kulōṭtuṅga (A.D. 1149-83) who, it may be said, was interested in the welfare and success of Kulaśēkharā, that young king being his sister's son. This lithic record which comes from Nēruvūr states that the Koṅgu king, set out on an expedition against Madura with the express object of capturing it for his nephew (marumana) Kulaśēkharā-Pāṇḍya, and that on the said occasion directed the saṅkā of the place to make a brahmādīya gift of some lands in Maṇimangalam, which had been his camping ground, as a yāṭrādāva to his purōhita Āḻvār Śribalidēva. The year of this important record is specially worthy of note. It is dated in the 17th year of the reign of Rājakēśarivarman Kulōṭtuṅgadēva corresponding to A.D. 1166-7, the very year of commencement of the Pāṇḍyan civil war and one that was marked 4+1st year of the reign of Kulaśēkharā. Thus, the evidence of all sources, viz., those furnished by the Mahārāmnasa, the Nēruvūr and Tiruppattūr inscriptions and the computation of astronomical details with the solar day, which the calculator regards as a characteristic indication, occurring in an epigraph dated in the 4+1st year, which kind of dating, we note, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions with Pātalamaṇḍandai introduction, bear out the particular importance of that year and single out the Kulaśēkharā of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. If more evidence is needed to further corroborate the identity of Jañavarman Kulaśēkharā of Pātalamaṇḍandai introduction with Kulaśēkharā of the civil war, it is supplied by a Tenkaraī inscription with that identical introduction, dated in the 3rd year of reign, telling us that the chief Sōlan Śilambaṅga alias Virachōḷa-Łuṅkēśvaradēva, a sāṁanta of prince (Perumāl) Virachōḷadēva of Ten-Koṅgu was already in the vicinity of Madura. Koṅgu-Chōḷa inscriptions leave no doubt as to Virachōḷa being a prince of that dynasty that eventually succeeded Rājakēśarivarman Kulōṭtuṅga noticed above. And the year of the inscription, which is A.D. 1164, shows that the chief was there immediately prior to the commencement of the war and the purpose is evident: and the Nēruvūr inscription explains it by telling us as to what followed. It speaks of the premeditated action of Kulaśēkharā.

1 No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.
2 No. 338 of the same collection for 1927-28.
Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like tiruttapayāndār, ayyār for father, ayyaḻvār for elder brother, akkan for elder sister, deriyār for queen, maṇḍar or pīḷiyār for son, maṇḍar or pey-pīḷi for daughter, maṇḍar for nephew or sister's son, maṅtō-maṇḍar for brother-in-law, ammaṇ for uncle, appāṭṭār for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms periyanvar, periyanḍēvar or periyanṇayāndar are employed. In dealing with the Tinnevelly inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that periyanḍēvar or periyanṇayāndar cannot definitely indicate a father. One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagarcoil, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Māravarman Śrīvallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśēkhara and another inscription found at Kottaikkaraṅgulam in the Tinnevelly District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king's reign, states that the Virēvaṃudaiyār was renamed Kulaśēkhara-Isvaramudaiyār after the name of the king's father, thus letting us know that Māravarman Śrīvallabha's father was also called Kulaśēkhara. Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśēkharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jaṭāvarman from the fact that the middle member Śrīvallabha was styled Māravarman. One other fact that is known is that Māravarman Śrīvallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Viraravivarman-Tiruvad, in all probability a ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered. There is thus every possibility of Māravarman Śrīvallabha's son being that Kulaśēkhara in whose reign, in about A.D. 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have started in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who had the introduction Pūtalamaṇḍandai, our assumption that Māravarman Śrīvallabha's son Kulaśēkhara might be a Jaṭāvarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kalladakurichi inscription, dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkharaṇadeva, which mentions periyanṇayāndar Śrīvallabhadēva, to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharaṇadeva with Pūtalamaṇḍandai introduction, and regard the Śrīvallabha referred to therein as being identical with Māravarman Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with Pūtalamaṇḍandai introduction.

With the materials available to us from inscriptions and other sources we have shown the significance of the end of the 4th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara that started the civil war and noted that it marks the day of triumph of Kulaśēkhara over his adversary Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who, it is said, had been put to death even before the arrival of the forces from Ceylon.

---

1 No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.
2 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
4 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
5 Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.
7 Ibid.
8 No. 31 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.
12 No. 327 of 1916.
14 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
15 No. 50 of 1896.
18 No. 110 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulaśēkha is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction Tirumugal-puṇava. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishnā Sastri expressed the view that Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrivallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Māravarman Śrivallabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvitturā, he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former. The conclusion we have arrived at above, viz., that Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1134 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The Mahāśālaśīna tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bhai. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulottunagā III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōlas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father's death he had been contesting with Kulaśēkha for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulaśēkha lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya's rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction Pātalas -madandai that Kulaśēkha held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājāhūra II. both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, i.e., the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālaṅgadu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayā Hinum in the Pudukkōttai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkha, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Tam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśēkha, hunting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king who directed the chief Pallavārivan to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protector of Ceylon. Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulaśēkha in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkollambūdhir inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōla king Kulottunagā and this cost him his own crown and kingdom. We have no direct information as to who this Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulaśēkha.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the medieval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jatāvarman Śrivallabha with the introduction

---

1 No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln, for 1908.
2 In. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1909, p. 84, paragraph 29.
Tirumangalam are registered in the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy. Four of these mention Sundara-Pándya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pándya without specifying his relationship to the king.¹ They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being of the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pándya, there is a possibility of taking Mārarvarman Sundara-Pándya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha is registered,² to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23.³ This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōla king Kulōtuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Adalaiyur-nādu⁴ by name Mumudisōlaṇ Virasēkharar figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulōtuṅga.⁵ That he must have been quite near in point of time to Mārarvarman Parākrama-Pándya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śrāman Tōlaṇ figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pándya made a gift of the village of Śengulam alius Virayaviśaṅkālanallī to the Mūlaśrānam udaiyar temple at Kaṭṭikaiḷḷī:⁶ and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha.⁷ It is further worthy of note that a grant made by the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharar with Pūṭalanaṭandai introduction. Thus, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulōtuṅga I, and immediately following Mārarvarman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśēkharar of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kāliṅgarāyaṇ was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharar I (Pāvaiṅkilattī).

From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pándya kings in the mediaeval period:—

(i) the line of Mārarvarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśēkharar-Pándya. To it belonged Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharar whose inscriptions have the Pūṭalanaṭandai introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Kōṅgus and the Chōlas. Mārarvarman Vikrama-Pándya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśēkharar's rule was brought about by the Chōla Rājādhīrāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Mārarvarman Vikrama-Pándya, Vira-Pándya, the son of Parākrama-Pándya, ruled.

(ii) The line of Parākrama-Pándya which counted himself, his son Vira-Pándya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Chōla inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Mārarvarman Sundara-Pándya I.

² No. 653 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēṣagamaudaiya-Nāyaṇar at Tiruvēṣagam in Pāganār-kūram.
³ No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
⁴ No. 30 of the same collection for 1909.
⁵ No. 32 of the same collection.
⁶ No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.
The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Cholas but also towards the kings of the two Kaugu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulasëkharana and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vira-Pandyya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them: and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Kaugu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Cholas was no less.

(iii) In the line of Jatavarman Sriyallabha, there was his son Sundara-Pandyya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jatavarman Sriyallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jatavarman Kulasëkharana with Pärisakilali introduction belonged to any one of the three line noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tirunelliy inscription of Maravarman Sundara-Pandyya II, I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jatavarman Kulasëkharana I and Maravarman Sundara-Pandyya I had a common father in Maravarman Vikrama-Pandyya.

The simultaneous existence of more than one king reigning over the Pandyya country leads us to think that one among them must have held the chief power and that the rest were subordinate to him, though independent in their own spheres. What determined the claim for the prime position in the kingdom we are yet to learn. All that we could gather from the account of the civil war is that there was some fixed principle followed in the choice of or claim for the position of honour. It has been shown above that when the civil war commenced, i.e., in A.D. 1167, Kulasëkharana, one of the claimants to the throne at Madura, had completed four years of his reign and Parakrama-Pandyya, the other claimant, had reigned for 12 years. The Sinhalese chronicle and the Chola and Kaugu inscriptions lead us to think that the throne of the premier ruler at Madura fell vacant in A.D. 1167 and the succession to it was disputed by the rivals. For aught we see, most of the kings of the mainland supported the cause of Kulasëkharana while the other received succour from the neighbouring island. It still remains to be known who it was that ruled in Madura till A.D. 1167. If seniority among the rulers determined the succession to the throne, there could not have been rival claims. Though Parakrama had reigned for 12 years on the date in question, it was Kulasëkharana that was supported by most of the kings in the south. This suggests that the principle was different. Future researches alone can enlighten us on the issue.

Now about the length of the reign of Jatavarman Kulasëkharana I and about his successor. The highest regnal year furnished for Jatavarman Kulasëkharana I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kanyakur (in the Tirumayami Taluk of the Pudukkotai State) states that, on the representation of Pillaiyar Alagapparumal, King Maravarman Sundara-Pandyya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

---

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
2 No. 246 of the Pudukkotai State collection.
Turumānādu in Kāṇa-nādu for the welfare and recovery from illness of Ulagudaiya-Nāyanār. The question is who are meant by Alāgapperumāḷ and Ulagudaiya-Nāyanār. At first sight it might appear that Alāgapperumāḷ must have been the son of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and that by the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyanār, Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya himself must be meant. This is wrong. Since Alāgapperumāḷ figures in the large Tiruppāvāram plates with the prefix Pillaiyār, there is reason to take him to be the son of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I. He might have been continued to be called Pillaiyār in later days also. In the plates, his high status is indicated by his having had under him an official bearing the designation ‘ādigāram.’ As Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I was living at the time of the Kaṇṭanār inscription, we think the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyanār must refer to him and not to Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The concern of the prince about the father is natural. Another important fact that the inscription under reference reveals is that Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, whose accession took place in A.D. 1216 and who appears to have been issuing records in his own name only from the 3rd year of his reign had been nominated already during the time of Kulaśēkharai I and he might be said to have had a share in the government of the country even before his nomination. As we have no inscription dated later than the 29th year for Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I which, by the way, is the same as the third year of the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, he must have succumbed to the disease referred to in the Kaṇṭanār record. The Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the plates under publication tells us that the king was apprised of the fact of completion of the formation of the village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimāṅgalam by Sundarēṣa (Sundarēṣal-aragata). From the facts just noticed, it seems likely that by Sundarēṣa is meant here Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Sundara’s war against Kulōttuṅga III must have been conducted under the standard of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I or at least it must have been countenanced by him. In this connection, it may be noted that some of the persons that held offices under Kulaśēkharai figure also in the records of Sundara. On the whole the reign of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I appears to have been a prosperous one, undisturbed by any wars except in the closing years. The king seems to have had good regard for Vedic learning and patronised the scholars proficient in it by founding big villages and granting them as brahmādēyas provided with all facilities for good living. Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is one of the biggest villages that was ever founded. To some extent the peace in the reign of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkharai I must be attributed to the decline of the Chōḷa power which may be said to have commenced in the last decade of the 12th century A.D. not long after the interference of Kulōttuṅga III in Pāṇḍya affairs ending in the accession of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya Māravarman, when the Chōḷas lost their hold on Conjeeveram, the second great city of the empire. In the latter part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III there were several factions in the Chōḷa country and though the heads of these factions recognised in a way the supreme authority of the Chōḷa emperor there is not much doubt that the peace of the country was greatly disturbed by the part played by the parties. The differences among them, which remained unremoved for a long time, contributed largely to the rapid weakening of the empire and gave the enemies of the Chōḷas, who had suffered seriously before, an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The time was favourable for the Pāṇḍyas to muster their strength and resources to try final issues with the Chōḷas in order to wipe out their disgrace. Just three years before the

---

1 No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (date lost), Pillaiyār Alāgapperumāḷ figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruvengarāvai in Pudukkōttai State and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 327).
end of the reign of Jayavarman Kulaśekhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.¹ That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jayavarman Kulaśekhara I and Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulaśekhara of the civil war with Pātalamanḍana introduction.


Of the Districts, Milalai-kuṟṟam and Mutuṟṟu-kuṟṟam have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.² It is stated in the Tamil Sōḷamangalam² that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Veḷḷūr in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kāmbar calls the northern boundary Enāṭtu-Veḷḷūr⁴ and thus distinguishes it from the

¹ A later record of the time of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (=A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on āincerely owned lands during the time of the Kannadiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭaikkarai in Kāṇa-nāṉdu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkottai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tirugōkkaraṇam, dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of SōmālaṆēr the queen of Nārasimha and the mother of Sōmēvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkottai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hōysalas aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas.

² For the present we leave out of consideration the minor principalities: they will be dealt with separately.

³ The verse runs as follows: it is given here for easy reference:—

|ŚēluṆ-kuṇapāṟṟāṟṟi| | Cēḷĭyēr | | Meḻkuṟṟi | | Veḷḷūr |
|Vellūr-Kōṭṭaikkarai| Vilavu | Meḻpāḷ | Veḷḷūrē | |EllaṆ-oru-nāṅṆiṆu-kādam=irupā-nāṅṆum-iṭṭam peridā |
|Mallai vālku talaiṭ=ōṅ gum valaṆ-chēr Sōḷa-maṆḍalame 5 |

⁴ The following is the stanza:—

Kāṭal kulakku=ttērku=kkarai-pūṟṟal-Veḷḷūr |
Kūḷa-tīśiḷiṟ-Kōṭṭaikkaraiyam vadā-tīśiḷiṟ |
Enāṭtu Veḷḷūr=irupattu-nāṟ-kādam |
SōṆāṭṭukk-ellaiyena-chehol |
other Vellāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the Śloka-mangalasātakaṁ and Kambar flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older one but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or remamed it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as Koṅg-āṇa Viraśōla-maṇḍalam, Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āṇa Nigarilōla-maṇḍalam, Toṇḍai-nāḍ-āṇa Jayaṅgōḍaśōla-maṇḍalam, Rājarāja-Paṇḍināḍu, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōla Āditya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājarāja I gave that country the new name Jayaṅgōḍaśōla-maṇḍalam, it is the ancient name Toṇḍai-nāḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Paṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Paṇṭata I in the 10th century A.D. and was remamed Rājarāja-Paṇḍināḍu in the 11th century, the name Paṇḍi-nāḍu or Paṇḍi-maṇḍalam exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Vellāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōla dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than Toṇḍai or Sōla-maṇḍalam. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamiḻ literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāngi Taluk which lies to the south of the Vellāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōla dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppanavāsāl and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Vellāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇāmaṅkudi and east of Toṇḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line 79° 5' cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Vellāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmsād and Sīvagārza Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāngi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in Miḷālaikōṟṟam. This Miḷalai-kōṟṟam is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Vellāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named Vēl-Evvi, of ancient
stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made.\(^1\) He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēḷ-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrtti-Ṇāyanār celebrate him in one of the Tēvāram hymns.\(^2\) Vēḷ-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Takaivālaiyaṉattu-śrīvēndra-Neḻunjēliyan.\(^3\) Vēḷ-Pāri’s liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord.\(^4\) If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya Neḻunjēliyan and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Milalai-kūṟram, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, i.e., Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Milalai-kūṟram as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, viz., Kil-kūṟru, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mel-kūṟru, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāṁbāṟu, and Naḻuvir-kūṟru, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they be scattered and unrecognized in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōḷas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōḷa dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Milalai-kūṟram with its sister district of Mutturru-kūṟram should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōḷas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Vellāṟu river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōḷa dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēḷ-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Milalai-kūṟram. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Milalai-kūṟram found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection.\(^5\) They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

---

\(^1\) "Ombēr-ignai mā-Vēḷ-Evvi" and "Ton-mudir Vēḻir" are the expressions used in describing him in Puram 24.

\(^2\) Verse 2 of Sundaramūrtti-Ṇāyanār’s hymn on Tiruppurugalār.

\(^3\) Puram 24. The words used are "Milalaiyōdu * * * Mutturru tanda korra-nil-kudai-kkodi-ūṭir-chēḷiyān."

\(^4\) Puram 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—

Kadand-uṭuñai māviruñ-kōdiy-
udānantiyinam Paramba koḷāñk-aridē
Munnūr-ūṭtē tāñ-Paramba-ṇān-nāḍu
Munnūr-ṭrum parāśalār peṭṭuṇar.

In an inscription, Tiruvāṇḍavēr is said to have been situated in Tēp-Paramba-ṇāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. (No. 423 of S. J. I., Vol. VIII.)

\(^5\) There is a valuable contribution in the Kōṟṟumalar (Vol. IV, pp. 80ff) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on ‘Vēḷ-Evvi and his country’ where he has collected together most of the references to Milalai-kūṟram and Mutturru-kūṟram found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēḷ-Evvi.
Miiilai-kūram.1

Naṭuvir-kūru.

Āvudaiyākōyil11 or Tirupperundurai alias Pavitramāṇikka-chaturvedimāngalam.

Tachehanenmai,13

Tuḻalur.14

Amaradi (or ḍakki) maṅgalam.15

Paravilmāngalam.16

Viṭākkāṭṭur alias Viṭakramaśālanal-lur.17

Pullurkkudi.18

Parāntakanallur alias Kulottungasōjanallur.19

Puṭukkudi.20

Mēl-kūru (Vada-Pāṃbāruru-nāṉu)

Aṉatavattur.21

Āḷappirandāṉ-Būmiyur.22

Māḷavar-māṇikkam.23

Śendamaṅgalam.24

Ēṅāṅalur.24

Māṉmōrū

Tāṁmūr-Andalakkudi alias Daraṉgal-viechchādiranallur.26

Sundaramāṇīya nallur.27

Vaikundanallur.28

Nujambūr.29

The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.

If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kīl-kūru in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naṭuvir-kūru on the western half, with the exception of Parāntakanallur alias Kulottungasōjanallur. The last men-

1 This District was sometimes called Gēyavinōda-valanāḍu (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (531 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Miiilai-kūram without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Mūṇpāḷai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvilū (No. 125 of 1912), Okkūr (No. 247 of S. I. I., Vol. VII), Veḷḷūr (No. 393 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII), Vittārpaṟṟū and Āḍūṇī (No. 211 of the same Volume), Pāṟūr (No. 67 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1910), Tiruvindalūr (No. 547 of 1916), Perunāṉalūr (No. 406 of S. I. I., Vol. V), Irumbāḷi (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Adumbrū (No. 66 of 1927).

9 Below, text-line 76.


11 No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of S. I. I., Vol. V.


15 Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.

16 No. 372 of S. I. I., Vol. IV.


22 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 437.


24 Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.

25 Nos. 324, 492 and 391 of Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

26 No. 411 of the same collection.

27 No. 372 of the same collection.


29 Ibid., No. 987.


31 No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection No. 124.
tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbanādu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallīr. The places noted above under Mēl-kūṟru, also called Vaiḻa-Pāṁbāṟu-nādu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, viz., Mālavarmāṇikkam, Śundamanāḷalam and Eṇāṅgāḷur are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēl chieftain Evvi in the first instance. That this Kūṟram is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, i.e., from the beginning of the tenth century downwards as being situated in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalāram shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍyas from Vēl-Evvi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōḷas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōḷa inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūṟram originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēl chieftain must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalāram. It would simply have been called Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram just like Uṟṟūr-kūṟram. All that the Chōḷa conquest meant was that the Chōḷa suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his subject. Some of the places of Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the place themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamōkkudi is the place of nativity of Kulaĉheirai-Nāyāṇār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king Nēlvēli-pōr-veṇgrināṟ-ṟeṇumāṟaṇ (i.e., Ṛeṇumāṟaṇ who acquired lasting fame by the conquest in the battle of Nēlvēli), the king that was converted to the Šaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jñānasambandha, the contemporary of Śiruttontāḷa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vāṭāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Śekkjar, the author of the Tamil Periyapurāṇam and the minister of the Chōḷa king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamōkkudi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there. Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description. Similarly, Āvudaiyārōyil is connected with the history of Māṇikkavāchakā, another Pāṇḍya minister.

Now about Muttūṟṟu-kūṟram, which like Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram was subject to the rule of the Vēl chief Evvi and was included in the Pāṇḍya country. The very fact that the two districts were subject to the sway of one ruler suggests at once that Muttūṟṟu-kūṟram must lie adjacent to Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram, which, as shown above, occupied South-Arantangi Taluk and parts of Pudukkōṭṭai State and Rāmnāḍ District. In determining the region in which this district lay and for knowing to which kingdom it belonged in early days, nothing will be so valuable as a collection of the epigraphs which refer to this district and identifying the places mentioned therein. The inscriptions which mention Muttūṟṟu-kūṟram are not many, but even the few that we have, are sufficient for

1 No. 299 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Maṇpāḷai in Mīḷaḷai-kūṟram in Pāṇḍi-nādu.
2 Periyapurāṇam (Kulaĉheirai-Nāyāṇār, vv. 1 and 8). The following are the verses:—Paṇnū tōl-poḻāl-paṇḍi-maṇ-ṇāṭṭi-ašhe-nēḷā-vaiyāl-ti-karumpin-aṭya-puṇnu pūga-puṟambaṇaṉ sūndadu maṇṇu vaṁmaiya-in-ṟe Maṇamōkkudi.] Insa naḻ-ollakatkinā ṛllā-ṭeṇṇavaṉ Neṇumāṟaṇu ār-tigal naṇnu mandirikatu mēḻ-āyīṟṟu onṉaḷ-achem-urudikkāṉ ninṟuḷā.]
3 See foot-note 5, page 91 above.
locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Milalai-kūram. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parantaka I. A few others call the province, in which Mutturru-kūram was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-mañgalam and Rājata-pāṇḍi-mañgalam. The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Mutturru-kūram are Kaṭṭivāyil, Aṉjukottai, Kappalūr alias Ulagalaṅda-sōḷanallūr, Aḍchangāri-mañgalam, Muttur alias Uyyakkoḍa-sōḷanallūr, Arayattūr, Sundarampandiyachaturvēdi-mañgalam, Māvalūr, Kuruvaḍimidi aliya Jīnendranamangalam. Tittanam, Teppalai, Tiruppunavāyil, and Andaṉūr-Śīrukambūr. The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Milalai-kūram, is Tiruvāḍānai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk runs the river Pāṃbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivāyil, Aṉjukottai, Kappalūr, Muttur, Aḍchangāri and Andaṉūr-Śīrukambūr. Tiruppunavāyil (Tiruppunavāyil) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea. We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Śekkīlar to the fact that Tiruppunavāyil was included in the Pāṇḍya country. If there was room for misconception in the case of Milalai-kūram on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Mutturru-kūram. Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tiruppattūr Taluk that the river Pāṃbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Mutturru-kūram.

Mutturru-kūram is believed by some to have been taken by the Pāṇḍya king Neṇunāḷiyan from Īruṅgōvēl. We shall now consider the question if this District could ever have been included in the territory of Īruṅgōvēl, who, like Vēl-Exvi and Pāri flourished in early days and was one among the chieftains defeated by the said Pāṇḍya. Tamil literature and inscriptions both bear

---

1 No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
2 Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.
3 No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.
4 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266. 
5 Ibid., No. 408.
7 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915, No. 76.
10 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.
11 No. 60 of the Podukkottai State Collection.
12 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.
13 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 599.
14 Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.
15 S. I., Vol. VIII, No. 213.
16 Ibid., No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.
17 Aṉjukottai is to the north-east of Tiruvāḍānai, Kaṭṭivāyil is east by north of Aṉjukottai and about three miles to the west of the Pāṃbāru river and Śīrukambūr is to the west of the Pāṃbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivāyil. Kappalūr lies to the west of the Pāṃbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.
18 Jānasamandha and Sundaramūtum-Nāyanār describe it in these words:—
   "Peraṅ-kaḏḷaṅ-kaṇalivāyppuṇḍarīgam malar-porporū āhūnā Punarāvēyilu"
   "Kaḏḷaṅ-kaṇalivāyppuṇḍerū tōramuni-emperumān Punarāvēyilu."
19 Verses 984 to 989 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jānasamandha before returning to his place. Among these Punarāvēyil is one (v. 991).
evidence to the fact that the territory over which Irungōvēl-chiefs ruled was called Köṇāḍu⁴ and that its capital was Köḷumbālūr." The question reduces itself to this: 'Could Muttirru-kūṟṟam have been included in or was even adjacent to Köṇāḍu?' Köṇāḍu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Köṇāḍu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattur Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāṇa-nāḍu and this Kāṇa-nāḍu is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimangalam. It was contiguous to Kēralāśīṅga-valaṇāḍu. So then, between Köṇāḍu which is reputed to be the territory of Irungōvēl chiefs and Muttirru-kūṟṟam, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēralāśīṅga-valaṇāḍu and Kāṇa-nāḍu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimangalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttirru-kūṟṟam which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍāpai Taluk of the Rāmānad District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Köṇāḍu, the territory over which Irungōvēl held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

Kōṇāḍu—


(b) Kūḷalūr-nāḍu—Pāṇaiyūrkūlam. Sēvālūr. Sīṟaiyūr.—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

(c) Kūṇiṟyūr or Kūṇriśūl-nāḍu—Kalāṇiṇīvālūr. Mēl-Maṇḍalūr. Pāṇaiyūr. Pūmangaṇūri, Śikhamalūr. Tirumalakkuṟṟam.—all in the Kuḷattur Taluk.


(f) Vaḍā Śīṟvāṭil-nāḍu in (e) alias Iḷaiyavūr. Kīṟnanūr. Kūṟmāmaṇgalam.—all in the Kuḷattur Taluk.

(g) Vayaḷaṇa-nāḍu—Pulvāyal and Vayaḷagam. Both are in Kuḷattur Taluk.

Kāṇa-nāḍu—


---

¹One of the earliest sovereigns of Köṇāḍu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śaiva devotee Iḍaṅgai-Nāyānār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷ family, ruled from Köḷumbālūr and was a lineal descendant of Aditya (r. 2 of Iḍaṅgai-Vēḷagur Purāṇam). The Māvarkōyil inscription of Köḷumbālūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷ family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1908, p. 87).

²Kōḷumbālūr (Kōḷumbāḷ) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (Śīḷap-podikāṟṟam, Kōḷakīṅḍiḷai, l. 71).

³Tirumeyyam in Kāṇa-nāḍu has one of the eighteen famous Vaṅgārva temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāṇa-nāḍu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.
(b) Señgar-nāḍu:—Ālaṅgūṭī. Āṅguṭī, and Mēḷanilai.
(c) Turumā-nāḍu:—Ānandandai, Kaṇṭhanūr, Tirunāvalūr and Turumā,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

Kēralaśīṅga-vālanāḍu1 and Madurōdaya-vālanāḍu2 mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tiruppatṭūr Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śīvaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, viz., (1) Kalvāyi-l-nāḍu, (2) Śōlapāṇḍya-vālanāḍu,3 (3) Kīl-Kūṇḍarū, (4) Tēṅṉāṟṟoppōkku, (5) Tīruttīṉyūr-Muṭṭam, and (6) Adalaiyūr-nāḍu. Of the villages of (1) Kalvāyi-l-nāḍu, viz., Nelvāyi4, Pullamāṅgalam5, Kulaśekharapuram,6 and Sundarapāṇḍiyavāpuram,7 are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while Iḷaiyattakudi aliia (or near) Kulaśekharapuram,8 Iraiṇyūr,9 Koṟṟamaṅgalam9 and Koṟṟattūr10 are in the Tiruppatṭūr Taluk. The villages in (2) are Kēraiṟūr,11 Tirukkōṭṭiyūr,12 Śōḷamāṟṟundu-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam,13 i.e., Śivāpurī. Kaṇṭhamāṅgalam,14 Karuṅgulattūr,15 Mēḷūr,17 Pūdikkudi,18 Śirudaiyūr19 and Śirūlai.20 The village Alagāpurī21 was situated in (3). In the sub-division of Tēngāṟṟoppōkku was the village Nīṟṟam22 (Nėmēm). Tiruttintel-Muṭṭam had two divisions; in the eastern division (Kīlai-Tiruttintel-Muṭṭam) were the villages Śīruyvelai,23 Anṇiyūr,24 Desāṅgalam,24 Koṟṟungulam,24 Vēppāṅgalam,24 and Vēṟṟiyūr,24 while Mēḷai-Tiruttintel-Muṭṭam had Pāṅgṛerī25 in it. The village of Tirukkūṟakudi (Kuṟmakudi) was in Adalaiyūr-nāḍu in which passed the river Tēṅṉūr.27 The villages of Iḷai-Kaḻambaṅgalam28 (modern Śaṅnavaram). Pīḷai29 and Koṟṟamaṅgalam30 were in Tiruttintel-Muṭṭam; but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

1 No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṇḍimāṇḍalum.
3 Though the term valanāḍu is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of Kēralaśīṅga-vālanāḍu, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.
4 Nos. 252 and 238 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.
5 No. 267 of the same collection.
6 No. 491 of the same collection.
7 No. 346 of the same.
8 No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.
9 No. 19 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.
10 No. 89 of 1916 of the same collection.
11 No. 83 of 1916.
12 No. 133 of the same for 1907.
14 Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928-29.
15 No. 36 of the same for 1916.
16 No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.
17 No. 201 of the same for 1924.
18 No. 290 of the same for 1924.
19 No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.
20 No. 224 of the same for 1924.
21 No. 101 of the same for 1924.
22 Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.
23 No. 53 of the same for 1924.
25 No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.
26 No. 23 of the same for 1909.
27 No. 263 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.
28 No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
29 No. 12 of the same.
30 No. 50 of the same collection for 1924.
The sub-divisions of Madurödaya-vaḷanāḍu and the villages situated in them are noted below:—

(1) Kāṇai-Irukkai which had in it Ulakkudi,1 Iruṇchirai,2 Koṭṭakāri,3 Vēlāṇēri,4 Karpa-
kiṟṟi2 and Iraśiṅganallur.5

(2) Māḍakkukalakkil which had in it Koḍimaṅgalam,4 Madurai,5 Śīrvenkuṟṟam.6

(3) Vēḻurkukalikkil, with Kundaḍēvi-chaturvēdiṅmaṅgalam.7

(4) Rājaśiṅgaṅkalkalikkil which had in it Rājendiram,8 Tiruppūvaṇam,9 Ambalattēdi-chatur-
vēdiṅmaṅgalam.10

(5) Karunīlakkuḍi-nāḍu which had in it Tiruttaṅgal.11

(6) Iḍaikkudi-nāḍu which had in it Mēlai-Śēluvaṇur12 alias Śatrubhayāṅkaarānallur.

(7) Venbula or Venbil-nāḍu which had in it Kumāṟapavitra-chaturvēdiṅmaṅgalam13 and Ṣōnakāṭṭirakkai-Iḍattuvai.14

(8) Purappaḷai-nāḍu which had in it Puttūr,15 Kaḷliṅkuḍi,16 Miḷagaṇur16 and Nirmadaiyur.17

(9) Kallaga-nāḍu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten Kallaga-
nāḍu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dēśipattanam aliha Vikra-
maśōḷapuram18 (Vikramaṅgalam), Śēndāṅēri-Kaṭikalēḷur (Ṭenkarai)19 and Paᾶ-
krampāṇḍiyapuram.20

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates without
mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu. These
are Māḍakkukalikkil, Rājaśiṅgaṅkukalikkil, Purappaḷai-nāḍu and Kāṇai-Irukkai.

A word of explanation is necessary for treating as sub-divisions geographical terms ending
in ‘kalikkil’, of which we have as many as four instances. In mentioning villages, inscriptions
usually give first the district, then the sub-division and lastly the village. Districts generally have
the suffix vaḷanāḍu and the sub-divisions end in nāḍu. Sometimes in place of vaḷanāḍu, the term
kūrram is employed; and if it had not any sub-divisions with distinct and different names, it is
itself divided into two or more divisions according to the directions in which they lay, such as east,
middle and west, north and south, etc. This is also the case even with regard to some-

---

2 Below, text-lines 108, 245, 246 and 250.
5 Below, text-line 16.
6 No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
7 No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.
8 Below, text-line, 92.
9 Below, text-line, 133.
11 No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
12 No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Tangal occurs as a village in the Pāṇḍya country in the Śūppendeśaram.
sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Mādakkuḷai-
kūṟṟam had no separate sub-divisions : in the place of the latter, we have Kīḷ-kūṟṟu, Naḍuvir-
kūṟru and Mōl-kūṟru, i.e., the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division
Śembi-nāḍu had Vādataiḷai-Śembi-nāḍu, Kīḷ-Śembi-nāḍu, etc., i.e., the northern and eastern
portions of Śembināḍu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are men-
tioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical
items Mādakkuḷai, Rājēndraśīvanai, etc., immediately follow a vālanaṇu or district and are
followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to
take the terms ending in “ kulakki ” to mean “ to the east of any particular tank ”. In these
items the participle Kīḷ does not mean “ east ” as opposed to “ mēl ” “ west ” but stands for “ under or
in ”. Hence we have inserted the four items ending in kulakki as sub-divisions and assigned
them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy
of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be
situated to the west, north or south of Mādakkuḷai, Rājēndraśīvanai, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vādataiḷai-Śembi-nāḍu in which
Āykkudi alīs Alagayapāṇḍiyamalil was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the
villages Iyamarisvaram,1 Mēlai-Kōḍumalir2 or Koḍumalir alīs Uttamapāṇḍiyamallur, Kīlai-
Kōḍumalir3 alīs Madurūdayamalir, Māvilangai,4 Nallurkuruchchi,5 Perunālilalir6 and
Deyvachchilalilalir otherwise called Paṇṭānai. Except Iyamarisvaram (Emanisvaram)
which is in the Paramakiṇḍi Taluk, the rest are found in the Mudukulattur Taluk of the Rāmnād
District. The name of the division shows that Śembi-nāḍu had other divisions. In fact, inscrip-
tions refer to Kīḷ-Śembi-nāḍu in which were the villages Āṣiṇkiṇḍi,7 Kāḷukai alīs Kāḻidavai
Kōḍumalir, Kāḻambāṅguḍi,7 Nallaiṇkudi,7 Maruvai alīs Śrivallabai,7 Paviṭṭiṟimaiṅkai
Paiṇṭi,8 Nallirukkaśi alīs Vitraṇaiṅkai, Tiruppulai,9 Śembiyai-Paṟṟi,7 Śrīdēśai
which had in it Tiru-Uttaraiṅkai, as other divisions of Śembiyai. Most of these villages
are in the Rāmnād Taluk.

Kāḻavaiṇai-nāḍu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vāda-Kāḻavaiṇai-nāḍu
were Alagaiṁāṅgar,9 Kōḍaiṇaiṅkai,10 Kuṇṟattur11 and Purukki.12 Ten-Kāḻavaiṇai-nāḍu
had in it Mūḍikkoṇḍapāṇḍiyaparam13 and Pūḷūri14 alīs Śrivallabai. That Kāḻambāṅ-
gudi was a village in Kāḻavaiṇai-nāḍu and bore the name Mālaiyaraiṅkōṭṭai is learnt from two
inscriptions.15 Arāḷaiyaiṅ was another village in the same division.16

2 Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1926.
4 No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.
6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 399.
7 Ibid., No. 398.
8 Ibid., No. 402.
9 Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 278 of 1920-30.
10 No. 318 of the same collection for 1929.
11 Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.
12 No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 18 of 1924.
13 No. 47 of the same for 1923.
14 No. 229 of the same for 1924.
15 Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.
16 No. 306 of the same collection for 1923.
## APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arayaṉ Nārayaṉaṉ of Kaṭṭikuru-chchi.</td>
<td>Parāntakanaḷḷur</td>
<td>Naṉuvir-kūṟṟu</td>
<td>Miḷalai-kūṟṟam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parāntakaṉ Tiruppūvaṉamadaiyān.</td>
<td>Taṇḍalai</td>
<td>Kīḻ-kūṟṟu</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pillai Āḻyān alias Ponnambalak-kottan who was the kaṇkaṭaṉ of Tiruṉaiykkēḻiṉ. Ponnaṉ Sūrīyadēvan alias Jayadhara-Pallava-raiyar.</td>
<td>Karuppūr</td>
<td>Tirumunaṉappāṉuṉai-nāṭu</td>
<td>Soḷaṃadalam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vēḷaṉ Śattan, the kaṇkaṭaṉ of Poyya-moliṉaiyār.</td>
<td>Kil-Netṭāṉ1 alias Kiriṟivāḷ-kāḷiaṇallur.</td>
<td>Karungudi-nāṭu</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nārayaṉaṉ Śattan who was the kaṇkaṭaṉ of Śāmudaiyam Śirāmaṉ Tiruṉaḷaiyān alias Pottappich-chōḷaṉ.</td>
<td>Veḷiyāṟṟur2 Kappalur alias Ulagaṇanda-sēḷamadaiyān</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
<td>Kēralaiṅga-vaḷaṇai-nāṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Arayaṉ Tirumalai-udalaiyān who was the kaṇkaṭaṉ of Māḷippattanam Śīvalaiyam Aliyamaṇṇaṉaḷ ṛaṉai Kāḷiṅgaṟaiyar.</td>
<td>Arunakalai Ḁāykaṭuḷ4 alias Aliyapāṇ- ḍiyamadaiyān</td>
<td>Poliyūr-nāṭu</td>
<td>Vadataḷai-Ṣebmbi-nāṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Arayaṉ Karuṁaiṉikkaṉ who was the kaṇkaṭaṉ of Maḷaiyaṟaiy.</td>
<td>Kit-Pasalai alias Dāṇiṅgaṇḍamadaiyān.</td>
<td>Tiyandaṟkuṉuṅai-nāṭu</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Uyyavaṉadaiṉ Ponnaṉ alias Māṅkaṟaṉaṉ Mūṟeṉdaṉvelaiṉ who was the adhipriṇam of Pillaiyar Alagappuṟuṇai.</td>
<td>Kappalur alias Ulagaṇanda-sēḷamadaiyān</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
<td>Muttūṟur-kūṟṟam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Malaṅkiniyaiṉerān Aliyam alias Vaiṣaiya Vichhādiradaiyāṉ who was one of the mukkuṟu of Śōḷapāṇḍiyaṇāṭṭu-kūṟṟum-seyyiṟu Aliyapāṇdiyaiṉaiṉ.</td>
<td>Rāṉḍiraiṇu</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
<td>⋯⋯⋯</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Netṭāṉ is in the Śivaganga Taluk.
2 This is in the Tiruppattur Taluk.
3 This is a (Z) village in Tiruṉaiyaiṉai Taluk.
4 Paramakudi Taluk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mādavaṇ Divākara-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Māṇaviramadurai</td>
<td>Tiyaṇdaikudi-ṇādu</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Śī-(Śī) Mādavaṇ Nārasinha-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gōvindaṇa Tirunilakanṭha-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jātavēḍaṇa Subrahmanyā-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—Inclusive of the five persons of Māṇaviramadurai named above (in Section II), the following others that are mentioned in the next six sections (III to VIII) who were concerned in the formation of the new brahma-dēya also went with the elephant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ādityan Śendapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Turukkuḍandai.</td>
<td>Marudār alias Madurōdaya-chaturvedinsāgalam.</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Śrī-Krishnaṇ Aḷagiyarāghava-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kāliyaṇa Vengaiṅkotta-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV (l. 98-100).</th>
<th>Names of persons.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Sub-division.</th>
<th>District or Province.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ākīṭaṅga Śrīraṅganātha-Bhaṭṭaṇ-Sōma-Kāṭhukayājīyaṅ</td>
<td>Mūr-Pāśalai alias Śrīvallabhā-chaturvedimāṅgalam.</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Śrī-Vāsudēvaṃ Nāgapurāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Śrī-Rāmaṇa Paramāṭma-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V (l. 100-103).</th>
<th>Names of persons.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Sub-division.</th>
<th>District or Province.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Āraṇya Uyyanināruṇaṇ alias Śembiyadaraiyaṅ</td>
<td>Kūt-Pāśalai alias DaṇVinōdanallūr.</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Kēsavaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇa</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Karumēṅkkam-Korāṇa</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kalviṅga Kēsavaṇa</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Periyāṅ Pāṅraṅ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nāhuṇaṃ Alazan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Vāsadēvaṃ Sūriyādēvaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>******</td>
<td>******</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Melappūsali and Kilappasali are (I) villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI (ll. 103-106).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Appan Sūryadēvan alias Polýūr Pārthuvakēsari-nallūr.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Udayan Varagaṇadēvan alias Alagiyapāṇḍiya-Viluppuraivān.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sūriyan Varantaruvān alias Sangrarāmasinga-Pallavaraiyan.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sundarattoludaiyān Sōmadēvan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII (ll. 106-108).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Davāndai Uyyavandān alias Chēdrarān.</td>
<td>Kallikkudi alias Puravuvarinallūr.</td>
<td>Purappagaḷai-nāḷu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Aṇukkan Ariyān</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Appan Arumoliṭēvan alias Sembiyān-Viluppaiyān.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Puttūr-kilavan Battan alias Purappaḷaijanāḷu-kilavaṇ.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII (ll. 108-110).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Paliṇāndai Sūryiyadēvan alias Taminōḍukilavan.</td>
<td>Iruṇechirai alias Indirasamāna-nallūr.</td>
<td>Kōṇai-Irukkai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Vēḷān Irttai alias Rājakūṭjarai-Pallavaraiyan.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX (ll. 110-120).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Śulraṇ Sēlva</td>
<td>Mījaganūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rāman Aḷagan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Śōgan Mākkkan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Nāgadevan Rāman alias Rājanāra-yaṇa-Muvendavelān.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Ārasiriyaṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This is a (Z) village in the Sivaganga Taluk.
2 Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kattuvallūr-Iruṇechirai. See V. 38 of Tiruvilālavyayāyār Tiruvilāyudal 44, p. 162. "Tiruppaya vilavu pāṭṭi-tumind-iruṇechirai vaitṭār-ner-ēppperar-Kattuvallūr-Iruṇechirai-embar-īṟum". The place is near Māṇānadurai. A later inscription (No. 399 of S. I., Voi. VIII) mentions Iruṇechirai-vajanāḷu and locates Maṇnaiyūrkoṭtai in it.
3 This is an (I) village in Sivaganga.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Sub-division.</th>
<th>District or Province.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Arasiyân Pullâni who had the Knisoppura of Pullâni Mādēvâna</td>
<td>Achchâkătti-rukkai Turumâli-rujilai Mâlangudi</td>
<td>Kît-Šembi-nâdu</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Miḷâganâr surnamed Râjendranâlîr by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Miḷâganâr that was taken up and included in Râjagambhirâ-chaturvâdîmâlâgam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X (l.l. 120-123).</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Šâttâṇ Kâpâvâdi</td>
<td>Śrûkûlâtûrâ alias Parâkrama-pândîyanallûr.</td>
<td>Alâgiya-pândîya-kulakkîl.</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sundaratîtudâiyân Dêvâṇ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Šâttâṇ Kâpâdân alias Tirumâli-rûjilai Dîssg.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Vêjân Sundaratîtudâiyân</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Śîvallavan Pâbîvira-mudâiyân alias Mârânûrâtâ-Vêjân.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Dêvâṇ Śîvallavan Arajamâkkidâsân</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XI (l.l. 123-124).</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Udaîradîvâkârâ Sri-Kârimâra-Bhattâna of Jiviamâlâgam.</td>
<td>Śrûkudî alias Virakâmûgamâlâgam.</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Nârîyânaṇ Subrahmanyâ-Bhattâna</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XII (l.l. 125-127).</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Uryanînârâdi Periyâlâna</td>
<td>Vîlattai alias Mânîbharâna-chaturvâdîmâlâgam.</td>
<td>Kîranûr-nâdu</td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Śêndapîłâ Karumûmûgîl-Bhattâna</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Gîvîmân Mânêndukâyân</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Ādîyân Bhâskara-Bhattâna</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XIII (l.l. 127-128).</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Vêjân Kôvâ</td>
<td>Vellûrkuruchchi alias Alâgiya-pândîya-kulakkîl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Ādi Perrân</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>..........................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Most of the places in Kît-Šembi-nâdu are, like Mâlangudi, situated in the Rampad Taluk of the Rampad District.
2 There is a village called Śrûkûlam in the Śivaṅganga Taluk.
3 This place is in Śivaṅganga.
4 There is a Viḷattakanîl in the Śivaṅganga Taluk.
5 This is perhaps Vellûrkuruchchi in the Śivaṅganga Taluk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Vēlān Alagan <em>alias</em> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Māvēndavēḷāṇ.</td>
<td>Veḷūrurūchchē</td>
<td>Alagiyapāṇḍiya-kukkil.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Vēlān Śrilankō</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**XIV (ll. 129-131).**

| 63        | Ālvān Upādhyāyar | Marudūr | Tiruvūvaṇam | "          |
| 64        | Karumānikkam Ulagamundān Bhaṭṭān | Perumpuliyūr | "          | "          |
| 65        | Mayūravahānaṇ Āḍuvān-Bhaṭṭaṇ | Marudūr | "          | "          |

**XV (ll. 131-132).**

| 66        | Rāmaṇ Uyyavandāṇ | Veḷūr *alias* Alagiyapāṇḍiya-anallūr. | Kiraṇūr-nādu | "          |
| 67        | Pēṟṟān Pāṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | "          |
| 68        | Dēvaṇ Nambi | Ditto | Ditto | "          |
| 69        | Sōraṇ Nāṭṭaṇ | Ditto | Ditto | "          |

*Note.*—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clubbing the villages in the *brahma-dēya* of Rājakambrha-chaturvēlimānagalam.

**XVI (ll. 133-139).**

| 70        | Ānaiṭṭaṇam Pammāna Adiyārkunal-laperumāṉ *alias* Pallavadaraiyaṉ. | Tiruppūvaṇam | Irāṅṅaṅkulkukkil | "          |
| 71        | Meṉḷu Malaiyaṉ Sōraṇ *alias* Vinjattaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |
| 72        | Dēvaṇ Tillai *alias* Madurōḍaya-Pallavaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |
| 73        | Śikayilīya-Bhaṭṭaṇ *alias* Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |
| 74        | Kanavadi Śrāmaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |
| 75        | Eṟṟa Periyāṇ *alias* Pāṇḍiya Pallavaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |
| 76        | Pōṟṟu Aravacamaiyaṉ Villi *alias* Muḷḷuṭtalakodu-Pallavaraiyaṉ. | "          | "          | "          |

*Note.*—The seven persons of group XVI conducted the female elephant.
APPENDIX B.

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhīra-valaṇāṇḍu.

(Lines 19 tc 69.)

Kīraṇūr-nāḍu.
Nakkamaṅgalam.—The village of Kīraṇūr in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vāgaṇḍū.—This was a dēvdōva of Tiruppāvaṇamuddaiyār.

Tiruppāvaṇam.

Tuttīyūr.—There is a village called Tuttikulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kīraṇgākkōṭṭai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḻivēṭṭi, Muttam, Kōppanēri, Tādaḷaiyilī-Ṭiyāṭi-ёмbal, Veḷḷattaiyėppīn-ёмbal, Naiḻivēṟkkōṭṭai and Kāḻaṇ-
Eṭṭi-kurrechuḷi are lands in Kīraṇgākkōṭṭai.

Pāṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu.

Adikara.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Muttiravāḷi.

Vēḷangulaṁ.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Omaḷaiyēppīn-ёмbal.—A land in Vēḷangulaṁ.

Sōlaiḍēri.—Now called Sōlaiśēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Koḷai Invocation.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aṉuvaram-Pudukkulam.

Kīṭ-Chūṟai.

Mēṟ-Chūṟai.

Pūlīruṟuḷam.

Pāṇaṅgalūr alias Pāṇḍitaṉaiḷarangallēr.

Ṣeyyakullattūr.—Its present name is Seyyakullattūr (in Śivaganga).

Ṣeyyakullattūr—A land in Seyyakullattūr.

Vaiṭiyūr.

Karkupiḷḷi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkurucheli.

Aṟiyanukurucheli.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aṟaiyakulam.

Aṟuḷaṟu, Viraṅgappēṟavan-ёмbal, Viraṅgappēṟavan-ёмbal, Moliyēppīn-ёмbal, Aṉbuḷakkōṭṭep-ёмbal,

Sīṭtān-ёмbal and Pāṉḍiṟyēṟu-ppēṟavan-ёмbal. are lands in Aṉaiyakulam.

Uṉaiyamangalam.

Pudaicēvaṅgāṇi.—This is a land in Uṉaiyamangalam.

Tīyaṉdaikkudī-nāḍu.

Uṟaṟy.

Kōṭṭai.

Śivagaiyēṅkōṭṭai and Uṟumbandai are lands in the above village.

Uḷḷaṟaṇi.—Still bears the same name. It is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Karniyūr.

Kunjēḷi.

Maaḷaiḷakkkiyēri.

Ṣangappēṟavan-ёмbal.

Puttēṁbal.—This may be Puttēndai in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kalaṇeyēri.—This may be Kalaṇṇēduḷ in Śivaganga Taluk.

Ṣēndaiḷi.

Oṟukkurōṟuṇēri.

Kalvaṟṟi-Mangalam.

Pulḷanēri.

Ṣēndaiḷi.
Nakkanerri.
Pakulam.—This is a (Z) village in Sivaganga Taluk.
Uyyan-Suriyam-embal.
Marudankudi.—This is in the Sivaganga Taluk.
Navankudi.
Koindiyurnudalvam-embal.
Siru-Nakkanerri.
Sulamani.—Now called Sudamani in the Sivaganga Taluk.
Purakkulam.—Now called Puttukkulam in the Sivaganga Taluk.
Siruvarayal.
Konrakulam.—Now called Konakulam in the Sivaganga Taluk.
Pullamangalam.
Karkulam.—Now called Kalkulam (in Sivaganga).
Karunakulam.—There is one Karungulam in Sivaganga Taluk.
Eyili.
Pajacchankulam.
Puliyankulam.—Still so called. In Sivaganga Taluk.
Pudikulam.
Vejarkuruchchi.
Vayyatalainallur.
Kajuvetti.—This is the name of a land in Vayyatalainallur.
Manavtramadurai.—This is Manavtramadurai.
Marudur.
Sangan-embal.
Sankaramangalam.—Now called Sanamangalam in Sivaganga.
Tianur-Solaiyeri.—There is a Tianur in Sivaganga Taluk.
Kilankettur alias Puravari-chaturvedimangalam.—In Sivaganga Taluk.
Merr-Pasalai alias Sivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.—In Sivaganga Taluk.
Pirankiyeri.—There is a Pirandaikulam in Sivaganga Taluk.
Kadukudi.—There is a Kakuudi in Sivaganga Taluk.
Sattaleri.—A devadana of Tiruppasalainadar of Merr-Pasali alias Sivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.
Tiruppu-Soudan-embal.—This may be Sundan-embal in Paramakudi Taluk.
Tattan-embal.—Now called Tattanendal in Paramakudi Taluk.
Vembod-embal.
Pappan-embal.—There are villages called Pappanendal in Paramakudi Taluk as well as in Sivaganga Taluk.
Edurisoojaipiravan-embal.
Veiankal.—A devadana of Sri-Vaikunda-Vinnagar-Aiyar of Merr-Pasalai alias Sivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.
Kojichchi-embal.
Tiruppu Paanaianeri.—There is a Panaiyanendal in Sivaganga.
Kij-Veiliyarrur.
Meli-Veiliyarrur.
Maadaiyirkulam.
Nellii.—This may be Nemmeli in Paramakudi Taluk.
Tanvilattaraiyan-embal.
Somattur.—This is in Paramakudi Taluk.
Aravankudi.
Karungulam.—This is in Paramakudi Taluk.
Egattur.
Taappirai.
Kachirankulam.—This is in Sivaganga Taluk.

Merkudi-nadu.

Merkudi alias Kalijayamangalam.
Merr-Merkudi.—Kila-Melkudi and Meela-Melkudi are villages in the Sivaganga Taluk.
Mahajur.
Korrapuri.—There is a village named Kottankulam in Sivanga and Paramakudi Taluks.
Muttasaramottai.—A devoteda of Tiruppavavamudaiyar.
Appalay.—Now called Annavaal in Sivanga Taluk.
Sundan-embal.—Now called Sundanendal in Sivanga Taluk.
Narimanram alias Varagapanallur.—There is a village named Naripiyandal in Sivanga Taluk.
Silayapuri.—Silaiyan is a village in Sivanga Taluk.
Uriyappi, Talpi-embal, Korrapuri, Suriyan-embal and Sonapuri are lands and tanks in Varagapanallur.

Purapparajai-nadu.

Pullamuri.
Kasanpur, Land in.—Kasanpur is a village in Sivanga Taluk.

dalaikuruchchi.
Kil-Seli: Purkara in it.
Achankattirukai-Milaganur alias Rajendrasingananallur.—Milaganur is a village in Sivanga Taluk.
Minnari, Kasnikudi, Arasiyapuri, and Naduvir-Seliyulattu-ulvay.—These are near Milaganur.
Mey-Seli.
Kuruchchatti.
Sukkiliatti.
Puvaninallur.
Arikudi.
Sonapuri.
Tayan-Pudi-embal.
Sukkiliyankattur, a devoteda of Tiruppavavamudaiyar.—There is a village called Kilagattur in Sivanga Taluk.
Sukumalagai.
Nerukram (tirappu).

di village of this name in Sivanga.
Perran-embal.—There is a village called Petpanndal in Paramakudi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are: Tiruvaykkelvi, Somadaya, Maiigaitatnam, Adigaram, Valanattu-kariyam-seyqira, Ayaittanam and Meyppu. Their comotion may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word Tiruvaykkelvi consists of tiru ‘sacred’, vay ‘mouth’ and keli ‘hearing’ and means ‘what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)’, i.e., ‘any royal oral order’. As an official designation applied to persons it means ‘one who hears the royal oral order’. In ancient times, among the king’s retinue there were some who bore this designation. And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement ‘nam keli ti-a-chhapnam’ meaning ‘we directed the issue of our keli (oral order put in writing)’. The word ‘keli’ is seen sometimes substituted by ‘daai’ (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it tirunandiravolai where tiru (Skt. Śrī) denotes ‘His Majesty’s’, mandira ‘council’ and daai ‘document or order’. Thus, its equivalent is ‘the order of His Majesty in Council’. It is exactly the same as tiruvaykkelvi. The word somudaya means ‘gathering, crowd or a body of people’. From it comes Somadaya ‘one of the members of the samudaya’. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term Maiigaitatnam may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king’s household. It may be rendered into ‘Palace-Manager’. Adigaram may be taken to mean ‘one who exercises power, a maintainer of law’. Prakriyāv-adhihikāra’ and the explanation ‘vyasrasthā-adhāpaniyaga’ well bring out the sense. Valanattu-kariyam-seyqira means ‘the administrative head of a district’. The sense of the term Ayaittanam is well brought
out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries
of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the nādu (district or sub-
division) in company with the kapāli (Superintendents), had to go with them mounted on the
elephant (āgai) and to point out the boundaries. Meyppu is somewhat difficult to explain definitely.
It is not known whether the first letter me is long or short. If long it may indicate that the
person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may
denote a police officer. In the name Pōrtu Aravamudaiyagū Villi (No. 76 of Appendix A),
the word Pōrtu may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined
now.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

1 Svasti śri g4 Ambhah5 pūrvvam6 abhūd-idan-tad-udare7 śētē sma śēshē Haris-tan-nābher-ajanishṭa patmam9 abhayavat
2 tasmāt svayam Viśvaśṛṭ10 tasmād Atrī-amushya-lōchana-puṭād-Indur-Budhas-tatsas-tasmād-śa Purūravā
3 stata imē Pagṛ̱yēsvārā jajirē ā. Svasti sri Sundarēśād-avagata-samaya[s] svābhisādhān-ārayasya grāma-
Pukanaka-pati-tithau
5 krishṇa-pakṣa-Ārīvārā-Svācī-yogē karēgum gamayitum avadad-Rājagambhiradēvah ēn-
Pūvin-kilattē mē-
vi viśiruppa Mēṇi-mādu nīdiyir-puṣara vaya-pōr-maṇḍandai jaya-ppuyatt-iruppa
mā-kaṇal-maṇḍandai
7 vākṛṇiš vilāṇa-ṛtisaiy-iru-nāṅgum10 iśai-nilāv-eippa Māraṇ-nerṇi vaḷara Maṇu-nerṇi tigala
ara-ne-
8 ri-schhamaiyaṅgal-ārun-talaiippa-kkāṇa-vēṅgaiyai vijjuraṇaus tarandu mīnai-Kaṇakā-
chalattu
9 viśiruppa eṇ-girī śūnda elu-kaḍal-elu14-polil veṇ-kaḍai-nilār18 cheṅkō-ṉaḍappu13
kkoḷūnī.

1 This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 316. The Archæological Survey of South India,
Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by A. S. S. I., actually takes it for visarga from which it is hardly
distinguishable.
2 Read ambhah.
3 In this inscription, wherever va occurs, v is doubled.
4 The letter da of darē seems to have been inserted in the space between du and re. It looks like the length
sign of ā.
5 Read padmam-
6 There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also abhavat (l. 1), tatvata (l. 2)
and ratatī (l. 4).
7 In place of stāta imē, A. S. S. I. reads punarvaṭī (t).
8 The syllables syāgḥāta-kiṃptim have been read as syāvadhi-kiṃptim in A. S. S. I. There is no doubt about
the reading given in our text. The letter ki is rare and looks like kara as it must; but it cannot be taken for kā,
for the length sign is clearly distinguishable from kā by the latter being given a tube at the bottom.
9 The letter dī is corrected from ti.
10 Vanta is the reading in A. S. S. I. The bottom letter t is slightly damaged.
11 Mīsārī is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of S. I. I. (Texta), Vol. V, it is replaced by mīgārī.
12 The reading in S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is ā. In this inscription, the letter la is clear.
13 Though niḻaḷa is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of S. I. I., Vol. V, our inscription uses niḻaḷ both
here and in line 12: the short and long ā are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of S. I. I., Vol. V, niḻaḷa is followed
by īruḷō instead of śēkō.
10 Kali naḍuṇģi neḻum-pilatt=olippa Villavar Śebiyar Virāṭar Varāṭar Pallavar tiraiyuḍaṇ muṟai muṟai
11 paṇiya iru-naṇiy-ālavum=oru-naṇiy=ōṅga iṇṇ-amud-āgiya iyal-isai-nāṭaṅga[m*] maṇṭi valara maṇṭi-muṇṭi
12 śūḍi verpeṇa=āgiya* virasimhāsaṇattu=kkarpaga-nilār-kalai-valōr pugala maṇṭavar-dēviy vaṇa-
13 āgi-nilṛ=ōṭṭum-anḍa-men-ṇāḍaiy-Avaṇimuludāṇiyāroḍum viṛṛrund-arulīya śṛ-kō-
14 ch Chadaiśvarma
15 raṇa Tribhuvanachchakravarttagal śṛ-Kulaśekaradēvaru yāṇḍu 13-vadu nāl nāl-
16 ayirattu munur-
17 r-arupadiṅgal Madurōdaya-vulaiṇṭṭu Māḍakkula-kkīl Madurai-kkōyir-palliy-araik-
18 kkūḷat.

First Plate ; Second Side.
16 tu=ppalli-ppālam Malavarājaṉi=ṇundaruliya-irundu [Vēdamu]m Śastraum[nt] pōy vyākhyatākkalaiy-i-
17 rukku=chaturvvēdi-Bhaṭṭargal pēr-ayiratt-enpadiṅmaku=ppaṅgu ayiratt-enpadum dēvadāṇa-p.
18 paṇi-śeyyirutti paṅgu nūṛ-irupadum āga=ppaṅgu ayiratt-iru-nūṛrakkul=ppadiṅ-
19 mūnruvadi
20 ṇ=en dir padiṇ-oṇgām-āṇḍu-mudal brahmādyam-āga=kkirāṉṭur-nāṭṭu ʿNakkamaṅgalam-
21 um Udaiyāṇ
20 r Tiruppavaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇam Vāgaikudiyum utpaṇḍu* brahmādyam-āga=kkūṭṭiṇa
22 Tiruvāva-
23 ṇamum=Tuttiyūrum 10Kuruṅkākkōṭṭaiyum=ivv-ūr=11 Kāḍuvettiyum Muṭṭamuni Korra-
24 nēriyū
25 n-Taṇḍaiyili-Tiyāgiy-ēmbalum Veḷḷattaivēṇrān-ēmbalum Pagavadiy-ēmbalum Na-
26 dvūr-kōṭṭaiyu=Kāḍan-Eṭṭi-kuruchchiyum Paṇaṅgalur12-nāṭṭu Adikaraiyum Mitti-
27 ravāliyum Vēḷangoḷamum Ōmaḷajuṇ-ēmbalun=Chōlaiyēriyu=Kuḍainjādiyum=Arū-
28 varai-Pudukkulamuni=Kīṭ13 Chūraiyum Mēr-Chūraiyum Piḍārikulamum Paṇaṅgalur-aṇa
29 Paṇḍita-
30 paṇjaraṇallurum Šeyyakulattūrum Šiṅgaṇēriyudaiyāṅ kāṁippurum Vaṇjiyūru=Karku-
31 richeyiyum14 Ariyāṅkuruchchiyum Āraikkulamum Arugāsādiyum Viragaṅga-15pprēyayā-
32 ēmbalum Vi.

1 Maraṭṭar is a variant found in No. 302 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
2 Instead of this phrase, viṭṭayaṇa kadir-iṭi occurs in No. 302 and viṭṭayaṇa alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of S. I.
3 Vol. V.
* The ‘as of nāṭantu is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.
4 The reading nālu in A. S. S. I., is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.
5 Read ‘rrkka.
6 The e sign of ne is engraved at the end of the previous line.
7 Over the letters Na, the t sign is entered and erased.
8 The length of yā is entered at the beginning of the next line.
9 Read uthpapad.
10 The reading Siruṅgarā given in A. S. S. I. is wrong.
11 Read -śū.
12 The length of là is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 25.
13 Read Kīṭ.
14 The word kuruchchi is in some cases spelt kurichchi. See lines 77, 166, 236.
15 This word may also be read pprēyaṇ. As there is no i sign over the letter r, the reading pprēyaṇ given in
16 A. S. S. I. must be considered wrong.
TIRUPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

28 rapaṇḍiyappērayanṭ-
29 āmbalum Moliyan-
30 āmbalum Ambalakkutteṇ- āmbalum Śitta-
31 ṛṇa-
32 Paniriráyappērayanṭ-
33 ḷamul Uvsaniyamaṅgalamun 4Pudaichehān
34 kulī(ṛ)-ēmba-
35 um Tiyandanukūḍī-ṇāttu Ugaray-ōdu Kōṭṭaiyuṇ-Chivigaiyaṇ-kulīyum-Udum[baladai-
36 Second Plate: First Side.
37 4yum-Ulagaraniyuṇ-Karaiyūṇ-Kunḍēlyum Maṭṭañḍakkiyēriyuṇ- Chāntapārayanṭ-
38 ēmba-
39 lum Puttēmbalum Kalaiyānaṇēriyum Sēkēliyum-Orukkoranēriyuṇ-Kalvāyilmaṇ-
40 galānum Pullaṇēriyuṇ-Chēndaṇēriyuṇ(m*) 10Nakkaṇēriyum Pärkuḷamun Uyyēn Śūri-
41 yan-ēmbalum-
42 m Maruduṇkudiyum Nāvarkudiyum Kāṇḍiyūr-nāḍālvān-
43 āmbalum-Chīru-Nakkaṇ-
44 ēriyuṇ- Chūlāma-
45 [uḷiyum Puruktruckalum Śīrūvayalun-Κοντακκλαμαμ Purāṇaṅgalamun-Kāṛkuḷamun=
46 Karumēkula-
47 mum Eyiīyum Padaichehaṇkulamum Pūjyāṅkulamum Pūḍikulamum Vēḻarkuruch-
48 chiyum Vēṭ[ṭ]talainallū-
49 rum iv-v[a] Kaḍuverṭṭiyum Māṅgīramaduraikkollutt-ulvāyil Marudūṛ[-]-kālukku- kkilak-
50 [ku-
51 pāḷa]-
52 1iṣagappadi nila[m*] mūṇru-vēliyum uppađu brahmadēyam-āga-kkūṭṭīna Marudūṛ-
53 ña Madurōdaya-cheṭatu-
54 rvedīmaṅgalamun-Chāṇgaṇ-ēmbalun-Chaṅkaraṅmaṅgalamum Tiyanur-
55 Śōliyēriyuṇ- Kēḷākkēṭṭī[ṛ]-ēṇa
56 Puravari-cheṭaturvvedīmaṅgalam padaṇ-mūṇrāvadi-edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kulīp-
57 pāṭrāy vanda nir-nilamun-ka-
58 ruṇchey punṣeyum nattamun-tōṭtānum tidālum-ūraṇiyun-kōyil-adīyum tiru[n[a*]-
59 ndavan[mu]m
60 ēmbalum uppaṭṭa nilam etṭē āru-mā i-nilam etṭē āru-māvum Viṇapāṇiyuṇ- kō,
61 lāl nikki nikki-ppakkattār pāṛray-ulla nilamun. Mē-Paṇaḷaiy-āṇa Śvallabhā-cheṭatu-
62 vvedīmaṅgal-
63 m padaṇ-mūṇrāvadī edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kūdiy-irunda jaṃmigal pāṛray vanda nir-
64 nilamun-
65 ū-karūṇche[y*] punṣeyun-nattamun-tōṭtānum tidālum Śrīkōyilgalum tiruṇḍava-
66 nanum

1 This word may also be read ppōyān. As there is no i sign over r the reading pperiyān given in A.S.S. I. must be considered wrong.
2 The ñ sign of n[ã] is entered at the end of the previous line.
3 In nīṭ, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written nā and inserted the length mark afterwards between nī and nā.
4 Pūkaṇ given in A. S. S. I. is incorrect.
5 Kūḍī, the reading in A. S. S. I., is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling kūḍi.
6 Here and in many more places the letter t is shaped exactly as the ñ sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.
7 This word has been read Udumandai in A. S. S. I.
8 At the beginning of this line, the A. S. S. I. has kudi of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly yu.
9 The reading periyān given in A. S. S. I. is inadmissible. There is no i sign over r. An alternative reading would be ppōyān which does not give good sense.
10 By mistaking nā for ō, Kākonēri has been made out in A. S. S. I.
11 Read dr. Perhaps the writer uses r in place of nā.
12 There is nothing to suspect the letter to be ṭā as has been done in A. S. S. I.
Second Plate; Second Side.

46 utṇḍa Viṣṇupāṇḍyaṇ-kölā nilan=nāl-araiyē mukkāpi i-nila[m*] nāl-araiyē mu-kkāpi-
yun=

47 nikki nikki-ppakkattārum Maraṇavarum purāṇy-uša nilamum Pirāndiyērūyaṇ-Kāḍukku-
diyum1

48 *kīrāṇa-āṇa Śrīvallabha-bhaktyēdimāgalattu-t Tirappa[sa]jainādar dēvada[n]a[=]-
Chēṭṭa.2

49 [ēriyum=tirappa*+chChōḍaṇ-ēmbalum=Tattan-ēmbalum Vēmbōd-d[ēmbalum] Pāppā-
ṇ-ēmbalum Edriliō[ppēraṇy+]-ēmbalum kīrāṇa-āṇa Śrīva[1[ā]labha{chaturvē]-
dimāḥ.

galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇāgar-Āḷvērku=kāranmaiy=utṇḍa-dēvadāṇa irai[yili] vēḻru-
muda.

52 1 Vēḷakāḷuṇa-Kaṇiĉcbhī-ēmbalum-kuḍikkānkkiku=ttalaimāru viṭṭa nilamum tira[p]pu-
Paṇai.4

53 yaṇēriyum=kīḷ-Vēḷiyārērum 3[Mūl-Vēḷiyārērum Māṇḍiyār-kuḷamun=Nel-
Vēḷiyum-Taṇṇilattaraṇy-ēmbalum Sōmāṭṭērum Avarāṇkūḍiyān-Karuṇj[kuḷamun=E-
nāṭṭērum=Tuḍāppāyīyum=Kāنصرāṇkuḷamum Mēṟkudi-ṇāṭṭu Mēṟkudiyān-Kāliyaya-
maṅgalam padin-mūḍrāvīdan-edīr pattām-āṇjuvārai kuḍippārāy vanda nīr-nilamun-kā-
ruṇche[+]* puṇēyu[m*] nattamum-utṇḍa Viṣṇupāṇḍyaṇ-kölā nilam-irāṇē nālu-
mā i-
nīlal-nilam-irāṇē nālu-māvu[m*] nikki nikki-ppakkattār purāṇy-uša nilamum Mēṇ-Mēṟkudi-
yum Māṇjāḷuṇa-Kōṟ̄ṟṉēriyum Uḍaiyr Tiruppuṇṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇ[u=m*] Mut-
īṭuṇāroṭṭaiyum Aṇṇalu[y]mu[m*]=ivv-ūr[p*]pāi[+].Chundan-ēmbalum Naṟiṇāṟṇamāṇa Va[ra].11

Third Plate; First Side.

61 gaṇḍanallērum ivv-ūṛppār[+]-Chāḷaiyaṇēriyum-Uṇiyappiyum Tāḷiy-ēmbalum Ko-
ṭranēriyum Śrīriyā-ēmbalum Sōmaṇēriyum tirappu Pūṟappaijai-ṇāṭṭu-pPulla.13

63 3[ēriyum Kaṇṭeṇṟ-karuvēcheyppārī-kūṭṭiṣa nilamum Madalaikūr̄chi-īkkaruvēchey-
yum Kiṭ-Cheji-ppurkāriyum Aṛeṇkāṭṭirukkai Mīḷaṅguṇ-āṇa Īrāṇēndrāiṉīṅgana-
llērum ivv-ūṛppāl Mēṇēriyum Kaṇṭikūḍiyum Araiyaṇēriyum Na_HERSHEY-Cheji-

1 Kakekudi is the reading in A. S. S. I. This is due to the resemblance of ḍu to e sign.
2 The ē sign of Mē is entered at the end of the previous line.
3 The reading nām Šembāṇēri given in A. S. S. I. is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter ṭē is very clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate t, it seems to have been mistaken for m. As the loops of ṭ are fully developed in this inscription, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being ṭ and not gē. I have accordingly taken the word to be Šēṭṭēri.
4 This word has been wrongly read as tīru in A. S. S. I. Tirappu occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where it has been correctly read.
5 Here again, we have purappā-ē. The engraver appears to have incised the i sign over r and erased it.
6 The last syllable is nai and not pai as given in A. S. S. I.
7 Here the loop for l is wanting.
8 For Mē the engraver has written pē.
9 The letter yu of sāyum resembles pā. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.
10 The reading purāṇaṇ-ē of A. S. S. I. is not admissible.
11 The last letter ra is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.
12 In place of ppā, the A. S. S. I. has Mudār.
13 Instead of pājai and Pulla, we have Pĕra and Vulia in A. S. S. I. The engraver has written ppā as a group and the group symbol actually resembles yu.

14 The ē sign of pē is at the end of the previous line.
Third Plate; Second Side.

76 ņanun Mīḷalāī-kaṭṭattu K[i[*]]ā-kūṛru Taṅḍalai-uḍaivyāṅ Pirāntakaṁ Tiruppvaṇamudai-1
77 yānuṁ Alagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiṁ Māraṇur-āṇa Palaṃḍaladāḍītanallur2 Mārâu-
78 r-udaiyāṅ Karuṅkaraḍēvāṅ Purpaṇavamudaiyānum Tiruvāykkōli-p-Purappara-
79 iai-nāṭṭu-p-Puttūr-udaiyāṅ Ponṇaṅ Sūręvādevaṇ-āṇa Jevadara-p-Pallavaraiy var-
80 kāṇi Śīla-maṇḍalattu Tirumūṇgappāḷi-nāṭṭu-k-Karuppur-udaiyāṅ *Pīḷḷi-Aiyāṅ-āṇa
81 Ponṇambalakkūṭtānum Poyyāmundēva-kaṇkāṇi Karuṅgudi-nāṭṭu Kīl-Ne-
82 ūṭur-āṇa Kēṭṭivisālaṇaḷḷur Vēḷāṅ Sattanaṁ sāmuḍāyaṁ Muttūru-kuṭṭattu-Ka-
83 ppalur-āṇa Ulagalandaśōlaḷḷur Kappalur-uḍaiyāṅ *Sīrāmaṇ Tiruvadaiyāṅ-āṇa
84 Pottappicheśṭāṁ kaṇkāṇi Kēralaśūga-valaṇṭāṁ Vēḷiyāṛū [r-u*]-daiyāṅ Nārāyaṇaṅ Śat-
85 nam Mālīgasitaṇam Vaḍataḷai-čhChembi-nāṭṭu Āykkudi-āṇa Alagiyapāṇḍiyanaḷḷur10 Śiva-
86 llavāṅ Alagiyamaṇvaḷaṇ-āḷḷur Kāḷiṅgarāyār kaṇkāṇi Poliyuṛ-nāṭṭu Arūṅkalam-uḍaiyāṅ
87 Aryan Tirumalai-uḍaiyānum Malavarāyār kaṇkāṇi 11 Tiyandaikudi-nāṭṭu Kīṭ-Paśaḷaiy-
88 āṇa Dā-12
89 naṁōdanaḷḷur-uḍaiyāṅ Aryan Karumāṇikkanum Pīḷḷiayāţ Alagapperumāl-adikāra-
90 m-Muttūru-kuṭṛattu-kKappalur-āṇa Ulagalandaśōlaḷḷur10-Kappalur-uḍaiyāṅ Uyyava-
90 ndāṅ Ponṇaṅ-āṇa Māṇābāraṇa-Mūvēndavelurum Śōlapāṇḍiya-valaṇṭṭu-chChirupā-

1 Read kārumai.
2 The damage in the syllables cuca seems to have led to the wrong reading śca in A. S. S. I.
3 A bit of the plate at the bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that Nārāyaṇ at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with naṁum at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter t seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the a sign. Had the bit been broken before, t would have found place at the beginning of the second line.
4 The t sign of त has not been engraved and the A. S. S. I. has the letter ka correctly.
5 There is an extra length sign in ল.
6 The passage after Karuppurudai seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from Sūriya to the end suggest the fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.
7 What looks like ya at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for ppa.
8 Read Śi.
9 The last letter pā is a correction.
10 Read ?ār.
11 This word has been wrongly read in A. S. S. I. as Tīyanakai.
12 The length of Dā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
Fourth Plate; First Side.

91 laiyūr-āṇa Kāvērivallavamandālur-udaiyan Nambi Poṇgāmbalakāttan-āṇa Viraśingadēva-2
92 rum i-nāṭṭukku-kkārījya*[ē]cheygirā Irāśiṅgankulakkīl Irāsēndirattu Alagiyapāṇḍi-
93 yaṇ anukkaral Malaṅkiṅiyanīrāṇa Alagan-āṇa Viṣaiya-Vichhadirādēvarum kaṅkaṇīyāga Ti-
94 yandaikudi-nāṭṭu Māṅaviramadurai Mādavaṇ Divākara-Baṭṭaṉuṇa= Nārāyanāṇ Nārāyanā-
95 ṇum śī(śī)-Mādavaṇ Nārasimha-Baṭṭaṉum Gōvindan Tirunilakanḍa-Baṭṭaṉum Jātavēdaṉ
96 Subrahmanyā-Baṭṭaṉum utpaṇḍu† brahmādēyamāga-kkūṭṭina Marudūr-āṇa Madurōdaya-
97 chehaṭu-
98 tveṭvēṭṭidimakalattu= Tirukkuṭandai Ādityaṅ Śēndapirāṇa- Baṭṭaṉum śrī-Śriṅgān- Alage-
99 ya-Rāghava-Baṭṭaṉum Kāliyāṅ Vēṇaṅkūṭṭa-Baṭṭaṉum Mēṛ-Pasalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabhā-
99 chechaṭurvēṭi-
100 maṅkalattu Āḥṣāṅgum śrī-Śrāghrāṇātha-Śaṅkaka- yājñērum Nārāyaṇam Nārāy-
101 an- Baṭṭaṉum śrī- Vāsudevaṅ Nangapirāṇa- Baṭṭaṉum śrī-Rāmaṇ Paramāṭma-Baṭṭaṉum Kīṭ-
102 Pasalai-
103 y-āṇa Dāṇāṅjōdiṉanallur= Śrī Uyyanirāḍuvāṅ-āṇa Śeṃbiṣadāriyāṉum Kēsavaṇ Nārāya-
104 nanum Karumāṇīkkam-Koṅṇum Kalväyil Kēśavaṇ Periyāṉ Perṇāṇaṉ Naṅga-
105 -ṇa Alaganum Vēśudevaṅ Śriyādēvanum Pōliyūr-nāṭṭu= Poḷiyūr-āṇa Pāṭṭi(ṛhi)vaṅkēśa-
106 rīnallur= Appaṅ Śriyādēvanum Udayan Varanāṅ̄dēvaṅ-āṇa Alagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparai-
107 yanum Śriyāṅ Varantaruvāṅ-āṇa Saṅgiranāmaṅgaṅa-Pallavaṇaiyāṉum Sundarattōḷūḍaiyā-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

106 ṇ Sōmadēvanum Puṟapparalai-nāṭṭu=kKāḷikkudiy-āṇa Puravuvarainallur= Dayānilai Uyya-
107 vanth-āṇa Chēdarāyaṇum Anukkan= Aṟiyānum Appaṅ-Arumojādevaṅ-āṇa Śeṃbiyaṅ-Viḷu-
108 pparaiyānum Pottūr= kilavaṇ Baṭṭaṅ-āṇa Puṟapparalai= nāḍu-kilavaṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=
109 Irūnchi-
110 raiy-āṇa Indirasmāṇañallur= Paḷiyānilai Śriyādēvaṅ-āṇa Tamimāḍu-kilavaṇum Vēḻan= Ira-
110 ttaiy-āṇa Irāsakunjara-P Pallavaraṇaiyāṉum Rājagambhira-chaturuvēṭṭidimakalattudan kūṭti-
111 na Miḷaṅanūrku-ttalamāru kuṭuttu Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-19Kuvalaṅvēliyum Puduk-
112 kulanum Mū-
113 rankiriyum Kāvīdinallurum11 Kaṭambamaṅgalum Śattiyēṁbalum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=
114 Arai-
115 yarkulattil Mandari Irāmaṇ-āṇa Pallavaraṅar kāṇiyāṇa ēmpādi nikkī nikkil-ūḷḷa nīl-
116 mum-āṇa ivv-āṛgāl muṇṅ-udaiyārum pāḷam-peyarum mūdayum tavirūṭu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum o-

1 The commenceent of this line has been read ṣalai in A. S. S. I. Of this the first letter ṣa is really the Tamil numeral ' four ' which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from laiyūr and slightly below the first line.
2 The syllables deve have been read as Tēja in A. S. S. I.
3 The letters nVa are expressed by a group.
4 Read utpadu.
5 The e sign of rvē is at the end of the previous line.
6 This word may also be read Arayāṇu.
7 Read ārū.
8 The letters ppā are expressed by a group.
9 Read Chādiān.
10 Šalaiveli is taken as the name of the village in A. S. S. I.
11 This has been incorrectly read as Mahāvīdhiā in A. S. S. I.
TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I. (II).
ru-puravum-äkki Achechaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Milaganaṅ-äña Irāśendisirīganallur-enum pe-
yarāl variyil-ittamaiyil i=mMilaganaṅkū-1 chchamainda Śaḍirāṅ Śeḷvānum Irāmaṅ-Ālaṅgaṇum
Śoṅaṅ Mukkānum Nāgadēvaṅ-Irāmaṅ-äña Irāsanaṅraṇa-Mūṇendavēḷaṅum Aṛaśāryaṅum Kī-
t-Chemiṅ-nāṭtu Mālaṅquddi-kilavaṅ Pullāṅ Pāḍevaṅ-äña Nulumbādarāyar kāṇippaṅrū-
t-Tirumālī-
riṅcholai-Āḷvār dēvadānum Achechaṅkāṭṭirukkai-t-Tirumālīriṅcholainallur Araiṅaṅ Pūlā-3
ūiyum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiṅyakulakkīt-Ĉhirukullattūr-äña Parākramapāṇḍiyanallur-Śattāṅ Kā-
ṇavadiyum Sun-
darattōḷuḏaiyāṅ Dēvaṅum Śattāṅ Kaṇḍaṅ-äña Tirumālīriṅcholai4 Dāsaṅum Vēḷāṅ Sunda-

Fifth Plate; First Side. 4

rattōḷuḏaiyāṅum Śivallāṅa Pēryaiṁmudaiyāṅ-äña Māṅaṅ-ṅ-aṅtītī Vēḷāṅu-
m Dēvaṅ Śivallāṅ-äña Aṛaṭṭamlīkkīdīsaṅum Śūrakudiy-äña Virakāmugamaṅgaṅalattu
Ilavima-
ṅalattu Udayadivākaṇaṅ śēṛ-Kārimā-Bhaṭṭaṇum i-kkuḍi Nārāyaṇa Subrahmaṅya-
Bhaṭṭa-
num Kīraṅūr-nāṭtu Viḷḷatal-äña Māṅgabarāna-ĉaturvverdaṅgaṅalattu Uyyaṅīṅghāḍī Periyāl-
vānum Śendipirāṅ Karumānumgīl-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṅ Māṅgendukaiṅyānum A-
dīyaṅ Bhaṅkara-Bhaṭṭaṇum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiṅyakulakkīl Vēḷurkūruchchī Vēḷāṅ
Kōvaṅnum5 Ādi Pṛṛṇāṅu Vēḷāṅ-Ālaṅgaṅa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūṇendavēḷaṅum Vēḷāṅ
Śiriṅkā[īv]. 6
m utpāḍu brahmaṅdaṁgaṅaṅkūṭtiṅa Tiruvvāṅṭattu Marudur-Āḷvāṅ Uppāḍḍhyāyarum
Perumpliyūr Karumānṅkkam-Ulagamunḍāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅum Marudur Mayūravaṅan-
ṇāḍuvā. 8

Bhaṭṭaṇum Kīraṅūr-nāṭtu Vēḷāṅ-äña Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallur Irāmaṅ-Uyyavandānum
Pṛṛṇā Pāṭṭaṅum Dēvaṅ Nambiyum Śoṅaṅ Nāṭṭaṇum -āṅa ivv-aṅvaṅvarun-taṅgal e-
llaṅgal kāṭṭa Āṇṣitaṅnum Irāṅganaṅkulakkīt- Tiruppvaṅṇattu Pamman-Aḍiṅyāṅkun-
laperumāṅ-äña Pallaṅvadariṅyaṅum Meyppu Malaiṅaṅ Śoṅaṅ-āṅa Vīnjattaraṅyaṅum
Dēvaṅ Tillaṅ-äña Madurōdaya-pPallaṅvariṅyaṅum Śikayilāṅ-Baṭṭaṅ-äña ŚŚivallāṅ-
Pallaṅvariṅyaṅum Kāṇavadi Śiraṅ-āña Sundarapāṇḍiya-pPallaṅvariṅyaṅum9 [E]raṅ

Perryā-

ṇ-āña Pāṇḍiyaṅ Pallaṅvariṅyaṅum Pōṟṟu Aravamudaiyāṅ Villiy-āṅa11 Muḍittalaliko-12

1. Read ʔr̥kkā.
2. Read ʔr̥rc̣cholai.
3. The length stroke of ġā is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.
4. The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.
5. The left hand portion of the medial į sign of Kē is written at the end of the previous line.
6. After Pṛṛṇā the letters are smaller in size up to ʔg Śirīla.
7. Read utpōda. The letter ġu resembles the secondary e symbol.
8. The last three letters are Āḍuvā. The length sign of ġā, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like ġā. The reading Kēśaṅa given in A. S. S. I. is inadmissible, for ġā and ġā are clear.
9. Instead of Śikayilāya, the A. S. S. I. has Śiṣayi-Araṅya.
10. After ī, there is only one ī and the trace of the vowel ī following it. As such, the reading ī Māṛa of A. S. S. I. is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of ī.
11. Villiyāṅ is the reading in A. S. S. I. It is inadmissible as it disregards the ā sign over ī and the length symbol after ī.
12. The syllables muḍi are re-placed by puḍi in A. S. S. I.
Fifth Plate; Second Side.

138 Pallaivaraiyapum padi nadattam-padi nadandapadukku aarav-śaili śeuyu-kuṭutta parit-śavada [1*] Padiṅ-mūṅravadin-ēdir pānāḷrāndam-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nīyāru inālān-tiyadiyum aparā-pakshat-
139 tu ekādaśīyum Śaṇi-Śkiklāmaiyum perra Śōdi-nāt-Kil-ellai ivv-ūr vāda-kilakku-kKī-Chū-1
140 *raiy-ēru pēr kūvappatā Ujaikullattu kil-kādai-kkombir-ūḍaṅgi idanipruñ-ter-
142 ku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Śeyyaullattūr-nilnrum Kādāmbaṅgdiikkukk puṅgirā valiyaī-ūḍaruttu-t-
143 teq-kilakku nōkkiyūn-teq-kilakku nōkkiyūn-ēcheṇgru Māṅavirāmdurāik-
144 yil-nilnrum Vēmāṅgdiikkukk puṅgirā valiyaī-ūḍaruttu-kkilakku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Śē-
145 yya[ku]llattūr-nilnrum Mūvāryāṅkōṭaiikkukk puṅgirā peri-valiyaī-ūḍaruttu Pu-
146 *daiccehaṅ-kuliyai4 valattu vāsttu i-vvaliyī,i-kūjīna veṣṭi-pēru-valiyaī4 teq-kilak-
147 ku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Mūvāryāṅkōṭai-nilnrum Māṅavirāmdurāikkukk puṅgirā peri-
148 valiyaī-ūḍaruttu mērk*-innum [1*] i-vvaliyī-nilnrum teq-kilakku nōkki-ōcheṇgru mērk-
149 nōkki-ppōna peri-valiyaī-ūḍaruttu-terq-kilakku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Pidāvūrī-niln-
150 rum Māṅavirāmdurāikkukk puṅgirā valiyaī-ūḍaruttu-terq-kilakku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Ka-
151 i-ryīr-kullattukk kKī-kādai-kkombiāy-ūṛru i-kKāriiy-nilnrum-teq-kilakku nōk-
152 ki-ōcheṇgru mērk*-innum [1*] Kuṇgēli-kkuḷattukkum nīr pāvīga kālaiy-ūḍaruttu mērk-
153 innum [1*] i-kkālīl-nilnrum-teq-kilakku nōkki-ōChandaṅgappērayaṁ ēṃbar-kil-ellaiyē terku

Sixth Plate; First Side.

154 *nōkkiyūn-teq-kilakku nōkkiyūn-ēcheṇgru Neṭṭūr-nilnrum Māṅavirāmdurāikkukk puṅgī-
156 ra valiyaī-ūḍaruttu-chChandiranallār-kullattu nī-nakkālē terku nōkki-ōcheṇgru i-ch-
157 Chandaį-
158 ranārār teq-kādaiyaiy-ūṛru mērk*-innum [1] ida-nilnrum-teq-mērkku nōkki-Vaigaiy-ā-
159 na Śrīvallavappērārkuṃ puṅgirā valiyēy teq-mērkku nōkki-ōcheṇgru mērk*-in-
160 nam [1*] i-vvaliyī-nilnrum-Čhenkuḷi-kKī-ellai pera śevvaliyē terku nōkki-ch-
161 *ēcheṇgr u ChChenkuḷi-ṭeqq-kkelloiyyēy mērkku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Orukkordōparō[ō]ri-[kkī].4
162 i-ellaiy-āṇa Karkavāy-ūdyē terku nōkki-ōcheṇgru mērk*-innum [1] ivv[O rękko]-
163 īraṇēr-ṭeqq-ellaiyēy teq-mērkku-ōcheṇgru Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvallava-
164 īppērārīl-iqāngi mērk*-innum [1*] i-chChivallavappērārkuṃ-ūṛē vaḍa-mērkku n[ōkkiyīm]
165 mērkku nōkkiyūn-ēcheṇgru mērk*-innum[1] ivv-ārêt-nilnrum teq-kārāiyēkēti-
166 ṛku nōkki-ōcheṇgru Kī-Pāsālaiy-āṇa Dāṅavīṇōdanallār kulattukkum Mē-Pāśa[laiy-āṇa]
167 Śrīvallabhā-chaturvīśedāṇgalattukk-kullattukkum nīr pāvīga kālaiy-ūḍaruttu i-kkāl-
168 [i-nilnrum]
169 kārāiyēkētī Viṣākupichchippaṟṟī Arasiṟṟai[ūris] ... · lāl nilam-s[raiyyē-] ṛap[uṇu-
170 varambēy terku nōkki-ōcheṇgru [Māṅavirāmdurāikkk-kullattu vāda-kādaiyēkētī mēr-

---

1 The letters nālēsīva are written over an erasure.
2 The si sign of rai is at the end of the previous line.
3 The si sign of dos is at the end of the previous line.
4 Delete 4 at the end of this word.
5 The left hand portion of the medial 3 sign is entered at the end of the previous line.
6 The letters of a portion of the plate on the right side from line 199 are much damaged but could be filled up from traces that remain and from the context. So also, the letters of the middle portion of the plate of the last four lines are damaged.
7 This gap may be filled with the letters pēkkōk.
Sixth Plate; Second Side.

[bhra]-chaturvvēdimāṅgalaattukku-ppāṭṭakkolāl kūṭṭiṇa nilam mūṅrū vē[kkku=kkk]-e\-lla\i{\i}yē te]-
170  rku nōkki=chheṇrū i-kk\̃\̃attu=ttε̄n-karaiyīl=ṛī Murar[dīr-ku]lattukku nīr pāy\̃gīrā kālaiy= [urgu]\* 171  mēr̄k=innam [!*] i-kkālīn kīl-karaiyēvī ten-kjaku nuōkkiyun-[cheṇrū] 172  Vāṅgaṇgapprē\i{\i}yāṇ kudi\̃yiruppiī ten̄-āśaru dī *mudunīla-ppariippai=urgu mēr̄k-īṇṇam [!*] 173  i-ppariippē yijakku nōkki=cheṇrū Murudūr=paa\̃n-ku]latt-agavāyīl Māṅaviramadurāi-[t]- 174  *ten̄-āśaru vayali tēn-va\̃raṃbē yijakku noōkkiym vāda-kjaku nuōkkiyun-[cheṇrū Ma]- 175  rudūr=paa\̃n-ku]lattu=kkil=ka\̃dāi-\̃kkomol-ērī mēr̄k-īṇṇam [!*] i-kkaraīyē mē[g[ku] 176  nōkki=cheṇrū Muraru=kkil-ellaiyum Māṅaviramudurāi mēl-ellaiyum-[āṇa] 177  Divākara-vāykkāl-ūdē tērku nōkki=cheṇrū i-vvāykkāl muṇḍindu Divākara-vayyakka[11] 178  m[ē]-varambē tērku nōkki=cheṇrū i-ochhey=ttε̄n-va\̃raṃbē yijakku nōkki=cheṇr[ū] 179  Sundara-vayakkāi mēl-varaṃbu pērra ševvaiyē tērku nōkki=cheṇrū Šākara\̃aman[ga]- 180  tu\̃tēv-ellaiyum Māṅaviramudurāi-ten̄-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē yijakku nōkki- 181  kiyum vāda-kjaku nōkkiyun-[cheṇrū Šākara\̃amanā-galattu vāda-kādāi-kkombol-ērī Mē- 182  r-Pa\̃la\̃iyā-āṇa Šrivalla-bha\̃chaturvvēdi\̃māṅgalattu-kku]lattukku Kīt-Pa\̃la\̃iyā-āṇa Dā- 183  navī\̃nādannūṁ-kk\̃alattukku nīr pāy\̃gīrā kālaiy=urgu mēr̄k-īṇṇam [!*] i-kkālīn-mē- 184

Seventh Plate; First Side.

1-karaīyē ten̄-kjaku nōkki=chechen|ru i-kkālīl-nīṭrum Mē-Pa\̃la\̃iyā-āṇa Šrivalla-bha- 185  chaturvvēdimāṅgalaattu-kku]lattukku nīr pāya=ppi\̃rīndu kālaiy=ūd̄aruttu=kKih-Pa\̃la\̃iyā- 186  navī\̃nādannūṁ-kku]lattukku nīr pāy\̃gīrā kālīn mēl-karaīyēyē ten̄=[kjaku nōkkiy̆n̄-ki 187  kku nōkk\̃iyum-ten̄kjaku nōkk\̃iyun-[che\̃nu i-dānāvī\̃nādannūṁ-kku]lattu mēl-kādāi- 188  yaiy=urgu i-kku]lattu=ppurkaraiyīl-īrāgī Mēr-Pa\̃la\̃iyā-āṇa Šrivalla-bha\̃chaturvvēdimāṅgel- 189  tu-kku]lattukku nīr pāy\̃gīrā kālīn kīl-karaīyē terku nōkki=chechen|ru i-ch\̃Chivalla-bha\̃chatu\̃rantvē- 190  dimāṅgalaattu=kku]lattu vāda-k\̃a\̃daiya=urgu i-kku]lattu maruvāy-īd̄ukk\̃rrū-ūdē tērku nō- 191  k\̃iyum-ten̄kjaku nōkk\̃iyun-[che\̃nu Nelvēlī nattavuttu=ppōgīra vaj\̃iyaiy=urgu 192  mēr̄k=innam [!*] i-Nelvēlī=kku]lattu=kkil=k\̃a\̃dai-kkombaiyīl=ṛī=paralai-kkālai- 193  y=urgu i-kkllīn mēl-karaīyē terku nōkki=chechen|ru Nākkāṇērīyīl-nīṭru mēr̄ku nōkkī-p- 194

1 The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 180 are damaged.
2 The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading urgu and not ād̄aruttu as in A. S. S. I. 1.
3 The letter du of mardu is an interlinear. It is entered below the line.
4 The e sign of te is entered at the end of the previous line.
5 The e sign of me is at the end of the previous line.
6 Delete the first letter ki.
pōgiā vañciāy=ūḍargaratu=tteṃ-ellai; Navelī-teṃg-ellaiyum Eṭṭiyēri nattatu vaḍa-
vāyum-āṇa vañciāyē mērku nōkkī=chechenē Eṭṭiyēri nattat[tu] mēl-āsārudiayi=urū i-
197 da-niṇrum mērku nōkkī=chechenē ivv-Eṭṭiyērikku=Nvelēlikku=naduvāṅa paḷaḥ-[koyila]-
198 diya=urū i=da-niṇrun-teṃ-merku nōkkī=chechenē Paḍala-iṛṛai= ūḍagaratu vaḍakk-
ināṃ [**] [i-]
199 vv-āṛiṅ mēl-karaiyē teṅku nōkkīyim-teṅ-merku nōkkī[ruṇi]-chechenē Sōmattūr-ki[el-]
200 laiy-āṇa Nirambairīyur-kulattukku nīr pāygiā kālaiy=ūḍagaratu i-[kkāin] mēl-karaiyē te.*

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

201 rku nōkkī=ch[el]iṣṇur i-čChōmattūrkun=Wal̃ikku-kudippār-Chiruvāgaik[k]kun=
202 naḍuvāṇa ellaiyai=urū vaḍakk-iṇām[∗] ivv-ellaikkku na[duv]-āṇa varāmbe [m]-ē
203 rku nōkkīyim-teṅ-merku nōkkīyū=che[n]ru i-čChiruvāgaik-kku[la][tu] [vaḍa]-ka-
204 daiyai=irāṅgī Aravaṇkūdi=teṛṇg-ellaiyē ēṣṇru [Kallikkuḍi=kku[ā]-
205 ttukku nīr pāygiā kālaiy=ūḍagaratu mērku nōkkī=chechenē Arā[vaṇku]-
206 diyil-niṇrum Vēlāṅērikku=ppōgēra valiyē teṅ-merku [nōkki]=
207 chechenē Vēlāṅēri=kkl-kellaiyai=urū vaḍakk-iṇām [*] ivv[el-]
208 laiyē Puttūr-kulattukku nīr pāygiā kālīn kil-karaiyē [vaḍa]-
209 kilākku nōkkī=chechenē i-kkāi=ūḍagaratu mēl-kariyē ēṛi vaḍakk-iṇ
210 ūṇam [*] Vēḷāṅēri vaḍav-ellaiyun=Karunikulattu=teṛṇg-ellaiyun-āṇa [el-]
211 laiyē mērku nōkkī=chechenē Vēḷāṅēri=chChūṛi-vaṣakkal-ūṇaqa vaḍa-kaśai-
212 yē mērku nōkkī=chechenē vaḍakk-iṇām [∗] ellai naḍuvāṇa varāmbe ṣe-
213 ūṇu Vēḷāṅēri Ādicheva-vaṣakkar=kkil-vaṭambe vaḍakkku nōkkī=chechenē i-č-
214 chehy vaḍa-va[m*]bēy mēṛ[k]u nōkkī=chechenē vaḍakk-iṇām [∗] Vēḷāṅēri-kKarunda-
215 ñi=kkil-varāmbe [vaḍakkku] nōkkī=chechenē i-čchehyekku Ādicheva-vaṣakkal

Eighth Plate; First Side.

216 naḍraṅkālukkan Pēṛṇ-vayaṇkalukkuva vaḍa-vaṭambe mērku nōkkī=chechen-
217 ru Kalīkkuddippār-Chēngēri-dDayāṇiti-vayaṇkar=kil-varāmbyai=urū vaḍakk-iṇām [∗] i-
218 vvarambe vaḍakkku nōkkī=chechenē i-čkāi-vaṇkkāl=urū i-vvākkāl-ūḍiye va-
219 daṭkkku nōkkīyum vaḍa-merku nōkkīyum* vaḍakkku nōkkīyū=chechenē Śēnēri Mālāri*, mukkānī vaḍa-varām-
220 bē⚔ mērku nōkkī=chechenē Dayāṇiti-Ariyāṇ=āṇa Arundavaṇ-Vilupparaiyān Sōmadēvi-va-
221 yakkar=kkil-varāmbe vaḍa-merku nōkkī=chechenē Dayāṇiti Māṇavāṇ-parṟu=tadāi palavi-
222 n kil-varāmbe vaḍakkku nōkkī=chechenē Uyyakkondal-vayaṅkār=kil-varāmbe
223 vaḍakkku nōkkī=chechenē i-čchehy vaḍa-vaṭambe mērku nōkkī=chechenē Śēnēri-k-
224 kulattu vaḍa-karaṇaiyai=urū vaḍakk-iṇām [∗] i-kkulattu=ppūṛaṇaiyē vaḍa-merku
225 *nōkkī=chechenē Kaṇṇaṇūrin-iṇām=∗Dēḍakāṭākkku=ppōgēra peruvāl[ai]yai=ur-
226 ru i-ppuraiyē mērku nōkkī=chechenē vaḍakk-iṇām [∗] Pūḍanēri-[na]ttattu [va]-
227 da-vāyil-āṇa pūḷaiyē i-kkulattu vaittu mērku nōkkī-chechenē Taḍāpprāiyai-āṇa
228 kulattu=tteṇ-kadaṇaiyai=irāṅgī vaḍakk-iṇām [*] i-kkulattu nīr-nakkalē vaḍa-mēṛ-
229 ku nōkkī-čchechenē Kaṇṇhiraṇkullattu nīr-nakkalē vaḍa-merku nōkkī=chechenē i-ku-
230 lattu vaḍa-karaṇaiyai=urū i-čkulattukku nīr pāygiā kālīn teṇkaiyē mērku nōk-
231 ki=chechenē Pullānērikku-kkulattu=teṇ-kadaṇiyil=ēṛi vaḍakk-iṇām [*] i-ikkulattu nīr-

*The letter da is a correction.

This letter has been wrongly read in A. S. S. I.

After nōkkīy, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.

The reading in A. S. S. I. is Maralēra.

The letter bē is entered on the margin in smaller character.

The left hand portion of the sign of the medial d in nē is engraved at the end of the previous line.

Read Dēṭa*. 
Eighth Plate; Second Side.

232 nakalē vādakku nōkki=chechenru i-kkulattu va(ṣa)-kaṇḍaiya=urgu i-kkulattu kku nir pāyigiru
233 kālniṃ ten-karaiyē mērku nōkki=chechenru Kaṇṇanūrku=ppōgiṟa peru-vaiya=urgu
234 [va]ḍakku=innaṃ [*] i-vaḷiyē vādakku nōkki=chechenru Kaṇṇanūrku vaḷay-ellaiyu[m*]
   Narimangattu-t-
235 teṉ-ellaiyun-āṇa Kaṇṇanūr-Pidāriyēṟi Muttaraiyaṉ karuṇche[y*] vaḍa-varambu perṇa
   sevvai
236 yē mērku nōkki=chechenru Maḍaḷaikurechehi=kkula-pparippai=urgu i-kkulatt-ulvāyē
   vādakku nō-
237 kki=ppattu-kkōl-alavu senru vādakku=innaṃ [*] i-kkulatt-ūḍē mērku nōkki=chechenru Kaṇṇa-
   nūr-kulattukku nir pāyigiru kālaṟiū-uḷaṟuṭtu mērku nōkki=chechenru vādakku nōkki-
   ppōgiṟa Kā-
239 navāṟṟukku=kkilakkōga nirṇa puliyai vaḷattu vaittu mērku nōkki=chechenru Kīṭ-Cheliy-
   ndern-
240 kula=kkkaraivyil-ēri i-kkkaraivyē vādakku nōkki=chechenru Miṅnēri-tteṉ-ellaiyai=urgu vaḍa-
241 kk-innaṃ [*] i-mMiṅnēri-tteṉ-ellaikkum Kīṭ-Cheli=kkulattu vaḷay-ellaiyuṁaiy-kKīṭ-
   Cheḷi=kkula-
242 ttukku nir pāynda kāṭi-parippē mērku nōkki=chechenru i-pparippaiy-īṟaṅgī Naḍuvir-
   Cheḷi=kkulattu Ma-
243 laiyai-udappil-ēri i-kkula-kkkaraivyē mērku nōkki=chechenru i-kkulatt-agavāyil=īṟaṅgī Miḷa-
   gama-
244 nūr-parṇāṇa puṇṣey[y*]-kkil-ellaiyē ṛṭērku nōkkiyūn-teṅ-mērku nōkkiyūn=chechenru Miḷa-
   gama-
245 ninṟum Kānaiy-Irukkai-kKotṭakṛitikkku=ppōgiṟa vaḷiyai=urgu vādakku=innaṃ [*] i-kKotṭ-
   -aṅk-
246 ti vādav-ellaiyai=Kaṇṇaiy-Iru[k*]kai Vēḷāṅēri vādav-ellaikkum Miḷaṅganūr-teṭṭ-ellaik-

Ninth Plate; First Side.

247 kun=naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṅgudi=kkulattukku nir pāyigiru kāḷ-ūḍēy vaḍa-mērku nōkki= chechenru
248 i-kkkāḷaiy-īṟaṅgī vādakku nōkki Mēṛ-Cheli=tteṉ-kaḍai-kkombum Vēḷāṅēri-ppuṇṣey[y*] vaḍa-
249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-parippē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chechenru Miḷaṅga*[†]nūr Sōraḥ Miṅkaṅ
   puṇṣey=
250 tteṉ-ellaiyē mērku nōkki=chechenru Kāṇaiy-Irukkai Karpakṛti=kkil-ellaiyum Mi-
251 lagaṇār-pāl Mēṛ-Cheli mēl-ellaikkum=naduvāṅa ellai-parippē vādakku nōkki= chechenru Miḷaṅganūr-Chundān-Āḷyāṅ puṇṣey=tteṉ-ellaiyai=urgu vādakku=innaṃ [*] i-
   ppu-
253 nāsēy=tteṉ-ellaikkun-Karpakṛti vādav-ellaikkun=naduvāṅa mērku nōk-
254 ki=chechenru Karpakṛti=ppuṇṣey=kkil-ellaiyai=urgu vaḍakku=innaṃ [*] i-ppuṇṣē-
255 ykkum Miḷaṅganūr-puṇṣey-pparippukku=naduvāṅa vēḷi-parippē vādakku nōkki-
256 yum vaḍa-mērku nōkkiyūn=chechenru Karpakṛti=kkil-āḷarudiyum Miḷaṅganūr Irāṇaṃ-Alaga-
257 n-uḷuda puṇṣey mēl-āḷarudiy=ellaikkum=naduvāṅa vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mērku nōk-
258 kiyūn=chechenru Irūchebāyil-nilṛum Miḷaṅganūrku=ppōgiṟa vaḷiyai-ūḷaṟuttu Miḷaṅgan-
259 r-pāṛ-Chirukkilāṭṭi=tteṉ-kaḍai-kkombaiyai=urgu i-kkula-kkarai-parippēpy vāḍa-mē-
260 rku nōkki=chechenru Karpakṛti=kkulattu vaḍa-karaiyaiyai=urgu vādakku=innaṃ [*] i-
   kkula-

1 The reading in A. S. S. I. is Kaṭṭa, 2Kaṭṭa is the reading in A. S. S. I.
ttu=ppurkaraiye vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chheṇru Puvaṇinallur puṇṣe=ṭṭėn-
262 p-āśārdiyum Karpaṅkiṭi=kkaraikkun=naḍuvāga=chChirukkilatti=kkulattukku nir pāynda
kā-

Ninth Plate; Second Side.

263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chheṇru Karpaṅkiṭi=kkulattu=kkadai-kkombaiy=ūḍaṛuttu
vaḍakk=inna-
264 m [[*] Puvaṇinallur vayalukku=ṭṭerkil Valaiyaṭ-ūraṇikku=ṭṭerkil kajar-parippai valattu
vaaktu mēr-
265 ku nōkki=chheṇru Śirukkilatti=kkulattukku nir pāynda Kāṇakaraikk vaḍakk=ppuva-
ṇinallur irukku-
266 m idaiyaṭ-Irāśīngakkōṇ=uḷuḍa puṇṣe[?]=ṭṭem-ellaiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chheṇru
Karpaṅki-
267 ṛti=kkulattukku mēl-kaḍaiyāl nir pāygiro kālaiy=ūṟru ṣ Mēl-ellaiy=i-kkālin kīl-karaiyē
va-
268 ṭakk ku nōkki=chheṇru Rājagambhira-chaturvedimāṅgalattuṇaṅ kūṭṭīna Mīḷaṇaṇuṛ-[κ*]ku-ttalaimāru kuṭutta
269 Pudukkulattu=kkīl-ellai Karpaṅkiṭi=kkulattukku nir pāygiro kālin kīl-kaṛiye vaḍakkux
nōkki=chheṇru
270 i-Mīḷaṇaṇuṛku-ttalaimāru kuṭutta Māṅkaiṭi=kkīl-ellai Karpaṅkiṭi=kkulattukku nir
pāygiro kāli-
271 p kīl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkīyum vaṭa-kilakkku nōkkīyuṁ=chheṇru i-kkālaiy-irandu
kiṭakk=innaṁ [κ*] vaḍak-
272 ku nōkki=chheṇru Mīḷaṇaṇuṛ=kkulattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=ūṟru=kkilakk=innaṁ [κ*] i-kkulatt=
agavaiy-il-irangī vaḍak-
273 ku nōkki=chheṇru Mīḷaṇaṇuṛku-ttalaimāru kuṭutta Kuvalaiṉeli-parppukku=kkīl-ellaiy-
āṇa Māṅkaiṭi=
274 kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chheṇru Nerkuṇṟattu=ṭṭem-ellaiyaiy=ūṟru=kkilakk=innaṁ [κ*]
i-Kuva-
275 aiṉeli=kkīl-ellaiyum=Nerkuṇṟattu mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-parippēy vaḍa-mērku nōkki=
276 chheṇru i-nNerkuṇṟattu natta[κ*]tu=ṭṭem-āśarudiyaiy=ūṟru=kkilakk=innaṁ[κ*] i-nnattā-
[κ*]tu=ṭṭem-āśar-
277 diye vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chheṇru i-nNerkuṇṟattu=kkulattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=ūṟru i-kkulattu
nir-nak-
278 kalē Kuvalaiṉeli=kkīl-āśarudiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chheṇru Mēlsēri=kkaraiyē=ūṟru
Mēlsēri-kkuḷa-ppa-
279 rippē vaḍakku nōkki=chheṇru Kaṭṭikkulattu=ṭṭen-kaḍaiyil=ēri i-kkulatt=agavaiy-il-irangī
Mīḷaṇaṇuṛku-ttalaimāru ku-

Tenth Plate; First Side.

280 ḍutta Kāḍambamaṅgalattu=kkukīl-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chheṇru Pēṟṟaṅ-embar-
karaiyaiy=ūṟru=kkila-
281 kk=innaṁ [κ*] vaḍakku nōkki=chheṇru Kaṭṭikkulattukku nir pāygiro kālaiy-ūḍaṛuttu
Māḷaiṅgudi=kkilaṇaṇa Pullāṇi-
282 Māḍaṅgaṇ-āṇa Nulambādarāyār kāpiyai=ṭṭirumāḷiruṇchōlaiy.Āḻvār dēvaḍaṅa iraiyilī-
Āchchaṅkāṭṭiruk. ^3

^1 Read kkiḷ.
^2 Read kiṣṭeṇa
^3 Read Āchéchaṅkāṭṭiruk.
283 kai-t-Tirumāliruṇchōlainallūr-tten-ellaiyē kilakkū nōkkī-chēchenrū i-t-Tirumāliruṇchōlainallūr-tten-ellaiyē-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-ṣjattu vaittuk-kiḷakkux nōkkīyun-ten-kilakkux nōkkīyunn-chenrū Tirumāliruṇchōlainallūr-tten-kīl-mūlaiyē-ttiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru ivv-Irājagambhirā-chaturvē-
dimāṅgalattuḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Mījagaṇrū-kulattuṭkku nūr pāygrā kāḷiṇ mēl-karaṇyē vādakkux nōkkī-chēchenrū
287 Tirumāliruṇchōlainallūr kīl-ellaiyē-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru i-kkāḷiṇ mēl-karaṇyē vādakkux nōkkī-chēchenrū i-Tirumā-
liruṇchōlainallūr-kulattukku nūr pāygrā kāḷiṇ teṇ-karaṇyē mēṛku nōkkīyun vādā-mēṛku nōkkīyun-
290 Tenth Plate ; Second Side.

290 nūr-kulattukku nūr pāygrā kāḷiṇ teṇ-karaṇyē mēṛku nōkkīyun vādā-mēṛku nōkkīyun-
291 liruṇchōlainallūr-kulattukku nūr pāygrā kāḷiṇ-yūṣāṛuttu i-Tirumāliruṇchōlainallūr vādā-mē.
292 n-mūlaiyē-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru Aḷajiyapāṇḍiyakku[lakk]ī Śūrakudiy-āṇa Vīrakāmugā-
293 lāiyum Vāgaikudi-tten-ellaiyum-āṇa Mījagaṇrārā kit-lāṇiṇ teṇ-karaṇyē vāda-mēṛku nōkkī-chēchenrū
294 Udaiyār Tiruppūvayam-udaiyār dēvadāṇam Aḷajiyapāṇḍiyakku[lakk]ī Vellūrkuruchchi-
295 Vāgaikudi mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa i-mījagaṇarārā kit-lāṇiṇ mēl-karaṇyē vādakkux nōkkī-chēchenrū

1 Read "nallur".
2 Read "nērur".
ELEVENTH PLATE: FIRST SIDE.

305 da-kilakkku nōkkīyuṅ-cheṣrū Tuttīyūr-kulattu mēl-kaḍāyaïäy-aṣṭuttu i-kaḷăṅ mēl-karaïēy vadākkku
306 nōkkīyum vaḍa-kilakkku nōkkīyum vaḍa-mērku nōkkīyuṅ-cheṣrū Tiruvaṅgattu Arai-mākkăṟṟu-tten-e.
307 lēiyum Māṇābara[n][a]-chaturvēdaṁgaḷattu vaḍav-eḷēiyum-āṇa ellai-varaṃbē mērku
308 nābharaṇa-chaturvēdaṁgaḷattu-kkuḷa-kkaṟaiyaiy-ūṟṟu=kkilakk-ḳiṇṇam [[*] i-kkuḷattu=
309 purkaraïēy vadākkku nōkkī=
310 cheṣrū Arai-mākkăṟṟu=chChirĕmbar=kkaṟaiyaiy-ūṟṟu ivv-ēmbar=teṅ-karaïēy mērku
311 nōkkī=cheṣrē.
312 nu Milaganur kulattukku nēr pāyigira kāḷaiy-ūḍāṟuttu i-kaḷăṅ mēl-karaïēy vadākkku
313 nōkkīyum vaḍa-mērē.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA. [ Vol. XXV.

311 ku nōkkīyuṅ-cheṣrū i-kkaḷaiy-iraṅgi i-kaḷăṅ kīl-karaïyil-ēri Arai[mākk][kūṟṟu ēmbalil
312 nēr-nakkai
davañcu nōkkī-cheṣrū Tuttīyūr-kulattukku nēr pāyigira kāḷaiy-ūḍāṟuttu Udaiyār
313 Tiruppaṅam-udaiyār
dēvāraṇam=Alaḍiyāpāḍiyakkak[akk]īl Vēḷ[i]rkuruchch[i=kk]-ellaiyur-Tiruvaṅgattu mēl-
314 ellaiyur-āṇa Ka-
315 ṇavadi-vayakkal mēl-varaṃbē vadañcu nōkkī=cheṣrū i-kkaḷavadi-vayakkaili vadañ-
316 mēk[a]-mēlayil Vāyaḵṭā.
317 tturavai vadañcu vaittu Tiruvaṅgattu=kkuḷaiyaiy-ūḍāṟuttu Vēḷ[i]rkuruchch[i=kk]-ellaiyum=
318 Tiruvaṅgattu
319 mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē vadañcu nōkkī=cheṣrū Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvalabhpāḍāṟṟu=
320 iraṅgi / Vaḍav-e.
321 lēi i-Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvalavappāḍāṟṟu-ūṛi kkaḷakkku nōkkī=cheṣrū ivv-āṛi-nilīnum Paṇān-
322 galār kula-
323 ttukku nēr[*] pāyigira kāḷiṅ vaḍa-karaïyil-ēri i-kkaḷaiyē kkaḷakkku nōkkī=cheṣrū Kaḷa-
324 vaṁdaṅ-āṛi-nilīnum-iran-
325 gi ivv-āṛi-nilēy vadañcu nōkkī=cheṣrū Idaikkaṭṭūrīl-nilīnum Vēmāṅgudikku=ppō-
326 giyār
327 liyaiy-ūṟṟu kīl-karaïyil-ēri=ttēr=k[iṇṇam [[*] i-vvaliyē vaḍa-kkaukkku nōkkī=cheṣrū i-
328 kkaḷavai-nilāṇ-āṛi-
329 nilīnum Choyyakulattur-kulattukku nēr pāyigira kāḷaiy=ūḍāṟuttu i-vvaliyēy vada-kakaukkku
328 nōkkī=cheṣrū Adiṅka-
329 rai-ikkkuḷa-karaïyil-ēri i-kkaḷaiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkkī=cheṣrū i-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyum
330 āyukti=ttēn-e.
331 lēiyaiyum-ūṟṟu=ttēr=k[iṇṇam [[*] ivv-ellaiyē kkaḷakkku nōkkī=cheṣrū Vēḷāṅgudī nattattu
332 vadavayēy
332 šēṛu i-Vēḷāṅgudī-ikkkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyumaiy-ūṟṟu=ttēr=k[iṇṇam [[*] ida-nilīnum vaḍa-kkaukkku
335 nōkkī=cheṣrū,
335 ku Kaḷaṅgāḍi mēl-ellaiyaiy-ūṟṟu ivv-ellaiyē vadañcu nōkkīyum vaḍa-[kkaḷaukkku] nōkk-
336 [k[iṇṇu]m] cheṣrū
336 ku Kaḷaṅgāḍi-ikkkuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-kkombaiyaiy-ūṟṟu=ttēr=k[iṇṇam [[*] ida-nilīnum vaḍa-
337 kilakkku nōkkī=cheṣrū

[*] The left hand portion of the medial ə sign is entered in the previous line.
Eleventh Plate; Second Side.

327 Śūndankuruchchēti-tenn-ellaiyum-i-Kūdaiyādi vādad-ellaiyum-anā ikkulattā nir-nakkāl-
328 y kilakkā nōkkīyum teŋ-kilakkā nōkkīyun-echeñru i-ikkulattakkū-kkil-kadaiyāl nir pā-
329 ygira kālaiy-ūdaruttu-teŋ-kilakkā nōkkī-echeñru Viēlār-Sīrūkuzi Iļaikkūtūrīl-ninīrum
330 Vēmbaṅguṇiikkū-ppōṇa valiyai-ūdaruttu-kkilakkā nōkkī-echeñru Kāṭtu-tteyvam-
331 enṛm Pīdā-
332 rikulam-enṛm pēr-kōva[ppaṭṭa]1 Udaiyikkatt-agavāyē kilakkā nōkkī-echeñru i-ikkulattu-
333 kkil-
334 kaḍaiyāl-ēri-teŋ-kilakkā nōkkī-echeñru Kīrāṇūrnādāyān-kōkāpakkattāṇa Śem[he]rūm-
335 ān uluda punṣeyyai valattu vaittu-kkilakkā nōkkīyun-teŋ-kilakkā nōkkīyun-echeñru Śeyyakula-
334 tūrill-nilgum Vēmbaṅguṇiikkū-ppōgira valiyai-ūdaruttu-kkilakkā nōkkī-echeñru Śeyyakula-
335 tūr-kulaŋgalukku nir pāya Muttan-Ālvan-anā Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyan kalluvitta
kālaiy-ūdaruttu-
336 kkilakkā nōkkīyun vāda-kilakkā nōkkīyun-echeñru Mēr-Chūrai Udaiyikkatt-agavāyē
kilakkā nōkkī-echeñru Kiṭ-Chūrai i-ikkulattu-agavāyē kilakkā nōkkī-echeñru i-ikkulattu-kkil-
337 kaḍai-kkombil ēri
338 mūnbu tudanginav-ūdarattu āppidi nīṛṇadu [.*] Iyy-ara-vōla eluṇidēn i2vai Puravuvvari-
339 kkāṅkāṇi Milalai-kkūr-
340 rattu Naṇuvir-kūṛu āri-Parāntakanallur=Kaṭṭikuruchchēdi-udaiyāṇ Araiyan Nārāyaṇap-
341 eluttu [*] Ivaî² Pu-
340 ravuvvari-kaṅkāṇi Milalai-kkūrrattu=kKil-kūṛṛu=tTāṇdalaiy-udaiyāṇ Pirāntakān Tiru-
341 ppūvaṇam-udaiyāṇ-e
342 luttu [*] Ivaî² Puravuvvari-kaṅkāṇi Alagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil Perumāraṇur-anā Pala-
342 manḍalādichechanallur=Ka-
342 runākaradēvan Purpavaṇam-udaiyāṇ=eluttu [*] Ivaî² Tiruvuvkkōlvī Jayadara-pPalla-
342 varayar kaṅkāṇi Tirum-
343 naippādī-nāṭṭu Karuppūr-udaiyāṇ Pillaiy-Ālvan Poṇnambalakūttanēn i2vai² enn=eluttu

[.*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1)—Hail! Prosperity! There was at first this water. In its centre (lit. inside), there lay, on the serpent (Śeṣha)-couch, Hari. From his navel came forth a lotus; and from it, by himself, the creator of the universe (Vīvaṛatī) came; from him Atri; and from the cavity of his eyes, the Moon; his son was Budha; from him was born Purūravas; and thence came these Pāṇḍya lords.

(Verse 2) —Hail! Prosperity! Having ascertained the (proper) time from Sundarēsa, (king) Rājagambhiradēvā, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, on the day of Śvātī combined with Saturday (Ārktī-vāra) in the dark fortnight, and on the tūthī of Kanakapati (i.e., ekādaśī), when the hot-rayed (Sun) was in the sign Dhanus, ordered to conduct immediately the female elephant to fix the boundaries of the village called after his own name.

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (i.e., Lakshmi) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully uniting with him; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue; the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the

1 The letters ppa look like y2.
2 The syllables i2vai are written as a group.
3 Read r-Kaffi.
twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (maṇḍa) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six rightous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍya) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (of kia) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his rightous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (age) concealing itself with treaurn in long caverns; the Viḷḷavar (i.e., the Chēra), Śembiyar (i.e., the Chōla), Viṛṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (their) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nectar-like iyal, isai and nājakam (i.e., prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain-like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanimmududaiyal, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens, the glorious king Jaṭāvarman alias the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśēkhara-dēva reigned.

Whereas, while the king was pleased to be seated on the reclining couch called Malavarājan in the hall of his palace at Madurai situated in (the sub-division) Mādakulakkti of Madu; rōdaya-vālanādu, he had ordered that a village consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares should be formed and given as brahmadiya, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth,—one thousand and eighty shares to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vēdas and Sāstras and capable of expounding them, and one hundred and twenty shares as dēvadāna and for those who had to do service;

(II. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdāmiṇgalam, called (as such) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhira-vālanādu, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the unmentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old dēvadāna, paliṣṭhchandam and kārōmam, and including the rest,— and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under vellāyp-vagai, as well as the prior holdings,— and bringing them all under one village with one puraru and one nādu,

(II. 72-74) whereas the king had been pleased to say that the four boundaries of this (new) village may be circumambulated with the female elephant in the presence of the superintendents appointed for the purpose, and, for the boundaries thus passed through, a deed may be drawn up and given,

the following is recorded on the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixtieth day.

(II. 19 to 69) The villages and lands taken up are:

1. In Kiraṇur-nādu,—the villages of Nakkaṇaṅgalam and Vāgaikudi, (the latter) a dēvadāna of Udaiyār Tiruppivānudaiyāv; (2) including the above (two villages), the villages of Tiruvaṇgam, Tuttiyur, and Kiriṇgākkōttai (with its lands called) Kāduvetti, Muṭam, Kōnrageri, Tadaiyil-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Veḷḷattaivenran-ēmbal, Pagaṭi-ēmbal, Naḷuvēkkōttai and Kōṇag-Eṣṭi-kuruchchi; (3) in Puṅgaṅgalur-nādu,—the villages of Adikurai, Miṭtārvālī, Veḷangulam with its land Omāṣagīyan-ēmbal, Sōlayērī, Kuduṇāḷī, Aruvāri-Pudukulam, Kiṭ-Chērāi, Mēr-Chērāi, Pidānkalam, Puṅgaṅgalur alias Panditapanājanallūr, Sevvakulattīr with its land Śiyangēriyudaiyān-kāppēmra, Vaṇjiyur, Kaṅkuruchchi, Arivānkruchchi, Arakkulam with its lands Arugasādī, Viragāppērṇa-ēmbal, Virapādikappērṇa-ēmbal, Moḷiyān-ēmbal, Ambalakkōtṭakan-ēmbal, Sīṭai-ēmbal and Paṇṭirāvēppērṇa-ēmbal, Uppalāyanāṅgalam and its land Pudaichhāṅkuliy-ēmbal; (4) in Tiyandaikudi-nādu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands Śivagāyakuli and Udumbandai, Ulagaranī, Karayyür, Kūppāli, Maṭṭādakkēri with its lands Śiṅgappērṇa-ēmbal, Putṭēmbal, Kalaiyērī, Śenaki and Orukkoṅērī, Kalvāyilmaṅgalam, Pulaṇērī, Śendāṅerī, Nakkaṇērī, Pārkalam with its land Uyyān-Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal,
Marudanukudi, Navaarkudi with its land Kaṭṭiyār-nāḍāliver-ēmbal, Śiru-Nakkaṇḍēri, Sūlīmāṇḍi, Puṟukkuḻam, Śiruvaṇē, Koṇḍuṇkoḻam, Pulamaṇgalam, Kaṇkuḻam, Karuṇaṅkuḻam Eyili, Paṭaṅgaṇkuḻam, Puliyaṇkuḻam, Pūṭikkuḻam, Vēḻurūkkuḻam, Vēḻytaḷalaiṇlār and the land Kāḻuveṭti of this (last mentioned) village; (5) inclusive of three vēḷi of land, according to pāṭyogam, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudur and lying within the tank of Māṇavani Madura, the following being added to the brahmaṇḍaya, viz., Marudur ālaṁ Madurūdāya-chaturvediṁāḷgalam with the land Śaṅkūn-ēmbal, Śaṅkārāmaṇgalam and Tīyāṭur-Solaiyēri; (6) in Kiḷakāṅkāṭēri ālaṁ Puravaḷi-chaturvediṁāḷgalam, excluding eight (vēḷi) and six mā of land, as measured by the rod Viṟaṉpūḷyavānkoḷ, consisting of nir-nilam, karaṇēyē, puṉkēyē, nattam, tiṭṭam, tiṭṭam, tiṭṭam, Śēṟuṇgal, tīrṇaṅanvāṟṟam, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the ṇēṟēs that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Māraṇas, as well as Pāṟaṇiēri and Kaṭukkūḷi; and also the dēṟṟudānē lands of the temple of Tiṟṟuppaḷalainṭāthā at Mēr-Paḷalai ālaṁ Širvallabha-chaturvediṁāḷgalam, viz., Sēṟṟērī, tirappu Sōṇḍaṇ-ēmbal, Tattāṇ-ēmbal, Vēṟmōd-ēmbal, Paṟṟappū-ēmbal, Ediriiḷēloatṭērai-ēmbal, etc., also the lands called Vēḷanāṅkal, Kanjikēciyē-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for kuṭikēciyē which had been clasped under the different head of dēṟṟudānēr-ṛatāyē and whose kāṟṟumai belonged to the temple of Śī-Śaṅkurances-Viṟaṅṭur-Aḷvēr of Mēr-Paḷalai ālaṁ Širvallabha-chaturvediṁāḷgalam; as also tirappu Paṟṟaiyēri, Kiḷ-Vēḻyāṭur, Meḻ-Vēḻyāṭur, Māṇḍiyaṅkuḻam, Nēḷvēḷi with its land Tanniliṟattaiyē-ēmbal, Sōṟṟātēri, Aravaṅkuḻam, Kāṟṟikkuḻam, Āṟṟētēri, Taḻaṉpāṟṟai and Kaṭechuṟuṅkkuḻam; (8) in Mērkuḍi ālaṁ Kiḷiyanamangalam in Mērkuḍi-nāḍu, excluding two (vēḷi) and four mā of land, as measured by the rod Viṟaṉpūḷyavānkoḷ, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by ṛyōṭ and consisted of nir-nilam, karaṇēyē, puṉkēyē, nattam, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṉ-Mērkuḍi, Māṇjēr and Koṟaṅeṛē; also Mutṭærānārtōḷai which was the dēṟṟudānē of the temple of Uḷaiyēr Tiṟṟuppṉaṅmaṇṭaiyē; as well as Appalavē with Sōṇḍaṇ-ēmbal near that village, Naraiṅmaṇ ālaṁ Varanṭṇaḷalunḷēr together with the lands near that village, viz., Śiḷaḷaiyēri, Uriyappi, Tāḷi-yēmbal, Koṟaṅeṛē, Śīṟrīyē-ēmbal and Sōṁēṅérē; (9) in tirappu Pūṟṟaparaiḷai-nāḍu,—Pulleniēri, the lands that were added to the karaṇēyēpattu of Kaṟaṅṇēr, the karaṇēyē of Madaiḷukkuḻēri, the puṟṟakari (i.e., the grassy bank) of Kiḷ-Śēḷi, Acheṭaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Maḷaiyaṇṟ ālaṁ Rāṉendraṅiṅgalunḷēr together with Miṅerē near that village, Kaṟrakkudēri, Araiyaṇēri, the lands within the tank of Naḻuvir-Cheḷēi, Mēṉ-Cheḷēi, Kuṟeṭhi, Śiṟṟukkēḷi, Puṟṇaṅalunḷē, Āṟṟēkkuḻēri, Sōṁēṅērē and Tāḷaṉ-Pūḍi-ēmbal, also Śiṟṟikēḷkāṅkāṭēri which (last) was a dēṟṟudānē of Uḷaiyēr Tiṟṟuppṉaṅmaṇṭaiyē; as well as Śīṟṟu-Miḷaḷi, tirappu Neṟṟuṅgram, Kaṭiṅkkuḻam and Pēṟṟaṇ-ēmbal.

(Ll. 74-139) The puravaṉari-kappāṇi officers Araiyan Nāṟaṉaṅpan of Kaṭiṅkuruchē residing in Śī-Parāntakanallūr in Naḻuvir-kēṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīḷaiḷi-kēṟṟu, Pāṟṟantuṅkan Tiṟṟupṉaṅmaṇḍaiyē of Taṇḍalai in Kiḷ-kēṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīḷaiḷi-kēṟṟu, Māṇaṅrudaiyēn Karuṅkārādvēn Puravānaṉmaṇḍaiyē of Māṇuṅṟ ālaṁ Palamāṉalaiṅṭṭaiṅḷal in Āḷiṉgaiyāṇḍiyēkkukkālki, Pīḷai Āḷvēn ālaṁ Pōṟṟamalakkēṭṭaiṅ of Kaṟṟupp in Tiṟṟunaippāṟṟi-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōḷaṅglaṇḍai, who was the kappāṇi of the tīrṇuḷdvēkkēḷi Pōṟṟuṉg Sūṟyēvēn ālaṁ Jaṉadhaṉ-Pallavaiyar of Pūṭur in Puravāraḷai-nāḍu, Veḷaṉ Śaṭṭaiṅ of Kiḷ-Nēṭṭir ālaṁ Kiṟṟiṉuḷaiṅḷaiṅḷal in Karuṅguṉai-nāḍu who was the kauṟuṅgai of Pūṟṟamāṉoṉēvar, Nāṟaṉaṅpan Śaṭṭaiṅ of Veḷaiyāṭur in Kēṟalaiṅgai-vaiṉaṅḍu who was the kauṟuṅgai of the mudiyāṉ Kappalurudaiyēn Šīṟṟaṅpan Tiruvudaṉaiyē ālaṁ Pottappichēḷai of Kappalḷ ālaṁ Uḷagaiṅdaiṅḷaiṅḷai in
Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam, Arayan Tirumalai-udaiyān of Aruṅkālam in Poliyūr-nādu who was the kaṇkūṟi of the māḻiyaṟṟuṟṟam Sivallavan Alagiyamaṇḍavāḷan alias Kāḷingārayar of Aykkudī alias Alagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Vāḍatallai-Sembi-nādu, Arayan Karumāṇikkam of Kitt-Pasalai alias Dānavīṇḍanallūr in Tiyaṇḍai-kuṟṟi-nādu who was the kaṇkūṟi of Māḷavarayar, Kappalurudaiyān Uyyavan-daṅ Pōṇṇaṅ alias Māṇabharana-Mūvendavelīr of Kappalur alias Ulṣigalandaśāḷanallūr in Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam who was the adigāram of Pīḷḷaiyar Alagappurumāḷ. Udayān Nambi Pōṇṭamalakāṇṭṭaṅ alias Vīrāṉagēvār of Sūṟupāḷiyār alias Kāḷerivillavanallūr in Śolapāṇḍi-vaḷanādu, Māḷaiṅiṇiṇiṅrān Alagān alias Vījaya-Viṭṭheṭṭhirādēvar who was one of the aṅkkuṟṟ of Alagiya-pāṇḍiyar of Rājendirar in Irāṉiṅkkuṟṟaṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuṅkkuington.
Bhaṭṭan; also the undermentioned persons of Veḷḷūrkaṇuṭhehi in Alāgiyapāṇḍiyakkuṭakkil, viz., Veḷḷān Kōvan, Ādi Perṣān, Veḷḷān Ālaγaṇ alias Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūṉḍaperāḷ and Veḷḷān Śrīlākṣi; (inclusive of the last mentioned four) the following (three) persons, viz., Āḷvān Uṇḍhiyāvar of Marudūr in Tiruvāṇam. Karunākkam Ulaganudai-Bhaṭṭan of Perumpūḻur and Maṉṟavāḷānan Ādviṉ-Bhaṭṭan of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the brāhmaṇa-dīya; (also the undermentioned persons) of Veḷḷūr alias Alāgiyapāṇḍiyanaḷḷūr in Kōranūr-mālu, viz., Rāmaṇ Uṉyavandān, Perṣān Pāṭṭaṇ, Dēvaṉ Nāṃbi and Śorān Nāṭṭāṇ; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tiruppūṉār in Irāṉgankukkal, viz., Anūlaiyanaṉ Pāṭamān Adiḻiy专场aruṇaḷ-Perumāṇ alias Pallavadaraiyan, meyppu Malaiyan, Śorān alias Viṇjugattaraiyan, Dēvaṉ Tīḷai alias Māṭurūdaya-Pallavaṟaiyan, Śikaiyāva-Bhaṭṭan alias Śivallava-Pallavaṟaiyan, Kanavadi Śrīmāṇ alias Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaṟaiyan. Erān Pēvīrān alias Pāṇḍiyai-Pallavaṟaiyan and Pēṟṟu Aravamugaiyan Vili alias Mundittahōṇḍa-Pallavaṟaiyan, conducting the female elephant, the following is the order of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed:—

(I. 139-195) The eastern boundary (as it came to be determined) on the day of Śvāti corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh tīthi of the second fortnight and the fourth (vāṇa) day of the month of Dhanu in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (the king's) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uḍaiyaḷūṟ, also called Vēṭṭh-Chōraṇ, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājaṉambhiṟa-chaturvēṇaṉgaḷūṟi), passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaḻamabangudi from Śeyyakukattūr, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēṃbaṅgudi from Maṉaviramadurai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Māṉaraiyarkōṭṭai from Śeyyakukattūr, and then keeping to the right (the put called) Pudai-cheṅkōḷi, passes south-east along the veṭṭipperaṟuḷ (the big path of the veṭṭi) which meets the said road (at the said pit) and crosses the road leading to Maṉaviramadurai from Māṉaraiyarkōṭṭai, further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Maṉaviramadurai from Pīḷaiṉūr and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Karamūṟ and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kuṇjēli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Saṃgappēṟaṟuṇ-ēmbal, then going southwards and then in a south-westerly direction and crossing the road leading from Neṭṭūr to Maṉaviramadurai and then going southwards along the nirakkal of the tank at Chandranallūr and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-westerly direction along the way leading to Vaigaḷ alias Śivallabhappēṟāṟu, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the seṟravai on the eastern boundary of Śekukulī, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śekukulī and afterwards going southwards along Karkulam which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkōṟanēri, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-westerly direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkōṟanēri and getting into the Vaigaḷ alias Śivallabhappēṟāṟu it lies to the west. Then going along this Śivallabhappēṟāṟu (first) in a north-westerly direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then taking up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kiṭ-Pat︰arai alias Dāṉavīṉdānallūr and the tank of Maṉ-Pat︰arai alias Śivallabhia-chaturvēṇaṉgaḷam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the ........ridge of the half eeth and two māḷ of land in Arasiṉpuram and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Maṉaviramadurai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding
westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three vēli of land, as measured by the pāṭakkāl,—which had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as pāṭham on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the above-mentioned tank of Māṇaviramadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (then) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the kudiyiruppu of Yāṇagāṅgappāraiyan, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (first) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Māṇaviramadurai in the aγaey of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (the channel called) Divākkaraṇavāyakkāl which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Māṇaviramadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (the land called) Divākkaraṇavāyakkāl, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the ērvai which has the western ridge of Sundaravāyakkāl and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Saṅkaraṇāṅgalam and the southern boundary of Māṇaviramadurai, (first) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Saṅkaraṇāṅgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Pasālai alias Śrīvalabha-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam and to the tank of Kiṭ-Pasālai alias Dāṉaviṇōdanaḷūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and then proceeding (the other) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Pasālai alias Śrīvalabha-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam, and then going (successively) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Pasālai alias Dāṉaviṇōdanaḷūr and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dāṉaviṇōdanaḷūr, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Pasālai alias Śrīvalabha-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvalabha-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam, then proceeding (successively) in south and south-east directions along the Iṭukkār (flowing) from the māruvāy of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the nāttam of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the tank of the said Nelvēli and reaching (the channel called) Pāḻaiyakkāl, and then proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkanēri, (it lies to the west).

(I.I. 195-267) The southern boundary: Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the nāttam of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said nāttam of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple-site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli, then going south-west and crossing (the river) Pāḻaiyēri, it lies to the north. Proceeding (successively) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this channel, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Niram-baiyēri and (also) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmattur, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmattur and Śrīvēgai in the vicinity of Kāḷiṅkkēli, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Śrīvēgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary of Aravankēli and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kāḷiṅkkēli, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly
direction along the road leading to Vēḷāṉēri from Aravankudi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēḷāṉēri, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēḷāṉēri and carries water to Puttūr, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēḷāṉēri and the southern boundary of Karukkuṇam, and then going westwards along the north bank of Śūrtivaśakkal-ūraṉi of Vēḷāṉēri, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādichēvaśakkal of Vēḷāṉēri, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of Karundāṉi of Vēḷāṉēri, and then westwards on the ridge which ia to the north of this land and the vāṟuṅiṅkal of Ādichēvaśakkal and of Peruvayakkal and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayāṉī-vaṉakkal in Śenēri which adjoins Kallikkudli, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the ellai-ṟāṅkāḷ (i.e., the boundary channel), and then going (successively) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Māḷñaṁukkāṅi of Śenēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Sōmīṅkiṉ-vyaṅkkal belonging to Dayāṉīti Ariyāṉ elias Arundavan-Vīḷuppāraiyan, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayāṉīti Māṅavirāṅ consisting of several tadiṅ (in extent), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the raṅkkal of Uyyakkuṅṅal and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śenēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvakōṭtnai from Kaṇṇāṅūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pūṉāṉēri-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Tāḻāṉpiraḷ at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the nir-ṅakkal of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the nir-ṅakkal of (the tank called) Kāḻichirāṅkaḷam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (bank of the tank called) Pulaṉēriṅkulam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the nir-ṅakkal of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the southern bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṇṇāṅūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards of the kēṟrāi having the northern ridge of Muttamiṅ-kaṟuṅiye of Kaṇṇāṅūr-Pidari-ēri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṇṇāṅūr and the southern boundary of Narimaṉṟam and reaching the kulāṟṟappin of Madajaikuruchchi, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten kõḷ, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṇṇāṅūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kaṉavaṟṟu which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (the tank called) Uḍaṅkuḷam in Kīḻ-Śelī, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Mīṅṅēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kīḻ-Śelī and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kīḻ-Śelī and the southern boundary of this Mīṅṅēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (known as) Malaiyanaṉduṟṟappi, proceeding then on the bund of this tank and getting down the agaṟṟāy of this tank, then going (successively) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Mīḷaṅṅūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭakūṟti in Kāṉai-Irulkai from Mīḷaṅṅūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of
Kaṇḍambanāguṇi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Koṭṭakāṭṭi and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēḷaṇēri in Kāñcal-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Mīlagnaṅūr, then getting into this (i.e., the said) channel and going north to the karai-parippu, which is at the southern extremity of Mēr-Śeli and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēḷaṇēri, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Śorān Mūkkān of Mīlagnaṅūr, then going in a northerly direction along the ellai-parippu in the middle of the eastern boundary of Karpakāṭṭi in Kāñcal-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mēr-Śeli adjoining Mīlagnaṅūr and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundaṅ-Ālyāṅ of Mīlagnaṅūr, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Karpakāṭṭi and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Karpakāṭṭi, it lies to the north. Then going (first) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the vēli-parippu in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Mīlagnaṅūr, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Karpakāṭṭi and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṅ Alagan of Mīlagnaṅūr, and then crossing the road leading to Mīlagnaṅūr from Irukehiri and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Śirukilāṭṭi adjoining Mīlagnaṅūr, and going in a north-westerly direction along the karai-parippu of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Karpakāṭṭi, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Śirukilāṭṭi and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvaninallūr and the bank of Karpakāṭṭi, and crossing the kaḷai-kombu of the tank of Karpakāṭṭi, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the kaḷai-parippu, which lies to the south of Vālaiyan-ūraṇi (and also) to the south of the fields of Puvaninallūr, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Ināṅga-kōṅ, the resident of Puvaninallūr, which lands are situated to the north of Kāṅnakari which carries water to the tank of Śirukilāṭṭi and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Karpakāṭṭi, (it lies to the west).

(II. 267-316) The western boundary: Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakāṭṭi and formed the eastern boundary of Pudukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Mīlagnaṅūr which was included in Rājagambhira-chataturvedīmāṅgalam, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakāṭṭi and formed the eastern boundary of Māṅakāṭṭi which was also given in exchange for the said Mīlagnaṅūr, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Mīlagnaṅūr, it lies to the east. Then getting into the agraṇāy of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (the tank called) Mīnuṅi which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvalaiśelippaṅṟu given in exchange for Mīlagnaṅūr and reaching the southern boundary of Nerkunṟam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the karai-parippu, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvalaiśelī and the western boundary of Nerkunṟam, and reaching the southern end of the nattam of this Nerkunṟam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the southern āsarudī of this nattam and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Nerkunṟam, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvalaiśelī through the nir-nukkal of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēlēṅi, then going northwards along the kaḷapparippu of Mēlēṅi and getting up at the southern end of Koṭṭikulam and descending into the agraṇāy of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaḷambanāṅgalam which was given in
exchange for Milagaṇuṛ and reaching the bank of Perṟēn-ēmbal, it lies to the east. Then going northwards and crossing the channel which carries water to Kaṭṭikulam, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of Tirumalirūṇjōḷai in Achehaṅkāṭṭirukkai which is a tax-free dēvaḍāna of Tirumalirūṇjōḷai-Āḷvār and the holding (kāḷī) of Pūḷāṇī Mādēvaṇ aḷiās Nūḷambāḍārāyār, the headman of Māḷāṅguḍi, and then leaving to the left the tiruvāḷikkal (i.e., disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the south-east corner of Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at Milagaṇuṛ which was added to Rājagambhirā-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted on the eastern boundary of Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the north-eastern corner of this Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westery directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this Milagaṇuṛ and forms the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the northern boundary of Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the north-west corner of this Tirumalirūṇjōḷainallūr, and then going north-east along the south bank of the channel of Milagaṇuṛ, which forms the northern boundary of Śīrkuṭuṇ aḷiās Virakāmamaṅgalam in Aḷaḷiyāpāṇiḷiyakkulakkīḷ and the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of Milagaṇuṛ which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūṟkuruchchi in Aḷaḷiyāpāṇiḷiyakkulakkīḷ, the dēvaḍāna of Uḍaiyār Tiruppivāṇamudaiyār and the western boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of Viḷḷattal aḷiās Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam in Kīḻaṟṟāṅuṟu, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the kāḷar-pairppu and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of Vāgaikuḍi, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the southern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam, and leaving to the right the temple of Māṇābharaṇa-Iśvaramudaiyār at Vāgaikuḍi and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at Vāgaikuḍi, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of Ariyāḷ-vayakkal in Vāgaikuḍi-paṟṟu and to the south of Uyyavanḍal-vayakkal in Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēṭimaṅgalapparṟu, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Nakkamaṅgalam, and then going (successively) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of Tuttiyūr and going on the western bank of this channel (successively) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called Araiṃākkūṟu in Tiruvāvaṇam and the northern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam, and reaching the bank of the tank of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the tank of Śīrṭēmbl of Araiṃākkūṟu, then going westwards on the southern bank of this ēmbal and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Milagaṇuṛ, and going (successively) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the nīr-nakkal in the ēmbal of Araiṃākkūṟu and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of Tuttiyūr, and going northwards on the western ridge of Kaṇavādi-vayakkal, which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūṟkuruchchi in Aḷaḷiyāpāṇiḷiyakkulakkīḷ, a dēvaḍāna of Uḍaiyār Tiruppivāṇamudaiyār, and the western boundary of Tiruvāvaṇam, and leaving to the right Vāykaṭṭāṭṭuravu in the north-western corner of this
Kaṇṇavadiyakkal and crossing the channel of Tiruvāṇam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Veṅļūrkaruchchi and to the west of Tiruvāṇam, and descending into the Vaṅgai alīs Śrīvallabhappēṟṟu, (it lies to the east).

(Ll. 317-338) The northern boundary: Going eastwards along this Vaṅgai alīs Śrīvallabhappēṟṟu and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Paṇanigal, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (the river called) Kaḷalavaḷiṇāṉāṟu and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Veṁbaṅgaṉūṟi from Iḷaikkāṭṭāri and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kaḷalavaḷiṇāṉāṟu to the tank of Śeyyakulattār, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the bank of the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Āykuḷi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the nattam of Veṅḷaṅgūṟi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Veṅḷaṅgūṟi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kūḷināṟi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the komba on the western extremity of the tank of Kūḷināṟi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the nir-nakkal of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Śunḍanakuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kūḷināṟi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Iḷaikkāṭṭāri of Veṅḷūr-Śrīkuḷi to Veṁbaṅgaṉūṟi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the agavāy of Udaikulam, which is called by the names Kāṭutteyvam and Piṭārikulam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Śēmberumān, a neighbouring resident of Kiraṇāṉāḻiāyākkōṭṭai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Śeyyakulattār to Veṁbaṅgaṉūṟi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttaṇ Āḷvān alīs Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyān for feeding the tanks of Śeyyakulattār, then going east and north-east, and (afterwards) passing eastwards along the agavāy of the Udaikulam of Mēṟ-Chāṟu and then going eastwards along the agavāy of the tank of Kīt-Chāṟu and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the aśe-elephant stopped (having come: to the place) where she originally started.

(Ll. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict: this is the signature of purav.Drawari-kāṇkāṇī Araiyāṉ Nārāyāṇa of Kaṟṟikuruchchi, (a resident) of the glorious Parāntakanallūr in Naḻuvik-kūṟṟu, (a sub-division) of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam.

(L. 340) This is the signature of the purav.Drawari-kāṇkāṇī Parāntaka Tiruppūvanamumāṉaiyāṉ of Taṅdaḷai in Kiḻ-kūṟṟu, (a sub-division) of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam.

(L. 341) This is the signature of purav.Drawari-kāṇkāṇī Karuppakaradēṉ Purppavanamumāṉaiyāṉ of Perumāṇaiṭṭai alīs Pāḷamapāṇḍiāṭteṇanallūr in Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiāṭkakāḷik. 

(L. 342) This is the signature of Piḷḷai Āḷvān Pōṇambalakkūṭṭai of Karuppur in Tirumunaṟppāṭi-nāḷu, the kāṇkāṇi of the tiruvaṉkkēlvi Jayadhara-Pallavarniṇaiyar.

No. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

BY K. V. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR, B.A., COMBATORE.

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 16 lines.
Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvana plates of Jayāvarman Kulaśēkhara I edited above. The sign of visarga is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling ya to denote ppa (l. 11), the preferential use of r before hard consonants, i in āruḷiṣṭa (ll. 2 and 17), tariṣṭu (ll. 4 and 19) and pāṭtu (ll. 3 and 8), ēḥ in āruḷiṣṭa (l. 27), and k in subhāṣayārku (ll. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, subhāṣayārku, tariṣṭu and pāṭtu are instances of wrong spelling.

There are, strictly speaking, two inscriptions on this plate. Lines 1 to 15 register an order issued by king Tribhuwanachakravartin Kūḍerinmaiondi to the assembly of Rājagambhirachaturvēdvēdimāngālam, while lines 15 to 32 purport to emanate from the temple of Tiruppūvanam to the same assembly. The subject in both is practically the same as will be seen in the sequel. The first contains the date "11th year (of reign) and 108th day" but mentions the king only by the general title Tribhuwanachakravartin Kūḍerinmaiondi. The second states the name of the king to be Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōla country'; eleventh year (of reign) occurs in the body of the record.

In the Tiruppūvanam plates of Jayāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhirachaturvēdvēdimāngālam, three of the deśadāna properties of the temple of Tiruppūvanamudaiyār, viz., Vāgaikudi in Kiraṇūr-nādu (l. 21), Muttrānārōṭṭai in Meṅkuṇī-nādu (l. 50f.) and Śirukilāṇkāṭṭūr in Purappaṟailai-nādu (l. 68), were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvilāṇiṅgādu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvanam plates we find it stated that in place of Mīḷaṅgarūr which, like the deśadāna lands of the Tiruppūvanam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhirachaturvēdvēdimāngālam, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājendraśinganālīrūr which was placed in the Division of Achehaṅkāṭṭīrulkai (l. 111f.). But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvanam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

The first inscription on this plate states (1) that the villages of Vāgaikudi, Muttrānārōṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, which were among the deśadāna properties of the temple of Tiruppūvanamudaiyār, had been taken away and added to Rājagambhirachaturvēdvēdimāngālam; (2) that up to the tenth year (of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I), after annual crop examination, the lands of the said three villages had been regularly paying kaṇomai to the temple of Tiruppūvanam; (3) that this payment was then put a stop to and in its place, it was settled that an amount of twenty-five kāśu in all,—ten kāśu for Vāgaikudi, ten kāśu for Muttrānārōṭṭai and five kāśu for Sirukilāṅkāṭṭūr,—had to be paid every year from the eleventh year onwards to the temple of Tiruppūvanam and that in paying this, half must be given in kāśu and the other half in paddy, on the basis of a never diminishing (i.e., permanent) investment; (4) and that on this settlement being recommended to the king by his brother-in-law Aḷaṅgapπurumāḷ, he ordered the issue of kēs̄i to that effect, and directed also the engraving of the same on stone and copper. It bears the date '11th year and 108th day' and is signed by three officials.

The second inscription calls the first document a pīḍipādu issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōla country' to the assembly of Rājagambhirachaturvēdvēdimāngālam, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (kēs̄i) to be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts
must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the kaṭmandi. The signatories to this inscription are a Saiva-chārya, two Śivabrāhmaṇas and Muḍal-Kaṇakkū (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādharma the ornament of the village of Aṅgārakamaṇḍalam. It must have been on this occasion that the large Tiruppūṇaṇam plates, wherein the inclusion of the three dévadānas villages in Rājakambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its mūlasāstana. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the Tiruppūṇaṇam temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as “iva-urgalir-palaṇ-dēvadānam pālīchechandam.......niki” found in the large Tiruppūṇaṇam plates. It is also clear from the fact that the Tiruppūṇaṇam temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its dévadānas lands in the newly formed brahmadēya, had been regularly getting the kaṭmandi from them from the date of the grant of the brahmadēya, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, dévadānas had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the brahmadēya—the original incumbents were not deprived of their income but were adequately compensated. The king’s brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāḷ must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed dévadāna. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as ṣaṅgaṅī or ṣaṅgaṅi-sabhaiyār.1 I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as Paṇ-Śīvāyamānas in the case of Śiva temples and Śīv-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples elsewhere.2 Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies.3 They are (1) Kaṇakkū-Mudal or Muḍal-Kaṇakkū, (2) Kaṇakkū, or Karṇatū, (3) Dēvakaṇṇi, (4) Śīvāyamāna or Śīvāyamāṇya, (5) Pājikum-Nambi and other Nambis, (5) Kōyil-Nāyakam, (7) Tiruvilaiyachēṭiṇai-Kaṇkkāni, (8) Paṇ-Paṇḍari, (9) Sādana (Sāsana)-Paṇḍari, (10) Śri-Śīvāyam-Kaṇkkāni, (11) Śīvāyam-śeyyār, (12) Śīkōyil-Vāriyam-śeyyār or Vāriya-Perumakkal, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of Kulottunga I five temple officials, viz., Mākēśvara-Kaṇkkāni, Śivabrāhmaṇa, Pājikum-Nambi, Karṇatū and a Paṇ-Mākēśvara have attested.4 Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above.5 A third document is addressed to Śīkōyil-Vāriyam-śeyyār, Dēvakamānas, Paṇḍaris and Karṇatū.6 It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of Tiruppūṇaṇam to the assembly of

---

1 See above, p. 111, text-lines 60 f.
4 S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 296 & 935 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.
7 No. 33 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.
Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdiṃangalam in pursuance of the royal order, was signed by the Śaivāchārya, Śivabrāhmaṇas and the Mudal-Kaṇakku, besides Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jatādhara.

A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are kēlei, pidiṇḍu, aḍuk-kalaippuram, kaḍamai and vāḍā-kaḍamai. Kēlei is the noun derived from the root, ‘kēl’ to ‘hear’. It is used in inscriptions to denote both ‘an office’ and ‘a royal order’. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called ‘kēlei’ and the duty of the kēlei officers seems to be ‘to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him’. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term kēlei came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials.2 This term is sometimes re-placed by (nam-ōlai) ‘Royal order’. It is worthy of note that in this plate kēlei and pidiṇḍu are made to refer to the same thing. In the Vēḻviṇḍṭi plates we meet with the expression kēlei-andidar which conveys the same sense as śrōtiya-Brāhmaṇa. The term pidiṇḍu consists of the roots pidi ‘hold or bind’ and pōdu ‘terms or sources’ and means ‘a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property’, or ‘a title-deed’. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear:

"tiriyā ita paḍikkku enram idu pidiṇḍāya" meaning "for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support"; "irv-āṇḍu kār-mudal kaḍamai irukkumāṭtu māṭṭāl nellu paḍin-kalamāga pū oṅrākku nellu... kuṇṭuttu ivar kaiyāl taravu koḷvēmaṇgarum ippōḍi sammadittu pidiṇḍu kuṇṭuttōm" meaning "agreeing to pay ten kalam of paddy on each mā of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefor we gave this pidiṇḍu (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)". It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the Tiruppūvanam supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara I.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a nandarapappuram, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words "ippādi nam ōlai pidiṇḍāya konḍu chandādityavar kēḷadāḍa".8 Here the word pidiṇḍu means ‘a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift’. As in the present plate, the royal order (nam ōlai) is termed a pidiṇḍu.

Kaḍamai means ‘assessment on land’. The fact that the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam was getting from the three dēcaṇa properties kaḍamai annually, after crop examination, shows that they must have been assigned by the State and the temple was entitled to all the dues which it was previously entitled to. The fresh settlement by which the sabhā of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdiṃangalam was made to pay annually twenty-five kāśu, half in money and the other half in paddy, must be equal to the value of the kaḍamai which the temple was receiving. The word kaḍan being not much different from kaḍamai, vāḍā-kaḍamai may be equated with vāḍā-kaḍan. This is quite appropriate in this case where the temple had been realising kaḍamai on lands and the

---

1 See above, note on tirunaykēli, p. 106.
2 No. 293 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
3 Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 36,
4 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 52.
6 ibid., No. 419.
lands had been given over to the brahmādēya. The term vādā-kādamai is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of ‘permanent assessment on lands’. As applied to debts, vādā-kādan means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is mudal-vādā-kādan. Adukkalaiippuram means ‘for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings’. All gifts to temples are dēvādānas. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as tirunandavanappuram, tirumālaiippuram, adukkalaiippuram, tiruviḻakkuppuram, etc.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Svasti śrī Śri Tribhuvanachakrava[r*]ttī Kōṃgar[i*]samaikopdaṅg Rājagambhirā-valanāṭṭu Rājagambhirā-ebatu-

2 rvedimāṅgalattu=sabhaibaiya[k*] Uḍaiyar Tiruppavānām-udaiyar dēvādāṇamāna ūrgalir=taṅgal-ūruṭṭan kūṭ-

3 tiṇa Vāgaikudiyyu[m*] Muttūranāroṭṭaiyum Śirukilāṅkattūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu=k-

4 kādamaiy-iruttu-vandamaiyil idu taviru=ppadin-ongavado-mudal Vāgaikudikklu=kkāsu pattum Muttū[ra*].

5 nārotṭaikkku=kkāsu pattum Śirukilāṅkattērukkku=kkāsu ainjum āga āṇḍ-orrukku=kkāsu

6 irubatt-ainjum oṭṭāga nīśchayittu=kkāsu pādiyun-ner-pādiyun-āga īrukkaperravēnum- ēṃru mach-

7 ehunaṇar=Alagapperumal namakkku-chebonnaiyil taṅgal-ūruṭṭan kūṭtiṇa Vāgaikudiyyu[m*] Muttūranāroṭ-

8 tāiyuṇ-Chirukilāṅkattūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu=kkaḍamaiy-iruttu-vandamaiyil idu taviru=

9 ppadin-ongavado-mudal Vāgaikudikklu=kkāsu pattum Muttūranā[0*]ttaikkku=kkāsu pattuṇ=Chiru-

10 kilāṅkattērukkku=kkāsu ainjum āga āṇḍ-orrukku=kkāsu irubatt-ainjum oṭṭāga nīśchayittu=

11 kkāsu pādiyun-ner-pādiyun-āga īruppadāga[k*] kēlvi tara=chebonnōm [i*] ippa[d] Chandhrādityavat śelvadāga ka-

12 liluṇ=chebimul veṭṭiyittu=kkolga [i*] Ivaś śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu Achechutavayal=Arailiṇ-

13 dēvaṇ-āṇa Yādavarāṇṇ-ēluttu [i*] Yāṇḍu 11-vadu nāl 108 [i*] Ivaś Vadatalai=cheChebbi-

nāṭṭu Veṅkāṅṭh Araya-

---

2 No. 345 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.
3 See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
4 The right hand portion of the medial o sign of re has been omitted to be engraved.
5 The letters ppa are written as a group whose symbol resembles yu.
6 The word irrī is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters i and rī.
7 The t sign of āṭṭa is at the end of the previous line.
16 shpavana-vāsinaḥ [注] Rājaṃgambhira-vajanāṭṭu Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu= ssadhaiyārku namm-aṭukka-.
17 laippuram-āṇa ūrgalir=taṅgal=ūrulān kūṭṭina ūrgalil Vāgaikudiyum Muttūranāroṭṭaiyuṇ-Chirū.

Second Side.

18 kilāṅkāṭṭurum nam piḷḷai Śoṇāḍu vaḷaṅgīna Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattāvadu-varai payir pā-.
19 ṛtu=kkaḍamai koṇḍu-vandamaiyil idu tavirūt padiṅ-ōṇṇāvadu=muḍal Vāgaikudikku=kkāsu pattum Muttūranāroṭṭai-.
20 kku=kkaśu pattum Śipukil[āṅkāṭṭuruk]kkku=kkāsu aṅjuṃ aṇa āṇḍ-ōṇṛkkku=kkāsu irubattainjum vāḍa-ka-.
21 dan-āṇa ottāḷa=kkāsu [pādiyum=neṛ]-pādiyum-āṇa īrppadāḷa=chchoṅṇ(m) [注] ippaṭikku nam piḷḷai Sundara-Pā-.
22 ṅṇiyadēvar taṅgalukkuk=k[kuṭutta] pidipatīṭippadiyēy i-kkaśāl vanda nel[llum kā]ṣum
23 naṅ kaṅakkar kaṅmiga vaḷaṇm namm-aḍukkaḷaiippurrattēy=aḷandum oḍukki[y]uṇ-tarav kolga [注]
24 Arulāl *Śavyaḥcharyyaṇ Bhāradvāji Pālaṛavaḷ[ya]ṇ Viśvēvaṛaṇ-āṇa [Alagiyadēva]-Bhaṭṭaṅ
25 eluttu [注] Arulāl Tiruppavāṇamuḍaiyāṅ Vighnēvaṛaṇ-āṇa Viṇṇyaka-Bhaṭṭaṅ eluttu [注]
I-nNa-.
26 yanār Śivabrāhmaṇaril dēvaṅkaṇi Pālaṛavāyan Ammaīdēvaṇ-āṇa Alagiyannāyaka-
27 Bhaṭṭaṅ eluttu [注] Arulār-Chatṭagalil Īnāḍimaṅgalattu Kāyaṇaṅ Kēśavaṅ
28 *Kṣhētraṅg-āṇa Brahma-pPallavaraiyāṇ=eluttu [注] Arulāl mudaṛ-karaṇattāṅ Dāṇavi-
29 nōda-Mūṇḍavēḷan=eluttu [注] Vidyā-ṇrauḍha-viḷāsinī-paribṛḍha-[ṛ]-Śrī-Ṣāstra-
30 Bhaṭṭārak[ā]ḥ[注] khyāṭ-ōṅgārakamangal-aiṅa-tilaka[*]-ṛ-ṛ-ṛ-Bṛājagambhiraṅkē [注] grā-
31 māṇam pravars[ā]* Jaṅḍ(ā)ḥdra-sudō vidāt(d)-vadāy-āgraṇiḥ[注] patraṅ kārayati sa sa-
32 [tal]tam-ita(da)m sīmnas-su-nīnā(ṛṇa)yaṃ[注]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail! Prosperity! From the Emperor of the three worlds Kōṅśriṇmaṅ-
koṇḍaṅ to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhira-vajanāḍu.

1 The word ivoi is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters ı and vai.
2 This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to osrača.
3 Read Śurā. 8
4 The ā sign of Kākē is engraved at the beginning of the previous line.
5 Read ṛṣidha. 4
6 Pa looks exactly like ọa.
7 The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line 30 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Śrāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.
As Vāgaikuḍi, Mutṭūranārōṭṭai and Śirukilākāṭṭūr which were among the dēvadāna villages of (the god) Uḍāiyār Tiruppuvaṇam-udaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of koḍamai (to the temple of Tiruppūrvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of koḍamai) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Alagapperumāḷ had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five kāṣu,—ten kāṣu for Vāgaikuḍi, ten kāṣu for Mutṭūranārōṭṭai and five kāṣu for Śirukilākāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as oṭtu, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in kāṣu and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of kēlet to the same effect.¹ You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Ādichchadēva alias Yādavaraiyaṇ of Acheṭuvatayal in Sērvirukkai-nāḍu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Kariyamāḷ alias Adigaimāḷ of Veṅkāṇur in Vāḍatalai-Śemīnāḍu. This is the signature of Mandari⁴ Rāmaṇ alias Pallavaraiyaṇ of Perumāṇalur in Anḍa-nāḍu.

(L. 15ff.) Hail ! Prosperity ! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Sambhu residing in the glorious Puppavaṇa. To the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvṛddīmaṇgalam in Rājagambhira-vājanāḍu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We⁵ have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son⁶ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chāla country, koḍamai from Vāgaikuḍi, Mutṭūranārōṭṭai and Śirukilākāṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of koḍamai) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five kāṣu in all—ten kāṣu for Vāgaikuḍi, ten kāṣu for Mutṭūranārōṭṭai and five kāṣu for Śirukilākāṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as oṭtu on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the piṅgūḍu issued to you in this wise by Our son⁷ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and kāṣu should be measured out and given to Our accountants and kāṇmis (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,⁸ this is the signature of the Śaiṭākārya Pālaṟṟāvaraiyaṇ alias Alagiyadēva-Bhāṭṭaṇ of the Bhārāvāḷa-gōṭra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyāṇ Vīghnēvaraiyaṇ alias Vīṇāyaka-Bhāṭṭaṇ. By order, this is the signature of Pālaṟṟāvaraiyaṇ Ammaidēva alias Alagiyanāyaṃ-Bhāṭṭaṇ, a dēvakaṇmi among the Śivabrahmāṇas of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kēsavaṇa Kṣetraṇaiyaṇ alias Brahma-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a Kāṭyapa and one of the chaṭṭar (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountant⁹ Dānavipōḍa-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ.

(L. 29ff.) The illustrious Śastra-Bhāṭṭaṛaka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Aṅgārakamaṅgala, who was the son of Jaṭādharā and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Rājagambhiraṇa, the best of villages.

¹ The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.
² This word may stand for mantra ' minister '. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spell Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.
³ We ' here refers to god.
⁴ The king is called the son of the god.
⁵ The term arulai which literally means ' by the grace ' seems to be employed in the sense of ' by command or order ' to denote the fact that the individual signs on behalf of the temple.
⁶ The term mudaḷ may also be taken as ' chief, head or first '.
⁷ The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.
⁸ This word may stand for mantra ' minister '. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spell Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.
⁹ We ' here refers to god.
No. 13.—KODURU GRANT OF ANA-VÔTA-REDDI: ŚAKA 1280.

BY H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc., MADRAS.

The set of plates containing the inscription edited below was discovered in the village of Kodāru in the Guḍavāḍa taluk of the Kistna District by the villagers while ploughing a field. The plates are now in the possession of Vidyān Pārṇakuṭumba Rao of Guḍālavallēru, from whom I secured them during my tour in the district in November 1936. The inscription has been reviewed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for that year (Appendix A, No. 4) and I now publish it with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The set consists of five plates strung on to an oval ring 3½" by 4½" and weighed together with the ring 287 tolas. The ring does not bear any seal. The plates measure 10" by 11½" each and are inscribed on both the sides including the first and the last. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is in the Telugu script of the medieval period. The alphabet does not call for any special comment except that the letter bha is written with or without the mark of aspiration at the bottom, as in -nābhēra in l. 6, gagan-ēbha in l. 28, etc., but it invariably occurs without it when the vowel signs a or u are attached to it or when it occurs in a conjunct consonant, e.g., bhāya (l. 2), bhū-dāna (l. 9), bhūpaḥ (l. 18), etc., and ॆd-bhayarasā (l. 21), vipreabhyaḥ (l. 32), etc. The letter ri is written like the modern buhu without its lower stroke of aspiration but with an additional kommu or u sign attached to it (ll. 36, 39, 41, etc.). The whole record is written in Sanskrit verse and prose, except the portion specifying the boundaries of the village granted, which is in Telugu (ll. 57 to 72). Lines 1 to 32 consist of fourteen verses in different metres while lines 33 to 56, in which the boonees with their respective shares are specified, are in prose. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and a verse which gives the name of the poet who composed the grant (ll. 72 to 77). In respect of orthography the following points may be noted:—(a) The use of the anusvāra instead of the class nasal and the unnecessary doubling of the following consonant as in jagānīti for jagānti (l. 1), ॆvāhātu for ॆcāntau and rathāṅga for rathāng (l. 4), etc.; (b) doubling of the consonant after the rēpha as in kīrtī (l. 12), ॆr-vēbhīnna (l. 15), Yajur-vrādi (l. 42), etc.; (c) incorrect omission of the aspirate as in Pārta for Pārtha (l. 15), and the sonant for the surd as in tīdhau for tīthau (l. 29), Rudhitara for Rađhitara (l. 50). In rya the r is always written in full and the secondary form of ya attached to it as at present.

The grant belongs to the time of king Ana-Vōta of the Reddi dynasty of Kondavēlu. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. The subsequent nine verses which are identical with those of the Pachchani-Tāndipāru grant of Ana-Vēma recount, in order, the praise of the Sun and the Moon (v. 2), the birth of the fourth caste, i.e., that of the Šudras from the lotus-feet of Vishnu and the birth in it of Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīsaila, made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmāḍri, performed various meritorious deeds and who defeated several hostile kings (vv. 3-7). To him were born Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma who were in splendour, like the Sun and the Moon (v. 8). The next three verses are devoted to the description of the might and valour of Ana-Vōta, the donor of the grant, who instilled fear into the hearts of his enemies by the very sound of his war-drums (vv. 9-12). In the Śaka year 1280 (expressed by the chronogram gagama 0, ibha 8, and sūrya 12) in the month of Pausha, on ārāṇa, Tuesday, during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta granted to sixty-one Brāhmans of different gōras and śākhās, the village of Kodāru renamed Annavōtapuram, on the bank of the Malāpahā, along with the eight kinds of

1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 269.
aiśvarya and bhōga. The English equivalent of the date according to the Indian Ephemeris of L. D. S. Pillai is A.D. 1358, January 9, Tuesday, on which day amārāyā commenced at 51 of the day. The solar eclipse, however, is shown to have occurred on the next day, i.e., Wednesday, on which day amārāyā lasted till 43 of the day.

The composer of the grant is Bālasarasvattī, a name which sounds very much like a title probably acquired by the person on account of his profound scholarship. Besides the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipāṟṟu grant already referred to, he is the composer of two other inscriptions of Ana-Vēma, of which one is a copper-plate record, and the other a stone inscription at Śrīśailam. In all these records Bālasarasvattī calls himself the Vidrāṇ of the king's court and he seems to have held this position up to Śaka 1299, in which year he composed the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above; for, in the next year, i.e., Śaka 1300, we find Trilōchanakārīya figuring as the court-poet of Ana-Vēma and composing a copper-plate grant of the king.

Attention may be drawn here to an unpublished fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Ana-Vēta recorded in the Elliot Collection of Telugu Inscriptions, which furnishes us with some important facts. One of the donees figuring in it is a certain Mallu-bhaṭṭa who is called a Vidyādhitkārin. We know that the famous poet Śrīnātha was the Vidyādhitkārin in the court of Kōmaṭi-Vēma. Probably he succeeded Mallu-bhaṭṭa in this office. Of the duties of a Vidyādhitkārin nothing is known from inscriptions, but that it must have been a responsible and high office is evident from the fact that so eminent a poet as Śrīnātha held it. Unfortunately nothing is known of his predecessor Mallu-bhaṭṭa. Another donee figuring in the Elliot Collection record is a certain Ėṟṟaya-pregada. His gōtra, however, is not mentioned as in the case of the other donees, but he is introduced in respectful terms and is stated to be a recipient of an exclusively large share of land. It is therefore likely that this person is identical with the famous poet Ėṟṟaya-pregada, who belonged to the Śrīvatsa-gōtra and who is reputed to have completed the Āṇḍara-Maṅkābhāratamu which was left unfinished by the previous authors, and who dedicated his work Hari-ravṁsama to his patron Prōlaya-Vēma. A certain Reḍḍi-Vēma is known to have granted several ayyrahāras to Vennalagaṇṭi Śuranna. The late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu who identifies this Reḍḍi-Vēma with Prōlaya-Vēma believes that Śuranna could not have had a place in Vēma's court as long as Ėṟṟaya-pregada held his position there; and therefore, in as much as Śuranna was patronised by Reḍḍi-Vēma, Ėṟṟaya-pregada must have died during the time of Prōlaya himself. This supposition of the author is untenable, as instances of more than one poet patronised by kings in their courts are not uncommon. The present reference to the poet is therefore important in establishing that he lived in the court of Ana-Vēta also. Besides the Maṅkābhāratamu and the Hari-ravṁsama, Ėṟṟaya-pregada is the author of two other works, the Rāmāyaṇamu and the Nrisināhapūrṇamu, of which he dedicated the former to Mallā, a brother of Prōlaya-Vēma and the latter, known also as the Aḥobalāmāḥāmyamu, to the

1 A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9,
2 Ibid. for 1913, App. C, No. 20,
4 Vol. I, p. 206, kindly brought to my notice by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., of the Madras University.
5 Mr. V. Prabhakara Śāstri writes, in his Śrīngaṅgarāṅgānāthamu (p. 62), that Bālasarasvattī held the position of the Vidyādhitkārin in the courts of Ana-Vēta and Ana-Vēma. But in no inscription of his composition does the poet call himself a Vidyādhitkārin like his other contemporary Mallu-bhaṭṭa or the famous Śrīnātha.
6 Above, Vol. VI, p. 313, fn. 2.
7 Seekana's Vikramarkuṭhāramu, 1, 62.
god Narasinha, the presiding deity of Ahobilam, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Kurnool District.

The chief interest of the present grant lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate inscription\(^1\) of the king so far discovered. Stone inscriptions of Anavota known till now number only five and range in date from Šaka 1275 to 1283\(^2\). The earliest date known for his father Prôlaya-Vêma is Šaka 1254,\(^3\) and an inscription from Mallevaram in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur (formerly Nellore) District gives for him the Šaka year 1277\(\text{[12(7)]7}\), which, if correct, would be his latest date.\(^4\) But the reading of the latter date appears to be wrong for reasons cited in the footnote below and may have to be equated with Šaka 1267.\(^5\) An inscription of this king from Tripurântaka is dated in Šaka 1268\(^6\) and this is the latest date so far known for him. His son Anavota also figures in this record, probably as the crown-prince. That he was a āvatara in his father’s reign is referred to in a verse in Harivamsa also.\(^7\) He may therefore be presumed to have succeeded his father some time between Šaka 1268 and Šaka 1275. The record bearing the Šaka date 1283 quoted above refers to the reconstruction of the Amârâvâra temple at Dharaṇikâta by Vêma-Châmipati, the son of Mallinâtha who was the minister of Anavota. As the renovation was made for the increase of the life, health and prosperity of Anavota, it may be reasonably presumed that he was ruling in Šaka 1283. His defeat at the hands of Mâda and Anavota, sons of Śînga, a general, probably, of the Kâkâtiya king Prâtâpâdudra, is referred to in the Velugâtârî-Vamâpâtva, and this incident has been assigned to Šaka 1283.\(^8\) Anavota is said to have succeeded his brother Anavota after the latter’s death.\(^9\) We do not know of any record of Anavota earlier than Šaka 1293.\(^10\)

---

\(^1\) The only other copper-plate grant of this king known to us is that given in the Elliot Collection mentioned already, but its whereabouts are not now known.

\(^2\) The five records referred to above are (1) Nellore Inscriptions, Part III, p. 1037. This record, dated in Šaka 1275, is included in Rângacharya’s Topographical List of Ins. (Gunter No. 403) and it refers to Anavota’s minister Mallinâtha on whose death his brother made some grants. (2) No. 183 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in Šaka 1278. (3 and 4) Nos. 601 and 602 of 1909, both dated in Šaka 1280 and (5) No. 238 of 1897. Another record (No. 260 of 1903) dated in Šaka 1269 belongs to the reign of Amâna Rekha. This has been assigned to Anavota by Sewell and Krishnaswami Ayyangar (Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 191). But it is reasonable to ascribe it to Anavota, a younger brother of Prôlaya-Vêma, since the date falls within the period of the latter’s rule.

\(^3\) No. 340 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

\(^4\) Nellore Inscriptions, Part III, Ongole 73.

\(^5\) The eclipse is stated to have occurred at the end of the (month) Āśvina. It must therefore have been an eclipse of the Sun (ahimānâ, not himânu, i.e., Moon, as understood by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, ibid., p. 1025). According to the Indian Ephemeris the details given in the inscription, viz., āsînu-vyâha-vârâ-saṅkha-grastihimânu ācara-gurujâvâs, i.e., the ending of Āśvina, solar eclipse, Thursday, agree regularly for the Šaka year 1267 (current) as A.D. 1344, October 7, Thursday, on which day there was a solar eclipse. In calculating the above date, the months have to be counted as māmaṇa ones as it is the system adopted in South India. The word vârâdhhi in the chronogram sa-la-vârâdhhi-dyamasi as read by the authors mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as târâka to give us the numeral 6 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267.

\(^6\) No. 191 of 1905.

\(^7\) Ka || Vîñata-yuvarâja-vibhav-ôn-nata-Pûtayama-sûryanâtha naya-marīgga samihita-sûcounter-vêla-vrita-srita-putra śîlasmâdida śîva-guna-siddhâ ||

\(^8\) Harivamsa, Part II, Canto 9, v. 260.)


\(^10\) Above, Vol. XXI, p. 270.

which date is nearly a decade later than Ana-Vēta's supposed defeat in Śaka 1283. Whether Ana-Vēta’s reign ceased with his defeat at the hands of Śīga’s sons, and his brother succeeded to the throne forthwith, we must leave for future discovery of fresh records to decide.

A few details about this king gathered from the Elliot Collection record referred to already may be added here. The inscription begins, as usual, with the genealogy of the Rāḍḍi chiefs commencing with Prōla and his sons Mācha, Vēma, Doḍā, Anna and Malla by his wife Annamāṃbā. Here Vēma’s two sons Ana-Vēta and Ana-Vēma are mentioned and the former’s exploits recounted. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the banks of the rivers Kṛishṇa and Gautami, a fact which is corroborated by a verse in the Vishnu purāṇamū which refers to the defeat by Ana-Vēta of a certain Rāvutu-Kēsa on the banks of the Kṛishṇa before the very eyes of god Amarāśvāra.2 Ana-Vēma associates himself in this inscription with his brother Ana-Vēta in endowing lands to more than 180 Brāhmans, amongst whom, besides the Viśyādhikārin Mallu-bhaṭṭa already mentioned, the mention of Ėṟraya-pṛiṣaḍa is of particular interest. Ana-Vēma, it must be noted, is here called Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāja (the wording in the inscription is: yī rāju ṯammuṇḍu Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāja*ju). The date of this inscription is unfortunately lost; but it must have been executed some time prior to Śaka 1293, which is the earliest year known for Ana-Vēma, the successor of Ana-Vēta.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription under publication the following, viz., Śaṅkānapiḷḷi, Vinnakōṭa, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kalavapūṇḍi, may be identified respectively with the modern Śaṅkaraḷanapura, Vinnalakōṭa, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kalavapūḍi—all in the Guḍvāḍa taluk of the Kistna District. Gurumukkõdu may possibly be identical with Guṇṭa-Kōḍūru. The other villages, viz., Rājāṇyini Pālaparti, Kṛiṇukālāmiṟṟi or Kṛiṇukālāmiṟṟi, Pālakōḍu, and Pulipāḍu, I am unable to identify. Alligutta may be a pond and Aluka-panneśa, probably a field. Dāṁkēru and Vannēru must be two local streamā. The village Kōḍūru is said to be situated on the banks of the Malāpahā; but there is no stream of this name anywhere in this locality now. The Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Vēma (Śaka 1293) refers to this river as situated in Kurtti-dēśa and the grant village Drujjavaram alias Anna-Vēmapuram as situated on the banks of this stream.3 Drujjavaram is evidently the modern Južhavaram, which is 12 miles south west of Kōḍūru. Both these villages are situated close to the present Pulēru canal, which appears to be the present representative of the river Malāpahā referred to in the above copper-plate records.

A list of the donees is appended hereto in a tabular form specifying in each case the gōtra and the sākhā to which they belonged, as well as the shares of land which they received.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vissāyārya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harita</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Simggayārya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sārayārya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dēvayārya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See fn. 4, p. 138.
2 Andhra Vishnu purāṇamū by Sārana, Āśāsā, v. 22,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the donee</th>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Veda or Śākhā</th>
<th>No. of shares</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ganggayārya</td>
<td>Harita</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mādhava-dvīdī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Annayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Annayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mādhavārya</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Simgagayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lakhkhayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Appayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tallaya-dsivajña</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Allāda-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Allādānātha</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Vallabhārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Erapōta-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Chamudāyārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Rāmāyārya</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Appale-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Chāmchehārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Appayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Errayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Prōlayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nārāyanā-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Māchayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bhāṣkaśārya</td>
<td>Kaṇḍinya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mādhavārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ganggādhārārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Brahmādeva</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Simggyārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Appayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sarasvat-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Manchehēnārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dēvayārya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ayyalu-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sōmaya-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nlakauṭhārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Peddanārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Annamārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Vāsēvāra-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Appayārya</td>
<td>Śāṇḍilya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nāgayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Śīnggārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mādhavārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Appayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Narahari-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Vaiśāsṭha</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Narasimha-jaṅgāṭhika</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Śūrayārya</td>
<td>Rathāvara</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Vāllaḥārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Śīnggārya</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Māchāyārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Jīrīyanārya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rīg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Perumāṇḍi-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mārayārya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Maṇehenārya</td>
<td>Maṅtreṇa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Tippayārya</td>
<td>Bhārgava</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Viṣṇuvardhāna</td>
<td>Rig</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Vāmaya-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kāṇya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Mallayārya</td>
<td>Gārgya</td>
<td>Yajus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT.**

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 7 and 9, Vasantatilaka; vv. 2, 5, 6 and 8, Upajāti; vv. 3 and 4, Indravajrā; vv. 10-13, Šārdulaeśkriti; vv. 14-18, Anuṣṭubh.]

*First Plate; First Side.*

1 Pāyūd-Varāha-vapuvahā paramasya puṁsō daṁśhtra jagaḥṭṛtiṇī śi.
2 kharē dharaṇḍiḥ dadhāna [ * ] [ṛṛ]vṛh-āgrabhāga-parichunihita-mēgha-hi-

*From original plates.*
3 niba samālakṣhayamāṇa-susham ēva saṣāṇka-rēkha || [1*] Tamō ha-
4 rēṭām tava pushpavānanttu(panta) rākṣaṇa pūrvv-āpara-sālīka-bājau [*] rath-
5 āṅga(ṛa)-lilā.
6 m-iva darṣayāntattau(tau) purā Purāṇe pṛidhi(ḥi ṛ-b)radha(thā)ṣya / [2*] Pāda-āraviṇ-
7 dād-Āraṇādaḥbhīr-gānā-gīva puṇyā ghanā-jīvana-śrīḥ | jāt-ābhijātā śata:dha
8 viḥbhīna jātiš-chaturthiḥ jagatāṃ hitāya || [3*] Tasyāṃ-abhūt-Pṛśāya-Vēma-
9 nāmā Śrīśaila-sōpāna-vidā(dhā)na-sālī | Ḥemādrī kalp-ōdita-dāna-dakṣō nis-sī-

First Plate ; Second Side.

9 m-bhū-dāna-nirūgṛha-kīrtiḥ || [4*] Vēma-kshitiśo vṛjham-śka-pādaṃ khaṃja-prachāraṇa
10 Kali-kāla-dōṣhāt : datt-āgraṇāra-tvāja-vēda-saṅkṣaya pado-kramair-as-khalitān cha kāra | [5*]
11 Dharmātmājā Dāsaraṭhitī Pṛthuṣ-chayudīrya maṃnāni yugāṃtta(ta)ṛēhu | vitarka-
12 yē Vēma-narāśvarāsya puṇyāni nāmāni purātanāni || [6*] Yat-kirttī-gānā-sa-
13 mayē pāṇi-sundarānām-ūlōkītanu cha mukha-rāgān-anāmga-
14 nūlam | śrōtuṃ cha gita-rachanāṃ yugāṇa-na dakṣō nāg-ādhipo na saḥa-
15 tē navana-śrutitvam(tvam) || [7*] Saṅgrāma-Pārtta(thā)ṣya satarv-śvibhiṃ na yasya
16 ērī-chū.
17 dāmaṇyō vichēluḥ || (!) ākrāmaṇa-saṅyatiī rāja-vanīmānī pratēpa-vahāṇe.

Second Plate ; First Side.

17 r-iva visphulīnīghā || [8*] Tasmāḥ-cha Vēma-nṛpatēr-udayād-iv-ādṛē-rājatau pratēpa-
18 niḥti(t) niḥdh kumārau | sūry-rēṇu-tulya-mahasāv-Aṇa-Vōta-bhūpa[h*] śrīv-Anna-Vē-
19 ma-nṛpatēr-jaga-rakṣas-pālaḥ || [9*] Vira-śrīv-Anna-Vōta-bhūtalapa-patēr-gaṇābhir-bhēri-
20 raviḥ sa-
21 trūpānā ḍrīdayēsau saṅgīga(ga)ra-ṁukhē bhinnēsau pūrvāṇi rasāṃ(sam) | yad-vī-
22 raḥ nirakāṣayāt(d)bhaya-ṛasā vēgō kuto-ṁgātō vuktāṁ prāktā-
23 nam-anibhu nirggamayati pratyaṅg-ṛ-ūṛjitaṁ(tam) || [10*] Yadbhāṣaḥshuḥ virōḍhi-rā-
24 ja-nilāyē yōdh-ālāyē yo jīto vahī kalpita-hēma-kutīmā gaṇha-syanī-
25 da-aphuḷīnī-ṛjva(jjva)laḥ | Ḥemādrē-riva bhūmikāṁ kalyatā praudhāḥ pratēp-ō.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

25 shmaṇā sa-pratyaṃttta(ta)girēṇa sa-hēmasaritāḥ saṃvyāpta-tār-āvalīḥ || [11*] Yasyāṁrīn
26 kūśīrā,
27 dbvaniṇā kalyatō ḍhātīṣhu bhēri-rāvaṇa nāmāṇi drutam Arjunaśa(*) japatasa saṅgrāma-
28 Gaṇḍivinaḥ l saṅgrāmō-ṛpadāṇi tāni bhavaṭaṃ rakṣā-kīrtī sarvvaḍa vāntyāntaṁ(tam)-i-
29 ti bōdhyaṃtā-adhipaṁ ḍhi-yantiṅiḥ maṃṭriṇāḥ || [12*] Śāk-ābhē gagan-ābhē-sa-
30 rī-gaṇāṇī Pauḥasaḥ darṣē tidhau(thau) Bhūṣaṇār-devaśa him-ētara-ruchaḥ
31 pūra-ōpa-
32 rāg-āṅgita(ta)raḥ | grāmaṁ prādiṣad Anna-Vōta-nṛpatēr Kōḍōru-nām-āṅkik(ki)taṁ
33 s-śaṣṭ-sīvārṣyakam-asṭa-bhōṣa-saṅhitām bhūdevatēbhīyo mūḍā || [13*] Malāpaḥājā-
34 nadī-tirē vipṛbhiḥya pratipāditaṁ(tam) | Annavaṭapuram nāmnā jayaty-a-chāṇḍra-
35 tā-

1 Read =chētā-ṛdīrṣa.
2 Read =samāgān.
3 Read =ya-dhālēsu.
4 Read =Arjunaśa.
Third Plate; First Side.

33 rakaṇi(kam) || [14*] Asya grāmasya pratigrāhitaḥ || Haritagotrāḥ | Vissayāryaḥ | Sinuggayāyaḥ
34 ryaḥ | Sūrayāryaḥ | Devayāryaḥ | Gaṅgagiyāryaḥ | ētē paṁcha pratyekam dvi-bhāginaḥ |
35 Madhava-dvīvēdi | Annayāryaḥ | ētē dvādaśa Yajuḥ-sākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Annayāryaḥ
36 dvi-bhāgi Rig-vēdī | Bhāradvāja-gotrāḥ Madhavāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Sinuggayāryaḥ |
37 Lakhkhayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Talaya-daivajñāḥ | Allāda-bhāttaḥ | Allājanāṭhaḥ |
38 Vallabhāryaḥ | Erapōta-bhāttaḥ | ētē dēsa Yajuḥ-sākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Chamudayāyaḥ
39 ryaḥ | dvi-bhāgi | Rig-vēdī | Śrīvatsa-ghotrāḥ Rāmayāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Appale-bhāttaḥ |
40 dvi-bhāgi | Chāṃchhayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Erayāryaḥ | Prālayāryaḥ | ētē ashta

Third Plate; Second Side.

41 Yajuḥ-sākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Nārayana-bhāttaḥ Rig-vēdī | Māchayāryaḥ pād-ē
42 na-bhāgi Yajur-vēdī | Kauṁdiṇya-gotrāḥ Bhā-ka-rāryaḥ sārdhda(ārdhda)-bhāgi | Madhavāryaḥ | Gaṅgādhara(dha)
43 rāryaḥ | Brahmadevāḥ | Sinuggayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Sarasvatī-bhāttaḥ |
44 Yajuḥ-sākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Kāya-pa-goitrāḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ sārdhda(ārdhda)-dvi-bhāgi |
45 Ayyalu-bhāttaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Sōyam-bhāttaḥ | Nila-kamithāryaḥ | ētē Bhūrag(Rig)-vēdī
46 nāh | Peddanāryaḥ | Annamāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgi | étu Yajur-vēdinau | Viśvēvara-bhāttaḥ
47 Kānva-sākh-ādhyāyī | Śrāddilya-gotrāḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nagāyāryaḥ | Sinugga-
48 yāryaḥ | Madhavāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nārayana(nā)ryaḥ ardhda(ārdhda)-bhāgi | ētē Ya-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

49 jhuḥ-sākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Vasiṣṭha-gotrāu | (f) Narahari-bhāttaḥ sārdhda-dvi-bhāgi | Narasītā-
50 ha-jayuṭishikha dvi-bhāgi | étu Rig-vēdinau | Radālī (thutara-gotrāu Sūrayāryaḥ dvi-bhā-
51 ē | Vallabhāryaḥ [*] | étu Yajur-vēdinau Gautama-gotrāu | Sinuggayāryaḥ | Māchay-
52 étu Yajur-vēdinau | Jiyyanāryaḥ Rig-vēdī Kauṣika-gotrāu | Perumā-
53 dī-bhāttaḥ | Mārayāryaḥ | étu Yajur-vēdinau | Maitrīya-gotrāḥ Mānu-
54 chenāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Yajur-vēdī | Bhārgava-gotrāḥ Tippayāryaḥ | Yajur-vēdī | Vi-
55 šrūvardhadhana(ārdhda)-gotrāḥ Gopāla-bhāttaḥ Rig-vēdī | Kāṇva-gotrāḥ Viṃaya-
56 Rig-vēdī [1*] | Gārgya-gotrāḥ Mallayāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgi Yajur-vēdī || Śrī[|*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

57 Athā grāmasya śimā-chihnaṇī | tūrpuṇaku Mrāṇikonaṇa-guṇḍa padumaṇi gaṭṭu-
58 mu a kuṇṭṭa daksināpu maṇi tūrpu-gaṭṭumnu daksinā-mukhamai Dāṅkēru sabi-
59 tamai ā ēru dānīti Śaṅkka(k)ānipalli kōḍu simagānu vachehi a(ā)gniyaṁ mūla Sa-
60 ṛkānipalli polamēra-gaṭṭu mōchenu dakshiṇamukham kōṅkāṭa polamu vāya-
61 vyaṁ mūla maṅḍi dakshiṇamukhamai pōyi Ālipunaṭṭa mōchi aṭṭu pa-
62 āḍumara-mukhamai pōyi nairṛti-mūla Kānumallapaṇḍi polamu mōchenu[*]
63 paḍumāṇti sima Vatūrī Akka-ṭhūṭika paḍumāṇi kara paṭṭikoni vachehi Vannēru
44 sahiba-
64 mu-gānu Pratipāṭi polamu āgniyaṁ mūla mōchi uttarāṇi-mukhamai

Fifth Plate; First Side.

65 Naṇḍi-vanippu sahitamāga vachehi Rājinaṁi-Pālaparti velladi polamu mō-
66 chi mēḍitāpāi Kṛṣṇikulamīrī polamu paḍumāṇi kara-vattukoni uttarāṇi-mukhamai
67 pōyi Pālaṅkōḍu dānīti uttara-mukhamai pōyi vāyavyaṁ mūla Ke-
68 vapū̄ḍaṁ kara mōchenu | uttarāṇi sima ā karē simagānu tūrpu mukhamai
69 sāgi vachehi alaka-pannāsa dakshiṇamukham-gara simagā vachehi Vannēru mōchi
dakshiṇam¹
70 mukhamai Vannēru simagānu Kṛṣṇikulamirru Pulipāḍu sahitamāga vachehi
71 Guruṇjakōḍu vāsina chōṭunu Vannēru dānīti tūrpu-mukhamai iāṇyaṁ
72 mūla Mrānikomōḍa polamu mōchenu || Sva-dattā[1*]-dvigunaṁ puṇyaṁ para-dattā-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

73 nupālaṁ(nē) | para-dattā-āhārēṇa sva-dattāṁ nisahalam bhavō ||[ 15*] Sva-
74 vā yō harēta vasūṇddharāṁ(rām) | sashtiṁ varsha-sahasraṁ viśṭhāyaṁ jāyatē
75 kṛmīḥ ||[ 16*] kāṣe-avā bhaginī lōkē sarvūśhāṁ-api bhūbhujāṁ(jām) | na bhōgyaṁ na kara-grāhyī
cippura-dattā vasūṁ
76 dhā(dhajā) ||[ 17*] Ana-Vōta-narōṇḍrasya vidvān Bālasarasvatī | akarōd-śākrotō
vāchāṁ ni-
77 rmmalāṁ dharma-śāsanaṁ(nam) ||[ 18*] Śivam-astu | Śrī[1*] *

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the tusk of the Boar-incarnation of the Supreme Being, bearing the earth on
its extremity and looking most beautiful like the crescent which is kissed at its cupe by the clouds,
protect the worlds.

(Verse 2) May the Sun and the Moon resting (respectively) on the western and eastern moun-
tains during the full-moon evenings and displaying, as it were, (their) former act of being the wheel-
to the chariot, the earth, of Purāṇī (i.e., Śyva), dispel your darkness.

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (i.e. Vishṇu) was born, for the good
of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous. illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold
like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.

¹ The anuvāra is written in the next line.
(Verse 4) In that (caste) was born a king named Prólaya-Vēma who constructed steps to Śrīśāla (mountain), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (Kalpa) by Hēmādrī and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

(Verse 5) King Vēma made the Vṛisaba (lit. bull, i.e., Dharma) which was one-legged on account of the evil of the Kali age and (so) was limping in his walk, steady in its course by the power of the Vedas (being chanted with pada and krama) by the Brāhmans to whom agrahāra (villages) had been given.

(Verse 6) I fancy that the names spoken of in other yugas such as Dharmātmaja, Dāśarāthi and Pithu are the sacred old names of king Vēma (himself).

(Verse 7) When the Nāga women were chanting his (i.e., Prólaya-Vēma’s) glory, the serpent king, being unable to see the beauty of their faces, which was the root of love, and at the same time listen to the musical composition (sung by them), could not bear (the reputation of) hearing through the eyes.

(Verse 8) When he attacked (the enemy) kings in fight, the crest-jewels of his foes, split by the arrows of him who was (like) Pārtha in battle, scattered about as though they were the sparks of the fire of his valour.

(Verse 9) From this king Vēma were born as from the eastern mountain, two sons (viz.), prince Ana-Vōta and prince śri Anna-Vēma, the protector of the world—who were the receptacles of valour and great splendour, who were equal to the Sun and the Moon in lustre.

(Verse 10) When the hearts of the enemies were broken by the deep sounds of the war-drums of king Ana-Vōta, the sentiment of fear coming from some unknown quarter drove away the spirit of heroism which was there already. It is meet that a powerful (current) of new water drives away the old water.

(Verse 11) The fire lit to the military barracks during the attacks on the palace of the enemy kings, shining with sparks that are the thick drops flowing from the pavement made of gold, looks, by the heat of its great glow, like (lit. puts on the garb of) the golden mountain (i.e., Hēmādrī) which is combined with its hill ranges and the golden streams and is covered with rows of stars.

(Verse 12) The shrewd (lit. who had wisdom as their support) ministers (of the enemy kings) advise their masters, who were repeating the names of Arjuna immediately after hearing the sound of his (i.e., Ana-Vōta’s) war-drums which resembled the sound of thunder, that those military titles of him who was the Arjuna on the battle-field (i.e., Ana-Vōta) should (instead) be repeated always for their protection.

(Verse 13) In the Saṅka year counted by gaṅga (0), iñha (8), and sūrya (12), (i.e., 1280), in the mouth of Pausha, on a Tuesday which had the dasā (iti) during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmans the village Kōḍuru along with the eight aśeṣayas and eight bhōgas.

(Verse 14) May the village by name Annavōṭapuram situated on the banks of the river Malāpahā and given to the Brāhmans shine (supreme) as long as the Sun and the Moon (last).

(Lines 33 to 56) The names of the 61 donees with their gōtras and shares are enumerated (see list on pp. 140 ff.).

(Lines 57 to 72) The boundaries of the gift village are specified in Telugu.

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was Bālasarasvati, the vidrān of the king Ana-Vōta, are given here.
No. 14.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM MAYURBHANJ.

By R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

A.—Adipur Copper-plate of Narëndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 11" by 8½". It contains 41 lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, representing a full-blown lotus, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate. The seal has a diameter of 3½", and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a raised circular rim, the figure of a humped bull with that of a small crescent above it, and the legend 'Śri-Narëndrabhañjadēvasya' below. There is a floral design underneath the legend. The seal bears a very close resemblance to that of Tribhuvana Mahādevi of the Kāra dynasty.3

The plate was discovered in 1927 by a Kōl peasant in course of digging a field near the village of Adipur in the Pāñchpīr Sub-division of Mayūrbanj State, and is now preserved in the Mayūrbanj State Museum at Bāripāda. Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of the Mayūrbanj State, kindly sent the plate to me for decipherment, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except a small part of the reverse which is badly corroded, with the result that a few letters in the formal portion of the grant are not legible.

The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in the Pāla records of the tenth century A.D. It contains numerical symbols for 200, 90, 3 and 1.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of eleven verses, including the usual imprecatory verses, the inscription is written in prose. Some of these verses are, however, very faulty, and require addition or omission of letters to suit the requirements of the metre. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor and there are many mistakes both in spelling and grammar.

As regards orthography, ū and ū are not distinguished; the anusvāra is represented in some cases by guttural ū (cūnde in line 6), while the final dental n is represented by anusvāra (sūnāṁ in line 11, bhūyāṁ in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after r, but there are exceptions (kṛimir-bhūvē in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of i for s (āsit in line 3, Śmara in line 10, prasaktaḥ in line 13, sālīla in line 20); of r for ri (kriyāte in line 32, kriyāme in line 34); of i for ī (Bhārāṁiśa in line 2, āsit in line 3, ārīram in line 31, kīrtāyō in line 33); and of u for ū (patrīcā in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned māṁśa-gyāgīr in line 6, uktaḥ-cha dāharmma-sāśtri in line 24, cēṭa in line 32, and cunda-lālām in line 33.

The author's scanty knowledge of Sanskrit literature is best exemplified by the way in which the names of pūras and pravaras are given in lines 17-18.

The inscription records the grant of the village Vṛṣṭi-Brijhat-Sārāi in Uṛttī-vishaya in Khijjīnga by king Narëndrabhañja, son of king Vībhramatūṅga, and grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by Māhārāja Raṇabhāñjadēva, son of Vībhramatūṅga, and, therefore, a brother of Narëndrabhañja. The date, saṁvat 293, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription recording the grant of Narëndrabhañja was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant,

1 For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.
2 Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, J. B. O. B. S., Vol. II.
and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhaṇja was the younger brother of Naṃdrabhaṇja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhāṭṭaputra Śītaladēva—śarman belonging to Bhavrītula—charaṇa, Āśvalāyana—śākha, and Vatsa-gūra. The donee in the other case was Bhāṭṭaputra Trividikrama.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it furnishes new materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Bhaṇja dynasty. The kings mentioned in it, viz., Kōṭṭabhaṇja, his son Viḥrāmataṇga, and the two sons of the latter, viz., Naṃdrabhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja, belong to what has been called the second group of Bhaṇja kings by Mr. R. D. Banerji. This group is now known to us from the following eight copper-plate grants, though Mr. Banerji knew only the first three of them.

1. Bāmanghāti plate of Raṇabhaṇja.
2. Khāṇḍadhūli plate of Raṇabhaṇja.
4. Ukhunda plate of Prithvībhaṇja.
5. Kēṣari plate of Satrubhaṇja (re-edited below, C).
6. 7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Naṃdrabhaṇjādēva (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayabhaṇjādēva.

The first two Grants now edited (Nos. 6-7) closely resemble Nos. 1-4 and possess all the special characteristics which distinguish them from those of the other Bhaṇja kings. As a matter of fact the texts of the historical portion of all these Grants (except Nos. 5 and 8) seem to have been derived from a common draft, though slight modifications have been introduced here and there. No. 5 contains some important additions which are not to be found in others, while No. 8 omits altogether the traditional account of the origin of the family.

All these records (except No. 8) begin with a reference to Virabhadra, the Ādi-Bhaṇja or the First Bhaṇja, also called Gaṇadaṇḍa. He is said to have come out of an egg of pea-hen in the hermitage called Kōṭyaśrama and was brought up by the sage Vasishṭha. Only No. 5 adds a few more details, particularly that he was the lord of 88,000 villages. All the records (except No. 8) refer next to Kōṭṭabhaṇja who must be regarded as the first historical king of the

---

2 The Grant is also known as Jamdarpur plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-1).
5 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.
6 Ibid., pp. 429 ff.
7 Below, pp. 172 ff.
9 Ins. No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhaṇja.
10 Mr. Misra, who edited the plates, translates the passage as follows: ".... Virabhadra who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadeva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages." This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'sīnu'. Cf. C, edited below.
family known to us. The names of the successors of Kōṭṭabhaṅja are, however, given differently in the different plates (Nos. 1-8).

In No. 1 the genealogy is given as follows:

Kōṭṭabhaṅja

Digbhaṅja

Raṇabhaṅja.

In No. 4 Raṇabhaṅja is said to have been born in the family of Kōṭṭabhaṅja, and no mention is made of Digbhaṅja. The son of Raṇabhaṅja is Prithvibhaṅja. The genealogy may therefore be described as follows:

Kōṭṭabhaṅja

Raṇabhaṅja

Prithvibhaṅja.

No. 5 gives the following genealogy:

Kōṭṭabhaṅja

Durjayabhaṅja

Raṇabhaṅja

Śātrubhaṅja

(yuvurāja) Narēndrabhaṅja.

In No. 6 the genealogy is given as follows:

Kōṭṭabhaṅja

Vibhramatuṅga

Raṇabhaṅja.

Narēndrabhaṅja.

In No. 7 we find the same genealogy, though the relationship of Raṇabhaṅja with the other kings is not clearly stated.

No. 8 gives us the following genealogy:

Mahārāyādhirāja Raṇabhaṅja

Vibhramatuṅga

(yuvurāja) Kōṭṭabhaṅja.

The genealogies given in Nos. 2 and 3 have been interpreted differently and a short discussion is necessary to explain the different points of view.

No. 2 mentions Kōṭṭabhaṅja, his son Digbhaṅja, and the latter’s son Raṇabhaṅja, and so far it agrees with No. 1. But after Raṇabhaṅja it adds two more names in the following passage: 

tasya ch-ō(au)pay(i)k-āmājāh śri-Prithvibhaṅja-suta-śrī-Narēndrabhaṅjadēvō bhūtah.  In addition to the two emendations noted within brackets, MM. H. P. Śāstri, who edited the record, made a further emendation by omitting the visarga in ‘āmājāh’. He, therefore, translated the passage as follows:

‘His reputed son Prithvibhaṅja, whose son Narendrabhaṅja was born.’
Mr. C. C. Das Gupta differed from this view and offered the following translation:—

"And his (Ranabhañja's) 'apayika', i.e., adopted son is Narendrabhañja, the son of Prithvibhañja, i.e., Ranabhañja adopted as his son Narendrabhañja, the son of Prithvibhañja".¹ In view of the two new Grants, Nos. 4 and 5, the interpretation of MM. H. P. Šāstri appears to be preferable. Apart from this there is a further difficulty; for the exact connection of Narendrabhañja with the record is not quite clear. MM. H. P. Šāstri says that Prithvibhañja was not 'a son born in lawful wedlock', but 'may have been one of the twelve classes of sons allowed by Hindu law', and he suggests that 'Ranabhañja made the grant on the occasion of the birth of a grandson named Narendrabhañja'. On the other hand Rai Bahadur Hiratal is of opinion that the Khandadeuli plate really records a grant of Narendrabhañja and not of his grandfather Ranabhañja.² Mr. R. D. Banerji differs from this view³ and accepts that of MM. H. P. Šāstri. But the fact that the seal of the plate contains the name Narendrabhañja⁴ supports the view of Rai Bahadur Hiratal. A further argument may be cited in support of this view. The donee of this grant is the great-grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama. No. 6 records a grant by king Ranabhañja to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama. If these two identical names refer to the same person it is more likely that the donor of No. 2 is a grandson of Ranabhañja rather than Ranabhañja himself.

In No. 3 the name of the successor of Kottabhañja and the father of Rajabhañja who issued the Grant has been read as Ranabhañja both by Mr. Pratāpa Chandra Ghosh and by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu who edited the plate. This reading has been generally accepted, and it gives us the following genealogy:—

```
Kottabhañja
|   |
Ranabhañja
|   |
Rajabhañja
```

This genealogy has been reconciled with that given in Nos. 1 and 2 by supposing that the name of Digbhañja, son of Kottabhañja and father of Ranabhañja, has been omitted through oversight.

Mr. C. C. Das Gupta has justly drawn our attention to the fact that the word 'Ranabhañja' cannot be read on the published facsimile. The first letter is undoubtedly 'ra', but the other letters cannot be clearly read, and in any case there is no 'na' following 'ra'. He suggests that this word was misengraved for Digbhañja and constructs the following genealogy from Nos. 1 and 3.⁶

```
Kottabhañja
|   |
Digbhañja
```

```diff
| Ranabhañja  | Rajabhañja |
```

---

¹ Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins., Vol. XII, p. 235.
² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 293.
³ Op. cit., p. 183. Curiously enough, on the preceding page Mr. Banerji says: "The actual grant was made by Narendrabhañja".
⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 293, f. n. 1.
⁵ Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins., Vol. XII, pp. 234-5.
At first sight the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

All the records are unanimous, firstly, in their accounts of the origin of the founder of the family, Virabhadra, from the egg of a pea-hen in the hermitage of Vaśishṭha known as Kōṭyāśrama; and secondly, in regarding Kōṭṭabhaṇḍa as the first historical ruler. Here the unanimity ends. But with the exception of Nos. 3 and 4 all the other records represent Raṇabhaṇḍa as the grandson of Kōṭṭabhaṇḍa, and as the statement in No. 4 is not in conflict with this view, we may accept it as an established fact. The name of the father of Raṇabhaṇḍa is given as Dīghaṇḍa in Nos. 1 and 2, Durjayabhaṇḍa in No. 5, and Vibhramatuṅga in No. 6. There would thus appear to be three different kings bearing the same name Raṇabhaṇḍa. But on the other hand we should remember that all of them ruled in Khijjiṅga, and all of them evidently were contemporaries, being grandsons of the same king. This is specifically proved in respect of two of them as they issued Grants in the years 288 (No. 1) and 293 (No. 6). Three grandsons of the same king, bearing the same name, and ruling in the same locality at the same time (or at least within a few years of each other), may not be theoretically impossible, but must be regarded as very unusual indeed. We may, therefore, reasonably infer the identity of the three kings bearing the name Raṇabhaṇḍa. This would imply also the identity of Dīghaṇḍa, Durjayabhaṇḍa and Vibhramatuṅga, though it must be regarded as very unusual that the same king should have been referred to by three different names in the official records of the family.

Then, again, according to M.M. Sāstri’s interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhaṇḍa had a son (aupa-yika or reputed) named Prithvibhaṇḍa and the latter’s son was Narēndrabhaṇḍa. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, viz., that Raṇabhaṇḍa had a son called Prithvibhaṇḍa, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, viz., that he had a grandson called Narēndrabhaṇḍa. No. 5, however, gives Satrubhaṇḍa as the name of the father of Narēndrabhaṇḍa, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Satrubhaṇḍa with Prithvibhaṇḍa.

On the basis of the above hypotheses we may draw up the genealogy of the family tentatively as follows:—

```
Virabhadra, the Ādi-Bhaṇḍa (produced from the egg of a pea-hen in Kōṭyāśrama and brought up by sage Vaśishṭha).

Kōṭṭabhaṇḍa

Dīghaṇḍa alias Durjayabhaṇḍa alias Vibhramatuṅga

Raṇabhaṇḍa (No. 1)  Narēndrabhaṇḍa I (Nos. 6-7)

† Rājabhaṇḍa (No. 3)  Vibhramatuṅga (No. 8)  Satrubhaṇḍa (No. 5) alias Prithvibhaṇḍa (No. 4)

Durjayabhaṇḍa (No. 8)  Narēndrabhaṇḍa II (No. 2)

(yuvāraja) Kōṭṭabhaṇḍa
```
Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above represents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

If we reject the proposed identifications, and treat the kings with different names as so many different persons, the resulting genealogy would be as follows:

```
Virabbadra
  └── Kottabhañja
    ├── Dīgghañjya
    │   ├── Ranañjya (No. 1)
    │       └── Narëndrabhañjya (No. 5)
    │               └── Ranañjya (No. 5)
    ├── Vibhramatuñga
    │   ├── Narëndrabhañjya (No. 2)
    │   └── Vibhramatuñga
    │                     └── Śatrubhañjya (yuvrañjya)
    │                       └── Narëndrabhañjya
    └── Durjayabhañjya
```

It is unnecessary to discuss here the history of the other Bhañjya kings known from copper-plate grants; no connection or relationship between them and the Bhañjya kings discussed above has yet been established. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal upheld the view that all the known Bhañjya kings belonged to one single family, but this theory has been shown to be untenable by Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.

As to the status of these kings, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji laid much stress on the fact that the kings of this group bore no royal titles. "The absence of any title", says Mr. Banerji, "at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañjya kings were subordinates to some higher power". The title Mahārāja applied to Ranañjya in the two Grants (Nos. 6, 7) edited below, and the title Mahārājādhikāra applied to the same king (or another king of the same name) in Ins. No. 8, prove the erroneous character of Mr. Banerji's assumption. For he himself concluded, from the assumption of the title Mahārāja by Ranañjya of the first group, that he was an independent king. And we may equally presume that Ranañjya of the second group

---

1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.
was also an independent king. Indeed in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a de facto independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhaṅja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadra as Chakravarti-samāh or ‘like an emperor’, gives the titles ‘Mahāmaṃḍal-ādihipati-Mahārājādhipirā-Paramēśvara’ to Satrubhaṅjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhaṅja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhaṅja, viz., Saṅvat 288 (No. 1) and Saṅvat 2931 (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D. This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerjī and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta. Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D. Accordingly, king Raṇabhaṅja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era. That would place Raṇabhaṅja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The palaeographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.

Assuming that the Harsha era was used, the date of the present Grant would be A.D. 899, and Raṇabhaṅja must have been on the throne during the years 894-899 A.D. The rule of the Bhaṅja dynasty of Mayūrbhanj from Kōṭṭabhaṅja to Nāśendrabhaṅja II may thus be placed between 850 and 950 A.D.

Ukala or Orissa was conquered by Dēvapāla in the first half of the ninth century A.D. This must have brought about the political disintegration of the kingdom, and as soon as the Pāla power was weakened by the middle of the ninth century A.D., local feudal chiefs found a good opportunity to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. The rise of the Bhaṅja family to power may be explained in this way.

The Capital of these kings was undoubtedly Khijjinga, modern Khiching (situated about ninety miles to the west of Bāripāda the present Capital of Mayūrbhanj) which contains extensive ruins and has yielded a large number of fine medieval sculptures. All the Grants, except Nos. 5 and 8, refer to Khijjinga as the place of residence of the king. The village granted in No. 5 is situated in Uttri-viṣḍaya, and this district, according to the present Grant, was included in

---

1 The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is ‘ia’. Kiellern, in his List of Northern Inscriptions, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (Above, Vol. V, App. p. 88, n. 6). Buhler’s chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pt. IX, Col. XVIII). Subsequently, Kiellern also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (Above, Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 181).


4 Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins., Vol. XII, p. 245.


6 J. H. Q., Vol. XIII, p. 427. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kiellern. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

7 Buhler in his Palaeographic Chart places the alphabet of the Bāmanghäti Ins. of Raṇabhaṅja in the 7th century A.D. (Plate IX, Col. XVIII.)
Kuṣiṃga (Kuṣiṃga-pratibaddha). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate that the kingdom of this group of Bhāṇja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayūr-bhanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhāṇja. The name Mayūr-bhanj undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhāṇja family originated from the egg of a mayūrī (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vāsisṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family. It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhāṇja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhāṇja kings referred to above.

An attempt has been made to connect this Bhāṇja family with the famous Maurya clan, and even to identify Virabhādra, the traditional founder of the family, with the Maurya emperor Chandragupta. The suggestion which rests mainly on the following grounds was first made by Mr. B. Misra while editing No. 5 (re-edited below as C.).

1. The Maurya-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya clan, Moriya being the Prākrit form of Mayūra.

2. According to the Pāli Mahāvagga, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 80,000 townships. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhādra over 88,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

3. Gagādana, the epithet of Virabhādra, means Republican Chief and signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, Virabhādra may be supposed to have raised an army as Chandragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty.

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a totemic conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are other valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, Gagādana has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal as an officer of some Gaya or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of Gagādānā or Gaya-dānapāla, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army. There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription other than Kuṣiṃga, Kōtyāśrama, the reputed hermitage of Vaṭīśṭha where Virabhādra was born, has been identified with Kuting, thirty-two miles from Bāripāḍa. Uṛttī-ṛighya may be identified with a village called Uṛti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaranī. There is a village called Sorai near Uṛti, and this may represent either of the two villages, Brihat-Sārā and Svalpa-Sārāy mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefixes brihat and svalpa (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

1 While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripāḍa, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a Sanad granted by Mahārāja Viravikramādiyaka Bhāṇja in 1121 Amlī (i.e., 1713-14 A.D.) in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaṭīśṭha. (2) A letter from the ruler of Talcher to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bhāṇja, ruler of Mayūr-bhanj (1690 A.D.) containing references to the same legends. Upendra Bhāṇja, the famous poet of Oriya, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūr-bhanj.


3 [It may be pointed out that mora is the Pkt. form of mayūra and Moriya that of Maurya.—Ed.]

4 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

5 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 300. But Mr. P. Acharya, the archaeologist of the Mayūr-bhanj State, rejects this identification on the ground that there are no remains of antiquities in the place.

6 I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayūr-bhanj, for the information about the discovery of Plates A and B and for the identification of villages mentioned in them.
The fact that the villages are situated on the right bank of the Vaitaranji river, in the State of Keonjhar, is of great importance, as it proves that at least a part, if not the whole, of this state was included within the dominions of the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This in a way lends some support to the local tradition recorded by Hunter that Keonjhar originally formed part of Mayurbhanj and was formed into a separate state about two centuries ago.¹

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhanja kings. MM. H. P. Sastri, while editing the Khandadolu plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," he observed, "my predecessors read Kōṭyaśrama, but my plate distinctly says Kandāśrama. They read the same word Suladaṇḍa in one plate and Sarvovadhana in another, but it is really Gaṇad-ṇaḍa, the breaking egg."). The present records confirm the reading Kōṭyaśrama and show beyond doubt that the other word is really Gaṇa-daṇḍa, which also seems to be quite clear on the estamgate of the Khandadolu inscription. In the three published records the adjective 'Khijjiṅga-Kōṭyaśaśi' is applied to Raṇabhaṇja and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in Khijjigā. The corresponding expression in the present records is Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhicāṇāt meaning that the Grant was issued from Khijjijā. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-4, 6, Āryā; v. 5, Vasantaśilaka; vv. 7-9, Anuṣṭubh; v. 10, Drutavilambita; v. 11, Pushpitāgrā.]

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ² svasti [*] Sakalā-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
2 bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavāni[nj]sāh | vividha-samādhi-vi-
3 dhīnāḥ sarvajñō vāḥ Śivāy-āstu | [1[*] 2Ās(ś)it- Kōṭyaśrama-ma-
4 hā-tapōvānāt-māyūr-āṇḍāḥ bhīt[t[*]jvā Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Virabhadrākhyāh [[*]
5 pratipakṣa-nidhana-dakṣāḥ Vaśishṭha-muni-pālitō nṛpa-
6 tih || [2[.]³ Tasya-Ādi-Bhaṇja-vāṇ(van)ahsē mānis-t-yāgir[=]-aṇḍākhaḥ khyā-
7 taḥ [*] sūrāḥ sūchir-vvinītō [* jāṭaḥ[*] śri-Kōṭ(ṭ)abhañī-četi : [3[*] Pu-
8 tras-tad-āṇurūpa? [* śreṣṭhiḥ śrīśām-āmaśakṣha-sāmantaḥ [*] nṛ-
9 pati-śat-ārcheśita-charaṇō śrī² Viḥraṭamataṇgō jagat-pratibhi-
10 taḥ || [4[*] Tasya-āṭmaṇāḥ Śma-(Sma)ra-sāmō va(ba)lavān-varishṭhaḥ sūraḥ
11 [samuna]jata[*]yaśāḥ pravijītya śatruṇā(n)ī rājā A[ḍ]udhiṣṭhira

² Expressed by a symbol.
³ In this verse the words Kōṭyaśrama-mahā-tapōvanāt must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read Āṣīn=māyūr-āṇḍam etc.
¹ Read māṇi.
² Read jīvāṇi.
³ Danda unnecessary.
⁴ Read tād-āṇurūpaḥ.
⁵ This is probably a mistake for Asaṅkya.
⁶ Omit śri as in B for the sake of the metre.
⁷ Read samunnaṭa as in B below.
12 riv=āvani-1 pālanē cha2 nityaṁ rataḥ kuśala-karma-vidhau
14 rādhana-ksaipa-pāpaḥ 1 śrīmān=Narēndrabhaṇāja-dēvāḥ 1 s-ā.
15 nunayaṁ prāha bhūpālāṁ(lān) 1 [6,5] Khiṣjiṅga-pratīvadhī(buddha) Urtti-visha-
16 va-saṁmandhā-Vṛṣṭi(Bṛhjan)-Sārāi-grām-ābhidhāno 2 grāmə-yau ū
17 pu(pu)rvra ṛ viḍitā-sīmāntaḥ 2 Vābhī-4-charaṇāya 2 Aśāya-
18 na3-sākhyāya 2 Vachchha4-gōtrāya 2 paṇčha-rirshāya3-pravarā-
19 ya 2 Tilapudraka-vinigrata16. 2 bhaṭṭaputra-Śī(Śī)talādēva-
20 [Sa]jramanaṇāya14. 2 śa(sa)līla-dhārā[rī]3 paruskṛtya-akaratvēna vā

Reverse.

21 ...(mātātāi)-pitṛrāḥ-ātmanā ...
22 .......datō-smābhīḥ puṇya-sētun=dādāya12 [ *] yāvat=prī-
23 [thv] dharmma-dākshyāna(ṇya)tō vā 1 tāvat=kālam-pāla(niyō)
24 bhavadbhūḥ[5,5] uktaṁ=cha ddharmaṃ12-sāstraḥ. Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā
25 rājābhīsa=Sagar-ādibḥīḥ 1 yasya yasya yadya bhūmi[.]*]-tā-
26 sya tasya tāda phalaṁ(laṁ) || [7,6] Mā bhūya phala-saṅkā vaḥ para-
27 dat-ei pārthvāṁ || svadattā phalaṃ-āntanī para-
28 datt-āmpalānē14. 8 Sva-datta para-dattām=vā 2 yō harēti
29 vasundharānē15 || sa vishṭḥyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā 2 pīṭhībhuṁ sa-
30 ha pachyatē || [9,6] api chā[*] Kṣhitir-īyāṁ kulaṭ=ṛva va(ha)hu-
31 priyā [*] hata-śara(ṇi)ram-idaṁ=cha vini(na)ma(śva)raṇi(ram) || su-kiṭatni
32 adya na chē16 kṛṣṇi(krīya)tate dhruvani 2 viṣada dhakṣiyāṃ vō=
33 nusya-analāh || [10,9] Iti kamala-dal-āmva-vindula-lō-
34 lām17 śrī(śri)yaṁ-anuchintya manushya-jivitaṁ-cha || sakala-
35 m-īdam-uddhvaṭadbhi16 vudhvām[19] 2 na hi purushāḥ[*] para-ki(ki)rtta-
36 yō vīlpṭyāṁ(ṇyaḥ) || o || [11,7] Likhitaṁ Rājakula-Hēra-
37 mvē(mbe)ṁ=eṛti || o || Śrī-Vibhramatiṅga-sutēna Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇa-

1 Read te-śarāni.
2 Danda unnecessary.
3 The danda is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read kōṭja-rāśad=Drhara-, or Khiṣjiṅga-kōṭja as in
4 other inscriptions.
* Omit dēra for the sake of the metre.
5 Read sambhaṇa-.
6 Read Daktoṛcha-.
7 Read Aiśārāyaṇa-.
8 Read Vatou-.
9 Read Pačchchari-.
10 Read vinuitā-.
11 Read sīrmarānē.
12 Perhaps the correct reading is dattō-smābhīḥ puṇya-sēt-ādayā. [The text from mūtā to bhavaśhīḥ
13 seems to form a verse in Śktini metre.—Ed.]
14 Read dharmaṇa-.
15 Read Mā bhād-aphalā-saṅkā caḥ para-dattaśi pārthi[i]cāḥ || svadattām=panantyaṁ para-dattānyuṣ-
16 kāśi-.
17 Read Svadattaṁ para-dattaṁ vē yō harēta vasundharām.
18 Read sukrītman-ve na chē.
19 Read Iti kāmala-dal-āmva-vindula-lōlm.
20 Read udhārīrācha-cha.
21 Read buddhāḥ.
38 bhañja-devīna Urați-vishay-añṭalpāṭi - Svalpa-Śarāyi-grāmaḥ sali-
39 la-dhārā[ni]² puraskṛitiya tāmra-śuṣanena bhaṭṭaputra Trivikramāya pra-
40 dattaḥ ātāḥ bhavishyad-rājabхиḥ pālaniya iti [ ]
41 Samvat 200 90 3 Phālgunā va di likhitaṃ kulaputra[ca-Yaksha....]

TRANSLATION.

Ūṇā svasti. (Verse 1) May the omniscient Bhava (Śiva), who is the sole protector of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the lord of Bhavāni, and conversant with the rules of the various modes of meditation,—bring you prosperity.

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇāḍapāḍa (an officer in a republic ?) Virabhadrā, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-bird in the great hermitage, called Kōṭyāṣrama, and was brought up by the sage Vasiṣṭha.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhañja (king) was born sīrī-Kōṭṭabhañja, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (adavya-ḍaka).

(V. 4) Then there was his worthy son sīrī-Vibhramatunā, who was famous in the world, most excellent, and endowed with beauty; who had numerous feudatories, and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of kings.

(Vv. 5-6) His son sīrīnā Narēndrabhañjadēva—who was like cupid (in appearance), strong, wealthy and brave; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies; who, like king Yudhīshthira, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of Harā;—from his residence at the fort of Khijjīṅga says respectfully to the kings:

(LL. 15-21) (There is) a village called Brihat-Sārāi, in the district (vishaya) of Uṛtti, situated close to the city of Khijjīṅga. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to Bhaṭṭaputra Ṣitaladēvasaranman an emigrant from Tilapūḍraka and belonging to Bāhṛchika-charaya, Āvalayana-ākēha, Vatsa-gītra, and having the five viśis as his pravaras (or the noble ancestors).

(LL. 22-35) contain the usual imprecaions.

(LL. 36) Written by the Rājakuta Hēramba.

(LL. 37-40) By Mahārāju-sīrī Raṇabhañjadēva, son of sīrī-Vibhramatunā, the village of Svalpa-Śarāyi in the district (vishaya) of Uṛtti has been granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

(LL. 41) The year 200 (and) 90 (and) 3; (the month) Phālgunā; the dark fortnight; (the lunar) day 1.

Written by Kulaputra Yaksha.

B.—Ādipūr Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 16" by 8 8". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

1 Read 90.

2 [There seem to be only two letters at the end; the reading may, therefore, be Yakṣaṇ-āti.—Ed.]
rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a circular seal with a diameter of about 3". It bears the legend "Śrīnāṇ-Nari(rē)dvābhaṇadēvaśya" in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a bumped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had to be cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been hidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of king Rañabhāṇa. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the royal seal was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sira Dās of the Ādipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sira Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1927 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum at Bāripāḍa. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharyya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides, along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are: (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well-known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village Sarapadraka in the Kērakēra-viśaya by king Narendrabhaṇa whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhaṭṭa Dēvadhēvāma, migrated from Oṛa-viśaya and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village Rāmaparkaṭi in the Khiṇija-mandala. The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (Ravīsākamana-vilīyām). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Raṇabhaṇa. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as Pādēvā, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these localities Kērakēra is still the name of a village in Ghoshapir in Ādipur Parganā, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khiching. It is shown as Kerkera in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1" = 4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Soras in the same sheet and this may be the same as Sarapadraka. The village called Saradaha in Karanja Pargañā may also be the modern representative of Sarapadraka. Rāmaparkaṭi may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiapir in Josphur Parganā. I am unable to identify Pādēvā. The

1 [See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.]
2 [To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmaparkaṭi in Khiṇija-mandala and that he originally hailed from Ālāvadrāha, a Brahman village (? Bhaṭṭa-grāma) in the Oṛa-viśaya.—Ed.]
mention of Odra-vishaya is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of Narëndrabhañja and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by Bhañja Mahāñana-Rapa-bhañja. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly napatā or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before napatā, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'a', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like sri or sri, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, Rapabhañja of this short record must be identified with king Rapabhañja, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of post-script to the record of Narëndrabhañja. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, i.e., during the reign of king Narëndrabhañja. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that Rapabhañja was a predecessor of Narëndrabhañja, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.1

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word kusali or kusalina, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words sānakatā pāha bhūjaśānte take the place of the usual verbs mānavati bālābhāti samādi sati. In the present grant we have all three combined, with the exception only of samādi sati.

Attention may be drawn to the expression Śiva-charaya-sārja-tātpadā (l. 13) used with reference to Narëndrabhañja. The corresponding expression in A is Hara-charayā-vālīkṣapita-pāpa (l. 13-11). These prove that king Narëndrabhañja was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

TEXT.

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

Obverse.

1 Svasti [*]
2 Om namō Avighnāvāryaḥ || Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nā-
3 thō bhava-bhaya-bhūdaṁ Bhavō Bhavānajīṣaḥ [*] vividha-samādhi-vi-

1It is difficult to believe that Rapabhañja of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of Narëndrabhañja. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (dharmam-śva śatamā prakāśhita). The fact of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, i.e., Yakshadatta and the donor is also the same Rapanbhañja in both. The reading in l. 35 of B is āvina napatā. If āvina stands for anyśväna, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, i.e., Kāṭabhañja whose grandson Rapabhañja was. — Ed.]

2 There is a symbol preceding Om.
dhijñāya sarvaṃ vah śivāya-āstu || [1 *] Āś(a)īṃ-Kōṭyāśrama-
5 mahātapatvam—an-māyūr-āṇḍāṃ bhivatā Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Virabhadr-ākhyāh* [ *]
6 kṣa-1 -nibhāna-dakṣīḥ Vaisākhīa-muni-pālītā nṛpatiḥ* [ ] [12 *] Tasya-Aḍī-Bharm-
7 ja-vaññī(väññī) māṇi(ni) tyāgī(ṇi) adhāla-kaṃḥ* khaṭā(ḥ) khyātāḥ [ *] jātō(ḥ) ārī-Kōṭṭa-
8 bhārṇī-pi [ *] 3 *]
9 Putras-tad-anurūpaḥ śrēṣṭhaḥ śṛmān-asaṅkha(ṣaṅkhaḥ)-sāmantaḥ nṛpati-śa-
9 t-ārchehita-charaṇō Vibhramatvagō jagata-prathitāḥ [4 *] Tasya-ātmanāḥ
10 Smara-samō va(ha)la-van-va(rī)ṣṭhaḥ sūraḥ samunna-taṣāya yudhi ni-
11 rjīt-ārīḥ : rājā Yudhishthira iv-sāvani-pālanē cha nityam rataḥ
12 kuśala-karmā-vidhau praśa(sa)ktāḥ [ 5 *] Khiñjīga-kōṭṭ-adhivāsakāt [ *]
13 Āś(a)īṃ-dhār-ārjīta-kṛttiḥ Śiva-charaṇa-sarūja-śatpadah śṛmā-
14 n ] ripa-vanitā-vahāvīya-da-Narēndrabhaṇja-kuśali(ī) jagata(ḥ)-khyāt(āḥ) [ *]
15 sānunayaṃ prāhaṃ bhūpanā yathā-ārhati mānayaṃ vō(bō)dya(ya)ti Kērākē-
16 ra-vishaya-pratīva(ḥ)dha-Śaṇapaḍra-grāma-çharaṭḥ-simā-paryantaḥ śō-
17 pari(n)karā-sō(dd)ēśa-sa-tantravāya-gō-kūṭa-śauṇja(ḥ(n)d)ēśa(ā)śi pra-
18 [kṛ]ṣita-sarva-vālī-varjīt-ālēkhaṇī(ṇi)-prāvētasyāya bhūni(mjēchh(i)(c)c(hh)i)dra-st-
19 Revere.
20 p(ih)dh(ā)ṇa-nyāyēn-āchandr-ārka-ksīhita-smāna-ka(kū)la(m)* mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāḥ [ya]-
21 sah-puney-ādhibhūdda(yē) Oṛa-vishayē Bhāṭṭagrāma Āllavida . . .  
21 nirghataḥ Khiñjīga-manḍala-ya Rāmapakaṭi-grāma-sāsa . . . .
22 Vyavhhriça-charaṇāya Vatsa-gōtra-pañchārshaya. Ya(Ja)madagni(gni)-pravara(rāya)
23 bhaṭṭā- D(ē)ñavadēvāma(h)* bhāṭa-[Vadh]hakādāma-suta(sutāya) Ravisāṅkramona-
25 na pratipādātī 'śaṅbhīḥ' tad-ō(sh)-āśmada-[d]āṭtir-dharmma-gauravād-bha-
26 vadhāḥ paṭipālun(ī)n(y)ā uktat-chā dharmma-sā(ś)īstrē [ *] Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā da-
27 tā rājahūḷi Sūgar-adābhīḥ yasaḥ yasya yadā bhūni[*] tasya tasya tadhā
28 phalāva(du) [ 6 *] Mā bhūḥ(bhūḥ-a)phaḷa-sāṅkā va(h) para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ 1
29 sva-dattāt phalam sā- 
30 nantyaṃ para-datt-aṇupālān ā [ 7 *] Śva-datta(ṇi) para-dattāṁ-vō(tām vā) [12 *] yō harēta
31 vasundhāra(ṇ)āṃ [ *]
1 To suit the metre omit Kōṭyāśrama-mahātapatvam= as in A.
2 Read bhivatā. There is a sign after this which is redundant.
3 Read pratipāka as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.
4 The words sārha śukhi>r<śrinītō occurring in A have been left out before jātō(ḥ) through inadvertence.
5 A has praviṣṭre āśrānāṃ.
6 This seems to be a verse in 11* metre.
7 [ To me the reading appears to be Alīvēdēvāra-vina<ri><g>gataḥ(ītya).—Ed.]
8 Read Bāhrcchā. [Reading after ghrama seems to be kānṣata-rākṣayā-Va(Ba)ḥrčchā-. Šānasa may be a mistake for kānṣa in which case Rāmaparkaṭi, the residence of the done, would be an agrahāra or a gift village.—Ed.]
9 Read paṅkarṣaḥ or paṅkṛ-ṛākṣaḥ.
10 I think the name of the done is Dēvādānap. The syllables Daura at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read Dēvādānāḥ.—Ed.]
11 The reading of this name is very doubtful.
12 Yāṣṭa unnecessary.
30 sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛim[i*]-bhūtvā pṛtipibiḥ saha pachyatē [18 [*] Haratē hārotē(yēd) bhūmiṁ [manda]-
31 [bu*][dhi][i*]-tāmā(mō)vīrit(ōtah) [ *] sa va(ba)ddhō vārunī-[pā*]jāśā-ēva trīgayōni
shu[ jāyati] 1 [19 [*] Iti ka-
32 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vī(du)lōliāṁ śri(śriyam)-anuśintya manushya-[jīvitaṁ-chha] [1*]
viḷō-
34 pīyāh [10 [*] Iti(ti) tāmbra-[gāsana-viṭaṇi]-bhangā kāryyāḥ ||
35 Ōnī svasti [1*] āsāva[ [na]ptā Bhāņa-mahārāja-śri-Rāṇabhāṇjadhēṇa
36 Pādeva[=]-grāma[-̄]cātuḥ-simā-paryantaḥ ētāsma(smī)mun-ēva tāma[-ā]
37 nē prakśhiyā saalā-dhāra-purāśareṇa pratipāditō bhavadhōh
38 paripāliyāḥ 1 khanitaṁ Yakshadattēṇ-ēti ||

C.—Kēsari Copper-plate of Satrubhāṇjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring 8½" by 6½". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, a little more than 2½" in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trigon and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kēsari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadi Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The language is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author’s knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāyāi in the Utī district by Mahā-
maṇḍaladhipati-Mahārājaḍhāra-Paramēśvara Satrubhāṇjadēva, lord of eighty-eight thousand
(villages). He was the son of Rāṇabhāṇa, grandson of Dūrjayabhāṇa, and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhaṇa. Reference is made to Virabhadra’s birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadra in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadra’s eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadra was protected (śeṇa) by Rāṇadhēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages. Rāṇadhēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase Rāmaṇēvā

---

1 Read vārunī Śāstra-stāryagyōṇiḥu.
2 Dundū unnecessary.
3 There is a superfluous na after yō.
4 Read bhumā.
5 The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word citāqī-bhāṇa can be clearly read but offers no meaning.
6 There is a letter kā written just below the space between the last two letters.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 The second letter looks like sā but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]
9 A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.
10 According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rāṇadhēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]
sêvâtuh' can therefore be hardly interpreted as 'served by Râmâdevâ' as translated by Mr. Misra. According to the dictionary, the root 'sêv' also means 'to protect,' and I have taken that interpretation. The word 'vyâpitaḥ' is also a difficult one. I think r is a mistake for dāh (which resembles it very closely) and the word 'dhyâpitaḥ' has been used to indicate that the eighty-eight thousand sons were made to perform meditations (dhyâna) in order to please Râmâdevâ and obtain the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data have already been discussed above.¹ The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., Anakahdevī (perhaps a mistake for Anakahdevī), the chief queen, and Narêndrabhañjâ, the Yuvarâja (ll. 12-13), and of a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression Bhaqaqat-bhāṭāraka-Sâkaram samuddâśya occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Saîkâracârya in whose honour the gift was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Siva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with is 'Bhaqaqat-Siva [Nârâyana or Buddha]-bhaṭāraka.'

As to the localities mentioned, Urttivishaya has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village Syallâmâyî. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as 'Lâmâyî' remarking in a footnote that 'sya' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this view.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōm² svastih² [||] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nâthô bhava-bhaya-vi(bhi)durô Bhavô Bhavânî-(nî)sâ[hi][i]² vivi-
2 dha-sâmâdhi-k-sâmâdhi-vi(dhi)i[jñâh sarvva][jñâh vah si(sî)vây-âstu | | [||] Âsîta(sit)⁴ Kōṭṭâ-
ârâm(mô) nâ[mâ]⁵
3 tapô-dhâōthânam-uttamām [||] mayûr-ând-ôdbhava[as]/tasmāta(d=) gaṇa-daṇḍô ViVi-
rabhadri-âkhyâh⁶ [||] 2 [||] Aśtāsî-
4 ti-sahasra[ha][h][i] sûnbhui[ha][ha]¹¹ vyâpitaḥ¹² purâ [||] têshântu prâ[r]thanânh dîśhâvâ Râma-
dêvâna sevitas(tab) [||]| 3 [||] Tatô¹³-
5 śhâsasmi-sahasra¹⁴-grâmasvâ-dâhipatiḥ krîtaḥ [||] chakravi(va)[r]tti¹⁵-sama(mah) sarvâpâdô-
nâcha vasthu¹⁶ [||]| 14 [||]

¹ See p. 154 above.
² Expressed by a symbol.
³ The second sâmâdhi is redundant.
⁴ M. reads sarâ (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).
⁴ M. reads Âsîta, but the word actually engraved is Âsîta.
⁵ M. reads Kōṭṭâbrâma-mahâ-.
⁶ M. reads uttama(m).
⁷ There is no sign of medial i on r as M. reads.
⁸ This pada conforms to the fourth pada of an Āryâ metre. This is apparently due to its being copied verbatim from the other records.
⁹ M. reads sahasrasîs-tu mu[nî][i]khi. [I would read -sastrasîs-tu [sô]nukhi[f].—Ed.]
¹⁰ M. reads vyâpîh.
¹¹ To me the reading appears to be sêvita(bh) [||] Sûtô=. — Ed.]
¹² [Read -sâhasra- as the sixth syllable in this pada should be long.—Ed.]
¹³ M. reads sârti.
¹⁴ M. reads sarvâ pâmânâchavasthîthâ. Perhaps the word intended is sarvâ-pâmânâchâvasthîthâ. [But this would make the pada short by one syllable.—Ed.]
6 pratipaksha-nidhana-daksbō Vaśā(ś)jihtha-mu[nī*]-pālitō nṛpatiḥ 1. A(Ā)dibhaṅjāḥ
rim-dahana2-dā-,
7 vānalaḥ śarasvatirvinītō jātaḥ Śrī-Kōṭṭhabhaṅja-suta-māṇḍalika-sa(ś)u-t-ārechita-
chara- 
8 ṇa-kamalāḥ śrī-Dū,Dunrjayaḥbhajadēvō-bhūta(t) [l] tasy-ātmajāḥ su śulehīh pratāpīḥ(pī)
k[ṛ]tajāh satya-
9 vādī Hara-Chara-ā[rā*]dhana-tatparaḥ guru-dēva-pūjakaḥ śrī-Raṇabhaṅjadēvō-
bhūta(t) tasy-ā-
10 tmajāḥ sūrah pratāpīḥ(pī) nirjīta-śatrūh satya-dharm-ā[n]vītah Yudhisṭhīra-samah prajā-
pālana-ta-
11 tpars[h*] Mahāmanḍalāhāpahy Mā[Ma]hārājaḥbhirāja-Paramēvara[h*] ashṭāsita-sahāsra-
a[ṛ-ā]hīpah-
12 ti[h*] śrī-Śatrubhaṅjadēva-pādaīḥ mā[ma]hādēva(vī)-śrī-Anakadēvi(vī) ju(yu)-
varājā(ja)-śrī.
13 Narindrakaṁbya śandivighraha śrī-Prajāpati[h*] madrahasta śrī-Bhu(ī)mah[h*] prati-
hāra2 śrī-Manoratha[h*] para-
14 śṛēḥbi śrī-Vishabdattah mātā-putarōr-ātmata[nājē]-chaḥ 10 dharmma-yashō(śō)-vṛ[d]*-
dhayē 1 Bhagavata(d)-bhāṭṭāraka-Sankha-
15 ra[n*] samu[d*]diś[ya] Uruttī-viṣa(shaya)-pratīva(ba)dēh SYal Śāmīyī 13-grūma(mah) sa-
 jalā-sthala(ah) chatuh[h*] jīmāvatsīna14
16 sa-viṅa-palatā Madhya[du]deśa(sa)-vina(ni)rugata bhaṭṭaputra-Nārāyaṇasya paṭruṭa
bhaṭṭaputra-Cha-
17 krapaṇasya[18] purṭayā Bhaṭṭaputra-Dandaṇi[17] Kausī(Kausī)ka-sagōṭiya triyāri-
shaya[18] pra[n*]raya 19
18 Vasishṭha-gōṭiya Vasishṭha-prava[n*]raya tāmbra21-sā(sā)sanī(ni)krita(tya) prada-
[t*]ī-smābhuh [11] Bhūmi[n*] yaḥ pratigṛha-
19 tī yaś-cha bhūmi[n*] prayačehbhati ubhau ttau22 punya(ṇya) karmamāṇau niyatau22
svargga-gāminau [511]

1 This forms half of a verse in Ḡṛṣṇa metre. See A, v. 2.
2 The initial vowel is a and not ā as M. reads.
3 M. reads dālana.
4 M. reads sarapāpa but the word satyarādī is quite clear.
5 M. reads pādēḥ. The correct form should be pādēḥ.
6 M. reads Pratihāra.
7 M. reads pitarātāmasa.
8 M. reads -pitōroma.
9 M. reads sarasarātāmnaśa. 10 Read -sūtra.
11 M. reads dharmanayaśādībhūtrikāni(ḥ)ayē.
12 M. reads Bhagavatam bhaṭṭārakam Sankara-
13 M. reads ṣī.
14 M. reads madha-
15 Read pāṇeḥ.
16 Read śṛēḥ.
17 M. reads ṣcha after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one dace the Ḡṛṣṇa and prāraṇa-
mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and later corrected as found in l. 18.—Ed.]
18 Danda unnecessary.
19 Read śīmra-
20 Read niyata.
Reverse.

20 Ânandantiśa pitara[h\*] prava[lg]a\ntiśa pitāmahā[h\*] [l*] bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā ssamitratā bhaviṣya(aya).

21 ti\* [16 \*.] Haratē hārayatē(yēd−)yas=tu manda-vudhis=tamā(mō)vrītaḥ\*| sa \va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaṃ pāśe triyaga\* yō-

22 nisu(shu)\* jāyēh* [17 \*.] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattām=vā yō harēta\* vasundhārā[m l*] sa vishṭāyā[m\*] krimīra\* bhūtvā\* 11

23 pitribhi\* saha pachyate [19 \*.] Sva-dānātā phalam=aṇantāṃ\* para-dat[t\*]-aṇu-
pāلام[1*] sashṭhi-varisha.\* 11

24 sahaśrā(stā)ṇi svarggē mōḍati bhūmīdaḥ [10\*]. 16

No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN: SAKA 887.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khāndesh. It is now deposited in the Rājwāde Sāmarādana Maṇḍala, Dhūlia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bāhārata Itihāsa Sāmarādana Maṇḍala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency.\* They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the last two plates of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole 4\* in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9-5" to 9-7" broad and from 7-5" to 8-2" high. The first plate weighs 66 tālas and the second 44\* tālas.

1 M. reads āsphālayanti. The usual expression is āsphālayati.
2 M. reads pradhābhanti.
3 M. reads the passage as follows: bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā(h*) se na[r]-trātā bhaviṣhayati. This is undoubtedly the correct form. (cf. Manhali Copper-plate line 53, J. A. S. B., 1900, pp. 65 ff) but not the correct reading of the text.
4 Read -buddhis=.
5 M. reads tamōvritāḥ which is undoubtedly the more usual form.
6 Read tirag=.
7 M. reads tirag-gōṇau (sa) jāyatē.
8 Read jāyatē.
9 M. reads jō harat.
10 Read krimīra=.
11 M. reads krimirbhōtēa.
12 Read pitribhiḥ. This is M’s reading.
13 Read dānātē.
14 Read =ānantaṃ. M. reads ānantaṃ.
15 Read shāshi-varṣa=.
16 There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of dandas.
17 As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 733, has been recently discovered at Nārāyaṅgāon near Junnar in the same district.
The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgari alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few aksharas, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of kh in Bhām-ākhyō, l. 1 and sākhā, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly, the letters g, m, r, and present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., g in gurhasthā, l. 5 and nagara, l. 10; m in chitti-mātagi, l. 3 and viśayā, l. 18; n in janāvān, l. 4 and cīnāpati, l. 9 and r in jan, l. 12 and guṇa-rāju, l. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal ś seen in śrī, l. 2, guṇa-rāju, l. 1-2 and āśīra, l. 3-4 and of ṛ in viṭāb, l. 19 and śravakā, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of dh is undeveloped, bh and ḹ are almost identical in shape, and ph is drawn cursorily, see sampathigat-, l. 6, Bhām-ākhyō, l. 1, mahādāta-, l. 4-5 and phaṇḍra l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the prāśthu-mātrās to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-43, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel ṛi for ri in āśīra, l. 3-4 and that of ṛ for b as in mahāśikā, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following r as in kuhara-rattī, l. 14 and gandharvī, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sindia king, the Mahāśikārta Ādityavarman, who had obtained all mahāśikālas and was born in the lineage of Dīshtivisha, the lord of Nāgas. The object of it is to record the grant, by Ādityavarman, of a village named Kīṅhikā which was included in the (larger) village Paṅgarikā and was situated in the Rāmatirthikā-Eighty-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a layagra-giri (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named Indra which flowed on its north. The donor was the Brāhmaṇa Navaśiva, son of Chandrabhaṭṭa, who belonged to the Kaṅḍinaya-gōka and was a student of the Bahurṣiṣa-ākha (of the Rīgveda). He had emigrated from the Mahāyadā. The grant was made by Ādityavarman, while residing at Jumminagara, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the expired Saka samvat 887, the cyclic year being Krōdhana. The date is regular. The expired Saka 887 (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was Krōdhana according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the anuñcayā of the paṇḍraṇa Chaitra. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of Ādityavarman which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, rī., Bhīma and his son Muṇja, the grandfather and the father respectively of Ādityavarman. About Muṇja we are told that he was superior to (another) Muṇja in merits. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the Paramāra dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

Adityavarman’s father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was incised. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029 (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Adityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sindha family, is known from his Tālgundī plates, but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Adityavarman belonged to the Sindha family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than Mahāsāṃhita, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāštrakūta king Kṛishṇa III, for whom, it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.

The Sindhas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nagavaniśa are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderābād states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanamṛtā stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sindha, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇḍrā at Abichèhhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger. According to another account Sindha was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger’s milk. It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sindha or Chhindha kings call themselves Bhogavati-pura-var-āṇāsvara ‘the lord of Bhogavati, the best of towns’. The exact location of Bhogavati is not settled, but according to the Narasāhasāṅkacharita of Padmā Gupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sindha married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sindha kings. This Sindha was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom.

The Jávali plates of the Western Gaṅga prince Śrīpurusha-Pṛithivi-Kōṇgupi speaks of a Sindamāha which, according to Mr. Rice, extended over parts of the Dhārwar, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sindha, the founder of the family, settled in the Karahatā-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhāḍ in the Sātāra District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bagadāgī (Bagalkōt in the Bombay Presidency), Erambaragī (Yeildburg in the Nizâm’s Dominions) and Chakrakōṭya (in the Bastar state).

---

1 See Bhasamāla’s Pāñcabhūkinaḷa, verse 198.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 392.
7 Ibid., Vol. VI, Intro., pp. 7 ff.
Most of these Sinda or Chhinda families distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nāsari plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, dated Saka 727, mention a prince named Nāgahastin who was an ornament of the great Chhindā family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Ādityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāṣṭrakūtās.

We have not so far come across records of the Sindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāṣṭrakūtās. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact we find in that age a family with the analogous name Sēndraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called Sēndraka-rīṣhayā. From the statement in the Benuar grant of the Kadamba king Krishnavarman II made the gift of a village in the Sēndraka-rīṣhayā while on a victorious march to Vaijayanti (modern Banavasi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the Sēndraka-rīṣhayā lay not far from the Banavasi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhāṇḍa division of the Banavasi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the Sīnda-rīṣhayā mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas, but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Bālāmī, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.

When Pulakēsin II conquered Maḥārāṣṭra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānusakti in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grants of land made by Bhānusakti’s grandson Allaśakti have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēj copper-plate inscription of Allaśakti’s son Jayaśakti, which is dated Saka 692 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakshmiśvara stone inscription states that they were of the bhujagēndr-āṃraya or ‘lineage of the king of serpents’. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

---
3 See the Bālaṇāmī inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.
4 See Hālīsi grant of Harivarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 31.
5 The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabh Śēnānandarājā was a maternal uncle of Pulakēsin II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.
6 No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānusakti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēsin II.
7 One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See New Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 747. Bühler gives this chief’s name as Nikumbhāallasakti, but Nikumbha was only a biruda. It is used as such with the name of Allaśakti’s son Jayaśakti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief’s name as Nikumbh-Allaśakti. See New Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 747.
8 This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine Prabhāta of Dhūlia. See also the An. Rep. of the Bhārata Tiṣṭha Sarasāṭhaka Mandal, for Saka 1834, pp. 169 ff.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.
After Jayaśakti we have no records of the Śāndrakas from Mahārāṣṭra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Adityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhūma and Mañja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tāṇgudātī plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Adityavarman had the figure of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tāṇgudātī plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.1

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the localities mentioned in them, but the mention of the Indra river and a layapa-giri among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇi river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona tālukā. The donated village Kiniṅhikā is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇi near Shēlavāḍi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.2 Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Paṅgārīkā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. Rāmatirthikā, the headquarters of the subdivision in which Kiniṅhikā was included, is probably identical with Rāmatirtha where Ushavadāta made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.3 The latter is taken by some to be a holy kṣetra situated in or near Śūrjavaṅka4 with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. Jūnninagara, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,5 a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

TEXT.6

First Plate; First Side.

1 घू (व) सारतिर्द्वर्यः ॥ ११॥[ तनः] नूतजः भोमास्फो गुः.

2 वाससिरभुतः । उद्यापि तत: जीमास्फो मुः.

2 There are about twenty caves at or near Shēlavāḍi, all of about the first or second century after Christ. Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XVIII, p. 212, Caves Temples of India, p. 246.
3 Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.
4 As the inscription reads Sūrpārakā cha Rāmatirtha, Bhagwanand and following him Senart take Rāmatirtha to be the modern Rāmakunda reservoir in Sūrpār (see Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the drafter of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Sūrpāraka and Rāmatirtha' (see his Collected Works, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmatirtha near Sūrpāraka' (see Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 100).
5 R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jīnjanagara (i.e., 'old town'). See Collected Works, Vol. III, p. 60.
6 From the original plates.
7 As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājwade Samādhana Mandala, Dindia.
8 Read satrānīm-at-durjyūbh. Metre of this and the next verse: Anumāṭībh.
9 Read tabānānāyō.
3 जगुना[षि]कः ||शश* || चहितकुलकालकेतुः चिंतामणिरा-
4 ः[[शशिः]जजजज(नम्) ||शश*] श्रीदिश्वरमचन्तयोभूततो चर्येमहोः-
5 दिशः ||शश* || यथा गभेःप्राच्छ[षि]वत्तिमाँ||चन्तयोभूतनाम[व]||च[षि]रे-
6 ण प्रभुताः || तदस्य समधिक्षातगश्चात[षि]दर्पणः महापाः(गा)-
7 संतो दहत्तिःविषयसिद्धसमयोऽन्तवृत्तः ||शश*] सिद्धान्यप्रस्तुः ||शश*००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००००}
19 रि चौहितं (तम्)¹ ||[४२]*|| तथा च । सङ्ग्रुपो जलतरंगविलो: सङ्ग्रुप विचुत-
20 राशि [ढ़] नानि । शारदाभचलचलमातु: सङ्ग्रुप छन्नै:ः क्रृत तथेऽभेषः-
21 निधिः (यम्र)² ||[४३]*|| सर्वमेवासलक्षणामवस्तुय धनी एवेकः सा (शा) [श] त् [स] [स]-
22 झः[४४]* || सखा व (स) सुमुकुटरपत्र (च) च नायनोत्तस्वविलये शक्रुपकानाती-
23 तमंवसराहित्यदु (स) समायोविवेर्षु कौण्डनंद्व [स] रापते-
24 तवाचामाशा [शा] मांदिहायपर्वम् भी (मा) तापिष्ठेऽर्मिकाः-
25 मुखिषकरानासौ द्वालमय युक्तोषोदितचयः पूर्वः-
26 जैर्यारास्विला एषा दीयातौतस्सुधां प्रतिपालितेर्वव-
27 [शु] [ढ़] दा [४५] || सर्वपरिहारानिधय यया समथवे (द) शारिरंगनकी-
28 निशा (षड) वसमोचव (व) हुष्ट (शा) ब्रह्म (श) शाचार्यं महादिवाय वी-
29 नविन्याय सोचन्द्रहसुताय परस्य भक्ता पारसे प्रवाख ह-
30 सौदक्रान्तापूवर्णं रामतीर्थकाः चतुर्गीती [काः] पारिक्ष-
31 निम्नकार्याम: पंग [ग] रिकाग्राम एवाभवत: पृवहन्ददेवदायव (श)-
32 झः [ढ़] यव (वा) द्वाः [श] भ (श) ध्रुपामदे (२) विष्णुग्रामस्विहो (२) लासमेत: प्रदे-
33 न: [१२ उपाधानानि फः बंक: सीमा [ष] ममण्याः

Second Plate.²

34 दारिण: सीमा च श्रेष्ठो डोडिरिका । पथिमत: सीमा लय-
35 बाहोर: । उत्तरत: सीमा इन्द्रनदे । एवं चतुर्गातसम्म-
36 न: मांधनारिभिः सदसङ्कुदशा प्रसाधोपि भविः शा दागानामिके नृत्वः

¹ Metre: Vamsastha
² Metre: Srāgata.
³ Aparatram seems to have been used here in the sense of atra.
⁴ Perhaps pratyādātāvṛtuddhāmāvivānam is the intended reading.
⁵ Read pādaṃ.
⁶ Compare with this the expression māekha (२) vallikā-prāveśakaḥ in ll. 41-42 of the Tūrkhādē plates (above, Vol. III, p. 36).
⁷ This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata Itiḥāsa Samādhikā Maṇḍala, Poona.
⁸ This word, which means the same as āgāmi, is superfluous.
37 वतिलि: सर्वरिपु श्राविजेतपर्वमंग्लेऽसूतोदयत्वयः
38 सतत्स्या: प्रतिपालितस्वाभाकः पुष्पपातितकरसि भुंजत: भोजः।
39 यतस्त त्यतः: कार्यवस्त नैनापि परिपूष्ट न विधावतः।।
40 चयंरकतं प्रथमं सुवर्णि सूतर्वलित: शूर्यस्वतात् गावः।।[1*] नौक्रवर्यं नैन
41 भ[व]ह[ः]र्यः द्वस्त्र यःः कांवनं गांच्छ महीष दयात्।।[1[5]]* चार्कोटायलि।
सितार:
42 प्रव[ः]लिति पितामहः: [1*] भूमिष्टिक्षकलुके जातः स न: संतारायितः।।[9*]
43 भिन्नायापत्त्विनी दलिनिषय सदोषतः: [1*] भूमिदानवम् पुःः[ः]णि द्वां [ः]
44 य(ः)ः पुरंदरः।।[४७*] अपरं च [1*] वःःहुमिर्वदशा भूता राजाः: सःः
45 द्विति: [1*] यःः यःः यःः
46 द्वयं सर्वस्तः तत्य तदः एवं सुनिवर्णनाथनवस्वम् [स]ःः
47 यःः यःः यःः
48 [स]*दायः: प्रतिपालोनसम्दयत्वः [1*] यस्तव्यानिनिरिपत्तानुतमितिः।।
49 नित्त[ः]ःदायःः दाधिखायमन[ः]ः नूमीदयः च पशुभिन्नायापत्तोऽपि पायः[ः]ः
50 स[ः]ःक्रोः भवैः।। तथा चीरःः तमःः।। गामनकाः क्षणमित्रःः [स]* भूमिर्वदशः
51 मांगुरःः च वर्षःः।।[१०१*] तत्या च || श्रवःः न चर्णः
52 परभूः प्रतिवर्ण्यात्मः
53 सःःस्वम्(ः)ः तान्याचरीं रामभदः: [1*] सामायःः चर्णःः: चुपाणाः 7 काले काले 7
54 लन्योः भविः।।[११*] सारित्वोः चातःः होक्ष्यान्(ः)ः मृखः[ः]ः देहिः।। पाठ्यम्।।मः
55 नित्तःः (२) नित्तिनितम्यं रक्षदामानुषूर्वं गोमावर्त्रेव वुद्धियायितः[ः]ः।।[१*]

1 Read pratipālīlayāryaṃ-cha | Aṣaya.
2 Read bhavṛd-ḍhī.
3 Metre: Iantrājīrā.
4 Metre of verses 7-10: Anuṣṭubh.
5 This pāda has one akṣara wanting. Read Susūryaṃ. The usual reading is dhaṭalāṃga.
6 This visarga is superfluous.
7 Read śāṭa-śīrpaṇā.
8 Metre: शासी। The first pāda is irregular.
9 We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen akṣaras in lines 51 and 52 each.
No. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisore Pattanayak of Adipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayurbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripādā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8"×6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an āmalaka is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a couchant humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of śīth (l.1), pī (l.2), p (l.3), th (l.4), th (l.5), and t (l.6) which distinctly look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters t, th, p, r, s, and s closely resemble those used in the Mahāda Plates of Yogeśvara-deva-varman1 and the Patna Museum Plate of Sōmeśvara-deva2. On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it.3 The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several visarga, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., Hērmā (l.1), laddha (l.1), uṣava (l.2), tikha (l.2), māhārāja-dhikīra (l.2), vibhama (l.3), Durjava (l.3), sāvama-dīna (l.4), sa-jala-thāla (l.4), sahāraghī (l.6), mudra-bhakta (l.7), Narindā (l.7) and pura-sēthi (l.7) which are the correct forms of Sanskrit Hēramba, labdha, utpanna, tilaka, māhārāja-dhikīra, vibhama, Durjava, sāvama-dīna, sa-jala-thāla, sahāraghī, mudra-bhakta, Narindā and pura-sēthi respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for, an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhaṅja records of Mayurbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of Raṇa-bhaṅja-deva, surnamed Vihramatunga,4 representing him as having been nurtured by the sage Vasishtha, as a receiver of boon from Hēramba, as born in the Mivara family and as the frontal mark of the Bhaṅja lineage. He has further been given the title of Mahārāja-dhikīra. Then it gives out that his son Durjava-bhaṅja-deva, who has been given no title at all, granted the village Oḷāṅga along with Pāṇchapatī and Trīsamāpādā (probably two other villages)

1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. 2 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff. 3 P. R. A. S., E.C., 1914-17, p. 4, para. 3.
4 [The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panigrahi seems to have overlooked. In l. 4 sāvama dīna and again in l. 5 sāvama dīnaḥ mean ‘grant has been given’, the form dīna ‘given’ being derivable from the Prākrit dīna.—B.C.C.] 
5 [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to Durjava-bhaṅja; see above, p. 151.—Ed.]
to Thākura Śrī Gōmāṭa for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, Chhihipa the chief queen. Kōṭṭabhaṅja the heir-apparent, Ātahi the Mini-ster for war and peace, Kundākāthi the custodian of the Royal Seal. Narindā the chief feudatory and Dīhluvaha the town-banker were present.

Durjayaḥbhaṅjaḍāva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhaṅjaḍāva and the father of Kōṭṭabhaṅja. In the Keshari plate of Satrubhaṅjaḍāva, however, Durjayaḥbhaṅja figures as the son of Kōṭṭabhaṅja and the father of Raṇabhaṅja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayaḥbhaṅja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayaḥbhaṅja of this record in the Bhaṅja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhāntīs as other Bhāntī grants of Mayūrbandj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (II. 12) to which Raṇabhaṅjaḍāva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mewā (Mewā in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhāntīs to Mewā. But the tradition ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbandj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewā. Moreover, the name Mewā itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. Thus, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.

The villages Pāṇchāpāli and Oḷānāṅga may conveniently be identified with Pāṇchāpāli and Dēling, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

TEXT.

1 Siddhaṃ [*] Ōṁ Varāshtha-muni-pāliṁa Hērmva-vara-laddhaḥ Mi-
2 vara-varāśa-uptanaḥ Bhāntī-kūla-tiklaḥ māhārājādhaṁrajaḥ Śrī Raṇa-
3 bhaṅjaḍeṇva-sūta Vibhamatudga-sūta Śrī-Durjayaḥbhaṅjaḍeṇva Oḷānāṅga-grāma Pā-
4 nchāpāli Trisamāpadā sahita sasanadīna sa-jala-thalā sarva-vadah
5 vivarjita Thākura Śrī-Gōmāṭa sasanadīnaḥ Śrī-Chhihipa-māhādē-
6 vi Śrī-Kōṭṭabhaṅja-jūvarjādeṇva Śrī-Ātahi-sandagrihi Śrī-Kundahā-
7 thī-mudrāharthā Śrī-Narindā-māhāsāmanta Śrī-Dīhluvaha-pura-śēthi [*]

No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRA FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.


Halayudha (one who wields the hāla or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halayudha. On the inner

2 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

[*] All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariat and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.
4 From ink-impressions and the original.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
side of the southern wall in the maṇḍapa of the Amarāśvara Temple at Māṇḍhātā on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Nimār District of the Central Provinces is carved a stōtra called the Ḥalāyudha-stōtra (vide Hiralal, Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this stōtra. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-stōtra in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-stōtra, using the text as appearing on the Amarāśvara temple wall as the basic text (♀) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record of the Amarāśvara temple is dated Samvat 1120, Kārttika-vādi 13 or A.D. 1063.

From the stōtra above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the stōtra-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the stōtra must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adored the court of King Lakshmīnāraṇa of Bengal and who is the author of several sarvastis like Bāṃhanāsarasvaṇa, Paṇḍitāsarasvaṇa, Mīmāṃṣāsarasvaṇa, etc.

The Telugu poet Pālurīki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his Devipadu Basaraporīṇa to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Navagrāma. The last verse of the stōtra in the Amarāśvara temple distinctively refers to its author as a native of the village Navagrāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the stōtra with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows:

Dvijādakṣiṇā-Rādhīyō Navagrāma-vinirggataḥ

Halāyudha-vu(bu)dhah-Śambhōr-imāṃ stutim-arirachat || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the Abhidhānaratnamālā deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Viṣṇu, ‘Śambhu’ also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Viṣṇu. And only a staunch Viṣṇuist, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only Śiva as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use Śambhu as a synonym of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā and the Halāyudha-stōtra.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā should be identical with the author of the Kavirahasya as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows:

Iti samāptam-avaṃpta-guṇ-ādayaṃ Kavirahasyam-idaṃ rasika-priyam |
sad-abhidhāna-nidhāna-Halāyudha-dvīpa-varasya kṛtiḥ sukṛit-ātmanāḥ ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author’s other work, his lexicon. Abhidhānaratnamālā. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of Kavirahasya as contemporaneous with his patron the Raśtrakūta King Krishṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-stōtra should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the Kavirahasya and the Abhidhānaratnamālā and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.
The edition of the stotra is based on four texts of which ś is the record found at the Amarsvara temple, and is printed as the basic text.

श represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271.

क represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274.

़ represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-51, Mandakrāntā; vv. 62, 64, Aamsṭabhā; v. 63, Śāndhubhikṛṣṭa.]

1 अः नमः शिवाय। विन्द्र निस्विन्द्रिकृष्ट्वन्दन। प्रैतिवे वोस्तुं निन्य वामि कृतः प्रकटितः। हेद्दिविमण्डलः। यः योक्तं। पितरमुन्यायानिश्वासासेविके। द्वारा। नूनं स्वयमः। तद्यान्त्रितारोरभर्तर्वकमः।।॥ ग्रामः। पुस्तः॥ सन्निहि किल स्वस्॥ सकामार्के। श्रे॥[चन्द्र कुषिदिपी।]भृणभृण्॥

2 समुज्ज्वलिक्षाम्। यद्य। बाङ्ग(वाङ्ग)न्। पितरशिक्षता॥ घनवेल्ले। नूनं घन। चित्र(चित्र)भवन्दनम्॥नम्य॥ एको देव॥ स्वयं। भवम्। कैलासान्तरं। मूर्तिदेवी। सा। चित्र। भवमिरत। गृहीतमित्र।।॥ यथेकेषा। मित्रामिविनामावताः। संवंशविप्राण। योगासिरी॥भुन्तृ। तद्दीघलक्षम्।।

3 चायेत। नमामि॥॥ एका। सतस। सकलजगतामादिस्तु॥ स्वयम्॥ सान्ताः। प्रियाः। विभव्य। नगुर्जुरास्तेव॥ प्रक्षिप्॥ यथेः॥ काव्यपूर्वत्वमहिः। संहर्यतमा। क्षात्ताणाः॥ भवति॥ शहताः॥ योगाकालमूर्तिः॥॥॥ वसुं। वाङ्गाः। हर। निर्मिति॥ लब्धचित्रम्।।[कृष्णं। चतुर्भृतः॥]

4 निपपदज्ञानमाचाराववशः।। बालैर्वद्द्वनिन्यः। मया लहङ्गस्तोषज्ञः॥ स्वयमः॥ सासको॥ खनिक्षः॥ घन्ताग्रहः॥।॥।। वाणिज्जयः। युगपदज्ञानमात्रणपिुथः॥ का॥ तत्॥ तुः॥ शून्तितर्चनया॥ मायक्ष्यायणः॥।। एवे। ब्राह्मा॥ हर॥ विर॥भृणित्तः॥ तृणः॥।। हर।॥

5 भो। भक्तयोगासिरसारति॥ शुन्नाहारः॥ किं करोमि॥॥॥ यथेः। तत्त्वः॥ निति॥ घन॥ ब्रह्मानको॥ भवति॥। ग्रामः॥ भवति॥।॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥॥।
6 दिशिक्षितां विकलाते: फलुवाये: किमिर्दिमिता वज्जते महमोभि:। किं वा वैशिकरः
कक्तकवेदां वादीपीः भक्ता शंभि न पुनरपि। पूजयहन्तुपति:॥५॥ प्रयाक्षारीः
कर जलमुचाय यः च यो यान्त्रिकः जनान्तिकः वर्द राविवयाँ दि:॥[पां
दि:क्रियाब्धि:]

7 यो। यो गंगश्र प्रजनवलकी तानह तुरीतीकें च वर्ते विभृवतगुरूम्यपितांभदुः
तानू॥६॥ सन्तान्तसंसारिनितवुमुरुमसानेन जाताः नवा (भृ) युगान्तिको
भजत विषयते काविन्द्रं च देवं (वम)। प्राकृतिकः श्रयरः गोरः रोहणां
भयेऽः [गा:दकी राभ चलयः]

8 तत: महकाचम्मच्छ। फलुः॥१०॥ ते लामच्छयुग महत वा 'भक्तीयोगाकतेन तंथः
श्रृं फलनम्बयतं वं दुःसमीति युगा (सम)। चैववाकारः: श्रविचिचिचीरः नाम
कविन्द्रहेता श्रीत पोतः॥ जनाहिः जनः: किं न लस्त करोति॥११॥ [प्रागि
लाविधरण:]

9 तिकरी यात्र चाहिः निम्न्य वालाय विदसरज्ञीप्रज्ञातसिद्धिः। एवलिखीभ ननु
[न घटत] प्रेरकत्व विना ते ॥२०॥ कायं चाहिः पुनर्पर्यासिः सामर्थ्यमतः
॥१२॥ तश्चात्मां गीरिः समते चतुवलक्षणिदद्वितिः: श्रीदावादें विदितिः[द्विह: काशः
करोर्ने: के]

10 [लावहः: न लावहः: लावहस्तवामिलिभ वारं तथ: विनाम:]
पितः: भूयभिः सिद्धः॥१०॥ सक्रिपः
क्ष्यादेतिपादिप्रमादः॥११॥ भुत्तोऽ लोकविदिशत्वातीतसातोम्यतांश्च संधे क्रृं
क्ष्यानिलविश्वस्मान्या व्यालार्जः (जः)। ज्योत्सनामां: [वपुरिः वी:]

11 [विनिः][तिकरीभ] ॥ भक्ष्या भक्ष्य: भक्ष्याय भक्ष्याय भक्ष्यात्
समधिकत्वः। मया योगमुष्मात्व:॥१४॥ धने
श्रृं वालाय दुःसमीति च चतुर्विलो: मानी लम्बा:॥ चिदम्बरीणामातीमाहिकेव।
वहसे क्रिदामस्मात् पालिखेष्व काअ्ये [प्राय: भृत्तो सुरात वाह: को:]

12 दिश: श्रिविन्द्रीत्वोऽ॥१५॥ द्वां येन निवसनमिद्व देव दुप्पराच्छा देश: श्रीसि
निषयन्तिः॥१६॥ भव: उष्टितिपादिकं काम:। युजने चैत्यवाति पुस्तो य: परस्कृष्टियाय्य,

\[1 यूनार्थ प्रस: (म) \]
\[2 यमालरी: (श) \]
\[3 रहक्त्रै: (भ, म), हरक्त्रिक: (क) \]
\[4 ग्रहां (क) \]
\[5 भयों (क) \]
\[6 फलुः (श) \]
\[7 यो के चलते मात्र कपारी मात्र बनि: होते और इसकी तलमें कपारी होती है। \]
\[8 काल (क) \]
\[9 कोडातिडिक (क, म) \]
\[10 [To me the reading here seems to be दक्ष: सोहोः एद।] \]
\[11 हरक्त्रिय: प्रवर्ष (श, क) \]
\[12 वित्तुर: (क, म) \]
\[13 [I read भयों योगमुष्मात्व: वाहः एद।] \]
\[14 सया (क) \]
\[15 वित्तुर (क, म) \]
तत्साध्यं पतिति यिनसि कौष्ठिकः: प्रभूवति(पाषाढः) ॥१६॥ कथय चैतमो भव[वनि वलिना श्रवणसंयम साध्यः]

१३ यसः लोकावर्धनः १ भववचः पा विष्णुः तोर्मुः। अग्नि दृष्टं धरनकर्मनेत्रं हर्षवत् यः
स गामी२ लोकाण्तवयतुर्विनात्वम् नरपमुलचरणाः ॥१७॥ येषा दारिद्रयवत्तपसी
धेये च दैवामयद्भाग ध च श्रवनसनविकला ध च मविष्णुपतमया। ॥३॥ व्रेम
वा कैशिकं चितं ॥

१४ न० हन्ते परिवर्तनातुः दुःखोऽकेशायमकस्वमसिः १ शरणं तत्वमात्मामाकः ॥१५॥ सङ्घे
जचा भवितपरिणाति: संस्कम्याय प्रदर्शिः प्राप्ति: गाने नन्दितमवुरा संबन्धता
भारती च। स्तोता जनविवृषे पुराण दैवतचैवाङ्गिये ७ युष्मावः पदविरहितं खर्जे। ॥

१५ तत्वकालं(लमं) ॥१४॥ लम्तजाया युक्तमहर्षरी धावत: प्रायम्भः १ यत्वार्थस्मयः जः परिकरो
लोकं च विहारमातृतु । यत्स्थाय १५ लक्षमन चरती श्रवणती गति ४ प्रार्थनाः ११ भवसे
किर्षवेयश्य: श्रमाशिष्टाः ॥२०॥ येषां युष्माविताननन्न लिन्यात्वा पापयो ये १३ न०

१६ द्रश्याम् सन्तलुतिनीतोऽमयं: संप्रभुम: । तेवरसंह विनिर्गमरीनायाकलं गति ना
ने लियने युगमरसः खेंचरीणां कुचेशु ॥२१॥ यथावः जलवा धञ्जनमहः: पद्मात्
विश्वद्रमैः पश्चालिष्यायुष्मा नारामरीनविनेन्त्रः वाप्रत्य [मालामू । तत्ववेयश्]

१७ सकालभुवनेनाक्षितवा साहिष्णोऽ१ वफलण्योऽ१५ यिनसि परमेस्वरस्माक्ष्यक्यम् ॥२२॥
पतिवर्तं कांचीपालि मय नैव हन्ते चूरति वा तद्धिस्तां कथय विद्वद्वाय कौतुके राजः
यसो भक्तगुर्व राज वर्णारुपितं पुरयमेकं सय: चूरि फलम [धम्ममं कौटि] ॥

१८ आ: कामयवः(यमः) ॥२२॥ यथावः भक्ति वर्त चरणाकमुक्तिः द्यावदेः शरीरवत्
जनित-व्यक्तदापनं लग्वसादेंत नूतं(नम्) । तत्स्यं स्तम्भिति पुनैः देवालीलाः १६ नारदेवी
श्रीलिङ्ग रुपयमात्रस्तुर्रक्ताधारकामधनमिरि: कथावैः ॥२६॥ जाता मालां घनपरमिला[हस्तर
धाराविधि:]- ॥

---

1 विश्वम (क) ।
2 यथा सामी (क), य: स कामी (क) [Reading seems to be दसवान्याय कामी—Ed.]
3 नीलायस्तं (क) ।
4 विश्वम (क, ग)
5 निरतिः (क, ग)
6 दु:खिता (ग)
7 वलिना (ग)
8 व: पापायं विभारसावरीपश्चाताः शक्तास्वति (क) [Reading is परिकरोवशायं शक्तास्वति—Ed.]
9 भक्त (क)
10 मार्गशीर्ष (क)
11 प्राप्त (क)
12 भक्त (क)
13 पापवं (क)
14 सुखकार्यायत्मिकः: (क) । [Reading is क्षणिः से -Ed.]
15 घनपतिः (क)
19 यद्यपि काष्ठभरणपद्नी भारतीयसंस्कृत दिव्यक्षेत्र विपुलपुष्कराकौशलभं: कथ-लनस्यस्तत्त्वाति सं वितसे वर्णिन्न भरामार्श्वायकस्य (सम) ||२१॥ काला पूर्णा 
तव चर्चाधाराधारदुट्ट्यूं यथा साठाई प्रणयति मक्षीलहरि(श)पीठेष्ठम लूढ़ितवा। 
प्रायाः[८ चित्रितपत्रः]

20 प्रीतिवं मानुषार्गम तखोपक्षे सुलभृ धरणी रेणुवधार्षिक्षेण ||२२॥ लामुनिध्वन्न विन- 
यनं जते यह ददाति चोराशिवासाद्विषिहितान्त्वत धयोतात्सार्वथिभिः (सम)। 
तथा मायाज्ञनिविसैत्रमोहामकामकेरिकेश्ब्रूढ़ियो लमण्यं दि[श्रीश बाणमामयप्रका]।

21 सं(सम) ||२३॥ विशेषार्थारितकुस्मेरुवींदिः पूजयितवं यथा कृस्त्ति लब्धं जय जय 
महादेव द्वैतच्चा वाचा। सीधारंगकर तत्व पुरा प्रीतिवं मानुषीवं गङ्गा- 
देवों स्वतितिविवतं लक्षसाडायति ||२४॥ महान वर्षस विरिहा सद्र्पुरुषो- 
वारिष्ठाः।

22 कां भूरिका(स्त्री) कन्यायन करे कामुकं शुकायतवः। चर्चायथ वातिपयुरसामान्य 
विचारसाहेड़ा हराकुर्मीवनावें: किं महर्षि न खुं:। ||२५॥ लालाराय 
ढ(नी) दशपत्यो भूरिके राज्यमहिं भित्रहरुङ्क तदार्थ च महादेवमदेव(श्री)क- 
वाचः। [श्रीराजिं वर्षः]

23 परमेश्वराचरितमिति || तवेश्चित्वत विविधं निपृथिः: प्रवविः: बीविलासे। ||२६॥ भविष- 
यथिः: पितावभित मधुः। भूकारागा प्रीतिः। प्रतिकाक शहासः शीरः: कीव 
दीप्यः। विभेष्यर्थ परमविधानी धार्य विवाहसुमेदुसुक धार्य कान्तमहत[वा 
वरोक्तेतस्य श्रमः।]

24 नं(नम) ||२७॥ आचारसत्त्व पितावभिती: कृत्सन्धानामुखा भिधापत्य च नरशि:। ||
कयां नै नै दीपः। भारातीवनम्बनें। भविष्यकाल्लो हिः। लोको निकृष्णशुस्त विधि 
कृत्वतं की विधि: कौ निवेदः। ||२८॥ प्रतिवासः श्रवणमाग्नि [भ्रममार्श्वं वा।]

25 सं: खटुप्रां च भजसुप्रहरिः लक्षी नेपथयः। कर्मश्च तदार्घ भविष्यमार्श्वर- 
स्तः नामो निःसामायस्तवमसिः विपिरी नापार: काबिदर्शिः ||२९॥ दशान्तिरी 
हिंदुवरविदुप्रवी रैसामी हीम: सभ्यान्तनिमिति ते वेष्टित पै नै दीप(सम)। 
[भिष्याधानोपः]
26 स्त्रामदेवां सायोऽपूर्वतः दूरं एत निलकितम्(सिद्धम्) सायोऽपूर्वतः । न तत(तन्न) तोड़वादा: स्मृतं ॥१४॥ दृषि: सर्वं दग्धि वृक्षं भूषणं हमरं गुज्रामरं कानकामयि
तेषां मात्स्य वस्त्रे कारं वा । सायोऽपूर्वतं स्मृतं सहजं यथा सेवनयमकः
तस्याहेतुः[वित्तरजनवर्षा]—

27 दश: स्मृतं ॥१५॥ लं ब(म) ब्राह्मणक्रियाबुद्धिः। प्रूक्तिः सायोऽपूर्वत्तनतारायामि न
क्षुद्रं भवतं प्राविष्टिः कङ्किदव:। कम्बलामात्राः खम्बलामात्राः यथा भवानी-
सत्साग्यं कर्मसंह भवानीहस्तयोत्तरं ॥१६॥ खम्बलं: श्रिस्तसि परं: खम्बलं
—

28 वातावरणे भवावरणे दृष्टिर्दृष्टिः। खम्बलं कङ्किदवः कङ्किदवः(रम)। कम्बलामात्रां यथा
वातावरणे शृविन्दुः कङ्किदवः कङ्किदवः। वातावरणे निदातामात्रां यथा
कम्बलामात्रां कर्मसंह कर्मसंह भवानीहस्तयोत्तरं ॥१७॥ खम्बले: श्रिस्तसि परं: खम्बले
—

29 वातावरणे वेण भवावरणे यथा जराविष्टिः निदातामात्रां यथा
वातावरणे कम्बलामात्रां कङ्किदवः कङ्किदवः। कम्बलामात्रां कर्मसंह कर्मसंह भवानीहस्तयोत्तरं ॥१८॥
वातावरणे शृविन्दुः कङ्किदवः कङ्किदवः। कम्बलामात्रां यथा जराविष्टिः निदातामात्रां
वातावरणे कम्बलामात्रां कर्मसंह कर्मसंह भवानीहस्तयोत्तरं ॥१९॥

30 हवात्माः ॥२०॥ यथावर्त्तं सकलम्बनायत्वम् विश्वाति ज्योतिः ज्योतिः
श्रीगङ्गा श्रीगङ्गा दिव्यं(रम)। तपथमयं: श्रव ज्योतिनिध्वंसारामवभवानकारामात्रां
श्रीगङ्गामर्गमर्गपदप्रभामात्री भवानी ॥२०॥

31 वातावरणे: ॥२१॥ यथावर्त्तं सकलम्बनायत्वम् विश्वाति ज्योतिः ज्योतिः
कम्बलामात्रां कर्मसंह कर्मसंह भवानीहस्तयोत्तरं ॥२१॥

32 विज्ञानवदधाय: ॥२२॥ सदावर्त्तं सर्वसत्तां सुमुखः सुमुखः । नाम नाम(रम) ॥२२॥
भास्करिनी: किर्मकमलम् । [हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट|हदिष्ट]
किर्मकमलम् । नाम नाम(रम) ॥२२॥

1 निर्णयम् (स, स)
2 कार्यम् (स)
3 तस्याद्वारं (स)
4 कालवाचस्मिन्न (स)
5 सायोऽपूर्वतः (रम) [Probably the reading is सायोऽपूर्वतः—Ed.]
6 लक्ष्मी (स) [Reading seems to be लक्ष्मी—Ed.]
7 श्रीगङ्गा (स) । [श्रीगङ्गा—Ed.]
8 वातावरणे (स) [Reading seems to be वातावरणे—Ed.]
9 थथातामात्रां (रम) ।
10 तस्याद्वारं (स)
11 थथातामात्रां (रम)
12 पुष्पवहन (स) ।
13 वातावरणे (स) [Reading seems to be वातावरणे—Ed.]
14 श्रीगङ्गा (स) ।
15 श्रीगङ्गा (स) ।
33 ये भारति सङ्क्षिप्त विसंग विचारणे विशादगतः प्रसरद्वितिः समुपेः \\
सिंहासनः (कौमः)

34 शान्ति भाषायायायामयतः (क्रमः) । उः निकाले हमें तैयार स्थानमात्वाणे तबेम धैर्यावर्लणे एवर विकारणे \\
शीलानी लगभगः ॥ ४.५॥ ये लांब सभी शैलभित्रवनामोत्साहारणे शान्तिः [स्थिति, स्थापित]

35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनःपरा विषयसिद्धान्त भजने ॥ ४.५॥ यत्राद्वारे स्न्यूति शस्त्रवीणित राजानागरी भूषणां ते श्रमणयाना यत्र विशयाः भोगा: ॥ ४.२॥ यत्राद्वारे \\
भवति पुनः पशुमाधवान्त सतराजाते पदमपि विषय भावय लाभसाधारे ॥ ४.५॥ लाभसाधाराः

36 खंडें दुःसे: संप्रयुक्तस्मात्वाणे सुखमिव चिरं विषयानि निषेधने । ये पशुलिव \\
विशेषः मनोवािनितीयान्तविशेषितांतिव्याख्यातं स्वाभाविकः ॥ ४.७॥ \\
शान्तिः: स्थितिः श्वराजगतां श्रीमान्तसङ्क्षिप्ततः लाभसादानृतेः परिहितस्मावर्यः [सीतानां \\
mोली]

37 १२ याकालविविधतिविषयः ॥ ४.५॥ भूतं मृतमन्त्रविविधतें स्वाभाविकः ॥ ४.५॥ नाभाव भाव काले सुखं मध्ये चरणमें \\
करवाते तत्तपितायां श्रेयस्मान विद्वंति । तत्तबीश्यं नियमस्वते वन माता ॥ ५६॥ \\
सत्यता युवः सावंिं भव भव।

38 वभेषजनिः(अंचले)ः नादायने ॥ ४८॥ धारानं नाहताविविध्ये विश्वसायसः(सब)ः स्वाभाविक \\
क्रियं सतापि न भजने धारणाः(वा)ः कर्त्तव्यति। इत्यदौविविधस्माः परिवारी \\
पियं यथेऽपूर् तर ते भ्रान्त: प्रशासितप्रकाशिणी शार्करं त्वमः ॥ ५०॥ यत्राद्वारे \\
न भवति रूपामिः

1 विचारं (क) 2 विचारं (क) 3 श्वास्त्र (क) 4 श्वास्त्र (क) 5 लिङ्कान (क) 6 लिङ्कान (क) 7 लिङ्कान (क) 8 लिङ्कान (क) 9 लिङ्कान (क)
10 सुधिमात्रम: (ह) [Reading seems to be सुधिमात्रम: (ह) कि: समाधिः—Ed.]
11 सुधिमात्रम: (ह) 12 सिद्धान्तं (क) 13 सिद्धान्तं (क) 14 सिद्धान्तं (क) 15 सिद्धान्तं (क) 16 सिद्धान्तं (क) 
17 सिद्धान्तं (क) 18 श्रीसागरः (क) 19 श्रीसागरः (क) 20 श्रीसागरः (क) 21 श्रीसागरः (क) 22 श्रीसागरः (क)
39 निरामायणश्रीकृष्णस्वरूपादिनी (संवरूपादिनी) स्वरूपादिनी (संवरूपादिनी)। श्रद्धा (प्रह) दीर्घात मम निबन्ध (किंचि) किंचि।

40 स्त्रियाणां महानिन्द्राय (श्री) महानिन्द्राय (श्री) महानिन्द्राय (श्री)। वर्षे (र्षे) वर्षे (र्षे) वर्षे (र्षे)।

41 नामदेव: 10 भागावात: श्रवणस्वरूपादिनी। दीर्घाती भावनाम्।

42 छोरायाः प्रकाशाः कल्पिताः

43 न भवति सुभविताः कपालिकाः

44 यथा न भवति: वातोऽन्तः पृथ्वीपतिः यथा भवति: सुभविता छोरायाः कल्पिताः कपालिकाः
45 पः १ श्रवेन्द्र गृहः स्नात्सिंहस्वतिर्निवृत्तानागाय । यस्म(संस्करण)ः तत्र चरणांपदांव 
सेवानुपस्थिताय चेतः प्रसंगादेत श्रीरुपय तथर यदानुः ॥५॥ निविधार्थन चक्षुः 
दमोऽनिवृत्तानां अस्तित्वमया चबा न्यायपिनितजनविद्वेद्येष्य कथौ । एततवः 
[वे हर परीक्षा]-

46 रश्मिवेदः नदिकां भुजाधिकां चरणायेवह्यस्य भक्तीकारा ॥६॥ देवस्वाभाववति 
भगवभारंसत्तेषष सारस्वत्यायार्थं साहित्यित यद्य नीतागुर्वाकाव्यः । 
माताक्त्यं तेन धृश्यं महाद्वीप नावेव तोषे दुराधुलत वरद जिम महें 
श्रावनमण्डलितम् ॥७॥१॥ ३ कालिन]

47 नीतः १ सवौपि युनाकर्त्ति जनः । महाकालिन नीतस्य नागानिर्विख्ये पुनः ॥७॥२॥ 
ध्वन्यानाराजयतिर्तीर्थपि श्रीयोऽपि प्रविधुर्वत्तान भवनैनाशद्वचनं 
मनोवस्मिति अनुरुपस्य निर्विख्ये । वानस्वरुपोभीमविकालिते यथवहः 
मयोपः(फरस)ः तेन]

48 ख्राजुनागानिर्तिर्य भवति लघूयं भक्तियम् ॥८॥ ६हिजो दसियारथीयो नवामविवे 
निर्मातः । हलायुद्व(फरस)ः प्रश्चोरिस्त्रां सुतिस्वरूपक्षम् ॥८॥६॥

---

1 Daśāṇa unnecessary. 
2 स्वरस्येष (अ) 
3 स, औ, औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ औ 
स्वरस्येषां चासु सर्वांस्वरस्येषांस्य आहंकारविशेषेत्।

Svarga विषयावस्तु कस्मविद्वानी सब्रस्यर्ज्ञानात्माय। 
तत्र न्यायसः परं न्यायसः परमेश्वरसः परमेश्वरसमुपायाः 
तत्र धार्मिकतोषोऽधुर धार्मिकस्य दर्शनम् न्यायसः

This syllable should ordinarily be short.

6 दाहत्स (अ) ।
4 को adds the following before भिजः भिजः etc.---

महाकालपन स्वेतः कधिकचिंतिष्टयः। 
संसारस्वाप्ति तस्मात्माहें सर्वम्। 
कर्षणास्मांस्वाक्षितोषः(?)ह्रदे ततः। 
शत: काङ्क्षितापमिस्यते प्रकटते।

and reads the stanza भिजः भिजः etc., slightly modified:

भिजः दसियाराथैवं नवामविवे निर्मातः। 
हलायुद्व(फरस)ः प्रश्चोरिस्त्रां सुतिस्वरूपक्षम्।

D.11271 (अ) adds the following stanza before भिजः भिजः etc.---

महाकालपन श्रवेन्द्रस्वाभावस्य निर्मातः। 
संसारोदस्तम्यं सत्त्वाद्वयं दर्शनम्। 

and reads the stanza भिजः भिजः etc., slightly modified:

भिजः दसियाराथैवं नवामविवे निर्मातः। 
हलायुद्व(फरस)ः प्रश्चोरिस्त्रां सुतिस्वरूपक्षम्।
No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

There are several Sanskrit stotras engraved on the side walls of the ardhamandapa in the Amaresvara Temple at Mandhāta, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a stotra in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadā, (2) the well known Śiva-Mahimna-stōtra in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the Halāyudha-stōtra. Several manuscripts of this stōtra are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannarese. I have already noticed these records in the Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hiraldā noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the Halāyudha-stōtra to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the stōtra has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvāchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śastri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the Epigraphia Indica—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śastri has omitted as it is not relevant to the Halāyudha-stōtra.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (i.e., ll. 51, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer’s own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase Oṁ nāmaḥ Śivāya which is immediately followed by the Halāyudha-stōtra in praise of Śiva. The stōtra actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the Śiva-drādaśa-nāma-stōtra⁴, and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five yātirītīgas, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kedāra, besides Ōṁkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayini). It may be noted here that though the names of Ōṁkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great lingas have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēsva-radēva monastery and hailing from Nāmiddyaḍa was the Pāṣupata teacher Bhāṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhāṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Paṇḍita Bhāvavīrinīchi. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

---

¹ List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 84. No. 151.
writer, Paṇḍita Gandhadhvaja of the Chapala-gotra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāsi who was again a disciple of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka śrī-Supujitarāsi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as Somat 1[1]20 Kārttika vadi 13. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the Mahimnā-stava found engraved on the northern wall was also written by the same Paṇḍita mentioned there as Gandhadhvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stotra, without giving the month and the tithi in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitraṇi and the month pūramiṇa in both cases.

I have in the Annual Report referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this stotra in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,¹ all of whom flourished during the reign of the Śenā kings of Bengal. Prof. Sāstrī has now adduced an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu Devi-pada Basava-purāṇa² of Pālkuriki Śomarnātha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the Kacirahasya, the Abhidhānaratnamālā and the Mṛitasaṅgivani, the last mentioned being a commentary on Pūṇaṇa’s Chhandakasūtra. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāṣṭrākūta king Kṛiṣhna-rāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, viz., the Paramāra Muṇja-Vākpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāṣṭrākūta patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time. Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakṣinā-Rāuja with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut parayā of the Hooghly District in Bengal.² We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhed in the Nizām’s Dominions and the other at Dhar in Central India, when we know of other several scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.⁴

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhōjanagara and a monastery there known as Śomēśvarādēva-maṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhōjanagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chālukya Śomēśvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the maṭha was built by a ruler called Śomēśvarādēva or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Śomēśvara. I am also not able to identify Nāñḍiyāda, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvavālmikī.

² According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see Basava-praṇama (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.
³ Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurshut is the ancient Bhūrīśrēśthi in Dakshina-Rāja where Śridhara completed his Nyāyakandaṭṭi, a commentary on the Praṇitikapraśīḍa in Śaṅkha 913 (A.D. 991). It is also the Bhūrīśrēśthi of the Prabodha-handrīḍeyā of Kṛiṣhṇamātra (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of ‘Abhāṅkāra’. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.
TEXT.

48 Prathamaṁ tu¹ Mahādevaṁ dvitiyaṁ cha Mahāśvarāṁ (ram)| tri(tri)tiyaṁ Śaṅkaraṁ jñēyaṁ² chaturthaṁ Vṛshabhadhvaṁ(ram) [_tiles] Paṇchamaṁ Kṛt( cittisat) cha sha³.


51 Svasti [*] Śrī-Bhōja-nagarē śri-Sōmēśvarādēva-maṭha-nivāśi Naṁdiyāda-virnīggaṁ(taḥ) prāṇāma-gōtra-yama-niyam-saṁjña(ya)ma-svādhyāya · dhyānān ansūthāna rata parama-Pāsūtpat-āchārya-bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhāvavālmīkiḥ[*] Śrī-Amarēśvarādēva(va)-traṅkōyō-adhipatiḥ(tel) dhyāna-puṇya-sa- s.-¹⁴

52 ētāt[eh]-si(chhi)śaṁ [i]shā-āḍhī]-prāṇāma-rata-triḥ(tri)kāla-suṣṭhīyaḥ(dhyāḥ)-ṣamādhiś-karaṇa-guru-pāraṁparya-viḍhānā-ṣyuktaḥ[*] Śrī-Amarēśvarādēva-pāda paṁkaja-bhrāmara adhvinā(ādhvanika ?)-pathasaṛ(a)-nta-tapōdha-ābhīyāgat-aḷāya¹⁷ - saṁti(mpaḥ)¹⁸

53 Śrī-Amarēśvarādēva-viśeṣaṁ-mūrtti-saḍā-nivāśi bhāṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhāvasamudraḥ | paṁḍita-Bhāvavirīchī[ḥ]* prapaṇmāti Śivaḥ(vaṁ)\


55 jitarāṣi(śiḥ) [*] etat[eh]-si[chhi]śhya-Vivēkarāsi(śiḥ) [*] punaḥ tasya sishya(śishlyē) Chapalagōtra-viṅgga-sahaja-bhakti-sānta-mūrtti-paṇḍita Gāṇadhvaṁnā parama-bhāktyā mahimna⁰²

56 lāyuda-stutiṁ atāṃṣyā-ārthē²¹ svayaṁ likhitam-iti || Samvats 11120 Kārttika-vadi 13[*] Maṅgalam mahāśriṅ || ||

² M. nāma.
³ Restored from M.
⁴ M. Dēvadēvēsaṁ cha.
⁵ Read Navamaṁ=I.⁶
⁷ M. =ūtīti.
⁸ M. brāhmaṁ guru-talpaṁkha.
⁹ M. surā-pān-ādi-pāṭakaṁ.
¹⁰ Read prakīrtitaṁ.
¹¹ These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.
¹² There is some space between 44 and 45 but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage in the stone.
¹³ Dandas unnecessary.
¹⁴ Apparently intended for Śvā-mahimnā.
¹⁵ Expressed by a symbol.
¹⁶ Read aṁā śrīyogthē.
No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

These copper-plates which were in the possession of a peasant of the village Nūtimadugu in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikanta Srouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are three in number each of which is 5½ in breadth and 9½ in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 tolas.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a palimpsest containing two records, one, an Eastern Chāluṇka grant of the 10th century A.D. and the other, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the Vijayanagara prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chāluṇka document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original Eastern Chāluṇka grant which I shall call A, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called B) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, gātra, family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chāluṇka grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arah like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of B) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of B, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen, but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chāluṇka dynasty I have succeeded in
deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya (II) is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is Jayasimhavevalaha (i.e., Jayasimha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to Vikramāditya (II) who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the birudas of Samastabhavanāśraya, Mahārajādhikariya, Paramēśvara, Paramabhattāraka and Paramabrahmaṇya. He issues a command to the Rākhraiṣṇas and others inhabiting the Kaṇḍērvāḍi-vishaya. The name of this vishaya occurs in different forms as Gaṇḍēruvāṭi, Kaṇḍēruvāṭi, Kaṇḍērvāḍi and Kaṇḍravāḍi in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town Kaṇḍēru, after which the district was named, has been identified with Kantēru in the Guntur District. The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king Vikramāditya II. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to Vijayāditya II, the builder of 108 ten-ples of Narēndrēvarā. He is here stated to have reigned only for 10 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of Vikramāditya (II) are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by Tālapa after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with fame. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with Tāla or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression rājuṁ kirtityā samama-agrahit, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by Vikramāditya in regaining the throne from Tāla. No doubt the Maleyapūṇḍi grant of Aṃmarāja II tells us that Vikramāditya (II) slew "at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants." It is, however, not certain whether Vikramāditya was engaged in fighting Tāla and his allies after Tāla became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to Tāla a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of Kaṇṭhikā-Bēṭa by Tāla, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

Of inscription B the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannada numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayangara kings, is written in Nandināgarī characters except the sign-manual śrī-Triyambaka in line 68 which is in

---

1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56.
Kannada-Telugu script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna¹ dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣha of Śaka 1388.² The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words śrī-Gaṇāḍhipatayē namaḥ in the beginning of l. 1 and śrī-Triyambaka in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of anuvāra or visarga, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the second known grant of the Yuvarāja Triyambaka; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1925,³ though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from Saṅgama down to Triyambaka is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant Yauḍu who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given:—

Saṅgama

- Bukkarāya m. Gaurīnī
- Harihara (II) m. Mēlāmbikā
- Dēvarāya (I) m. Dēmāmbikā
- Vijaya-Bhūpati m. Nārāyaṇidēvi
- Dēvarāya (II) m. Lakumādēvi

Triyambaka

The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka’s father had gone to heaven, Immaḍi-Praudha-Devendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna)⁴ became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of Rājādhirāja and Rājaparāmēśvara and give a list of the king’s birudas—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as Yuvarāja. This prince who was also called Chikkadeya was established (as Governor) at Ghanadri (i.e., Penugonda) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghanadri) he granted the village of Bommehāḷu, renaming it as Lakshmipura, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman Māchivōka, son of Vallabhōka of the Śuklayaśūśākhā on Monday, the full-moon day of Kārttiṅka in the cyclic year Yuva, the Śaka year being 1377 which is expressed by the numerical words dhātu (7) adri (7) guṇa (3) and bhū(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttiṅka in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.
² Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.
³ Pp. 98 ff.
25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Somavāra by mistake for Saurivāra; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in Vedas and Śastras and to have mastered the science of polity (niti-śāstra). The Yuvarāja made the grant in the presence of god Tryambaka at Bhāskarakshētra (i.e., Hampi). The donated village Bommeḥaḷu was situated in Pandemēru-māgai, which was a sub-division of Guttī-rāja in the volitā (district) of Penugonda. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the Yuvarāja Tryambaka.

The donor Yuvarāja Tryambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of Dēvarāya. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king Immadī-Praudhā-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother Mallikārjuna succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways: one is to consider that Mallikārjuna, who ascended the throne after the death of Tryambaka’s father, was the son of the pātamaḥiṣi (senior queen) and Tryambaka, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to Mallikārjuna after his father’s death. The second is to regard Mallikārjuna and Tryambaka as sons of brothers, that is to say, Mallikārjuna belonged to the senior line and Tryambaka to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers. This raises an important issue, viz., if Mallikārjuna and Tryambaka were actual brothers, were they the children of Dēvarāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya? From the use of the epithet praudhā-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ which is applied in the present grant to Dēvarāya, the father of Tryambaka, it would appear that they were the sons of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of Praudhā-Pratāpa. From the inscription under publication we learn that Immadī-Praudhā-Dēvēndra became king after the death of Tryambaka’s father who, if Tryambaka and Mallikārjuna were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, was the predecessor of Mallikārjuna on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1446) might have been issued by Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is known from an inscription4 to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. Abdur Razak, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of Dēvarāya II, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (Pratāpa) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother. And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, Mallikārjuna and Tryambaka were the sons of Dēvarāya II this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that Dēvarāya II, the father and predecessor of Immadī-Praudhā-Dēvēndra was also described as praudhā-pratāpa-vibhava. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a biruda both of Dēvarāya II and his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya or, that it was not a biruda and had no

1 As it is not known from any source that Mallikārjuna was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.


5 Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, pp. 73 ff.
special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa’s elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna’s copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions of Dēvarāya II where he is described as prauṣṭha-pratāpa-prakāraṇa-mahimā or prauṣṭha-pratāpa-prakāraṇa-rāh. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka’s father Dēvarāya after the latter’s death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrigiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the prāta-mahīṣī (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna’s mother was Ponnalāḍīvi¹; and Triyambaka’s mother was Lakumāḍīvi. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below:—

\[ 
\text{Vijaya-Bhūpati.} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{Triyambaka.} & \quad \text{m. Lakumāḍīvi} & \quad \text{m. Ponnalāḍīvi.} \\
\text{Dēvarāya II} & \quad \text{Pratāpa (Dēvarāya).} & \quad \text{m. Siddalāḍīvi.} \\
\text{Mallikārjuna.} & \quad & \\
\end{align*} \\
\text{Virūpāksha.}
\]

Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkodeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinarao who was assassinated.² If we could rely upon this writer’s account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkodeya to be identical with Pinarao, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannada form Chikkodeya.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskara-kṣbētra is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommēhālu may be identified with Bommeprati situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. Guttī, after which the division Guttī-rājya was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanāḍri is the Sanskritized form of Penugonda which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

¹ See e.g., Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and ibid., Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.
⁴ Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, p. 303.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II).

From photographs.
time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceroyalty⁴ and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Tājkōta disaster. The sub-division Paṇḍemēra-māγaṇi was apparently named after the stream Paṇḍamēra which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyasamudram at Anantapur.

TEXT of A.²

²Second Plate ; First Side.

1 ....... Tat-putrō Jayasirīha-vallabhas-trayastriṁśad⁴ va[rshāṇi] | tad-anu-
2 [j-Endra-ra*]’jasya priya-tana[yo] Vishnuvardhanō nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō Manig-yu-
3 [varājāḥ pa*]jēchāviniṣati[mi*] | tat-putrō Jayasirīhas-trayōdaśa vatsarāṇ [¹*] tad-
4 dvāmāmāt-anuṇājaḥ
6 [chēh*]tya sampatriṁśat⁴ | tat-tanujō Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārnkaḥ ashtā[daśa]
7 [varshaṇī] | tad-auras Vijnurājaḥ shaṭṭtriṁśad-abdān⁸ | tat-sutō Vijayādityaḥ-
8 chatvāriṁśata
7 .......[a]jēhtōttara-ṣata-śriman-Narəndṛśvara-kārakaḥ [¹*] tad-ātmajāḥ [Ka]li-Vishnu-
9 vardhanas= s-arddha-
10 [samāṇ | tat-sutō*] Vijayāditya[ḥ] chatuschatvāriṁśadd-varshaṇi | tad bhrat-
11 ur-vyaraṇjasa V[ū]

Second Plate ; Second Side

9 [kramādityasya*] tanayaḥ Chālukya-Bhimas-trayastriṁśadb-varshaṇi ¹ tat-sutō Vijayādih-
10 [tyaḥ shāṇ-māśān]n |sapta-saṅvatsarān=ta(rāh-śa=ta=sya) sūnur=Amma-malipatiḥ [¹*] Yāṭe Gaṇḍaraṇg[a]-bhūḥ[hu]
11 — — — prāṭ-ābhishēkas=ta[ta]=sūnuḥ — — vaśāt=sas — — Vijayādityāṃ punaś-
12 Tālama[ḥ] [¹*]
13 — — — — ru-gataṁ vidhāya ba — — [bhāya] bhūmi[v[rō] bhūmiṁ pālayati
14 — — — — — tam śrutvā vachō — — — [¹*]¹¹ Āgataḥ drutam=āyata-pratmukha
15 — — — n-uddhatan-ḥatvā tad-rudhirā 奂 bhima-[ba]la — nistriṁśa-bhāsvad-bhuja-

² From the original plates.
³ The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasirıha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chalukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.
⁴ Read "sataṁ varshāṇi.
⁵ The portions enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chalukya grants.
⁶ Read "sataṁ abdāni.
⁷ From here up to kārakaḥ the text appears to be half an Anuvatsubh verse.
⁸ Read "sataṁ varshāṇi.
⁹ This punctuation mark has been engraved after crossing a superfluous sa.
¹⁰ From here up to mahipatiḥ the text seems to contain a half verse in Anuvatsubh.
¹¹ Metre : Śārdulavikrīda.
Third Plate; First Side.

17. ...............t-prabhur-advipateṣ-yasya sarorūhusanaḥ || [3*]
18. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
19. ॐ ॐ vanītā-chakshus-prasikta-tana=sa[s]akṛid-akhilā jātiḥ ॐ ॐ
20. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ what
21. ॐ ॐ rājyaḥ yah kirttyā samam=graḥit || [5*]
22. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 但不限

Third Plate; Second Side.

23. ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 但不限

TEXT of B.†

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 3-35 Anushtub, v. 2 Srāgṛhā, v. 36 Śālini.]

First Plate.

3. s-ottamāngad-a(ā)karshan(nn)-indu-śrīkhaṃ pitari gata-raṇa-stēyam=
4. ārōpayanīs-chaḥ(cha) [[1*] mātṛḥ prōtsāhanyātī yā smita-śuchī-vaḍanaḥ vikshama-5. n(ṇaḥ) sa-haṃ bālo vāskalya(vātsalya)-bhūmiḥ kalayatu mudito maru-6. galānyakadantaḥ(lāy-ēkadantaḥ) [[1*] Astī kauṣṭubha-kalpadu-kāmadhēnu-saḥōdara-ṇaḥ) [[9*]
14. ṛgataḥ | labdh-ārthair-vidusha[ṛh]* sārtha[ī]*-śāghyāīḥ(gyāḥ) Hā(ṛa)ri-
17 Har-ātmātaḥ [II 8*] Tasya Mālāṁbhikā-jānēś-tanayō vina-
18 y-ōṇataḥ ( ) Pratāpa-Dēvarāya-ākhyā[ḥ]* putra[ṛ]*-sutrāma-
19 vikramah [I 9*] Tasya Dēmāṁbhikā-jānēś-ṭaṇṇa[*j]*yō [vina-y-ōḥ]na-ōṇataḥ [1
20 vidyā-vinaya-vīmaṁ-mātr[a]ṃ Viṣṇya-bhūpaṭiḥ oṣṣa-
21 Tasya [Nārāyaṇidévyāḥ]* prāduraśa-ād-[d]*ṛaṣa[ṛ]daḥ[h]* / prau-
22 iha-pratāpa* vibhavō Dēvarāya-mahipatiḥ [II I1*] Tasya śrī-
23 Lakumādevī bhāryā-ābhūd-bhupāpatēḥ priyā [I*] Lakṣmīściva Murā-

Second Plate : First Side.

24 rāte[ḥ]* Pārvat-iṣa Pūṇāki[ṇ][u]ḥ [II 12*] Tasyoh[ḥ]* prāchīna-poṇyāmāṇāḥ
25 paripāka-vīsaḥsthaḥ I tasyah[ṃ]* Triyambaka[s*]-sākṣē-śakt-kuṇāraḥ sa-
26 majayataḥ [III 13*] Bhuvanḥ hirvā divaṁ yāte tāte tasya mahētmanā|
27 Ini[ṃ]maṇḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēmṛō rāj-ābhūj-jagatīpatiḥ [II I1*] Rājādhi-
28 rajas-tejasvī yō rājetaramśvām[hah]ḥ [I*] bhāṣ-ōlaṅgīni-mahīpāla
29 bhunāgama-vihaṅgatāt [III 15*] Vairi-bhūpati-vētaṁda-śamīda-
30 khaṇḍana-kairi I gaj-augha-gaṅdaṅgherun[ū]ṃ gajētra[ntra]-mṛi-
31 gayā-rataḥ[ḥ]* [II 16*] Tri-rāja-bhujag-ōnaddha-para-rāja-bhuvaṁ-
32 karah I Hi[ṃ]dru-vaya-ṣuratrāṇa ity-ādi-bhī[ṃ]rūd-ōṇataḥ [II I7*]
33 Jyāy[ṃ]*saṁ bhīrāram[ā] rājā Triyambaka-mahipatiḥ[n]tim] I prada-
34 rsa[ṛ]ṣa[ṛ]ya[ṃ]*s] cha saubhrātraṇa yauvārājyē-bhīṣēsa[ṃ]shēcchhaya[ṃ] [II I8*] Śrīma
35 ch-Chiṅkōdey-ākhyān cha Ghanādṛau śhāpan-ātaraṁ[ū]ntaram] I āvaṁ
36 bhārāṇ pradattrē tu rājē Chikōdhrāh[ṃ] Chiṅkōdeyō bali [II 19*] sva-rājya[ṃ]*
37 pālayam-ātīna[tra] divyātī śrī-Triyambakaḥ [III] [III Śālī-
38 vāhana-nirūta-Śa[ṃ]*varha-krama-gatē [II 20*] Dhātv-adī(ṭrī)-guṇa-
39 bhū-yuktē Śak-ābdē Yuva-vatsarē I Ārītyāṁ s[ū]k[ṃ]la-ko-
40 kṣē[ṃ] cha pṛṃpamyā[ṇimāya]m[ṃ]* mahā-śīrthā[ṃ] [II 21*] Sōma-vārē[ṛ] puṇyā-
41 kāl-ōdayē tathā I pavitrē Bhāskarakṣētṛ śrī-Trī-
42 yaṁbaka-sannidhau [II 22*] Penugomḍ-ākhyā-valīte Guntī-rā-
43 jē samanvage(nivē) ; [I] Parīḍemēru-māgaṇau cha sthītuṇ[ā]| tē[ṃ] bādhā-
44 vīvarjitaṇā[ṃ] [II 23*] Bommēhaḷu-nāmaṇā grāmanī hi sarva-
45 sasyakaṇau I Gūrtrāyasya bōbajya vanahe chāru svākṛitaṇa[ṃ] [II 24*] Nīhī-ṇī

Second Plate : Second Side.

46 kṣēpā-vārya-s(aṃ)-ṣidhā-sā[ṃ]dhīy-ā[ṃ]kṣiṇ-īti cha | āgāṁ ity-a-
47 shraḥ-bhāg-adhyāya[ṃ] tejāv-svāmā-samanvitaṇ[ā] tam [II 25*] Kuṣy-arām-ādi-
48 samyuktam samā-baḷi[ī]ḥ-saṁyutaṇ[ā] tam ] agraḥāram-īmaṇ sarvaṇā-
49 mānya-ā-chaṇḍra-ṭārakaṇ[ā] [II 26*] Sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka[ṇ]*dā-
50 naṃ[ū]*dharō-pūrvaṇa yathā-vidhi I nityāṇ Lakṣmīpurāṇā
51 cheṣti mātṛ-nāmaḥ vidhīyā cha [I 27*] 1 1 1 1 1
52 Śukla-yajuḥ-ākhyā-paraṇ-gataḥ-sathā[ḥ] I Vallaḥbōkṛ-ā-
53 tmajō vidvān Māchīvōktō dvēj-ūtamaḥ [II 28*] Vēda-sā-
54 sra-praviṇa-s cha nīti-ōstra-parahavāḥ I par-ō-
55 pakāra-kusalaḥ Śīva-pājā-paras-tathā [II 29*] Natty ta-

¹ Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this Avasaktaḥ verse.
² The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendition.
Third Plate.

Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā ṣo harēta vasuṁdharaṁ(rām)  | shaṁśṭīṁ varsha-sa-
haṁṛṣi viśṭhāyam jayatē kriṁ [1 32*]  Sva-datvā(dattād) jīvignanti puṇyaṁ pāṭh (pa) -
ra-dattā-anupālanam(nō)  | para-dattā āpahāreṇa sva-dattain nishphalam bha-
vēt [1 33*] Ek-aiva bhagini lōkē sarveśāḥ(shāmēva bhūbhujāṁjām)[*] na bhūjya na ka-
ra-grāhyē vipra-dattā vasuṁdhara [1 34*] Dāna-pālanayōr madhyē dānāch-ehṛē-
yō-nupālanaṁ(nam) l dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti pālanād-achytam padam(dam) [1 35*]
Śāmāṇyo-yāṁ dharma-setu[r*]-nīpāyāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadvīhi[*]
sarvāṁ-ētāṁ-bhāvināḥ pāṛthivē-cūdrāṁ-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmaṁ[drāḥ] [1 36*]
Śrī-Triyāṁbaka

No. 20.—SANTA-BOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN: [GANGA] YEAR 87.

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were secured in 1925 from a farmer of the village of SANTA-BOMMALI in the Ganjam District by Mr. Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, M.R.A.S., Rāja Bāhādur of Tēkkali, in whose ownership they now lie. The inscription seems to have been first published in the Utkala Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā of Cuttack, Vol. XXXI, which is not accessible to me. It was next dealt with by its present owner in the Journal of the Asiatic Hist. Rea. Society (Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff. and plate). His introduction to and reading of the text of the inscription, however, having contained a number of inaccuracies, I take this opportunity to publish a revised edition. The present treatment is based on a reproduction of the plates accompanying the Rāja Bāhādur’s paper referred to above.

The plates are three in number and measure1 6 ½" by 2 ½". The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a ring of 2 ½" in diameter to connect them. The seal,2 on which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about 4 ½" and on it is said to be engraved the figure of a (couchant !) bull. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 tolas.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are almost of the same type as is found in the Achyutapuram plates3 (Year 87) and the Parā-Kimēļi (Year 91)

1 Read shaṁśṭīṁ varsha-
2 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 21. I have not had any opportunity to verify this and the following information in this paragraph from the original plates. This record has also been noticed in An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1925-26, p. 10, Appendix A, No. 2.
3 No shape of the seal is given; perhaps it is of the usual small oval shape.
plates of Indravarman. They have also a general resemblance to the script of the stray Tiriliingi plate (Year 28?) as well as to that of the Narasingapalli (Year 79) and Uralam (Year 80) plates of Haddvarman.

The numerical symbols 80, 7 and 30 occur in line 23.

As in the Parlā-Kimēdi plates, the heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust. But as observed by Dr. Fleet, this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the mātras and sometimes even to commence them at all. Otherwise, the engraving is fairly clearly done. There are six lines inscribed on each plate, the whole inscription containing twenty-four lines in all.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of three customary verses (ll. 19–23) and one concluding verse (l. 24), the inscription is written in prose throughout.

In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal (ṅ) before k in śōka, line 24, (2) the substitution of anasāra by the class nasal of the following consonant in āgānālma, l. 18, (3) the doubling of d̐ in conjunction with a following y in āmadhyānt, l. 7, (4) the frequent doubling of consonants after r, (5) the occasional doubling of consonants before r and (6) the use of anasāra in place of the final form of m in phalān (l. 20) and saṁpālynā (l. 21). The letters b and c are indicated by separate signs, the solitary exception being in puritāḥ (l. 14). The rules of sandhi are observed throughout except in lines 5 and 17.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of three halas of land towards meeting the expenses of offering regular worship and repairing the temple of god Rāmaśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in Dantavāgū. Of these two halas lay in the village of Haribhat in the district of Krśṭūkavartanā, and the third at Dantavāgū itself. The gift was made into a permanent free-hold ṅeṭayakāra by Indravarman, alias Rājasimha, who is described as belonging to the spotless family of the Gāngas.

The date of the inscription is given, in figures only, as the years of the prosperous victorious reign (pravardhamāna-śrīja-śrīja-saṁcartavāḥ) 80 7; (the month) Jyōṣṭhīṇa; the day 30 (l. 23).

The charter was written by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhāmachandra (l. 24).

We have had as yet three published records of the reign of Indravarman, alias Rājasimha: they are (1) the Achutapuram plates of the Year 87, (2) the Parlā-Kimēdi plates of the Year 91, and (3) the record under discussion.

Another single plate from Tiriliingi (in the Ganjam District), apparently the last of a set, bears an inscription which is dated, according to Mr. S. N. Rajaguru, in the year 28 of the Gāṅga era. The writer (and engraver) of this stray plate describes himself as

---

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff. For a lithograph of the plates Dr. Fleet refers us to his Indian Inscriptions, No. 18. The plates are preserved in the Madras Museum. This work of Dr. Fleet does not seem to have been eventually published.


3 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 92 ff.


Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuchandra, who has been taken by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar\(^1\) to be the namesake of the writer of the three records of Indravarman-Rājasinhī mentioned above. Proceeding from this conjecture, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests\(^2\) that the word read by Mr. Rajaguru as denoting twenty-eight may actually be read as eighty-eight, thus satisfactorily adjusting the date of the plate within the reign of Indravarman of the present record. The reading of the date on this plate has also been doubted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.\(^3\) The reproduction of the plate in question accompanying Mr. Rajaguru’s paper\(^4\) is unfortunately too obscure to admit of verification on this point. What little however remains does not seem to support the reading *ashtasahasīs...astāya* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.\(^5\)

Of the localities mentioned, Kalinganagara has been variously identified with modern Kalingapatam\(^6\) at the mouth of the Vaniṣadharā river or with Mukhalingam near Chicacole. The *Krōṣṭukarvānti* (*vishāyu*) is mentioned in a number of early and later Gāṅga records.\(^7\) It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultsch\(^8\) with modern Chicacole. A district (*bhāyu*) called Dantavayyavāga (really vāgū) is mentioned in the Brihatprāśṭā grant of Umavaran (above, Vol. XII. p. 5. l. 5). But I am unable to identify both this village and that of Haribhaṭa.

Vinayachandra, the writer of the present record, was also responsible for preparing the draft of the two inscriptions of Hastivarman and two of Indravarman\(^9\) mentioned above.

The *birudā* Rājasinhī applied to Indravarman in the present record, also occurs in the Narsingapalli and Ural plates of Hastivarman and also in the Achyutapuram and Parāś-Kimeṭi plates of Indravarman.

The *date* of our inscription can be ascertained only very approximately. If, as is held by Prof. R. Subba Rao,\(^10\) the epoch of the Gāṅga era began from 494 A.D., the date of our record would fall at 494 + 87 = 581 A.D. Without caring however to arrive at any one particular year, we would not be far wrong if we placed our record in the period 570–625 A.D.

---

\(^1\) A List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 285, f. n. 1.
\(^2\) Ibid., no. 2047.
\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63, f. n. 1.
\(^5\) In any case, it begins with *ashtāyu*. Of the two letters following, the second appears to be a ligature most probably with a guttural nasal (ś); while the preceding one has a clear medial sign. The arguments advanced by Mr. G. Raudas (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 82–83) for doubting the genuineness of this stray plate do not appear to be conclusive. His reading of the date *ṣṛṣṇaḥ ashtasahis sic citi* also is not borne out by the plate; for, the conjunct (read by Mr. Rajaguru as *ṣṛṣṇa* being a possessive case-ending) coming immediately after *avanatara* cannot possibly be broken up into *ṣṛṣṇa* and *avanatara*.
\(^6\) Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 132.
\(^7\) E.g., Uralam pls. (Yr. 80) of Hastivarman. Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole pls. (Yr. 183) of Dēvendravarman. Above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.; Parāś-Kimeṭi pls. (Yr. 204) of Anantavarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff., etc.
\(^8\) Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.
\(^9\) He was also probably the same as the writer and engraver of the stray Tirlinga grant (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) the donor of which must remain, pending the discovery of the remaining plates of the set, a mysterious personality. Prof. R. Subba Rao however suggests (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 71) that the donor may be identified with Mitravarman, father of Indrādhīrāja, mentioned in the Gōḍāvarī plates of Prīthivindūla (J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 116 ff. and plfs.). This Indrādhīrāja has further been held by Dr. Bhandarkar (List, p. 266, No. 1904 and f. n. 1) to be identical with Indravarman of the Jirjini pls. of the Gāṅga Year 39 (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.).
TEXT

First Plate.

1. Ōṁ Svasti [*] Sarvārtoo-sukha-ramaṇiyād-vijaya-Kaṅgānag-avatā-sakala-bhuvana-
nirmāṇa-

2. n-aṅka-sutrābhāsya bhagavatō Gōkaṇṇasā-nāmaḥ-kaṇṭa-kamala-yugala-pranā-

3. mādi-apagata-kal-kalamkāro vinayā-naya-sampādām-ādhibhū sv-āsi-dhāri-

4. paripand-ādhigata-sakala-Kaṅgā-ālitrājyas-chatu-udadhi-tarānā-mēkhali-

5. vai-n-tala-pravitāt-āmala-yaśāḥ anēka-samarā-sūkṣmābhā-jañita-jaya-

6. bdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-praṭishṭhāḥ prataśāvittis-ānāmita-samastā-sāmanta-chūḍā-

Second Plate; First Side.

7. maṇī-prabhā-mañjāri-puṇja-raṇjita-charanō mātā-pīṣṭī-āśuddhiyātāḥ paramamā-
hēvāraḥ śri-Mahārāj-Endravarmmā [*] Krūṣṭukavarttānyāṁ Haribhaṭa-grāmē 
sarvva-

8. māvaṛtān-kutumbinas-samajāpavati [*] Viditaṁ-astu vō yathāśnabhūv-asmi-

9. n-grāmē hala-dvayaśya bhūṅs-chhitrā Dantayavāgyāṁ bhagavatō rāmēvāra-bhatṭāraka-

10. nyā balī-charma-svapattānāya khaṇḍa-sphutita-sūkṣāra-karanayā cha Dantaya-

11. vāgyāya cha halasya bhūṅs-āśva sarvva-karnāṁ parihiṁtyā-chandrārκka-praṭishṭham

Second Plate; Second Side.

12. deva-grahāraṇa-kṛitrāva mātā-piṭṭīr-ātmahanāḥ ca pūny-ābhivṛiddhayaśe Talavaradēva-

13. bhōgikēna praṇībodhituṁ-saṁpradattā [*] tāde viditvā na kūnaḥḥit-parivā(bā)dhā kārty-
ēti [*]

14. Haribhaṭa-kahōttasaya cha śīmā-liṅgāni uttarēṇa Kṣatraiyā-tattāka-parivāhah

15. pūrvvēn-ārjunā-vṛkṣhāṣ-tatō valmika-puṅktis-tatāḥ kūṛiti(tri)maṇaś pāḍhōpa-puṇja-paṅkti-
[*]

16. tatō nimba-vṛkṣhāḥ daksāihēn-ūpī tat-tattāka-parivāhā śva paśchimēna kūpas-tattāḥ[*]

17. yamalak-ārjunā-vṛkṣhāḥ tatō rūja-mārggōṣ chōeti Bhavishya-dōjālbūṣ chāyau-dāna-

Third Plate.

18. dharmmaṃ(rmmō)ḥ-nupālys-tathāḥ cha Vyāśa-gītāṁ ślokān-udāharantā [*] 9Bhuhbhīr-

19. vvasudāḥ dattā
dattā
dattā
dattā
dattā

20. bahu-bhīs-chānupālita[*] āsaya āsaya yādā bhūmis-tasaya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [1*] 
Sva-dattāṁ

21. para-dattāṁ vā yatnād-raksha. Yudhishtibra [*] mahīṁ[*] mahīmatām śēśṭhaṁ dānāṁ-

chārīyō-nupālaṁ(lam) [2*]

2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5. Is this ārjuna a cluster of two trees of the same species? Or, is yamalaka to be restored as āmalakā? In that case we have to read ēriṣṭhā in place of ēriṣṭhō.
6. Read -gīthā.
7. metre: Sālā (Aṣṭādhyā): and in the following two verses.
22 Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasraṁ mūdatē divi bhūmidaḥ [*] ākṣēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāṇy-ēva
23 narakē vasēd-iti[1] pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraḥ 80 7 Ḫyēṣṭha-divasa
30[1] [[*]]
sva-mukha-ājñāyā [4[*]]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1–14) Ôn Hail! From the victorious (city of) Kāliṅganaṅgara, which is pleasant in
all seasons, the glorious Mahārāja Indravarman[2] . . . . . . . addresses (the following) order to
all the householders en masse at the village of Haribhaṭa in (the district of) Krōṣṭukavarttani:

"Be it known to you that We have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed
by Talavaradèva,[4] the Bhōgīka,[5] and for increasing the religious merit of (your) parents and
of Ourselves, two hālas[8] of land in this village for the sake of performing (rites known as) bali,
chaur and sṛtā, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple) of god Rāmeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka
(situated in) (the village called) Dantayāvāgū and (in addition to that) another hāla of land
in (the same) Dantayāvāgū, having constituted it as an uṇākāra for god (Rāmeśvara-bhaṭṭā-
raka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all impo-
sitions.

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance ."

(L. 15-18) The boundary marks of the land (granted in) (the village of) Haribhaṭa are as
follows:—On the north, the storm-water channel of the tank (called) Kṣatriya-taṭāka: on the
east, an arjuna tree; after that, a row of ant-hills; then up to the artificial line of heaped-up
stones, then a nimbā tree; on the south, the same channel of that tank (Kṣatriya-taṭāka); on
the west, a well, then the twin arjuna trees, then the royal road.

(L. 18-23) The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses
sung by Vyāsa are quoted:—

(Here come three of the customary verses:—

(L. 23-24) The year 87 of the prosperous victorious reign: (the month) Ḫyēṣṭha, the
day 30.

This edict (āśana) of Rājasimha has been written at the command of his (the king's) own
mouth, by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhāṇuchandra.[9]

---

[2] Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as Ṣṭ.
[6] Tāravara as an official title (Mahāpatañkara-Taravara-Vinayāśraya) occurs on a Bārāh seal (A. R.,
A. S. I., 1903-4, p. 109, No. 16). Mahātāravara (along with its feminine Mahātāravati) in the sense of a high
dagityar with indefinite function is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Ikṣvāku kings from Nāgārjunikopāda
(above, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7 and f. n. 1).
In the present instance also Tālavaradēva-Bhōgīka (or Tālava dēva-bhōgīka?) seems to have been used as
the title of an officer who did the dual function of a tālavara and a bhōgīka.
[9] In explaining the technical word kala, in Manu, VII, 119, Kulika observes thus: bhāgman madhyamam,
kālam-iñci tathādiṁ-kārādiṁ-gāyati bhūmim-eṣaḥyevat tatu-kālam-iñci sodati. Here the connotation of kala is
not clear. In any case, kala appears to be a recognised kind of land-measure.
I am grateful to my revered teacher Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presi-
dency College, Calcutta, for kindly suggesting a number of corrections in my interpretation of the text of the
inscription.
No. 21.—PURSHOTTAMPURI PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA: SAKA 1232.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were brought to my notice by Mr. R. M. Bhusari, M.A., Professor of Marathi, in the Osmania College, Hyderabad (Deccan). At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, supplied me with excellent ink-impressions of them. The original plates were kindly procured by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, and their ink-impressions taken by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. I am indebted to Mr. Yazdani for permission to edit the plates in this Journal.

The copper-plates, which are three in number, were discovered in the possession of a Ġosāvi at Purshottampuri on the southern bank of the Godavari, about 40 miles due west of Parbhani, in the Bhār District of H. E. H. the Nizām’s Dominions. They are very massive, each measuring 1’ 2½” broad, 1’ 8½” high and ¾” thick. Their total weight is 47½-25 lbs. The ends of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates have in the centre at the top a round hole 1½” in diameter for the ring which must have originally held them together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been connected with it, is now forthcoming. The writing is in a state of excellent preservation. There are 111 lines in all, of which thirty-four are written on each of the first two inscribed sides, thirty-eight on the second side of the second plate, while the last plate has thirty-five lines. The technical execution is very good, there being few mistakes of writing or engraving. In line 51 two redundant aksharas have been cancelled by incising two vertical strokes on the top.

The characters are Nāgari. Except in a few cases they closely resemble the ordinary Nāgari characters of the present time. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the curve for the medial u is in some cases added to the side and not to the bottom of the vertical stroke, see Vishnu, l. 81 and sakhayatam, l. 137; the medial diphthongs are in many cases denoted by prishthanātris; the subscript member of the ligature gg like that of ṣv is denoted only by a horizontal stroke, see svaṣvarg, l. 136; a appears with a dot in one case and without it in another, see Śāṅgā in ll. 2-3 and 30; the form of the rare ṣh in Viṣṇuhīvera, l. 109, is noteworthy; the letters ṣ and ḷ, and ṣ and dh as well as ṣ and ḷ are in some places written alike; the left member of dh is fully developed except in ligatures like dhḥ; there was thus no possibility of confusion between ḷḥ and ṣḥ, still the horizontal line joining the vertical strokes of the former akshara is not discarded, see niṣṭhānān, l. 2; finally, e and o are denoted by their proper signs except in evahma etc., l. 133.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are 59 verses in all. Of the initial 18 verses which eulogize the reigning king Rāmāchandra and his ancestors, one completely and another partly occur in the earlier Paithan plates of the same king. It is again noteworthy that in the concluding portion, which contains benedictive and imprecatory verses, there is one verse which is only a hemistic, and another, which is an Anuṣṭ-

1 In the size and weight the present plates resemble the Paithan plates of the same king Rāmāchandra edited by Dr. Fleit, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff. Of the three plates here the first weighs 18 lbs., the second 14½ lbs. and the third 12½ lbs.
2 The aforementioned Paithan plates have a Garuda seal.
3 These are verses 4 and 13. The second half of the latter verse occurs as the first half of the corresponding verse in line 46 of the Paithan plates.
verse of six pādas. The inscription is composed in a good style and contains an interesting use of double entendre in several verses of the eulogistic portion. Of lexicographical interest are the old Marāṭhi words, phulabhūṭi and joṣī (modern Jōki). The former which is the title of a royal functionary4 occurs also in an old Marāṭhi work of the same age, viz., the Śīrṣa pālavadha (v. 51) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa. The nasalisation of the final syllable in the Marāṭhi names of villages is also noteworthy. As regards orthography we may note that kk is used for sh as in pari-tākhya, l. 41 and vice versa as in ratna-shanyah, l. 48. The dental and palatal sibilants are used each in its proper place except in a few cases such as sprisyaṭi, l. 25. The letters v and b are almost everywhere clearly distinguished. In one case (namely, in Mahādevapuri, l. 116), vṛ is changed to ṝ as in old Marāṭhi works. The rules of sandhi are violated in several places, the most common instance being the addition of an anusvāra before final n as in ullāsayāmī, l. 12, udāharanaḥ, l. 18, etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Rāmachandra of the Later Yādava dynasty. The object of it is to record the grant, by Rāmachandra, of some villages to his minister Purushottama alias Purushai Nāyaka, for the formation of an agrahāra and the donation, by Purushottama, of the agrahāra which he named Purushottamapurī after himself, to certain Brāhmaṇas. The agrahāra consisted of the four villages, Pōkhari, Aḍagau, Vāghaurē and Kurupapāragau, which were situated in the Kānhaīrī-Devāhaha (subdivision of the Kānhaīrī-dēṣa). The first three of these villages had three hamlets (khēṭakas) attached to each of them, viz., Sāgāṭhīvāna, Pimpalagāṭhīvāna, Pālīpōkharī, Pimpalavādi, Kājalakōvi, Sōjāṇe, Sāmpavīhīrē, Gōlīgāṭhīvāna and Dājāvāghaurē. The agrahāra was bounded on the east by Dājīgau, and Śādulē, on the south by Kēsavapuri, Sāvarigavē and Harikūnībagau, on the west by Rājagau, Hūvarē, Chiṅchavali and Mahādevapuri joined to Drugalēgāṭhīvāna and on the north by the Gāṅgā. The land of these villages was divided into 86 parts (prātī)2 of which two were assigned to two gods, whose names have not been specified, one was set apart to provide for the annual performance of the aṃgaḥākī rite3 and the maintenance of a charitable water-shed (prapāṭ), while the remaining 83 parts were donated to 83 Brāhmaṇas, one being assigned to each. The names of the donees and their fathers together with such details as their sākhās and gōras are given in lines 89-114. Of the eighty-three Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, fifty-seven belonged to the Rīgveda, twenty-one to the Taittirīya-sākhā of the Black Yajurveda, one to the Kāṣyapa and one to the Mādhyandina-sākhā of the White Yajurveda and the remaining three to the Śāmaṇe. Among the gōras the following are represented:—Kāṣyapa, Bhāradvāja, Jānasānga-Vatsa, Vasishṭha, Vishnuvyādha, Kauśika,

1 Phulabhūṭi means the Superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. See v. 23.
2 I have not nasalized the final vowel of this and other place-names.
3 That prātī means an actual plot of land, not a share of the produce, is clear from the Chanjé inscription of Somesvaradēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 281) where in line 11 some prātīs are mentioned as defining the boundaries of the donated land.
4 The aṃgaḥākī rite is performed in the cold seasons of Hēṃanta and Śācīra. It consists in the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate mantras and the feeding of Brāhmaṇas and supplicants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaṣīra. It is believed to yield great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it in the cold seasons and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. For a description of the rite, see Hēṃadri’s Dīnakhandha, prakārāa xiii (Chaturvarngchintaman, ed. by Pandit Sudāśīv Aśāra Dīkhā, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 859 ff.) The Līlācharitra, a Mahānubhāva work of the Yādava period, mentions the aṃgaḥākī fire at Pimpalagau not far from Dēvagiri, which was visited by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect.
5 The prapāṭ is a charitable water-shed maintained usually in summer, where thirsty travellers and cattle get free drinking water.
Agastya, Visvamitra, Kauṇḍinya, Harita, First Ātreya, Vishnuvidha-Āṅgirasa, Vādhryaśva, Gautama, Naidhrauva, Dīvarāta, Ātreya, Vatsa, Kapi, Gārgya, Pūtināsha, Śrivatsa and Lōhita. Unlike some other Vādaśa inscriptions such as the Chikka-Bāgaviṇī plates of the time of Krishṇa and the Pañjhan plates of Rāmaṇḍra, the present record does not, except in four cases, mention the family names of the Brāhmaṇa donees and it is noteworthy that at least three of these four family names, viz., Miśra, Dūb and Trivèdi, are of North-Indian Brāhmaṇas.

The inscription contains two dates, one in lines 33-34 and the other in lines 72-73. Both of them refer to themselves to the Śaka era and are expressed in years which are said to have elapsed since the time of a Śaka king.¹ It is noteworthy that there is no reference to the king Śālivāhana as the founder of the era. This manner of mentioning the era confirms Dr. Fleet’s suspicion that the date of the Thāṇḍa plates of Rāmaṇḍra also, of which the original plates are lost, did not probably contain any reference to this legendary king.² The earliest inscriptions which mention this king’s name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of the king Bukkanāya I of Vijayanagara, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

The earlier of the two dates mentioned in the present inscription, which records the grant of the aforementioned four villages by Rāmaṇḍra is Saturday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhāḍrapada of Śaka 1232, the cyclic year being Śādhiṇa. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 1232, to the 5th September A.D. 1310, on which day the aforementioned tithi ended at 11 h. after mean sunrise. The cyclic year was Śādhiṇa according to the southern luni-solar system. The second date which registers the donation of the agrahāra of the same four villages by the minister Purushottama is mentioned as Kapilashashthi in the month of Bhāḍrapada in Śaka 1232 and the cyclic year Śādhiṇa. The fortnight and the week-day are not expressly stated in this case. They are, however, implied by the mention of the Kapilashashthi; for it is well known that the latter name is given to the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the amānta Bhāḍrapada when it falls on a Tuesday and is joined with the nakshatra Rōhini and the yōga Vyātipāta. It is regarded as particularly auspicious if the sun is besides the nakshatra Hasta³. This date also is quite regular. It corresponds, for the same expired Śaka year 1232, to Tuesday, the 15th September A.D. 1316, when the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the amānta Bhāḍrapada ended at 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This tithi was Kapilashashthi; for on that day the moon was in the constellation Rōhini till 3 h. 20 m. and the yōga Vyātipāta ended at 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise⁴. The sun also was then in Hasta; for it had entered that nakshatra only a week before, viz., at 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on the 8th September A.D. 1310. The inscription states that Rāmaṇḍra had asked Purushottama several times before to make an agrahāra worthy of himself. The latter was evidently awaiting the tithi Kapilashashthi, a grant made on which is regarded as specially meritorious. He finally made the grant on the aforementioned day when the rare combination of the particular tithi, week-day, nakshatras and yōga necessary for a Kapilashashthi occurred in the early hours of the morning.

¹ There are four ganaś in the Atri gōra which differ from one another only in respect of the third praśara.
² The praśaras of the first Ātreya gōra are Ātreya, Ārchanahasa and Śyāvāva.
⁴ The same manner of mentioning the date is met with in the earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 16.
⁵ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 199.
⁷ For calculations of the yōga I have used the tables for the Śrīga Siddhānta in Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, pt. i.
Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the grant, we shall now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The genealogy of the reigning king Rāmachandra is here traced from Simha (Śimha). Verse 4 states that Śimha defeated Ballāla and the lord of Bhambhāgiri, imprisoned the king Bhōja on the crest of a fortress and vanquished Arjuna. These exploits of Śimha are enumerated in other records also. In fact the aforementioned verse was already known from the Pañjāhī plates of Rāmachandra. Most of the kings mentioned in it have already been identified by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet in their respective works. Still there are a few more details about them which can now be gathered from records which have recently come to light.

Ballāla defeated by Śimha was evidently the Hoysalā king Vira-Ballāla II, who flourished from circa A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1220. The war in which he suffered a defeat seems, therefore, to have been fought in the beginning of Śimha’s reign (circa A.D. 1210 to 1247). Hēmādī’s Vṛatākhaṇḍa gives credit to Śimha for the annexation of the entire kingdom of Ballāla. This is no doubt an exaggeration; but as Fleet has shown, Śimha seems to have annexed some territory to the south of the Malaprabhā and the Kṛishnā which formed the southern boundary of the Yādava kingdom during the reigns of his predecessors Bhīllama and Jaitugi. The Andhra king defeated by Śimha was probably Gaṇapati of the Kākatiya dynasty who had been released from imprisonment and placed on the throne by Śimha’s father Jaitugi. The battle does not appear to have been decisive; for Gaṇapati also claimed success over his Yādava antagonist. No definite information about the third king Kakkalla overthrown by Śimha was available until recently. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the Kalachurī dynasty of Tripuri; for some kings of that dynasty were known to have assumed the analogous name Kōkkalla. From a stone inscription recently found at the village Udārī in the Sorab tālukā of the Shimogā District in the Mysore State it seems however that this Kakkalla (who is called Kākala in that record) was a mighty ruler of Varāṣṭa. Varāṣṭa is mentioned in several southern inscriptions. The Hoysalā king Vīshnuperudhāna is said to have dispersed like a gale the clouds which were the Varāṣṭa kings.

The exact location of the country is not known, but it seems that it was situated somewhere in South India, probably to the north of the Mysore State.

---

2 See Sewell’s Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 135.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316. Some inscriptions describe Simha as the upower of the water body that was the head of the Tēlanga king (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and Mysore Arch. Surv. Rep. for 1926, p. 142). But a similar exploit is mentioned in connection with Mahādeva also. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 194. So it is doubtful if Śimha really killed a Kākatiya king. Perhaps he fought in the war in which his father Jaitugi is said to have cut off the head of Gaṇapati’s uncle Rudra (see Hēmādī’s Vṛatākhaṇḍa, Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272). Or he may have killed Gaṇapati’s father Mahādeva, who also is known to have met with death on a battlefield; see above, Vol. III, p. 97.
6 Mysore Arch. Surv. Rep. for 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII. This inscription is fragmentary. It opens with the date, Śaka 1198, which would assign it to the reign of Rāmachandra, but the extant portion contains epithets which are usually applied to Śimha. The same draft seems to have been used in the Tīlavalli inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 32), but owing to imperfect readings the reference to Kākala, the king of Varāṣṭa, seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers.
7 Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 14, 20, and 70.
The next king mentioned in the present record as overthrown by Śimhaṇa was the lord of Bhambhagiri. He mentions his name as Lakṣmīduḥra. The Āmbē inscription No. 2 names him as Lakṣmīduḥra and furnishes the additional information that he belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty. Bhambhagiri has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. G. H. Khare has suggested that it might be either Bhāmabhōri in the Ahmednagar District or Rājāci Bhām near Yeotmal in Berar. But neither of these identifications can be upheld in the absence of a fort near by; for the name Bhambhagiri suggests that it was a fortified place. As Lakṣmīduḥra, the lord of Bhambhagiri, belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty, he was probably ruling somewhere in Khāndesh, which still has a large population of Ābhīras or Āhirs. There is even now a ruined old town called Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizāmpur in the Pimplānēr tālukā of the West Khāndesh District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers, and also some old caves locally known as Rājā’s houses. The hill near Bhāmēr is, therefore, probably Bhambhagiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Kholēsvara, a general of Śimhaṇa, as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakṣmīduḥra, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhagiri and a similar statement occurs about Śimhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription. This shows that Śimhaṇa probably exterminated the whole family of the Ābhīra prince.

The king Bhōja, who was confined on a hill, has already been identified with Bhōja II of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhāpur. Some southern inscriptions describe Śimhaṇa as a very lord of birds (Garuda) in routing the serpent, viz., the king Bhōja who resided on Prāṇāla. Prāṇāla is plainly Panhālā, a strong fort 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhāpur. After this defeat of Bhōja, the Śilāhāra kingdom was annexed by Śimhaṇa; for the inscriptions of his governors are thenceforth found at Kolhāpur and the adjoining territory. The earliest of these is dated A.D. 1218 which shows that the defeat of Bhōja must have occurred some time before that date. The Āmbē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 also mention a king named Bhōja who was defeated by Śimhaṇa’s general Kholēsvara. But as he is said there to have belonged to the Paramāra dynasty and to have been the lord of Chāhanda, he must be different from the homonymous Śilāhāra king. Chāhanda where he ruled may be Chānḍā, the chief town of the Chānḍā District of the Central Provinces. And it may be noted in this connection that a stone inscription of a Paramāra chief, dated Śaka 1308, has been found at Bhāndak, which lies only 16 miles north-west of Chānḍā.

Arjuna, the last named antagonist of Śimhaṇa, was identified by Dr. Fleet with Arjuna-varmadēva, king of Anhilwād of the Vaghrā branch of the Chālukya family. Though he did not come to the throne till A.D. 1261-62, Fleet thought that he might have held a command under his father Vimaladeva (A.D. 1243-4 to 1261-62) and thus might have been a contemporary of Śimhaṇa. Dr. Bhāndarkar, on the other hand, proposed to identify him with Arjuna-varmadēva, king of Mālwā. In several other inscriptions Śimhaṇa’s victories over both the Gaurjara and Mālava

1 Mas. of Hēmādri’s Vratābhadra give the place-name as Rambhagiri (v. 1. Bhagārīga), but the name Rambhagiri occurs also in the Paithan plates (II. 28-27) and the Āmbē inscription No. 2 (I. 30). The reading Rambhagiri which occurs in line 24 of the latter record is probably a mistake for Bhambhagiri.
2 G. H. Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan (in Marathi), Vol. I, p. 64.
3 Ibid., p. 60.
7 Hirala’s Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (second ed.), pp. 15-16.
9 Ibid., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.
kings are spoken of, but the name of Arjuna is rarely coupled with either of them. In the stone inscription from Uddari, to which attention has been called above, Sinhaṇa is described as a lion who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant, namely, Arjuna, the king of the Mālava country. This corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar’s view that the king Arjuna belonged to the Paramāra dynasty.

Our inscription next mentions Jaitrapāla, the son of Sinhaṇa. But the praise lavished on him is wholly conventional and affords no proof that he even came to the throne. In fact, epigraphical records make it clear that Sinhaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Krīṣṇa, the son of Jaitrapāla.

Of the two verses (7 and 8) which describe the achievements of Krīṣṇa, the first refers to his victory over Kāmapāla. This king, so far as I know, is not named elsewhere and there is no express mention of the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. The Āmbe inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 mention one Rāmapāla, the king of Benares, who was routed by Khōlēsvara. The similarity of the names Rāmapāla and Kāmapāla may be taken to indicate that both of them belonged to the same royal family; but the description in verse 7 that the overthrow of Kāmapāla delighted cowherds suggests that he belonged to the Ābhira dynasty and he may therefore have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh. This conjecture receives some support from the recently discovered Tisgaon plates which intimate a victory over a chief of cowherds (gōpakapālaka) obtained by Kāśāva, a feudatory chief of the Yādava Emperor Krīṣṇa.

Verse 8 intimates Krīṣṇa’s victories over the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chōla and Kōśāla. Some other inscriptions also claim for Krīṣṇa successes over most of these princes, but they do not specifically name any of them. Hēmādri, however, mentions Krīṣṇa’s defeat of the extensive forces of Visaladēva, the king of Gurjara and the Bēḥṭī plates describe the fierce fight in a graphic manner. The Muṇḍi stone inscription dated A.D. 1253-52 eulogizes Krīṣṇa as ‘a very Trinētra to Madana in the form of the king of Mālava’. The contemporary king of Mālava was probably Jaitugidēva for whom we have the dates Y. S. 1292 and 1300. The same inscription speaks of Krīṣṇa as the sovereign of the king of Chōla. There is, however, no actual proof of Krīṣṇa’s encounter with the contemporary Chōla king who was Rajēndra III (1246-79). The king of Kōśāla was evidently the contemporary Kalachuri ruler of Ratnapur. He was probably the successor of Jājalladēva who was defeated by Sinhaṇa; but we have now no means of ascertaining his name, for the last inscriptive record of the

3 G. H. Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I. pp. 64 and 74.
   Tram rē Kōnika-bhūpatī-rī-hatva tad-āhān Chandra-devaḥ kṣaya
   tvam chād-gōpakam-pālakām tad-āhār jātō-satyam Kēśa-vālakapāla
   rakṣaka tvam vishayam nijām (cha*) tad-paṭantatet ībāyā grāhitāḥ kṣaya-ṛkṣa
   Īkṣa-tram(tha) yam(ā) nṛpa-mandirē kākāl-ākṣeṇaṁ śruṣ-krīṣṇēśe

This verse which the editor found difficult to interpret refers to the personation of the ruler of Kōnika and the chief of cowherds by some boys and of Chandra-deva and Kēśa (the two brothers who were feudatories of Krīṣṇa) by others, while they were playing in the palace of Chandra-deva. The description is evidently intended to suggest the victories of the two brothers over the king of Kōnika and the chief of cowherds (Ābhīras)!

10 Ibid., pp. 38-9.
Kalachuris of Ratanpur which can be referred to that age, viz., the Pêndrabándh plates of Pratâpamalla, is dated K. 965 (A. D. 1214). i.e., more than thirty years before the accession of Krishna.

The present inscription mentions only one exploit of Mahâdèva, the younger brother and successor of Krishna, viz., his destruction of Sûma. The latter is evidently Sûmosvara of the Silâkâra dynasty, the ruler of North Kûkâra, two records of whose reign have recently been edited in this journal. Mahâdèva seems to have continued the hostilities which were begun by his predecessor Krishna; for the aforementioned Tâsgaon plates intimate a victory over the kingdom of Kûkâra, won by Chandrâdèva, a feudatory of Krishna.2 The description in verse 10 of the present record suggests that Sûmosvara was killed in a naval engagement with the fleet of Mahâdèva.

Mahâdèva’s son and successor was Āmâna to whose glorification the present inscription devotes two verses. They are, however, altogether devoid of historical interest. Verse 13, of which the latter part was already known from the Paithan plates, states that Râma (i.e., Râmachandra), the son of Krishna, having occupied the fort of Dèvagiri, forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmâna. The next verse gives an interesting description of the ruse which Râmachandra adopted to obtain possession of the impregnable fort. He entered it with a party of dancers who were his soldiers in disguise. When admitted inside, he rallied his foot-soldiers and attacked his antagonists apparently while they were engaged in seeing the dance. The dancers also, throwing off their ornaments (i.e., disguise), joined in the fight. Râmachandra seems to have won an easy victory as his enemy was taken unawares. The Lilâcharitra, a work of the Mahânuhâva sect from which some extracts of historical importance have recently been published,4 gives a graphic account of the confusion caused by this sudden attack. Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, was then sojourning at the village Sûvatâ (v. l. Sûvatâ) near Dèvagiri. Seeing that the people were panic-stricken and some carts carrying wounded persons were passing through the village, Chakradhara sent his disciple Indrâbhaṭṭa to inquire what had happened. He confirmed what Chakradhara had already come to know by intuition that a revolution had taken place at Dèvagiri, that Râmâdèva had deposed Āmâpadèva and himself occupied his throne, that Narasînhadèva (who seems to be Āmânâdèva’s general or minister) had fled away and that Râmâdèva had put out the eyes of Āmânadèva. As this account occurs in the Lilâcharitra, which is a biography of Chakradhara, written by his disciple Mahîndrâbhaṭṭa, we may take it as trustworthy. The Ratnamâlâstotra of Kâsava Vûśas, another disciple of Chakradhara, furnishes the further detail that the aforementioned incident took place in the evening.5 The Sûryatithâra of Parasârâma Vûśas, who

2 I b d . , pp. 278 ff.
3 See above, p. 294, n. 1.
4 He is called Āmâna in the present plates and Āmâna in the Paithan plates.
5 These extracts were first published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande in his Mahânuhâvâca Mahârâthi Vûstâna (1925), pp. 16 ff. and their historical importance was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in his article in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. V, pp. 193 ff.
6 The place-name is given as Sâbhiśekha in a Sanskrit verse cited below. It is possible to fix the exact location of this place. According to the Lilâcharitra, Chakradhara’s itinerary was as follows:—Pîmpalâ-nil (about 30 miles south by east of Dèvagiri and 3 miles north of Paithan), Bhûgundâvâna, Bûbudgjâon (12 miles south of Dèvagiri, Sûvâitâ, and Jûgâvarî (6 miles south of Dèvagiri). So Sûvatâ was situated between Bûbudgjâon and Jûgâvarî. It seems to have occupied the same position as modern Wûluj, about 8 miles south of Dèvagiri. It lies on the Dèvagiri-Paithan road. It seems therefore that the wounded persons were brought taken to Paithan.
7 See Tatâ Sahara Sâbhiśekha, samâpâya rûya vrâvan prâyâkta parîgâhya tâlam, samâyântam grahâya parâ-antirâi tâm parâchekha rûya-antarâ-ântâ-râtâm, cited in the Appendix to the Lilâcharitra, Part IV, edited by Mr. H. K. Nene.
frowned in the same period, charges Rāmadēva with the murder of his brother, persecution of saints and inefficient administration of his kingdom which culminated in his capture by Muham-
dadan invaders.1

Verses 16-18 describe the achievements of Rāmachandra. Though several inscriptions of the
reign of this king have been discovered till now, few of them refer to any historical events. We
have, therefore, here for the first time a contemporary account of some important events in Rā-
chandra’s reign. Verse 16 states that Rāmachandra defeated with ease the mighty lord of the
extensive Dāhala country, subjugated the ruler of Bhāṇḍāgāra, dethroned the king of Vajrākara
and defeated in battle the prince of cowherds. The lord of the Dāhala country is evidently the
Kalachuri king who was ruling at Tripuri, now a small village, 6 miles from Jubbulpore. The
Yādavas were often at war with the Kalachuris. In the Pulunga inscription Sinhaṅa is called
Dāhala-hṛt-kutāhala, i.e., a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Dāhala country 2.3
It is not known who was ruling in Tripuri in the time of Rāmachandra; for the last Kalachuri
prince known from inscriptional records is the Mahākumāra Ajayasinha mentioned in the Kumbhī
plates (A.D. 1180-81) and the undated Bherā-Ghāṭ stone inscription4 of his father Vijayasinha.

It is again not known who is meant by the ruler of Bhāṇḍāgāra but it seems fairly certain that
Bhāṇḍāgāra is identical with Bhanḍārā, 38 miles from Nāgpur, which is now the headquarters of a
district of the same name in the Central Provinces. We know that Berār was annexed to the
Yādava kingdom as early as the reign of Sinhaṅa; for a stone inscription of his reign has been
discovered at Amrāpur in the Khāmgon District5 and several villages in Berār were donated as
agrahāras to Brāhmaṅaṇas by his general Khōḷēśvara.6 But the eastern districts of Nāgpur and
Bhanḍārā were probably occupied for the first time during the reign of Rāmachandra. It is note-
worthy that an inscription of his reign has been discovered at Rāmsēk near Nāgpur7 and another
at Lānī8 in the Bālīgahā District, about a hundred miles north-east of Nāgpur.

Vajrākara, the ruler of which was deposed by Rāmachandra, is probably identical with Vairā-
garbha, 50 miles north-east of Chāndā in the Garh-Chirōli tahsil of the Chāndā District. Near the
village there is still a large stone fortress in a fair state of preservation surrounded by a moat.
Vairāgarbha is named in ancient records as Vajra or Vajragaṅha on account of its diamond mines
which are referred to even in Muhammadan chronicles.9 It was evidently a place of considerable
importance, for it is referred to in several records. Kuiōttuṅga Chōla I, for instance, is said to have
captured many elephants at Vairāgarām.10 The chief of cowherds defeated by Rāmachandra
may, like Lakshmīdēva and Kāmapālā, have been ruling somewhere in Khaṇḍesh.

1 Smritithāla (Marāṭhī), ed. by Mr. V. N. Deshpande, p. 26. The editor refers this work to the 14th century
A. D.
2 Fleet says that Krishna destroyed Tripura which seems to be the modern Tēwār near Jubbulpore.
(Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 527). But the expression Yaṭajrī-bāla-Tripura-trinētram in the Mupolī inscrip-
tion (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 35), on which he relies, means only that he was Tinētra (Sīva) to Tripura
in the form of the enemy’s soldiers. There is no reference to Tripuri there.
6 Above, pp. 7 ff.
7 See his Amb inscription No. 2, lines 20 ff.
8 Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C. P., etc., p. 20.
9 See Burghān-i-Ma‘ṣir (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286) and Āin-i-Akhari (ed. by Jarrett), pp. 229-30. In
the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khārvēla this place is mentioned as Vajragārama. See above, Vol. XX, p. 78.
Verse 17 mentions some more victories of Rámačandra. He subjugated in battle the king of Palli, made the king of Kányaubja bend low, overran the mountain Kailása, routed the ruler of Mähima, captured forcibly the lord of Saṅgama and destroyed the ruler of Khêta. The Pallirâja¹ may have been the chief of some hill tribe like the Bhils or Gonds in the Vindhya mountain. There is no corroboration of Rámačandra’s raids on Kanauj and Kailása, but his other victories do not seem to be improbable. Mähima is probably identical with the place of the same name near Bombay. According to a tradition preserved in some Marâṭhí records, Kônkan was conquered by Bharma Râja, the son of Rámadâva Râja of Dévagiri. He is said to have made Mähim his capital and divided the kingdom of Kônkan into fifteen mahâls or groups containing 441 villages.² The lord of Saṅgama, captured by Rámačandra, was probably ruling at Saṅgamâsvara, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnâgiri. Khêta may be Khôd, the chief town of the Khôd tâlukâ in the Ratnâgiri District. The place dates from early times; for the Khôtâbâra, which was evidently named after it, is mentioned in the Goa grant of Satyâśraya Dhrurâjâ, dated Saka 532.³ These three victories of Rámačandra were probably attained in the same expedition which was mainly directed against the petty chiefs ruling in Southern Kônkan.

Verse 18 states that Rámačandra drove out the Muhammadans from Vârâṇasî or Benares and built a golden temple there which he dedicated to Śaṅkara-pâṇi. This plainly implies that he held that holy city for some time. There is nothing improbable in this claim. It was always the cherished ambition of powerful Hindu rulers to save the holy places of North India from devastation and plunder by Muslim invaders, though express statements to that effect are rarely found in their inscriptions.⁴ There is, of course, no reference to this occupation of Benares by Rámačandra in Muslim chronicles as there is no allusion to Muslim invasions of the Yâdava kingdom in this or any other record of Rámačandra. The present inscription does not state when this invasion of Benares took place; but it must evidently have occurred before ʿAla-ud-din’s invasion crippled the power of Rámačandra in A.D. 1294. It was probably carried out some time during the period from A.D. 1285 to 1290 when there was confusion and disorder in the North after the death of Balban and before the establishment of the power of Jalâl-ud-din.

The present inscription is the last record of Rámačandra. It is not known how long he continued to reign after its issue. According to Muslim chronicles a large army from the North under the command of Malik Kâfûr and Khâjî Hájî passed through Dévagiri in the course of an expedition against Dvârasamudra and Mâhâr towards the end of A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11); but Muhammadan historians are not unanimous as to who was then ruling at Dévagiri. Barânî and following him, Firishta⁵ state that when Malik Kâfûr and Hájî reached Dévagiri they found that Râmadâva was dead. Firishta tells us further that the young prince Saṅkaradâva was not well-affected to the Muhammadans. On this evidence Râmadâva is believed to have died in A.D. 1309.⁶ The present record shows, however, that he was ruling till the end of September A.D. 1310 at least and it is doubtful if he was succeeded by Saṅkaragâja before the end of that year; for Khuârî

¹ [There is a Palliédêsa mentioned in the Dohad Stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha), above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212 ff. It is also the ancient name of Painâvî in Guntur District.—Ed.]
⁴ In the inscriptions of the Gâhûjâlas, for instance, Chandradâva is desribed as the protector of the holy places Kâsî, Kusâka, Utarakôsala and Indrâstâna. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 7 and Vol. XVIII, p. 20.
⁵ See Ta’īrith-i-Firâz Shâhî (Elliot’s History of India, Vol. III, p. 293).
states in his Ṭārikh-i ‘Alāi that the Muhammadan generals reached Dēvagiri on the 13th of Ramaṇ, in A. H. 710 (the 3rd February A. D. 1311) where ‘the Rājā Rāyān1 Rām Deo forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army.2 As Khusurī was a contemporary chronicler3 and gives definite dates to substantiate his narrative, his account may be taken to be correct. Rāmachandra seems to have died soon thereafter; for at the end of A.H. 711 (A. D. 1312) ‘Ala-ud-dīn received the news that the Rājā of Dēvagiri was withholding the stipulated tribute.4 This Rājā was Śaṅkaradēva who had in the meanwhile succeeded Rāmachandra.

The present inscription gives in verses 19-28 the pedigree of Purushottama, the minister of Rāmachandra, who made the grant recorded in it. In the lineage of the sage Vasiśṭha, there was born a priest man named Bhānuśūri who constructed several temples and excavated tanks. His son was Alhadēva5 who was renowned for his learning. Alhadēva’s son was Vināyaka, the father of Śaṅvaladeva. Rāmachandra received Śaṅvaladeva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Śaṅvaladeva married Akvambikā who was the daughter of Sāranginga, the son of Mādhavasūri of the Jamadagnya-Vatsa gōra. Purushottama was the son of Śaṅvaladeva and Akvambikā. Being attracted by his intelligence, learning and courage, Rāmachandra made him his minister. Purushottama carried on the affairs of the state very ably. He ruthlessly put down all traitors and made all people conform to the rules of conduct laid down for the varnas (castes) and āśramas (orders of life).6 Rāmachandra was greatly pleased with him for the execution of all his commands and conferred on him the aforementioned villages to enable him to make an agrahāra worthy of himself.

Many of the localities mentioned in this grant can be easily identified. Purushottamapuri, the chief place of the newly formed agrahāra, still retains its old name. As already stated, it lies on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari in the Bhīr District. Kāmhīrī, the headquarters of the subdivision in which it was situated may be Kanhera, 8 miles south-west of Chālisgaon, in Khāndesh, which has a fort with a strong natural position.7 Most of the boundary villages of the agrahāra can still be traced in the vicinity of Purushottampuri in their respective directions. Thus Sādule is plainly Sādolī about 3 miles south by east; Kēsavapuri, Sāvarigavā and Harikīnhabagau are respectively identical with the modern Kēsapuri, Sāvargaon and Harki Nimgaon which lie about 7 or 8 miles to the south; and Hivarē and Rājagau still exist as Rājēgaon and Hivrā buzurg 5 and 6 miles respectively to the west. The river Gāṅga which formed the northern boundary of the agrahāra is of course the Gōdāvari.8 Of the four villages, which constituted the agrahāra, two, viz., Vāghāura and Aḍagau, can now be identified; the former is Wāghur 4 miles south by west and the latter Tikī Adgaon about the same distance to the south of Purushottampuri. Only two of the nine hamlets attached to these villages can now be traced, viz.,

---

1 This is evidently a corrupt form of the title Rāya-Nārīya na assumed by Yādava Kings. *Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 317.
3 Khusurī chooses his narrative with the conquest of Maḥbar at the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1311). He died in A.D. 1225. Barani, on the other hand, is, as remarked by Dowson, very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.
5 [See p. 212, n. 7.—Ed.]
6 From the Smritiāla (ed. by V. N. Deshpande), p. 86, it appears that the Mahānābās were subjected to oppression during the rule of Rāmachandra, probably because of their non-observance of such rules of conduct.7 *Kāndeś District Gazetteer*, p. 453.
8 The endings puṇu and gurū, like puṣuṇu used in ll. 94-95 of the Paithan plates, are derived from the Saṃskṛti word puṇu meaning a village.
9 This river is called Gāṅga in the Paithan plates also. See ll. 50 and 94, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 317-18.
Pimpalavāḍī which now appears in the form Phulpimpalgaon about 2 miles south of Tīki Adgaon, and Gōle, āhārūna which is probably Gōban Thādi. 3 miles north by west of Wāghur. The other villages and hamlets cannot be traced on the maps available to me.

**TEXT**.

[Metres: Verses 1 and 32 Mālini; vv. 2, 10, 11, 35 and 37-57 Anushtubh; vv. 3, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 33 Sragdharā; vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 28, 31 and 34 Śārdulavikriṣṭa; vv. 6, 7, 13, 18 and 26 Upājası; v. 20 Śikharīṇi; vv. 22, 27 and 50 Vasantativakā; v. 25 Hariṣī; v. 29 Prabarshīṇi; v. 30 Vaṃśvāstu; v. 36 Indraṇajā; v. 58 Śālinī.]

*First Plate.*

1. || चौं श्य चाटवालाः || निरिन्द्रिकार्तिनिरतानद्विति[घँ]खल्लूः || प्रवर्तितविदधारे|| चक्षोऽसा- ||

2. कृत्येकारकः || परमर्मणां संवगनां निधान दधदधधितंस्यः || संवत्तां शा- ||

3. इर्ष्यां || [11°] सञ्चीन्द्रवकारः स्त्रीरममत्रूचं(यम) || लीलांब्रजे विजयं विविधवमः ||

4. वनिष्या || [12°] निसोहः सोमवंशः स जयति जगति प्रीयसर्वकळ्लिविविष्यकारकर्म- || नित तत्त- ||

5. प्रज्ञाविवधुतिः हुष्टः || बुधवरः || तत्तथेकालो महुण्डीतंतना || कृत्यकारानां || करोपि ||

6. तथा येवं संकार्यं संभवितेर्विविष्यकारकर्म- || संस्कृत्यः || [13°] बल्लानः विजयितः परा- ||

7. भावितमप्रांति || कवाजी दिनति || चैण्ड मित्रिते संभावितारिकर्मः || दुर्योधन्न विनित- ||

8. मोहातिर्यगंगोऽनात्मनः लिन्तितः || संंहिततिनिरमयं के भूविभूय संवर्णं संस्कृतमकः || [14°] तत्पुरुषो जै- ||

9. चपमः || कुलकुलूदिविवधुतिविविष्यकारकर्माणादि संहंपमायितस्मानिन्द्रक्षणयथाः || या- ||

10. खः || क्रियाचिं क्रियासमात्मनं क्रियासमात्मनं क्रियासमात्मनं संहं प्रचैवासमात्मनं पुनः अवतरितं अवतरितं- ||

---

1. From ink impressions.
2. The intended reading possibly is *chat-sat-svarūpāḥ*, the expression answering to the well-known compound *sacch-chat-aṇanda-svarūpa*.—B. C. C.]
3. This *visarga* was added subsequently.
4. These *dandus* are superfluous.
5. This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
11 किं [14**] श्रीकङ्गम्भुप: प्रभविशुरक्षाब्रह्मूऽ मृययःपरिभूतवीरः [1**] पलायमानान्- वलोभ वीराभकलितिंदियन् दि-

12 श्री चर्मन्ति: [14**] य: कामयाप्रसरशरशि: स्वपंशायारविशालनज्वोऽ:। उजास- 
यंगिकाकुलमादरणे करणे।" 

13 लसुपै: प्रकोटिकार [10**] रे रे मूर्तर जजर मारजीयारोऽ: भराजीवन रे रे 
मालव मालव खज भज ले चील जी-

14 लावलमल (दम)। रे रे कौशल वैराजयावनपरि भृगुष्वयमिं जगुभ्या यविजयप्रयाण- 
समये वंडोजनवंजना: [12**]

15 कुछे राजनी नीलया लगगरे वैदमाननानिन्कुं यालशासनिमां महीमय महादेवः 
स लखानु:। यहूऽ

16 कराभविज्ञामार्गसुधाकस्तुरीकाचरकार्तितं विभव(२)जायत भंस्युक्तों नीलाभय कोने- 
यक: [14**] निमल्लर(२)वन्य-

17 नाशिषायि समम पवेशियो। लानार्चन सम्हादव एव य: कथते जने: [1०**] 
जाने शक्तिपरस्तत्त्व सुतुरभम्भुऽ-

18 नि:। मृदुवानुवनरुपः। करस्तकलीिनिनाः [1१**] यव चच्चपितामहं विनाशि 
प्रश्वायेप्रतिभर: सवं दानमवा-

19 [मु]मुक्तमनमी नृणं वमुदभूव। चंद्रायो: किरि(४)षाणानाविशिं संस्कृ नीलावनी- 
वाल्काक्शाकुनममहः।

20 कवसिप व्यानोक्त यथा: यदि(१२)मां [१२**] चाराण्य वैसरचित्ताल्मोजिनिनिमित्तिहिति- 
विविहिरिः गरिष्ठ(१२)। प्रम्ण्य तक्षा-

21 दप्पल्य मुखे लगालजः लामन्ति म रामः [१२**] चाराऄ देवगिरिप्रवेशगम्ये 
बृहद्माकरस्य पताकाय(तितू)-

22 राजदरम्यमार्गालंकारविविध्यः [१**] चक्षुस्तरविशिष्टूष्कत्वं तस्मादसाहसं 
श्रीरामलुकः

1 This visarga is superfluous.
2 Read vallakaṣyan=वल्काष्यन=.
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
4 The sense requires a reading like -र्ज्ञय.
5 What appears like an anuvṛtti on तस्माद may be due to a fault in the copper.
6 Read =सद्हरमनम्=sudhaṁ.
7 The engraver at first incised dānam= which he subsequently altered to dānam=. 
23 तत्सत्त इति: श्रीकृष्ण नौकारः। [१९॥५] योगमः श्रीवर्षा पदग्रंथनवप्रपायः-धार्मिकविश्वास्यातािशिः।

24 श्रृवो विकर्षणविलमबातुतिपारिवर्तयां। [१] वर्णानां अत्युत्कृत्वानाम अनन्तरनमाश्रयः संदर्भिताः(थी) जनः।

25 द्विवातिनां विश्रृववयि नदिक्रिय सुखं(श्री) न नायश्रवः। [१५॥३] योगसाधनविश्वासाः वनस्थे।

26 जितो भांडगार्थाणवः परिम्मप वेदाङ्कोषाविदान्त। श्रीमण्डुलराज्य एवं रावतो वचस्कार्थाङ्कायिः।

27 नाती विजितः स गोपनपिण्विर्यः। स रामः। कर्ष्य(क्रमः) [१६॥५] भजीमः। पक्षः। राजः। अमरसुर्वि विजितः। कर्ष्यकुक्षः।

28 चित्म:। कैलाससौः। क्युवतस्मिन्ना माहिन्द्रः। वराष्टः। उत्तमः। अग्नि:। प्रसभम्। चित्मविगतो मोहितः।

29 छेटनाधी श्रेष्ट अन्नेबः पाण्डः स कर्मविलय वश्यवर्य रामचंद्रः। [१७॥३] यः। श्रुक्षांकः संकसितांपिर्थ अन्नप्रायवः।

30 वृङ्खलायश कर्मच(श्री) वाराष्टः। वाराणसी। श्रीकृष्णाः स्वाभाविकमरीच्यः। तिरस्करः शाक्कराचार्य शास्त्रानां व्य्यावः।

31 लु [१४॥५] स श्रविद्वन्विशुद्धिस्मानस्मांकनश्रीमृत्वाँ(थी) म्हत्रतप्रकाशकवि। यादवकुलकमकानः।

32 कलिकाविकासपाण्डः। एवगिरिपुरपुरान्द्रः। महाराजाधिराजः। भोरामचंद्रः।

33 व:। शक्तिपालनांवसंवर्य:। द्विविदधिकादामण्डलसंवयः।

34 संवमसर्वादुल्लाधुद्रकाद्वयः। स(भ) नी। कालंकिरिक्षसंबद्धानु। कालेकिरिक्षणकांनः।

Second Plate ; First Side.

35 गंगानु पीष्टा(श्री) री। तप्रविक्षेत्रकान्त सामवाशाण:। पिन्यवाशाण:। पालियः।

36 एत्थश्विविदानि छेत्रकान्त | पिन्यवाशाण:। काजलकोवि। सीताराजः। वाणिजः। प-
37 तत्वविवाहैं खेंटकानिः निपितिचित्रः ॥ गोयन्यार्धाणाः धारावापौरः कुहः
38 रावसीः प्रवेशनांगुनः यासात् स्फूर्तिविधकसहितान् तत्त्वकारः ॥
39 दिनमित्रप्रतिचित्रः जनम्यापाण्यत्तदकृतः काश्कादिसमस्तादयुक्तान् वामिषः गौताय
40 कर्मदेशः गाधायायिनं पुनःविधुमन्यायकसुताय महामंडलीं पुनःशैलायकः ॥
41 य समस्तनिजातामपालननिर्लक्ष्यः चाक्षुशारकाणां चतुर्दशकृप्तां प्रदात् ॥
42 प्रश्नेत्त प्रश्नावलोकः । विशेषः पुराणः सुत द्वितिः ॥ चद्राका
43 विशेषः ॥ स जातिः तपासः कामभूमिर्विशिष्टः । पालिन्धारिपालिद्रापथसूक्ष्मगुणान्यावधिः
44 वहां विद्यार्थीकृण विज्ञायतनमः कौमुडी कामिनः ॥ ॥ ॥[१८॥]
45 तनावङ्गतः समजनं तस्मात् ॥ तस्मात्सन्याज्ञायकसुतितानं तनुष्ठातं
46 प्रवक्तं ॥ तस्मात्सन्याज्ञायकसुतितानं तनुष्ठातं प्रका
47 भ तन्मानस्तरोऽदितिक्रि याः ॥[२०॥] तस्मात्सन्याज्ञायकसुतितानं सुराणां धर्म
48 याप्रामाण्यविद्रित्र दिद्रित्र विविधता वन भाषामात्राः । किं च चालाः किलायो
49 गालिम्पूर्ति गालिम्पूर्ति ॥[२१॥] तत्त्वाक्षरां तपासः
50 नानो भेदां भेदां सकाराताम चतुर्दशकृप्तां मुगानात्(नाम) । कुठी च चरित्त जगति घट
51 दग्धापि विद्वानः ॥[२२॥] विशेषालिनिर्विद्वानः दिन व्यास्तस्त

1 The name of this hamlet occurs in lines 73-76 as Simpidikhirī.
2 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
3 The correct form of the title would be Māhāmandaśika.
4 The visarga is imperfectly incised here.
5 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
6 Read khaṭṭaḥ pāḍālaḥ, unless s varaṇa is to be taken as an apadhaṇiṣya sign.
7 [Reading is 'r-Ekadhāva- — Ed.]
51 यथमेवं विद्यं यज्ञिनिंगांगः। दुरादाहनुर्ण निम्नम् लक्ष्मणाद्यकः। नयंनामां।

52 संस्म यज्य यज्य अनित्य निम्नायामायां जनानु ॥२४॥८॥ भज्जयमपुरुषहरे।

53 निच्छिनिविषयं कपालकुलपित्ययंयति। ज्ञेः।।। विद्याकीर्तिष्कृत विचारमचिवः संपकः। भामंगः।

54 सुः सांवादतेष महदमुवसुक्तः। यवादनां ॥२४॥१॥ ज्ञातिमण्डुः माधवं सुः। मनोहरवणवमं कृ।

55 सुमस्तम् नित्यवीने निश्चित्यः प्रमाणयदं(हम्)। निपुञ्जविनी नामावलोपितंदयुगंवः। कुमारचे।

56 नाथारधे दलं प्रमाथपरीरातु ॥२४॥८॥ श्रवी जिन्द धीमति मल्याको संवारं प्राणनवदवृरी। दिति दि।

57 नविर्हंत गजाराटः प्रष्टः प्रगोवः सख्स्ति [च] नल्लो ॥२४॥८॥ मार्गाचूर्तविनयवामः।

58 वसानावसपरार्णिः। ॥१॥ चकानवकनवति विदितां मुन्यजम्बूं योगामायावउल्लिदिविना।

59 नया योगायावादिन्यांम्बाम्बावि वर्धमा विभागं। पुरुषस्मकल्लूचितः नाथायमं।

60 मक्षायांगयर्धार्यं विद्वग्नयं दीर्घमांभिक्षम:। भाँवं जन्मा हरंगं यव कुपः। खोकार एकादशः। ॥२४॥८॥

61 निक्रियमादमा। निम्नमणगित विस्तवकर्या। दीर्घाम्बणयं महमण्डव्यं सुलक्षण स्निनिष्टवाम्(श्याम)।

धार्येऽह निगुणवतं तस्मात्।
62 वृष खें राज्ये यदुद्युपिनविंदायायाधाने(नम)। [[124]॥*] स विश्रुतेर्ज्जु(ज्व)नया निर्जात्मा
प्रदर्श कर्मविनियोगमयीः पुष्कर(क्रृ)।
63 मां । महापराधे कोशिस्थः महादेवम्ब नृवाणहरिः यतीनानाह्रास्माः। [[130]॥*]
खामिभोक्तानात्मीयोजन्यस्य।
64 वर्षकको मनस्नान्स्य प्रज्ञनते प्रतायथिथिभिर्भासा नान्यं जवादार्ज्जू(वर्म)।
कृपाशु मार्गतकद्विमनिभ्य।
65 ब्रह्मा निर्मानीयान्त्यारोपिणौः कुशणस्त्रहं तत्त: हृदं पीतात्र(ज्ञ)नाम(नम)। [[131]॥*]
सुकृत्तनिभियु भृगोः।
66 हराकाघुषु नीर्न्यन्वधितंनासु तत्रैः कल्याणनत्वः। सुनिर्मननिविधारामुःक्षितमाच्छ।
67 देव शुभर्ति परमिदानी भृकुंभसु(म)क्षिप्ततर्भव(वर्म)। [[132]॥*] खामिन खामिस्योः
विनयति परस्त्रीथिनानाधिलौ।
68 रेन्तवं प्रौढानां वचनं पुरुषां श्रीकृष्ण सङ्‌तृतायं। त्वकृतिः निनिर्जात्मां
दिशि दिशि।

Second Plate : Second Side.
69 वहूः [हर्ष]तः सज्जनानामस्मीहनौ ग(श)र्यायचिक्षरसीः सनमिच चार्चनियं दुभनाका
नानानाम्। [[133]॥*] श्रीमान्नु रामणुः। प्रस्वबनः
70 यी नीकड़योग्यमेण कुरबाकोऽचितानमयारमतिं न वागानवञ्जनाधिकः। तथो चैव
मातामास्थाद चितं तो खृैः
71 कुर्वेन साविकोऽगाधराप्रमवमन्वयपार्यमानान्तन्यानवादः। [[134]॥*] साब्यंमलंविधुगुणान
ग्रामाचार्योऽभिपद्धतः।
72 राजाधिकारियोरामवन्देर्ज्जूममासंधिक्कृतवन्यानाकः: श्रावनविकालातीतसंविकार्यु द्वारिकांर्।
73 धिक्काद्विगुणस्तृतायुः साधारणसंवकारतंति भार्तपदमाम काँपस्यव्याह(इव) कार्तिके
देवस्यान्तः काशीः।

1 Read यजन-अपुनाः.
2 Read तस्मान।
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
4 The engraver first incised तस्मान which he subsequently altered to तस्मान।
5 This anusvāra is superfluous.
6 Read गार्यावेशाचिकिरायि।
7 This anusvāra is redundant.
8 Read महामंडलिका।
86 द: गणपतिभूषणः जीवनभवः । दीर्घायुभूषणः यज्ञश्रवणः । मार्गीमायक्षुणः गीतिविनंतनः

87 यकः दारोमणसुतः मन्दायुवः । महानायकभूषणसुतकः गणः । वामनाचार्यसुतः धनेश्वरः

88 एते जामदग्नसुतः पञ्चानंदसुतः जानुभवः । विनायकभूषणसुतः राधवनायकः

89 सनपुर्फङ्गामनेतः नारायणसुतः सुन्तपाणिरङ्गेवः । मन्दायुवभूषणः कामनायकभः ।

90 भूषणः केसवः । एते बाणिज्यः! (हः) । पुष्पोत्तमभूषणः कपिलभः । पुष्पोत्तमभूषणः

91 मन्दायुवभूषणः वासुधावः । एते विखण्डः । नागार्जुनभूषणः विश्रीरङ्गेवः ।

92 पुष्पोत्तमभः । विखण्डायुक्तभूषणः कपिलभः । कार्तिकः । संवादाधिकारीः । प्रजापति

93 जानुभवसुतः नागार्जुनभः । देवभूषणः भाटिलकः । एतावाणिः । शाराङ्गार्जुनभूषणः

94 भुट्टवः । रामायणभूषणः ब्राह्मणभः । एतो विखण्डिकः । संवाददेवभूषणः

95 भूषणः दारोमणसुतः । एतो कौमिरः । चन्द्रमणसुतः वैज्ञानिकः । पञ्चानंदसुतः

96 मीतरभः । एतो धर्मः । शाराङ्गपारिश्रवणः कपिलभः । कामनायकभूषणः

97 एतो प्रथमचिह्वः । भास्करभूषणः कपिलभः । वाप्तिलकः भुट्टवः । एतो

98 सा । मौलिकभूषणसुन्तिकामथः । मौलिकभूषणसुतः संबारभः । एतो वाणिः

*Agastýgha, which was first indeed, was subsequently altered to Agastya.*
99 महसुली नागदेवभादः। गौतमः। मणिदेवभादः। मणिदेवभादः। सामग्रीदेवभादः। नैपुषः। दामः।

100 कीलमभादः। देवानः। गोपालभादुतीसामग्रीदेवभादः। चायेयः। भामकरभादुः।

101 बनासिनः। मागसीभादुती क्राङ्गभादः। कापो(नी)चः। नागदेवतारसीवुतः। परमः। रामजीवः।

102 गायः। नागशुल्कशदः। पूजिमायः। विजयभादुती नरमीतादांभादः। [1]

103 बालिकः। चय वैरागिनः। नागरणपदिसुती संग्रामभादः। मारम्भभादुनांवि(वि)-

104 क्राङ्गभादः। गसाधरभादुती सीमानाभादः। मारम्भभादुती मारनावभादः। एतः

105 भारदवः। क्राङ्गभादुती विक्रांतभादः। ब्रजदेवभादुती गणपतिभादः। भारदवः-

106 वामसुती विज्ञानशरभादः। नागश्री(स्व)भादुती रामायणभादः। विजयभादुती

Third Plate.

107 एत जीविकरः। विजयभादुतीमेमानाभादः। मेमानादिसुत चायदिवभादः। विजयभादु-

108 देवभादः। एत चायेयः। श्रीशमभादुती धनेशभादः। मंगनवचारसुतपुष्पोमसमायः

109 महः। एतो जामद्र(म्य)वको। नागदेवभादुतकोठोरण(बु)दिः। रुः वर्षदेव-

110 भादः। एतो गोतमः। विजयभादुती(न:।) शार्मायापाणिभादः। [॰] जीविकारः। दामोदरभादुसुतः। एतः

111 यंभाः। [॰] लोकिनःः। नामीधरभादुती रामायणभादः। चरितः। नरभु(भु:।)

112 मणिदेवभादः। प्रभायचरः। एल्लालुवुर्दुसनारायणपदः। कायकोरवाचः। [॰]

113 नामक्रांता। काशिकी माहात्मिनः। चन्द्रभादुमताहरभादः। काशयपकारः।

दामोदरभादुत: कामभादः। [॰]

1 Read Gautamah.
2 Read Narasimhadāsa. The rākṣaṇa which was wrongly incised after sa has been cancelled.
114 काँक्रमेनिनकांवनसभ्योऽर्जितसङ्करोऽवशिश्तप्राप्तिः परमक्रमः।

115 तद्रज्ञान्यातर्किणः वृद्धिं दारिडः सातुले देशतः कृष्णापुरीः।

116 बनीं नक्षिमाः राजसिः ज्ञीवः विचिन्त्याः।

117 एववर्णमर्त्यां च पुरुषाचतुररघितो नातिनयमः।

118 चंद्रमेदिन्द्र सेवनमित्रिणां च वंशजः।

119 नैषाक्षरः न च विक्रेत्रं सदा सम्बाहार्यहैं।

120 राजसम्बन्धः वसन्तप्राणिद्वारा नसः।

121 भूमिद्रानं दुर्गायणं पतं समस्तप्रेमव्रेमतः।

122 तहल जातः सोपास्तरयिप्पिणिः।

123 झण्यांत्रितमिदः।

124 झण्यांत्रितमिदः।

125 सुधार्षणः। वीररथ वाङ्मयः। पाण्डः। नोप्रयासिनः। भूमिद्रानं।
126 तां वर । क्रमाय क्रमश्वाय अतिचीतय चोहति। [18.31] भूमिग हसिकारोऽ
दला(शं) चक्षो भवति मानवं। [18.45] बशि वर्षवस्याङः

127 ति चर्मेन तिहिति भूमिगः प्राहेला(नन्द) प्रानुमति च चान्येव नरके वसेति
[18.51] वायादसुप्रसारिति सुवमस्च।

128 वर्सिकः। तिल्प्रदः प्रागामिन्यं टोपद्रव कुजनम।। भूमिगः सर्वमार्गिति दीर्घमः
उर्सवेव च [14.61]। चय

129 ब्राम्हणाभूमित्वरणे देशा:। गामिकां रङ्गकामिकां भूमिग्योकरसमुल्ल(नम्)। चर्न(रन)।
नरकमार्गिति यावदः।

130 भूमिस्वरम्ब(वम्) [18.31] खटताः परदत्ता वा थी चर्न वर्षवर्ग(साम्)। बशि
वर्षवस्याणि विद्यायां जायते कमि:। [18.45] खटः।

131 तां परदत्ता वा चर्न रलविविधी:। उस्ति स जायले विद्वृवाणासुमुतायुवन(नम्)
[18.41] विमार्गविविधेयायसु।

132 शुककृष्णशरायिनः। [१६] ज्ञासप्: प्रजायति ब्राह्मभृम्यपहरकः। [१५.१२] विन्दस्ति
वियमार्गव वश्वादिकः। प्र-

133 साम्भवति। कृतं सम्बलं दधिति ब(व)स्करारणियाभवः। [14.11] ब्रह्मसं दुर्गगा(यं) भुजं चं दधिति विपूर्धव(पम्)। प्रमशः।

134 तु वलाहुस्ते दम पूर्वस्नू दमापरार्। [15.24] गर्भ(श्र)ति यात्र: पा(पत्र)स्नू
कङ्कनामुरस्विनेदवः। वियापानं भदर्शीनां व-

135 दानानां कुटुबिनां(नम्) [15.31] राजानेन राजकुमारिभ नातिवर्दियरुक्तेऽ[.]।
कुमेश्वाकुषे प्रवेंति ब्राह्मभृम्यः।

136 चाहिकः। [14.5] चय भूमिग्याल्पनर्पू(नम्)॥ दानालीयाम्बिकेः दानाकृष्णयाम्
पलन्तः(नम्)।। दानायुगावार्षिकः।

137 ति पालनादिबुतं पंड(दम)। [14.51] गम्यं चपाप्य भूमिग्यं चट्टविविधं। न
गम्यं च रिजः राइसापि भूमिमं

138 चश्वः सर्पं(लम्)। [14.51] वामुस्ववथुप दना राजामु।। समारङ्गिमः।। यवः यद्य
वदा भूमिस्वय तस्य नात्ये फः।।

1 Read either kumannam or Kaurālana.
2 Danda unnecessary.
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
Translation.

Om! Obeisance to the holy primeval Boar!

(Verse 1) May Sārāgpati (Višnu) be worshipped!—(he) whose proper form consists of unsurpassed and infinite bliss and consciousness; whose manifest power is possessed through mighty and stainless sūtra; who has an extremely attractive body which is an abode of auspicious things (and) who is the refuge of those who are worsted by others!

(V. 2) Glorious is the moon, the pleasure-lotus (in the hand) of the goddess of fortune of the three worlds, which sprang from the milk-ocean which is the pleasure-lake of Lakṣmi and Nārāyaṇa!

(V. 3) Glorious is that infinite race of the moon, the creeper of whose fame shines in this world. In that race, again, there were the bright and round pearls possessed of great and attractive lustre, viz., the Viṣṇus of unblemished character. Among them, again, there is a one-string necklace formed with a beautiful thread. (viz., the Yudhāna family of Dvārayīrī which is possessed of excellent merit) which gave lustre to the necks of poets. In it, again, there is this central gem possessing the beautiful lustre of the wish-fulfilling jewel, (namely,) the king Sīrīha.

(V. 4) What kings were not terrified to hear that by Sīrīha Ballāla was vanquished, the lord of Āndhra was made to suffer a defeat, Kakkāla was overthrown, the lord of Bhambhāgiri was devoured in a moment, the king Bhōja was thrown into confinement on the crest of a fortress and Arjuna was subjugated?

(V. 5) His son was Jaitrapāla, the moon to the kuṇḍala which was (his) family (and) a very gracious temple of the goddess of heroism: who by his excellent form completely quelled the pride of the god of love, the tap-root of beauty; who was concluded to be the unique limit of the excess of magnanimity by the people who (at first) expressed (their) doubts as to whether he was Karna, or Dādhichi, or Śibi, or Jīmūtavāhana.

(V. 6) From him was born the lord, the illustrious king Krīṣṇa, who frequently vanquished brave men. Seeing warriors fleeing away (before him), the regions laughed at them under the guise of his fame.

1 Vīṣṇu is superfluous.
2 The original has ramāśā which means also a bamboo. On this double entendre is based the following metaphor. According to a poetic convention, pearls are produced also from bamboo.
3 Because it supplied them with an excellent subject for their poems.
4 All these were noted for their great liberality.
(V. 7) He whose activities extended to Kāmapāla and to whom extensive fortune resorted of its own accord, clearly manifested himself to be Kṛṣṇa, delighting zealously a multitude of cowherds.

(V. 8) On the occasion of vies for conquest, princes disguised as herds sang as follows:—

Collect, O old Gūjāra, the mass of dust in the compens throughout (thy) life! Do not, O Māla, stop mowing! Cling, O Chōla, to the hem of the lower garment (of ladies)! Be intent, O Kōśala, on giving up (thy) treasure!

(V. 9) When the king Kṛṣṇa went sportively to his own city Vaiṣṇavī in order to have a look at it, that younger brother of his (viz.), Mahādéva, ruled over this earth thereafter:—(he) whose sword, which produced the misapprehension that it was the ornamental mark of mask (on the forehead) of the Earth who was shining on his arm, caused terror among hostile kings.

(V. 10) Though he plunged the crescent moon into the ocean, removing her from her proper place, he is, strange to say, still called Mahādéva by the people.

(V. 11) (Thou) was born his son the king Ammanā, who was possessed of great strength and who greatly rescued the Brāhmaṇas oppressed by taxes, even as Skanda rescued the gods oppressed by (the demon) Tāraka.

(V. 12) When the Grand sire of warriors giving away (in charity), all hostile kings, indeed, became eager to receive the gifts; since having continuously exposed themselves to the rays of the hot-rayed (sun), they whose minds were distressed by the reproachful words of (their) beautiful (wives), regretfully cast a (wistful) glance at their kingdoms. [5]

(V. 13) Climbing the highest Dēvagiri by means of the ladder which were the heads of hostile princes, the (famous) Rāma, the son of Kṛṣṇa, enjoys his kingdom, forcibly wresting it from him (i.e., Ammanā).

(V. 14) First entrance into the fort of Dēvagiri, then observation of the manner of dancing, afterwards rallying of self-willed foot-soldiers, then throwing off of ornaments, removal of the opponent who obstructed (his) desired object and wresting of the earth from him—these were successively accomplished by the illustrious Rāma. Hence his glory is extraordinary!

---

1 Krishna also is known for similar deeds. He gave protection to Kāma (i.e., the god of love) who became his son Pradyumna. He was chosen by Lakshmi (who had incarnated herself as Rukmini) as her vīpaka. Finally, he used to delight herds of cows by his sweet music.

2 The astonishment is due to the fact that the god Mahādeva (whose name the king bears) always keeps on his head the crescent moon which had sprung from the ocean. The contradiction in this verse is only apparent, the figure being Virādevāhāva; for Sōma means here the Śūkāhāra king Sōmāvara whom Mahādeva killed in a naval engagement.

3 Śaktidharṣa (the wielder of a spear) is also a name of Skanda.

4 Kṣatra-pūrṇāna is one of the kīrādas of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Thānā plates mention in two places lines 28 and 33–30 a similar title in connection with Rāmachandra.

5 The idea seems to be that these princes were standing in the hot sun the whole day in the hope of receiving back their kingdoms as gifts from Amanādeva. As they went home empty-handed, they were rebuked by their wives. Līlāvati is also the name of the first section of Bhaṭakarṇa’s Śrīdhāratīśāmanī. Is there, then, a play on the word chandāna also (meaning Bhāskara)? Bhāskaraivalya is not, however, known to have written a work named Kīrnāvai.
(V. 15) The illustrious Rāma,—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (of Deva-giri), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding actions of the castes in transgression (of the dictates of the Śūdras), who surpassed celestial beings¹ in that though a boy he was not affected by abuse,—is (rely) Sarvavarman,² who noticed an easy way of forming padas,³ all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durga’s⁴ commentary, who derived the (intended) sense from roots shining with conjugal signs, who showed how to obtain the meaning (of abbreviations) without writing the letters (of the alphabet) in the reverse order,⁵ and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,⁶—since even a boy (who studies his grammar) is tainted by the use of wrong words.⁷

(V. 16) How can that Rāma be described?—(he) who vanquished in a moment the king of the great and extensive Dāhal country; who made the lord of the country of Bhāṇḍāgāra suffer a great defeat: who deprived the king of Vajrākara of his kingdom, and who subjugated in battle that (well-known) king of cowherds?

(V. 17) How can that Rāma-chandra be truly described?—(he) who only by his prowess defeated with arrows the lord of Palli on a battle-field, made the king of Kanyakubja bend low, captured by force the mighty lord of Saṅgama and crushed the chief of Khetā?

(V. 18) He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all uguahānas from taxes, freed Varanasi from a hoard of Mlecchhas and constructed (there) a golden temple of Śarīragha.

(Lines 31-42) He, the Prabhupatapāt kaiwacina, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious king Rāma-chandra, adorned by a multitude of such excellences, the sun which makes the lotus-bud, viz., the Yādava race, bloom, the Purandara of the city of Deva-giri, granted with joy caused by the execution of all his commands, by pouring water on the hand, on Saturday, the eleventh, the bright fortnight of Bhadrāpada in the (cyclic) year Sādhārana when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Sakura king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the Kānha-giri kampayaka (sub-division) included in the Kānha-giri désa, together with the treasures, deposits, trees, grass, water, stones, and all dues such as fines, taxes, and cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely). Pōkhari (with) the hamlets included in it. (viz.), Saṅghuvāna, Pāmpalāgāhāna (and) Pālipokhari; Adagau (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Pāmpalavāîi, Kājalakāvi (and) Sūjanā; Vaghaur (with) the hamlets included in it. (viz.), Simpaîhiē, Gālāgāhāna (and) Dhravaghāur; (and) Kurunāpāragau—

¹ Deva-giri means a celestial being such as Rāma who was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was blamed by the people of Ayodhya, because he took back his wife Sītā after her stay in Rāma’s house. (See Vālmiki’s Rāmāyana (Bom. ed.), Uttarakāndh, sang. 63.)

² As Rāma-chandra had a long reign of about forty years, he may have been in his teens when he wrested the crown from his cousin.

³ Sarvavarman is the reputed author of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit grammar.

⁴ A pada is a nominal or a verbal form ending in a case-affix or a termination.

⁵ Durga or Durgasimha is a well-known commentator of the Kātantra sūtras.

⁶ In the Māhākāvya sūtras, on which the system of Pāṇini is based, the natural order of the letters of the alphabet is reversed for the sake of the paṭalabhānas. In the sūtras of Sarvavarman, however, the natural order of the letters is retained.

⁷ In the second sense we have to make the pada-ehkhēna as pata ekādī-pātoktinaḥ (who surpassed the primeval grammarians like Pāṇini).

⁸ The Kātantra system is much easier than the Pāṇini’s, so that even a boy can soon master the Sanskrit language with its aid. For the story of its origin, see the Kāṭhāsīrīdāgama, lambaka 1, tavāgas 6.7.
to the Makhābādhaṇika Purusāi Nāyaka, the son of the Phulabādeg Śāhvala Nāyaka, who belongs to the Vāisēṣṭha-jīśa and is a student of the Rigvēda-sākhā. The following are the eulogistic verses about him:

(V. 19) Glorious is Vāisēṣṭha, the abode of austerities, who is the sole preceptor of the world, the son of the Creator, known as his second self. (and) the foremost of the seven sages: whose wife is Arundhati whose virtue is the foremost teacher for giving instruction in chastity; and in a corner of whose cowpen there is the celestal cow which is a very moonlight for dispelling the darkness, namely, the distress of the three worlds.

(V. 20) From him another son was born like him and then from him another. Thus in course of time there sprung a noble family, an ornament of the three worlds, resembling a succession of the sun’s rays causing awakening among the embodied beings troubled by the alligator-like darkness and infatuation.

(V. 21) In that (family) was born Bhānasūrya who constructed in every quarter staircases in the guise of temples for the sake of gods who had come out of heaven to receive offerings in his sacrifices; and who, in order to raise up the creatures who had sunk low by reason of their bad deeds, excavated, as deep as the surface of the nether regions, tanks which were the mines of jewels in the form of his bright fame.

(V. 22) From him was born Alhadēva; (who was) a treasure of austerities, and a meeting place of all fruitful excellences; in whose mouth dwelt with ease the fourteen lores even as the fourteen worlds do in the belly of Hari (at the time of world-destruction).

(V. 23) From him was born a son named Vināyaka, the crest-jewel of (all) learned people in the water of the Gauges, namely, his fame. even the holy places perform the purificatory rite; (and) the loud noise of the exposition of the Vedas discloses his house to the suppliants who come in haste, having heard of his virtue of liberality.

(V. 24) From that learned man sprang a famous son named Sāṅivaladēva, the friend of the love of piety, the source of glory, the essence of cleverness, the abode of contentment, forgiveness and happiness, the head of the family of compassion, the festivity of the establishment of courage, the treasury of learning, the minister of discrimination and the assembly-hall of wealth.

(V. 25) Having ascertained that like a flower he was gentle by nature, venerable, pure, capable of attracting the mind and the best abode of fortune, the king Rāma, the foremost of the Yadus, who has a keen intellect, being intent on showing favour to him, made him (who was) vigilant, the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers.

(V. 26) Day by day there grew in the mind of the king affection for Sāṅivaladēva, who was honest, beneficent, intelligent, truthful and devoted to service even as fortune did in his home.

(V. 27) Then he married, according to the sacred rite, a wife named Akvāmbikā, worthy of himself, who was the daughter of Sārāṅgasūrya and the son’s daughter of Mādāhavasūrya born in the family of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, and who was adorned by the jewels of excellences.

(V. 28) To these, who were designly united by the wise Creator, there was born a son, bearing the fitting and significant name of Purushottama. This is the eleventh incarnation of Hari, who reflecting on the slight blemish in incarnating himself as the fish, etc., was seeking a noble birth.

1 I.e., he became famous by excavating these tanks.
2 [See above, p 212, n. 7.—Ed.]
(V. 29) The Yadu king made him a minister of his Government—(him) who had double wisdom due to his association with good people marked by discrimination, double vision by his study of the extensive śrutis and amṛtis, (and) double strength by his inexhaustible courage.

(V. 30) Having shown by his brilliant command separate courses of conduct for the castes and orders of life, even as a cloud shows different paths by its lightning, he poured a large shower of gold into the treasure-house of the king.

(V. 31) The crooked and hard mind of treasonous people was quickly made straightforward by his brilliant prowess, even as the hard and curved bracelet of iron is made straight by burning fire. The cruel ones among them were burnt like thorny trees and then taken out. Then the glory of the king Rāmachandra was made bright like gold.

(V. 32) When he, who had devoted his heart to the holy places like Kāśi and Dvārakā which are the treasures of religious merit, established charitable feeding houses (in them) the capacity to yield (both) enjoyment and liberation now shines in those (holy places) which, from a consideration of the declaration of sages, were (previously) held to confer liberation only.

(V. 33) While he, who is well-conducted, devoted to his lord, modest, extremely averse to other’s wives and wealth and possessed of great prowess, was conducting himself as a (noble) man, displaying heroism, there generally followed, day and night, in the wake of his glory which went forth in every direction. Joy in good people and great trembling in the head and heart of wicked ones.

(V. 34) The illustrious and gracious-minded king Rāma asked him many times to make an agrahāra worthy of himself for (the attainment of) well-being in both the worlds. And when he accepted that honour as a great favour, he (i.e., the king) who humbles the pride (of his foes), conferred on him villages of great value by pouring water (on the hand).

(Ll. 71-80) He, that Purushāi Nāyaka, the mine of such jewels of excellences, the Mahāmāyālakā of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Rāmachandrādeva, has conferred, for the attainment of his desired object, making first the offerings of gold, rice and water on the Kapilashasthī in the month Bhādrapada included in the (cyclic) year Sādharaṇa when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the Kānhaṇīrī khāmpayaka (sub-division) of the Kānhaṇīrī dēśa, together with the treasures, deposits, grass, water, stones and all dues such as fines, taxes (and) cess on artisans.—(the four villages, namely). Pākhari (with) the hamlets included in it. (viz.). Saṅgāṅhāṇa, Pimpalāṅhāṇa (and) Pālpākhari; Aḍagāu (with) the hamlets included in it. (viz.). Pimpalāṅdvī, Kājālagōvī (and) Sōjanē; Vāghaurē (with) the hamlets included in it. (viz.). Siṅhāpādhīrī, Gōṅgāṅhāṇa (and) Dhrāvāṅhāurē; and Kurunapāragaū—after dividing them into ṛptīs (i.e., parts) numbering eighty-six (and) assigning (them) to the Brāhmaṇas, eighty-three in number, who belong to various gūtras and are students of various sākhaṇas, together with two gods, agrishtikā and prāpā. In this manner, namely, two ṛptīs to the two gods, one ṛptī for (the performance of) the agrishtikā rites and (the maintenance of) a prāpā (charitable water-shed) (every year) and the remaining ṛptīs numbering eighty-three to (the following) Brāhmaṇas. Now the names of the Brāhmaṇas:—

(Here follow the names of eighty-three Brāhmaṇas together with those of their fathers, gūtras and sākhaṇas.)

(Ll. 114-117) Now the boundaries of this agrahāra land:—To the east Dāṅgagau (and) Sādulē; to the south Kāsavavani. Sāvarigāv (and) Harikinibagau: to the west Rājagau. Hivarē, Chiṅcha—
vañ, (and) Mahādevapuri joined to Drogalēghāvāṇa; to the north the Gāṅgā. The agrahāra, which has the other name of Purushottamapuri, has thus been formed with the four boundaries well-determined in this manner.

(Li 117-20) Now rules for the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. This land shall be enjoyed by these (Brāhmaṇas) and their descendants, following always the righteous path; it shall not be mortgaged or sold. No quarter shall be given to prostitutes; the custom of gambing also shall be prohibited; (and) weapons and (such) other things shall not be used. These Brāhmaṇas shall (always) be intent on (performing) good deeds. There shall be no forced contribution (for the expenses of) royal officers halting at and departing from (the agrahāra).

(Li. 120-41) Now the praise of a gift of land:—

(Here follow twenty-three benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 144) May there be bliss and great fortune!

No. 22. TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI

BY MAHDO SARBUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DASKALVAR, M.A.

In August 1916 when Mr. Vats was Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, three grants consisting of seven copper plates were sent to him by the Collector of Nāsik. They were found with a Mahārājī Patel family, surnamed Shital, of Anjaneri village in the headquarters Taluka of the Nāsik District. Three of the plates were found to make one grant, marked A and two another, marked B, both issued by a king named Prithivichandra Bhogasakti. Lines 1-25 of the former are identical with lines 1-25 of the latter. The remaining two plates were found to make a third grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III. Below are described the first two grants mentioned above as A and B.

Each of these grants was held together by two copper rings. To one of the two rings of the one marked A is affixed a tubular seal containing the figure of a lion in relief. The surface of the seal is circular and 1 1/2 inches in diameter. The three plates of this set along with the rings and the seal weigh 308 lolas. There is also the figure of a boar engraved in the middle of the second half of the second plate of this grant. The plates measure 12 1/4 to 12 3/4 inches in length and 7 1/2 to 8 inches in width. As usual, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner faces only and the middle plate on both the sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of writing, 14 on each of the first, second, and fourth faces and 13 on the third one.

A circumscripted lotus is incised on the uninscribed outer face of the first plate, while a large figure of conch shell appears upside down across the outer face of the third plate which bears a postscript record of king Tējavarnā, in 9 lines.

The two plates making up the second grant measure 11 1/2 to 7 1/2 inches. One of the two rings of this grant is missing and the remaining one has a tubular seal similar to that found in A. The weight of the two plates forming this grant together with the ring and the seal is

1 Such restrictions date from ancient times. See, for instance, v. 31 ff. of the Sirpur inscription of the time of Mahi-Sivagupta, above, Vol. XI, pp. 192 f.

2 The same expression occurs also in the Pathan plates. It was first interpreted by Dr. Fleet as referring to the exemption of the king's servants from lines either for staying at or for setting out on journeys from them. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 315). Later on he gave the alternative explanation that "the expression ... may refer to "lines," i.e., forced contributions of money or supplies... obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions." (C. I. E., Vol. III, p. 98, n. 2). There is no doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.
178 tales. In this, the inscription consists of 38 lines only, 12 being inscribed on the first plate, 11 and 12 respectively on the inner and outer faces of the second plate.

Both the grants are, on the whole, well preserved, but in some cases owing to portions of the plates being more or less corroded certain letters of grant B are not quite legible.

The characters in the inscriptions belong to the southern variety of the seventh century A.D. and are similar to those of the Valabhi and Gurjara grants of the same period. They are crowned by small circles and are more angular than rounded, mark, for instance, the letters m, r, and d. Among peculiarities of the inscription in grant A it may be pointed out that the sign for the medial long ā is used in two ways, cf. Purvottakāta, l. 38 and Purvē sākāra, l. 39. The sign for initial r in l. 51 deserves to be noted specially with reference to the same sign in l. 11 and 31 of grant B. Equally remarkable are the forms of letters bā and bhā in lines 52 and 73 respectively. It may also be noted that both the forms of l are found in this inscription. As regards the orthography it may be stated that the sign for apabhramśa is but once used in l. 41 of A and a consonant is usually doubled both before and after r as in qhitra, putra, parikṣamāra, cikṣamāda, kṣiṣāla, kṣiṣākāra, muciśkāra, sākāra, dāśaṅgīkāra, ṣṛṣaṅgīkāra, prava, deśaṅgīkāra, janmaṅgīkāra, etc. ṇ is used for naṅga in naṅgaś (l. 6) and Saṅghavarama (l. 9). The language of the records is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the invocatory and the imperative verses at the beginning and end.

As regards the peculiarities of the inscription in grant B, it may be stated that the signs for the medial h and r and the subscript r are not easily distinguishable from one another. So also is the case with ṛ and ṭ. The rīpha is turned round to the left of a letter so much so that it goes above it. In this inscription, too, a consonant is usually doubled before and after r. Grant A seems to contain Sanskrit renderings of certain local words or phrases e.g. kavāga kāraṇa, l. 35, qhata-sākāra, l. 37. Of the former, the sense is not at all clear, but the latter was possibly a small measure such as a ladle.

In both the grants, the records open with an invocatory verse in praise of the boar incarnation of the god Vishnu as i-always the case with the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bāḍami who were acknowledged as their overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family. Thus follows the prose portion describing in usual terms the origin of the family, which was ruling the emperor Vikramādiya, who was an ornament of the whole earth. This is followed by the description of a ruler named Svāmichandra whose sovereign Vikramādiya Chalukya considered him as his son, who was an ornament of the Hariśchandra family and who enjoyed the possession of the whole of the Puri-kōṅkana, consisting of 11,000 villages. Svāmichandra’s son was Sinhavarman and the latter’s son was Bhogaśakti, who bore the second name of Prithivichandra. Much of the further portion of the inscription is devoted to an extravagant praise of this foundation king Bhogaśakti.

The grant marked A was issued by Bhogaśakti after addressing the state officials, etc. of Gopārāśṭra, eastern Trikūta, Amārājā, Mairikā, two Mahāgrīhāras, and Palla Aḍhambaka divisions, and its object was to provide for conducting the worship of the god Nātāyaṇa and for dance, music, free kitchen, etc., at the temple which had been built at Jayapura by Bhogēśvara who is probably to be identified with Bhogaśakti himself. The endowment made for the above purposes consisted of the revenues of eight villages, viz., Jayāgrāma, Ambē-Avahāna, Pālitāpātaka, Kōkīlākṣaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, etc.

1 [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.] 2 [He also seems to have had the birada Tribhuvanāנקuśa (l. 25A, l. 27B).—Ed.] 3 [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]
Kshēmagiraka and Annagrāma and the income derived from certain taxes. The taxes consisted of certain levies during the yāṭā festival of the god from every shop in the market and every court-yard; and on the import and export of every load of catavahā; a handful of corn, and a fixed measure of ghee from every house in the principal village in each of the subdivisions of Gopārāslītra, Amaraṇī, and Māriyā; and in like manner from other villages: one hundred Kṣārāpūṇa rupees from the subdivision of eastern Trākṣa, two hundred Kṣārāpūṇa rupees from the western Mahāgirākā and one hundred from the eastern one; and fifty Kṣārāpūṇa rupees from the Palla Nāṣikā subdivision. But the above eight villages, on which taxes were thus imposed, were exempted from all the usual exactions of forced labour, etc. A committee of five or ten merchants was nominated in accordance with the established custom of the town, to arrange for the yāṭā festival of the god Vishnu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. The management of the temple was vested in the merchant guild of the town of Jayapura and the local merchants were exempted from all other state taxes.

This grant is dated in the year 461 of an unspecified era. Its scribe was Bharatavāmin, an inhabitant of Kālivanā.

The grant B relates to the re-colonisation of the formerly deserted Samagirpattana (the township of Samani) along with Chandrapuri and four other hamlets called Ambayappallika, Savāneyappallika, Mauvēyappallika and Kamarsāripallika. All these were vested in the town council of Samagirpattana, the merchants whose were exempted from the payment of custom duties, the puruvadana, etc. The town council was also empowered to impose fines for certain moral delinquencies and other crimes.

The outer face of the third plate of grant A bears another inscription of nine lines in characters larger in size and slightly different in form from those of the main inscription. It records the grant by king Tējavarmān of a free pasture land in the village of Pālattapātaka near Jayapura, already mentioned in the main inscription. In both this land belonging to the god Bhūjīvaran-dīna, who is identical with the Bhūjīvīna-patishālīna-Vārājan of the main inscription, one hundred rupees were deposited by him with the merchant guild of Jayapura as a perpetual endowment, the interest of which was to be utilised for providing grappulī for the daily worship of the god.

It is interesting to note that Tējavarmān, who calls himself a rājasa, is mentioned also in grant B wherein he is said to have promulgated the orders contained in the grant. As Bhūjīvasākti and his predecessors also bore no more assuming a title than rāja so is possible that Tējavarmān belonged to the same family and might even have been a successor of Bhūjīvasākti, since his record appears as a postscript to grant A.

The great historical importance of the present grants lies in the fact that they bring to light a new feudatory dynasty which ruled in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. over the vast territory comprising the whole of Puri-Kōkāna consisting of 14,000 villages which apparently included the present Nāšik District under the sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas. The first member of this feudatory family, which was named after Harischandra, was Śvāmichandra, who acknowledged the sovereignty of Vīkkānālīyā, the Western Chalukya emperor who, as we know, reigned from 655 to 680 A.D. It is specially noted in the inscriptions that Śvāmichandra was loved by his overlord as his own son. The figure of a bear, the emblem of the Chalukya family of Bādāma, engraved on the reverse of the second plate of Grant A, was probably meant to indicate respect and loyalty to the Imperial dynasty, whereas-
the figure of a lion embossed on the seals attached to the plates was presumably the emblem of the Harisendra family. Since nothing is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions to the credit of Svamichandra's two successes, Simhavarma and Bhogasakti, it may be concluded that they did little in raising the importance of the family.

There is nothing in the inscription to denote the era to which its date should be referred. The Chalukya emperors, to whom Bhogasakti's family owed allegiance, used no doubt the Saka era in all their grants and ordinarily it might be expected that the same would be used by their feudatories of the Harisendra family as well. But that the date recorded by our record cannot be referred to the Saka era is obvious from the fact that Svakinders, the grandfather of Bhogasakti who is the donor of the present grant, was probably a contemporary of the Chalukya emperor Vikramatiya, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 655 to 680. This is possible only if the date is referred to the Kalarchur era which is found generally used in inscriptions of the period discovered in the Lata country and the Nask District. The inscription therefore belongs to the year 709-10 A.D. The Harisendra family, although it owed allegiance to the Chalukyas, seems to have adopted the Kalarchur era in their grants because it was current in the country.

The Aihole inscription of Pulikeshin II, dated A.D. 634, tells us that this ruler had defeated the Mauryas of Kshatrapa and had subdued the city called Puri, which was the glory of the western sea. But we know that in the concluding years of Pulikeshin's reign his hold over the northern territories had slackened. Svakinders at the Harisendra family, who was probably ruling over a small territory round about Jayapura in the Nask District, seems to have rendered such signal services to the Chalukya emperor Vikramatiya, son of Pulikeshin, in consolidating his power over the western and northern parts of the empire that he was not only considered as his son by the emperor but as may be inferred from our Anjaneri plates, also appears to have obtained from him as a reward the whole of the territory known as Purikshatrapa.

The Bhogasakti of the Chalukya Jayasimhavarman, younger son of Pulikeshin, shows that he was ruling over the Nask territory in about Saka 580 (A.D. 658). Similarly, the Nirpan plates found in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nask District record a grant by Tribhuvanashraya-Nagarvardhana, son of Bhaveshraya-Jayasimhavarman, one of the younger brothers of the emperor Pulikeshin himself, of a village named Balagrama in the Gupasrashtra inbhaga. Although there are strong reasons to suppose that the Nirpan plates are spurious, yet from both of these this much is clear that a portion of the Nask District was for some time in the possession of a scion of the Imperial family. Now our Anjaneri plates show that the divisions of Gupasrashtra and others were in the possession of Bhogasakti and probably of his predecessors too. This was possible only if Vikramatiya had taken out the territory from the possession of a scion of his own family and granted it to Svakinders for his valuable services.

It seems strange, however, that no successor of Vikramatiya has been mentioned in the record, not even the sovereign Vijayaditya (A.D. 697-733) who was reigning at the time of this inscription. It need not be supposed from this that the Chalukya emperors lost hold over the pro-

\[4\] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.
\[5\] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.
\[6\] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verses 20-21.
vince in which Bhogasakti was ruling, since the latter makes a proper mention of the Chatukya family at the beginning of the inscription and engraved the figure of a boar in the middle of it showing thereby that he had full regard for the Imperial family and owed allegiance to it.

Secondly, a copper plate grant referring to the reign of Vijayaditya was found at Balsārī in Gujarāt which was issued from the town of Maṅgalapuri by the Rājā Maṅgalarasa, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramaditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarāt grants, this record is dated not in the Kalachuri era but in Śaka 653 and this fact suggests that the record really belongs not to the Laṭa country but to the territory above the Ghāts in the direction of Nīśākha and Kāndesh. This shows that Vijayaditya's power was acknowledged in the Nāṣik District as late as A.D. 731. The failure, therefore, to mention the name of the reigning emperor in the Anjaneri grants indicates not so much the carelessness of the scribe or the draftsman of the record as the troubled times.

We do not know how long after the date of our inscription the Harishchandra family continued to rule over Puri-Kōṅkana, but it seems certain that with the overthrow of the Western Chatukya power by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas the family of Śvāmichandra suffered the same fate. For the Kanheri cave inscription of Śaka 765 (A.D. 843-44) states that the Śilāhāra chief Mahāśrīmaṇḍu Pullaśakti was ruling over the whole of the Puri-Kōṅkana holding it through the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amīghavarsha. Pullaśakti's father, Kapardin I, seems to have founded the Śilāhāra family of north Kōṅkana at the beginning of the ninth century. This is another reason to suppose that the Harishchandra family ruled not later than the middle of the 8th century and ended with the fall of the Imperial Chatukya.

The mention of the Kṛṣṇaṇa-vēpakav in the inscription is important. It shows that at the time of the Anjaneri plates there were in use in the Nāṣik District silver coins named after Kṛṣṇarāja. There can be no doubt that this Kṛṣṇarāja was the famous Kalachuri emperor, whose son Śaṅkarāja (Śaṅkarājan) issued the Śāṅkheśa plate of Śārulla and whose coins were found not only in Dēvalā in the Nāṣik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These bear the legend Purnamādhi samat Kṛṣṇarāja and the figure of a bull.

The śōkā festival in honour of the god Vaiśṇu mentioned in the inscription A is interesting. That it was held in the month of Māmaṭīsha is stated in l. 14 of grant A. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs that the occurrence of a special festival in the bright fortnight of Māmaṭīsha is a peculiar feature in some parts of the Marāṭha country. Thus among the Brāhmaṇas of Nāṣik and Ahmednagar there is a regular Narāśīva festival in this month just as there is the usual festival in the month of Āśvaṇa celebrated all over India. The sixth day of the fortnight is called Čāmpā-shashṭi which is particularly observed among the Dēsaṭha Brāhmaṇas. Most of the people above the Ghāts have as their tutelary deity Khaṇḍāja of Jejuri near Poona, to whom Čāmpā-shashṭi is sacred. Khaṇḍāja is a peculiar deity, perhaps originally equivalent to Skanda, but having quite independent characteristics such as a dog for a vēkava. It is very likely that the fair or festival referred to above dates back to the time of the present inscription.

The following localities are mentioned in grant A: Goparāśṭra, Pūrva-Trikūṭa, Āmrrājī, Maṅrikā, Maṅghirīhāra, Palla Āḍhamba[ka], Jayapura, Jayagrāma, Ambā-Avaṅgana, Pālīṭṭapāṭaka, Kōṅkālkshaka, Kālakhaka, Mradgāhitaka1, 2, 3.

3 [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]
Kshēmagiraka, Annagrāma and Kallivana. The first six are stated to be vishaya and territorial divisions. The approximate situation of Gōparāśtra can be known from the mention in the Nairṇa plates referred to above, of a village named Balēgrāma as situated in the Gōparāśtra-viṣhaya. Balēgrāma is no doubt to be identified with modern Belgaum-Taralha in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District. Jayapura, where the temple of Nārāyaṇa was situated, may be Jarvad Budruk, 10 miles south-west of Anjaneri. Jayagrāma may be Jaikheda in the Dindori Taluka. Ambē-Avaṅgana is Ambegaon, about 23 miles north-west of Nāsik; Kalāhaka may be Kokangaon. 2 miles south-east of Jaikheda and Mradgāhita. Maganpara, 5 miles north-west of Jaikheda. Kallivana is undoubtedly Kalvan in the Nāsik District, which is also mentioned in some other grants of the period.

The localities mentioned in grant B are Samagiriṇāṇa, Chandrapuri, Ambayapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā and Karmsāripallikā. Samagiriṇāṇa cannot now be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapuri with which it is coupled in the present grant, and which is probably identical with Chandra Iti. 12 miles south-west of Anjaneri. Savāṇēyapallikā may be Samundi. 5 miles north-east and Karmsāripallikā may be Karhi or Karohayadi. 6 and 7 miles respectively east of Chandra Iti. Maurēyapallikā may be Morwadi. 3 miles south-west of Nāsik.

Grant A.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 [I*R] जयाधिपद्यक्षं विशेषायारां चौभिनयां वर्ष (व) [I*R] दलिताणावतदध्यात्मकशानन्यन्तो व: [II] [I*R]

2 श्रीमतं खकुलभुटानसुरप्रमाणान्यमगीताचारां समसोवधातिम्य: समावः

3 भरिभिविहिनानां 1 कार्मिकयारिषयायाक्षायामपयायारां भगवानरामान:-

4 प्रभादमारासिदिवराहालांकनाद्याचार्यायान्यक्षायां विभिनयाचाराणां च.

5 लोकाणामचचवः सकलश्रीमीत्यावक्तिकाः सहराजवराजपयास्तर: श्रीविवादित:-

6 वेदवग्नमानाध्यायांश्रीमविनिविश्वेथा चिरिम्नन्द्वयान्त्राबाद्व: (त) खर:-

7 द्यगसप्रभादमानामक्रान्थम युव प्रभादमानान्यक्रान्थमः श्रीश्रीमविहीप नाम राजा येन:-

8 च चुप्प्रयायामाणादस्यां समकमपी पूरीकालं भृकुलांति: [I*R] तथ च राजः [*I]* श्रीवास:-

1 We have to thank Prof. V. V. Miraashi of the Nagpur University for suggesting the identification of most of the place names mentioned in the grants and also for making some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Kota unnecessary.
TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI. (1).

Grant A.
9. मिच्छुष्कृ पुप्पी महाबलयक्रमः। श्रीमिद्द्रूपिनिःमिच्छुष्कृवर्माजयस्याय्यपि श्रीमिद्द्रूपिनिःमिच्छुष्कृवर्माराजायः

10. चतुर्दहिष्नार्गार्गार्गिताय: पृथिवयां चन्द्र द्वि विश्वायनं:। पृथिवीमांडपमां

11. मध्ये राजा श्रीमोहंगमहंगवा वाल एव पूर्वांश्च श्रीमान्यस्य सय समुपच्छाद्यानि

12. भगवती वापुद्वारामनिवधि प्रति मनातसमुपवासी ब्रह्माज्ञय वृंचिष्ठि दः।

13. व नवयविन्यासाद्वत्तृतविष्यादिभिन्मुखः। सत्यवादि च

14. भिन्नते द्वि प्रकटपाराक्रमार्कारायणकार्यभूमिसमणोऽः महाराजाः

SECOND PAGE; FIRST SIDE.

15. श्रीमा द्वि जनार्दन्नारायणस्मरमं समरविनिवायारापध

16. बलदेव द्वि श्रीमोहंगवा विन्यासितक्रोडः। सत्यप्रेमस्यारापध

17. चण विन्यास: प्रदुः द्वि मकल्युष्टजनमानीस्य अपृणां रविपि रए।

18. कन्याचनिन्नुः। बलायण्ययायिन्यतिरिव मनातसमुपवासांताठे। प्रदवीः।

19. ध्वनि: मुद्रान्याश्च निष्ठा:। शारद्या जनार्दनय: द्वि प्राणिः। तपश्चाश्च प्रेमस्यारापधारीस्य

20. उद्धरायसकरकरकरण्यः प्रीतिः। महायानारः। द्वि चण्य: निवायारापध

21. जनपदकिर रश्चार्यात्मनंकिरनम्भूषितानालम्परः। परमाणाऽरा। महासलवः।

22. मनातस्य मन्त्रकुलाद्वक्षमपवारश्चिक्षानुपालनिः। नागायानां

23. परासन्तमाय:। 1) वैन्यमणिणिः। विश्वः। पृष्ठीकृतविनिवायायायान्तकार्यांक्तु:। भारत:-

24. पुराणामायणाराजाराजाबलिनविन्युः। प्राण:। पलुः। पश्चात्ती। भाप्तिः।

25. नवनालापारुक्कोलाराजः। सुभुषुषाकः। वर्षाः।

26. नवनालिपुर्णीचार्याचारिः। समुज्वनपाराक्रमानिः। गीताद्वपुरुः।

27. चित्तुरादनस्त्रेष्यात्मकार्यालधिकाराद्वियण्यः।

28. महाराजाध्यायी(द्यान) श्रीमान(वर्षान) समाजायायित अस्ति के। विदितं यथाविशिष्टसंगुः।

1) Danda unnecessary.
2) Read 'प्रपन्दट्री-दिन'।
3) Read 'विशिष्टकितिः। भारत:-
4) "Reading seems to be पुराणामायणाराजाराजाबलिनविन्युः। प्राण:। पलुः। पश्चात्ती। भाप्तिः।
5) In l. 39 the first name is read as पलुपाराढा।—Ed."
Second Plate; Second Side.

29 देवातिसेव शुरुसरायुष संघवण वासुदेव मुखा नाना विशिष्टदेवतालीः
30 ति मला जयपुरे मोजीरासरितितियाय पूराणपुष्पवाय परमानं भगवः
31 ति नारायणाय गंधपुष्पार्द्धीधापनसत्रा(श्रा)जन्मपोष्वमहिंश्यामें नृततितवायः
32 पेटगोविताकाय सबायं खण्डारुटतसंकारायं च [1] मानविशेषारसनव युष्म्रः
33 तबे ब्रह्म यामा चादानानि च प्रतिपादितानि [1] तेवायामानि जयप्रायः
34 अभ्यासः [1] पालितापकः कोकिलाचरः कलहः समाचारः चेमः
35 गिराः चाचायासा [1] चादानानि [1] चापणिशु चावासा कर्यं कीर्ते [1] सार्वायावनिश्चेयः
36 प्रेमं निगमि च प्रेमेऽकं रुपः देवस्य यालिसेव दानायं [1] गोपराध्रपाराजमीः
37 रिकाविशेषः ज्ञेयितकायां मुखः [3] नृतसत्तिकाय च चन्दनावनार्ण इति-
38 वधिया यामेशु [1] पूर्वसिकुटविये क्षणराजूपकम जन्यन् १०० [1] सामागिरिकार् श्रापरे
39 क्षणराजूपकमाणि २०० पूर्व ग्यान १०० प्रज्ञाविबधये क्षणराजूपकम[ः]
30 पञ्चशत् ४०
40 ये चाठी यामासे सबविदायित्वमिरामितिविविधारिश्रोः अचाटभ्रमणः
41 अभ्योतासिद्धिकाः चाचायाज्ञवल्चित्कितिसत्तिसमालोकाः य-

Third Plate; First Side.

42 तस्मादसमस्याः प्रवनपवनप्रतिदश्याशजलनर्गचनाः
43 जीवनीकमवनोक्र भगवानाहियोतमाया पालिताशः [1]
44 वर्णिमाः-पंचप्रभेद्धिश्च नगराध्यामवनाः भार्योपायसमस्य पक्षाचनाः
45 देवस्य विशिष्णुचायिस्वारसशिवायः [1*] ये वाचानन्तिरिसारितास्तिसनिष्ठवादा-
46 चिन्दमानि वानुमोदित स प्रश्नियात्पातकाःसंकुः [1*] खात् [1*] यदंसहः

1 A figure of a boat is engraved here. 2 [Reading seems to be Mūlpā, — Ed.]
3 [Reading is mūlikah. See below p. 235, n. 3,—Ed.]
47 वक्र्चन तत्त्विण्डुगाय निघटित तैय गृहभगवती द्रवस्य गुरुया योक्ति: ।

48 य वीया: [I] नगरस्य च स्थितिनिर्मिते [I] य ग्राहाननो वाणिज्यकालेष्वा शुक्लां अस्मीकै।

49 त कुदयिदिदि नामित । य पतां ि ि मन्तिन भिन्तिनि १ परं भूमिधापालकृ।: [*] मस्तुक्तै: [*]

50 एथि नर्वीसिपालिणि स्मर्ि भीमदि भूमिनि: [I] चाल्मितात चातुमच्या च तामेष्व

51 धार्शनां तिकातिरिभूयाय युक्तिः युक्तिः भिन्तिः। महीं मनिमतां शश्स दनाष्टोक्तियुक्तावरणनि (नमे) [1] [1*]

52 बहुबिर्मच्छा भुजा रावज्ञस्यगारादिभि: [I] यथि यथि यथि भूमिज्ञस्य तथि यथि नदा फले (नमे) [II [1*]

53 युवायात्तितियाया गुणकोटिर्वासिनि: [I] कष्टायियो भि जायि भूमिस्ययं हर्ति ये [I [1*]

54 संवायभट्टचारूस्ये एकष्ठततिकृं ४०० ६० १ शासन निकिनतं काबिनवः

55 वास्तवेन भरतस्यामिना।

Third Plate; Second Side.

Inscription of Tejavarman.

1 गोि नच्छि जीवितविया वाक्य (राजिन) जयपुरस्त दचिनायः (श्रम्याः)

2 दिशि पालितपालको गोपवाही सुनि: [I] तथि च प्रा

3 माण चचतुतिचं दुर्मौदिवं (वै) माणिता: [I*] श्रीलिमा गावी स्थापिता: [I*] सीमा

4 शि त्रिबं प्रमाणं [I] तथि गोपवाहां भोगिष्ठरस्वभूमिनि

5 ज्ञायति जयपुरप्राणिनमस्य हङ्गकपातं दसे तथि च रुपक

6 शत्सं हवि: गुमुलमृतं भोगिष्ठरस्वभ वयंगतिविें

7 मवराण यावदच्छावन्ध्यान्तरि दातव्ये यि बाल्या

8 बाया कर्षितं स परम्बिष्ठपालकृपासुंकी भि

9 विषाति ॥

1 Dhi which was first omitted is written below the line in smaller character.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Mā which was at first omitted, is written below this line.
4 Tāṁ was at first omitted and then written below the line.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) 'Om. Victorious is the form of Vишну manifesting itself as the boar, which troubled the ocean and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk.

(11. 2-4) In the family of the illustrious Chalukyas who belong to the Māṇavya gōsta praised over the whole world; who have been nourished by the seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained an uninterrupted continuance of prosperity through the protection of the god Kārttikēya; who subjugated all the kings in an instant at (their having) a sight of the boar-insignia which was acquired through the favour of the lord Nārāyaṇa; and who are the descendants of Hārīti—(was born) the Mahābhārata Pārvaśeṣaṇa, the illustrious Vikramaditya Vallabha, the sole forehead mark (udaka) of the whole earth.

(11. 6-28) Living upon the favour of his (Vikramaditya's) feet and being unto him like his own son, was the illustrious king named Svāmichandra, who was an ornament of the Harisāhendra family, who delighted his subjects like the autumnal bright full moon and who enjoyed the possession of the entire Puri-kōnkana consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The son of this king Svāmichandra was the illustrious king Simhavakarna, who was great in strength and prowess. And this illustrious king Simhavārman's son was the illustrious king Bhōgāsakti also known as Prthvivichandra whose glory like that of the moon is resplendent on the earth embraced by the waves of the four oceans; who even as a child, was imbued with inborn knowledge acquired by constant application in his previous births; who is ever engaged in the worship of the god Viṣṇu; and is well versed in the sacred lore; who like Yudhishṭhira is adorned with the virtues such as justice, modesty, compassion, charity, courtesy, etc., and is also truthful; who like Bhimaśena is a great hero and has filled the circle of his entire kingdom by his manifest prowess; who like Arjuna is adept in the art of war and is a follower of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa; who like Baladeva is given to the enjoyment of dance, music, merry-making, litigation and sports (at the same time) would be heroic in a moment; who, though endowed like Pradyumna with a physique which attracted the hearts of all damsels, has no desire for the wives of others; whose (right) hand, like the trunk of the leader of wild elephants and whose incessant flow of ichor, is moistened on account of his being constantly engaged in performing charities, who quenches the thirst of beings like a pond of sweet water adorned by multitudes of lotuses and lilies; who is the abode of splendour like a large tank of lotuses blossomed by the rays of the rising sun; who like the ocean is steadfast, is the protector of numerous kings and is profound and noble as the ocean is used to keep within its boundary, protects numerous mountains in its depth, is profound in depth and contains large (aquatic) animals; who is ever eager to perform acts of charity such as (the construction and endowment of) temples, tanks, free kitchen and water stalls; who is given to the contemplation of Viṣṇu; who is the ornament of the Puri-kōnkana viṣṇu as the Kaṇḍvānaka gem is of Viṣṇu; who is skilled in (asceticism) the real import of the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Kāṭākya and in kingly craft; who is wise, sagacious, learned and intelligent; who is endowed with irresistible strength, valour and (the attributes of) uṣāhaśakti, prabhāśakti and mantraśakti; who is the god of the three worlds (Trikāṇa) — the same illustrious king Bhōgāsakti commands all his sons, grand-sons, great-grandsons, etc., placed in charge of the vishva-gōpārāśṭra, eastern Trīkāṇa, Āmaraśī, Mārīkā, two Mahāgirīharas and Palla Adhambalaka — which have been acquired by the prowess of his arms and (all others);

1 If Usānā is taken in the sense of happiness then this phrase might be translated as "who had conquered (i.e., acquired complete possession of) happiness.

2 I would translate ll. 25-28 as follows: — Bhōgāsakti commands all his sons, etc., and all the districts of Gōpārāśṭra, etc., upto the boundary of Pratiharāṇa, which were conquered by the prowess of his own arms and courage."—ETJ.
(Ll. 28-49) "Be it known to you that having recognised that no other pre-eminent deity excepting the god Vāsudeva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction, who is the supreme god, and who is the god of gods and demons, I have made to the god Nārāyaṇa, the Primeval Being and the supreme spirit, installed by Bhūgēśvara in the town of Jayapura, in order to augment the merits of my parents and myself, an endowment of eight villages together with the taxes thereof so as to provide (at the temple) for perfume, flowers, incense, light, ablutions and unguents and also for dance, vocal and instrumental music, free kitchen, repairs and upkeep. The names of these (villages) are Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pāḷittapāṭaka, Kōkālākṣhaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, Keshēmagiraka and Annagrāma. As to the taxes, the stall tax is to be levied in the market places, a rupee each is to be paid on the occasion of the god's yātri at the entry and exit of each caravan of merchandise. Maṅka (handful) of corn and Sēṭhikā of ghee are to be levied from (every house in) the principal village of each of the vishayas of Gōparāśṭra, Anmarājī and Mairīka, and in like manner from other villages too. (Taxes to be collected in cash are) 100 one hundred Krishvārai rupees from the vishaya of eastern Trikāṭa; 200 two hundred Krishvārai rupees from the western Mahāgiriha and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty Krishvārai rupees from the vishaya of Pallīqambha. (In consideration of the above) these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexations interference; they are not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops (and) they are to enjoy rights over wealth underground. This grant shall last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth endure. Therefore, viewing the world as unsteady as the waves of the sea ruffled by a strong wind, this grant of ours is to be upheld and maintained by our descendants. The yātri festival of the god Vishṇu should be arranged by (a committee of) five or ten merchants for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in accordance with the established custom of the town. Whoever, blinded by the darkness of ignorance, shall concurise or assent to confiscation (of the grant) he shall be guilty of the five great sins. Since this temple has been entrusted to (the care of) the town merchants, on them shall devolve the proper worship and service of the divine Lord. And the following town convention is laid down. The local merchants shall, for ever, be immune from customs duties and paying expenses (of officers on duty). Whoever shall violate this convention, shall be guilty of the five great sins."

(Ll. 50-53) [Here are four of the usual imprecatory verses.]

This grant was written by Bharatavāmin, an inhabitant of Kallivana in the year 461 (expressed both in words and in figures).

Inscription of Tējavaraman.

(Ll. 1-9) Ōṁ hail. The king Tējavaraman has given a free grazing ground (within the limits of the village) Pāḷittapāṭaka situated to the south of Jayapura. For the demarcation thereof along with (the temple of) the goddess Durgā stone sculptures of cows have been set up on all four sides. That is the measure of its extent. In order to compensate for the land belonging to

---

1 This term is still used in Mahārāṣṭrā.
2 Might be a small measure such as a ladle or a derivative from sēṭhikā or mother-of-pearl.
3 I would translate the passage as follows: "One load of corn and one sēṭhikā of ghee from the principal village of the districts of Gōparāśṭra, etc., and in the same proportion from the other villages also. I would connect maṅka, which seems to be the reading here, with the word maṅa or maṅga (Hindi nāth) meaning a 'bundle' or 'provision bag'. Sēṭhikā is apparently connected with ṣēṭhā of the Parāgoas which is equivalent to 4 pektas of approximately 14 kāla. See Edward Thomas—Ancient Indian Weights, p. 26. I am, however, unable to suggest any meaning for kāla in l. 35.—Ed.]
Bhōgēśvaradeva now converted into a pasture, one hundred rupees have been deposited with the merchant guild of Jayapura. And from the interest of this one hundred rupees should be met, year after year, the cost of gṛgula for the (worship of the) god Bhōgēśvara until the sun, moon and stars endure. Whosoever shall interfere with this shall be possessed with the five great sins.

Grant B.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 यीत्वा विषयकृत विषाण्वरात्रि चौभूतास्वयं (यम) [1*] दशरथीभुक्त[ः]ह्रासः
2 विषाण्वरात्रि यायः [॥१*] हीमतां समन्नमुखसमाधिभर्तिरितिनान् कार्तिके-
3 यापिनिशात्रान्यकाण्यास्मात्मद्यन्तरितिनान् कार्तिके-
4 सामादिन्तरवामलांकनकम्पणावशीकरणशास्त्रामान् हारोतीपुष्पाः
5 णं चुलुकानामात्रपत्री मकानमीमषेष्वलकावलकी महाराजाधिराजपर-
6 मेष्ट्वीविभाविवाहकम्पश्वत्प्राचार्यात्रीचवी खपुचनिविश्रेणी
7 निरक्षद्वैष्ट्रान्यलकाभुत: ग्रह्याग्राहोमान्यलकाभुत: च च च-
8 जनामानन्दकाँ श्रीकामिनीयां नाम राजा शेषनें चतुर्दशामस्वात:-
9 संख्य मकानमु(म)पि पुरीकोणक्ष्ण भूकामात् [॥*] तथा च च च च च च च च च च च
10 चत्राय चतुर्दशामस्वात:-
11 पुष्च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च
12 पुष्च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च

Second Plate; First Side.

13 विषाण्वरात्रि [॥*] प्रथीवृद्धापरामांश्चयो राजा श्रीमातामणि: योमो बाल
14 एवं पुरुषायामिन स्यां समुपपत्तां भगवसी वासुदेवसांविनि-
15 धिन्ति प्रति मन्त्राभ्युत्तके त्राभिमण्डल युधिष्ठिर च नवविनयदयादानदानि-
16 श्वायदिब्धु[ः] गृहोलकंदव्यतवादी च भौमसेन एव प्रकटपराक्षराङ्गोत्तरायकरण:-
17 त्यांभोगमन्दान कलावश्च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च च
18 रेद्व वलनेव एव उत्तोलनांतरसितिसिद्धापसतसुकारोभूमिस्तव: च च च च च
19 तुलनश्र ग्रह्य एव समस्मुनिजनमीहं अन्यायंयविविर्दविना-
20 स्मृ: वन्याणायाधिशिलश्च स्मृति भोगमन्दानितकर: प्रशोष्ठ[ः]

1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 One word is redundant.
Inscription of Tejavarman.

Grant B.
21 [कु(क)ः] सावर्णकृत: सावर्णकृत: जनाधितः इव प्रागिनां तथाविच्छिदाकारोऽविदितविदः
22 संज्ञानविशेषतः महायोगकालः इव नियो निवासभवन जनवितिधिरिव रचितः
23 तस्मात् ज्ञानविशेषायत्वारपि: परमर्मिनी महायोगः न्यातस्व देवकुलक्षै
24 कस्मच्छलायोगिनियानुसाराध्यस्त नारायणानुभवस्ततत्वर्थ कौशिकम्
25 निरिव विशिष्ट: पुरोपकारा विमिस्त्वानुनकारायस्तुतु: भारतपुरुषरामायणः
26 राजशास्त्रान्तर्त्वात् नियुपः प्राप्त: प्रजान: संभाजी स्वस्तिन्तत्वकपपरा

Second Plate; Second Side.

27 [कुमो] साहसमयानुभवकारिकास्यवहन[कुशी] [राजा भोगश्चाष्टी सब्धनवावी]*
28 युक्तित्वा च प्राप्तीतः चढी (दीन) विधायत्वनामस्वभीमिकाम[ः] तरा[ः] दीन (दीन) समाचारयः
29 ति विनितमण्डो यथा पुरूषस्तवित्व | भुजिमिकायन चन्द्रपुरोपिनः
30 च चयः परिश्चालनः | ययुपिकायर्याः परिपरिपाकायस्थिति चतुरः
31 परिपाकः च समा समावतीति चतुरादिकारुपोपिनि
32 समस्तस्तावः दसः समाविष्टवस्तावान्यथा विषाञ्च चन्द्रकावास्वाबादी(दी)
33 य समस्तराव्रेन नाशति [!*] चयरः चयुपरः च बनानाः सत्ि उम्बरभदः[[:]
34 राजपुर्णः
35 गामावासी जमकू एतवापि [!*] कुमारसाक्षी रुपकाणामादेशः
36 शंत; | सांपत्व सांपत्वितलिपः सर्वोच्चनिष्कायः श्रेयः रुपकः दीपः
37 स्वस्तनत चतुराधिकायः भाविकायः विवपुर्वाधिकारान्यथा रुपाकाः
38 तदेव प्रमाणः [!*] योतिजयमाराजः एतदनि नित्यितः

TRANSLATION.

(II. 1-28) [Common with Grant A.]
(II. 29-38) "Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri along with Chandrapuri and the three hamlets of Ambayapalli, Savanipalli and Maureyapalli as well as Karisarpalli have been recolonised by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants Eja and Karapu. The merchants residing in Samagiri (पाृता) shall, for ever, be exempt from the payment of custom duties throughout the kingdom; their property shall not escheat to the state in the absence of a male heir; nor (shall they pay registration fee) owing to partition of joint property and they shall not have to provide

1 This portion within square brackets is completely effaced and the reading is restored from Grant A.
2 This portion within square brackets is badly corroded and hardly any letter is visible.
3 [Reading seems to be [AjunmRNA.--Ed.]
4 Ha is written below the line.
5 Tadda is redundant.
6 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs me that nallavan (derived from Skt. udhvarban) wood is still used for the door-sill in Maharashtra and that therefore the sense is partition of the joint family property.
accommodation or provisions to the state officials. (The town council is also empowered to levy the following fines:—) Rupees one hundred and eight for outraging the modesty of a virgin; rupees thirty-two for adultery; rupees sixteen for the mutilation of ear; rupees four for bruising the head: rupees one hundred and eight if a merchant’s son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter: and should one be caught in the actual act of adultery whatever eight or sixteen elders of the town council shall determine that shall be final. This has been promulgated by the illustrious king Tējavarman.

No. 23.—A NOTE ON THE RĀGOLU PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN AND THE CHALUKYAN CONQUEST OF KALINGA.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription on these plates has been published by Dr. Hultsch in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII. pages 1 ff. In the spring of 1922, when I happened to visit Jeypore (Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency), the owner of the plates, M. R. Ry. G. Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., offered them for sale to the Government. They have been subsequently bought and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

One important point to note in connection with this record is that in line 4 Dr. Hultsch reads sananṛgaṭa = nāgapatiṇā. I may suggest that a more correct reading would be sananṛgaṭa = grihapatiṇā. This could be read clearly on the original plates and the facsimile plate given also shows the reading. It may be noted that in this inscription the subscript letter ta has the shape of an inverted narrow cup with unequal arms and carries with it a small upward stroke in the centre of the top with which it is joined to the main letter. For example, see the letters su in the expression parīḥrata = ta in l. 10. tu in parīṭiṣaṇyā in line 11 and nta in the expression chānumantā in l. 20. On the other hand, the subscript letter ya being of the same shape is broader and has equal arms unlike ta. Moreover, ya generally bears no stroke on the top though in a few cases when it is attached to the main letter above, such a stroke is formed by the upward extension of the proper left arm; see Kalinagadhipati (l. 1), Kalinagacishayā (l. 3), and svāygy (l. 19). The sign for ri of gri is partly damaged in the facsimile plate. It is likely that being close to the slightly raised margin, it has not come off clearly enough in the ink impression. But it is not totally invisible on the facsimile plate. The existing traces may be compared with that of rī in vṛddhāyē in l. 6 and that of ṣtī in parīṣṭu in l. 10. As for the letter ka of the expression it is quite clear on the facsimile plate as well as on the original. The suggested reading suits the context much better than the existing one with the proposed emendation.

The word grihapati or grihapatika ('a householder') occurs in many Prākrit inscriptions as the attribute of a donor or a relative of a donor under the Prākrit form gahapati or gahapatika. In one or two cases kudubika (Sanākrit kuṭumbika) i.e. householder and kuṭumbini (wife of a householder) are also mentioned. In the Eastern Chalukya copper-plates the royal order of gift is invariably addressed to the kuṭumbina of the granted village, to whom the grihapatikas of the Rāgolū plates correspond.

It is interesting to note that the grant was issued by the early king Śaktivarman of the Kalinga country from Pishṭapura which was also famous as the capital of king Mahēndra whom Samudragupta conquered with many other kings of the Daśāṅgupatha. Barring this, the men-

1 Lüders’ List of Brāhmi Inscriptions (above, Vol. X, Appendix) and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 154 and 155.
2 Lüders’ List, Nos. 1121 and 1127.
tion of the place in the Rāgūla plates would be the earliest and the first in a copper-plate record in point of time which, judging from the characters of the plates, may be said to be about the 4th century A.D. The late Rao Bhadur Krishna Saxtri was of the opinion that it was even earlier—same time even prior to Sunandagupta. The subsequent mention of the place is in the Aihoš inscription of the early Chālukya king, Puhēśin I, which refers to the Chālukya capture of Pishṭapura, i.e., the Chālukya conquest of the Kaliṅga country. These events must have happened before Saka 336 (= A.D. 634-35) which is the date of the last mentioned inscription. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the Chālukya conquest of Kaliṅga by the capture of Pishṭapura, must have happened in or before the year A.D. 634. Pishṭapura subsequently became the provincial or independent seat (rāṣṭāka) of Vindhuvaradhana who, with the title Mahaṭāja, issued the Tamil-Turcama plates from this city. This record with the Chāḷapurapalli plates of this same king issued in his 18th regnal year would tend to show that the Kaliṅga country was under the Eastern Chalukyas from this period.

The discovery of the copper-plate inscriptions of the later kings of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty, i.e., Kokkilāvarma-Mahāraja (A.D. 799) so far north as the village Mahēśu in the Bimbipatam Taluk of the Vizagapatam District, the mention therein of the Madhayana-Kaliṅga country in which the village granted by the king was situated, together with the mention of Elamāñchili (the modern Yellamāñchili in the Sarvasiddha Taluk of the same District) as the rāṣṭāka (residence) of the king show that the Chāḷukya dominion in the Kaliṅga country continued to last even up to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In the same tract of country has been found a copper-plate grant of his son Māmā II. A grant of the later Chāḷukya king Bhima I (A.D. 888-918) also records the gift of a village in the Elamāñchili-Kaliṅgaḍēśa and Dēvarāsthra. These records go to prove that the Chāḷukya kingdom in the Kaliṅga country lasted even down to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The Chāḷukyan authority here seems to have been opposed for a time after the close of the first quarter of the 10th century A.D., since we are told in an unpublished copper-plate grant of Anuma II that after the short reign of Vrikramālita II (A.D. 925-926) who was killed and succeeded by Yuddhamalla II whose reign lasted for seven years (i.e., A.D. 927-934), the feudatory Sabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha (i.e., Rāṣṭārātha) forces and others rebelled and apportioned among themselves the northern Chāḷukya territory for seven years. We may here infer that the revolution and usurpation in the Kaliṅga country occurred in and lasted throughout the seven years' rule of Yuddhamalla II. The recalcitrant feudatories and their allies who had usurped authority were driven away by Chāḷukya-Bhima II who recovered the Kaliṅga country and ruled over the entire Chāḷukya kingdom for 12 years. The troubles in the Kaliṅga country did not end here but again occurred in the time of Anuma II (the son of Chāḷukya-Bhuma II), who after reigning for II years had to proceed to the Kaliṅga country in wrath against Krishna (probably Rāṣṭārātha Krishna III) who was evidently interested in lamenting trouble against the Chāḷukyas in the Kaliṅga country. We may conclude that the Chāḷukya dominion in the Kaliṅga country practically came to an end or at least grew very weak about or after A.D. 950. Taking A.D. 633 as the probable year of the Chāḷukya conquest of Kaliṅga as stated at first we may say that the Chāḷukya dominion in the Kaliṅga country lasted roughly for three centuries.

---

1 Above, Vol. VI, p. 11.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 317.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 1917, p. 117.
7 Ibid., p. 106.
No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVETAKA.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Ludh.), Ootacamund.

It has already been pointed out¹ that the Ganga rulers who issued their charters from Svētaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gāṅgas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.² In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that Bhāṭṭaputra Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhāṭṭa Bōdhana, of the Vatsa gōtra and the Chhāndoga charaṇa, the donee in the Badakhmedi copper-plates of Indravarman,³ is identical with Bhāṭṭa Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārāṇava’s grant,⁴ coming likewise from the Badakhmedi Estate,⁵ as the name of the donee’s father, gōtra and charaṇa in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarman, while in the second it is Dānārāṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Prithivīvarman. Since both the records are issued from Svētaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarman and Dānārāṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor’s father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarman and Dānārāṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled⁶ in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarman’s charter are given respectively as Saṁdhivigrāhin Śrīśāmanta and kamāśa-kulaputraka śrīśthīvin Śrīśāmanta Svayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Ganjam plates of Prithivīvarman.⁷ This Prithivīvarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarman’s father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.⁸ The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son’s regime after the father’s death. From this we may also infer that Indravarman was the immediate successor of Prithivīvarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārāṇava’s grant are different persons and not those who served under Prithivīvarman and Indravarman. Thus we may conclude that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārāṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows:

| 1. Prithivīvarman* (P. P. M.) |
| 2. Indravarman (P. P. M.) |
| 3. Dānārāṇava (P. P. M. Rāyaka) |

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV. p. 131. ² Ibid., p. 133.
³ Ibid., Vol. XXIII. p. 78. ⁴ Ibid., p. 264.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXIV. p. 129. ⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV. p. 201.
⁷ Both Indravarman and Dānārāṇava bear, like their father, the imperial title of Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭa-raka-Mahārājā, though curiously enough Dānārāṇava bears an additional title of Rājaka, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.
⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXIII. p. 79.
* He is stated to be son of Mahindravarman, whose identity is not certain.
By A. S. RAMAKRISHNA AYYAR, B.A. and V. VENKATA SUBBAIYAR, B.A., M.A.

The present plates are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Nagesh Reddy, a resident of Charala in the Pungamur taluk of the Chettur District, while he was tilling his field from a manuscript in his garden. The whole batch of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Sahib T. D. V. Ayyar, 10 plates supplemented of the lost, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Museum, were recovered and sent for a thorough examination.

They have since been purchased by the Government and are now deposited in the Tirupati Museum. We give the plates in the exact reproduction copied by the officer of the Superintendat of Epigraphy Madras.

The set consists of a medium-sized copper plate, with the entire edge and 4 hts and sitting together, a ring 1 inch in diameter, passing through the upper part of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the base, and the whole is 194 and weighing 1 1 inch in thickness. The different leaves of the inscription begin and terminate in the middle of the plate. The plate weighs 15 lbs and the ring and cast together weighs 4 7 lbs.

The text bears in relief from left to right the name of the Chola king Rajakesvararajavarma and his title to the throne, the date of his reign, and the place of the inscription. The text is inscribed with a single line, with the inscription starting from the left and the lines left blank up to the right. The inscription is engraved in the Sanskrit characters and consists of 291 lines. The language of the inscription is in good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the parasas and genealogical preamble of the inscription, which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters. The Grantha letters are well shaped, and clearly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight looseness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Saka 991, Saunyavedha and the 7th year of the Chola king Rajakesvararajavarma Virarajendradeva and registers the royal gift of the village Charumlakshminarayana Madurantakachaturvēdīmāhām in Pulichiradu and 2

\[ 1 \text{Registered at C.P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1957.38.} \\
2 \text{The ashes and umbrella appear to have been applied to the same limbs. They are engraved on the} \\
3 \text{top of an inscription of the temple at Pillaiyappan. No. 15 of 1957 of the Madras Epigraphical} \\
4 \text{Collection and also on the top of images of gods in temples in early Chola temples.} \\
5 \text{The verse is repeated in lines 186-191 at the text.} \\
6 \text{The plates were discovered in the same location. In addition, these plates, like spoken} \\
7 \text{languages were Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil, and inscriptions of these languages are found in the} \\
8 \text{inscription of the Chola kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted in a Chola} \\
9 \text{alphabet, was composed in that language.} \\
10 \text{The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the s in the Dravidian type, etc.} \\
11 \text{No. 25 CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA. SAKA 991} \]
Kāñchipuram, to three Bālū mans named Sōṣūṭiṛiya-Kramavīttan. Mundaya-Kramavīttan
and Pallava-Kramavīttan of the Āṭēvā-pūra and Bahudhvānm (Būdhyavana-sūtra and of the
lineage of a certain Rishikēśava (Hrishikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chōraṁ, on the occasion of the Uttarā-
yana-Saṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōla seals we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present
plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden
plates, Madras Museum, Anbū and the present Chārāḷa plates, have the same objects represented
on them, while the seal of the Tiuvāḷaṅgāḷu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape,
however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are
circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāḷa seal
the Chōla emblem, the tiger, is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead
of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineat ed with claws drawn out, leaving no room
for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and
neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow
are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chera dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

1 The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the bhūdara of kings, such as Tr̄hāvanciṭṭā, Māravacchudhi, Pērhāmaṇu, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍya have no seals, and we do not know
what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (S. I. E., Vol. II, p. 501) has a
defaced legend in the Ānāśīrva metre running round its margin. In the Ayavāṅgara, Nâyaka and Sēnuvai
plate-grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents
themselves and not on the seals. The Chōla seals, however, have one full verse in the Ānāśīrva metre engraved on them.

The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla, Rājēndra-Chōla and Kuśēṭṭa-Chōla I are
reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum
plates of Uttama-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla

Śūruṭiḥṛṣīvārubhadīnētām
Lakṣaṇāya pūrṇaṁ
śūrvaṁ
śāntam
śrīmaṇa Rājiḥēśaravacmuṇi

—(Anbū Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōla

Nāyavāṅgara Śrīmaṇa
Kuṇḍārvīca
ān śāntaṁ
bhāpuruṣai rat Parāvīca

—(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājēndra I

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved
on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

śrīmaṇa Rājēndrapura Rājiḥēśaravacmuṇa


(d) Rājēndra-Chōla

Rājiḥēśāravacmuṇa
dhitēn-Chōla-ga
Parāvīca

—(Tuivāḷaṅgāḷu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form
of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in ill. 180 to 191 of the text and the
fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be
interchanged.

(e) Kuśēṭṭa-Chōla

Kuśēṭṭhē Kṛṣṇa-bhadṛi śrīmāṁ
śūraṁ

—(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 217, have been interchanged.

It may be noted that king Virājēndra claims to have set up pillars of victory (praya-hadāälltā) at several
places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (S. I. E., Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahāśravēn inscription
of Rājēndra-Chōla I (No. 306 of 1806) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.
position of the latter two to the tiger on Chola seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chola over the Pandyas and Chera kings. The other objects such as the pair of chauris, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the ashtamangalas, which are associated with auspicious ceremonies. It may be noted that the full set of ashtamangalas objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvalluvar Chola plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chalukyan crest, the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chola supremacy over the Chalukya. Though Viraṇāḍendra claims to have defeated the Chalukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chalukyan varaha-līṅgha has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial i in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced hook (l. 2). The design when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the ṣ symbol in some cases (l. 2, 47, etc.). la and la are often interchanged (l. 20) and sa is wrongly used for cha in some cases (l. 167, 175). The rules of sanātha are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same sanātha. The use of the anuśāsa in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a ṣ symbol are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the sanātha, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhumātaka-Brahmādhya was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyakumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayvac in the Travancore Archaeological Series and by the late T. A. Gopana Rao in a previous volume of this Journal. As the Kanyakumari record is otherwise damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacuna and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit paśupata of the Chola dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyakumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections: the mythological, the historical, the donor and the signatory.

Section I (Lines 1-101).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chola dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa. Mann and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chola, a Rājakāśi and a Parākṣa are then introduced, and the genealogy is

1 The ashtamangalas objects are (1) a mirror, (2) a pañcā-kumbha, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-gead, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects in which a mūla and a stūkha also occur.
2 The king claims to have captured the Chalukya chelu) the mūla-trunk of the Chalukyas, along with other royal paraphernalia. (S. I. 1, Vol. III, p. 66).
3 Vol. III, p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.
No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVErAKA.

By B. Ch. Chhiabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD.), OOTAVAMUNUD.

It has already been pointed out that the Ganga rulers who issued their charters from Svëtaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Ganga, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings. In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that Bhäçapattra Durgakhanda, son of Bhatta Budhana, of the Vasa gôna and the Chándöga charana, the donee in the Badakhmedi copper-plates of Indravarman, is identical with Bhatta Durgakhanda, the donee of Dänârûva’s grant, coming likewise from the Badakhmedi Estate, as the name of the donee’s father, goëna and charana in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarman, while in the second it is Dänârûva. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Pythivivaran. Since both the records are issued from Svëtaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donor Indravarman and Dänârûva are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor’s father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarman and Dänârûva were brothers and that both of them ruled in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarman’s charter are given respectively as Sañëkavavavan Srisàmanta and kâññåra-kulapatra-sështhiv Srisàmanta Sçyavamhù. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Gânjâm plates of Pythivivaran. This Pythivivaran must, therefore, be identical with Indravarman’s father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. X. Bhattacharya. The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son’s reign after the father’s death. From this we may also infer that Indravarman was the immediate successor of Pythivivaran. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dänârûva’s grant are different persons and not those who served under Pythivivaran and Indravarman. Thus we may conclude that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dänârûva.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows:—

1. Pythivivaran (P. P. M.)

2. Indravarman (P. P. M.)

3. Dänârûva (P. P. M. Rûpaka).

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 129.
4 Ibid., p. 133.
5 Ibid., p. 294.
6 Both Indravarman and Dänârûva bear, like their father, the imperial title of Paramëvama-Paramabhâtāraka-Mahārûjñåkhyâja, though curiously enough Dänârûva bears an additional title of Rûpakr, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.
7 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 201.
8 He is stated to be son of Mahindravarman, whose identity is not certain.
No. 25 CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA SAKA 991

By A.S. RAMACHANDRA AYYAR, RA, and V. VENKATESA AYYAR, RA.

The present plates are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Namati Raji, a resident of Charulla in the Pandhanadu, near the District, from a quaternary earth from a man-made pond. The two objects of the present communication were immediately traced back to the associations of Rama Sastri, a Dr. in Ayurveda and Surgery, and an expert in inscriptions of the Pandhanadu. The latter had long ago published the preliminary account of his discovery in the Museum Gazette. We have therefore been enabled to consult the original documents in the office of the Superintendence of Epigraphy, Madras.

The artefacts consist of a hundred and eight plates in a single lot, of which one is broken. They are of a piece, and cannot be divided or separated. Each one is of two parts, in which the two plates are joined together, with the inscription engraved on the sides facing one another. The sides of the plates are sold red to the base and at the top, but not on the middle. The subjects of the plates are letters and figures, in the writing of the Tamil.

The material from which the plates are made, though highly polished, is very hard. The writing is in the proper left and right half of the plate, and the second half has an inscription in a different script, in the last of the script which was used in the Pandhanadu. The second half is represented by a number of tablets, each of which is inscribed with a line or two lines of inscription, in a different manner.

The plates are inscribed on both their sides, in the Pandhanadu, which is very clear and detailed. Each tablet has different scripts, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the complete size of the plates is 24 in. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The language used is the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the vocabulary is quite different from that of the Tamil of the same period. The material from which the plates are made is a hard substance, and the writing is in a different manner.

The inscriptions engraved on the plates are in Saka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chola king Cakrayadgoparman Virarajendra Deva and registers the royal acts of the village Cherramalai Madhuranatha-chaturvedimangalam in Pahula island.

1. The text of the plates is engraved on both sides of the plates, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, which is very clear and detailed. Each tablet has different scripts, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the complete size of the plates is 24 in. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The language used is the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the vocabulary is quite different from that of the Tamil of the same period. The material from which the plates are made is a hard substance, and the writing is in a different manner.

2. The Pandhanadu tablets are inscribed on both sides, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, which is very clear and detailed. Each tablet has different scripts, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the complete size of the plates is 24 in. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The language used is the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the vocabulary is quite different from that of the Tamil of the same period. The material from which the plates are made is a hard substance, and the writing is in a different manner.

3. This verse is repeated in lines 140-141 of the text.

4. The Pandhanadu tablets are inscribed on both sides, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, which is very clear and detailed. Each tablet has different scripts, in the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the complete size of the plates is 24 in. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The language used is the Tamil of the Pandhanadu, and the vocabulary is quite different from that of the Tamil of the same period. The material from which the plates are made is a hard substance, and the writing is in a different manner.

5. This verse is repeated in lines 140-141 of the text.
Kānchipuram, to three Brāhmans named Saṅgītivijaya-Kramavētra, Mandaya-Kramavētra and Pallava-Kramavētra of the Ātrēya-śūlta and Bāhudhānya (Bāhudhānyasūlta) and of the lineage of a certain Rishiśeṣa (Hirshīśeṣa)-Bhāṭṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-Saṅkṛtanta. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōla seals we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chērām plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tāruḷāṅgāṉi plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular: but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chērām seal the Chōla emblem, the tiger, is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the ātras of kings, such as Tēppahumalaiyā, Pōdhumalaiyā, Pēpphumalaiyā, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandavāmanasūrī (M.I., Vol. II, p. 301) has a defaced legend in the Ādoreśekha metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sēnapatī copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasties were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chēla seals, however, have one full verse in the Ādoreśekha metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla, Rājēndra-Chōla and Kūḷēṇḍra-Chōla I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla

Sundara Chōla sarvaśāstrādhipati
Kānchanaśvēte suṣṭhavat
ātmanā
Śvēte
śāstram
śīmādī Rājēndrapatnām

(a) Anbil Plates.

(b) Uttama-Chōla

Uttama Chōla sarvaśāstrādhipati
Kānchanaśvēte suṣṭhavat
ātmanā
Śvēte
śīmādī Rājēndrapatnām

(b) Madras Museum Plates.

(c) Rājēndra I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

Ittā Śrīmānātprakāśaśvarādhipati
śīmādī Rājēndrapatnām

(d) Rājēndra-Chōla

Rājēndrapatnām sarvaśāstrādhipati
śīmādī

and Rājēndrapatnām Parkavatnām

Rājēndra-Chōla

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in H. 189 to 194 of the text, and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kūḷēṇḍra-Chōla

Kūḷēṇḍra-Chōla sarvaśāstrādhipati
śīmādī

Kūḷēṇḍrapatnām

(c) Smaller Leiden Plates.

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

It may be noted that king Vitāḷaṅkeśa claims to have set up pillars of victory (vārāhavātāyān) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (S. I., Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahādevasurī inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla I (No. 306 of 1896) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.
position of the latter two to the tiger on Chāḷa seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chāḷa over the Pāndya and Chēṭa kings. The other objects such as the pair of chaurīs, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the ashtamauṣṇupālaṁ, which are associated with auspicious ceremonies. It may be noted that the full set of ashtamauṣṇupālaṁ objects are represented on the seal of the Trivāḷaḥāgāṇu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chāḷukya king, the bow, is also introduced indicative perhaps of the Chāḷa supremacy over the Chāḷukya. Though Virājāndra claims to have defeated the Chāḷukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chāḷukyan saṅghā-lāṇēkhandu has not been figured on the Chāḷā seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial ē in Guṇḍa letters are indicated by a pronounced hoop (ī 7). The ō-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the ō-symbol in some cases (ll. 247, etc.). La and lā are often interchanged (ll. 20) and sā is wrongly used for cā in some cases (ll. 167, 270). The rules of saṅkha are almost always observed correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same saṅgopa. The use of the avasaṁ in place of the appropriate nasal and the doubling of consonants after a ārīya are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol : is followed by three vertical strokes used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the कम, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhanattaka-Brahmadeva was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 5th year, discovered at Kanyākumāri in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the Travancore Archaeological Series and by the late T. A. Gopanathra Rao in a previous volume of this Journal. As the Kanyakumāri record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacuna and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit purāṇa of the Chāḷa dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyakumāri epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections: the mythological, the historical, the domitory and the narrative.

Section I (Lāves 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chāḷa dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa. Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chāḷa, a Rājakāsatra and a Parakāsatra are then introduced, and the genealogy is

1 The ashtamauṣṇupāla objects are: (1) a mirror, (2) a pāhua-kauṭaka, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-goad, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps, and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects, in which a saṅkha and a saṅkha also occur.

2 The king claims to have captured the Ṛṣabhaśākhā with the saṅkha-bunch of the Chāḷukyaśa, along with other royal paraphernalia. (8, 11, Vol. III, p. 106).

3 Vol. III, p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.

4 Ase., Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.
further traced, though with a direct sequence, through a few more Purānic kings up to a certain Manuśratha, after whom the names of a few non-historical members, such as, Parvati, Vēgha, and Cakula, are mentioned. The whole passage being manifest attempt on the part of the compiler to give his patron a pedigree going back to high antiquity. This passage has been discussed with characteristic fulness by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar.  

Section II (114-119)  

The inscription at present commences with the name of Śrīparākēśārā Vēgarālāva, and from this king goes down to Śrīparākēśārā's father and eldest brother of Virarājendrādēva, this inscription furnishing some data for information about the several members of the Chōla family. These facts have been dealt with in detail elsewhere.  

Concerning Virarājendrādēva, the donor of the present grant, his military and other achievements are thus described in seven verses (vv. 75-81). It is stated that when King Nāgarāja died, his youngest brother Virarājendras succeeded to the extensive kingdom in accordance with the prescribed law. He is called Śrīparākēśārā by his brothers. The Chōla king mentioned in this powerful Chōla inscription is one of the parricides of sacrificial offerings by the addition to its numerical strength of those kings who had themselves become celestials. With the help of a single elephant he subdued the Kāmpuṭhā army and created a new river of blood through the ocean of the world.  

The king Vaḷlabha-Vaḷlabha conquered back the Vēńgai and Kāḻingai countries, which had been subjugated by his brothers but which had been left uncared for by them and had therefore been opulent from powerful enemies. Having defeated the strong armies of his opponents and having destroyed many of their fortresses, he ruled his kingdom in prosperity.  

The Vēgarālāva, called also Karikāla-Chōla, destroyed the strength of the Kali-age and restored to the people ill-gotten wealth by charitable gifts. Further, he embellished the crown of the Dāṇḍa in the Dabha-sabha (i.e., god Nāgarājā at Chidambaram) with a ruby called the "Taraśasūla," which looked as if the progenitor of his own race (i.e., the Sun) had himself crowned on top of the crown, so as to cause annoyance to the moon, the ancestor of the dynasty of his enemy (i.e., the Pāṇḍya), which is also worn as the crest-jewel by god Śrikanṭha. This king founded several brahmadēgas under the name of Virarājendrā in the Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Vēṉgai, Guṇavēṭṭai, and Kulāṭa countries, and pleased forty-thousand Brahmans by lavish gifts of land.  

The regnal year of the king is quoted as the 7th corresponding to Saka 991, Saumya 139-140. The same regnal and Saka years occur also in a record of his from Vēṉgai-Valavaram.  

3. In this battle several golds lost their lives, but who were the gods of the Kamāṭha-valmikis, who are also said to have been slain, is not clear. In Ep. tōrum, Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Áhavamalla is described as an enemy of the Kamāṭha kings. Probably this is a less description of the pāṇḍya.  
5. In addition to this, the king presented to the god a pedestal with the name of Veḻarājendrā engraved on it (No. 27 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1912).  
6. Kulāṭa referred to here cannot be the country of the same name in the Pāṇḍya, identified with Kulī. A general of the Chōla king Rājendrā-Chōla I is said to have defeated a Kulāṭa chieftain named Vāmalippa (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1351), and so the Kulāṭa must be located near Vēṉgai and Tukala, and ruled over by an Eastern Chōlasyan feudatory.  
7. No. 273 of 1904.
in the Pattur Division of the Chittor District. The locality where these two inscriptions were discovered, namely, the Chittor District, has perhaps to account for the restricted quotation of both the regional as well as the Saka year, for such double citations are somewhat rare in inscriptions of this period in the southern districts.

Several Sanskrit and Tamil legends of the king are also enumerated in this portion of the record (ll. 159-81), some belonging to him by his own pen. As a son of the Chola family, such as Rájakásittha, Chólakalmará, etc., while others are acquired by him as a result of his victory over the Chalukyas, such as Sálalápa, Piśāca, Abhavamallahalah, etc. The title: Abhavamallahalah is of particular interest as it claims for him victory over Abhavamalla as many as two times. Pádayaśilat has left it to his victory over the Pandyas.

These and other achievements of the king are further elaborated in the short historical introduction commencing with the words: Vindhyapura ānyagacchana, etc., which follows thereafter (ll. 160-68). It is herein claimed that Rájakíśarin armant: Virarājendrā was the head of the Tammav (Pándyas), levied tribute from the Chola king: Sādhupe King of Čeylon, saw the back of Abhavamalla twice in battle, killed the sons of his elder brothers by recovering Vengai-Nadu which, however, he gave to King Yajñavalkya of Čeylon, who had submitted to him, gave Kadçarum back after conquest of the Kádçarum king whom he at his feet seduced his help, drove away Sámvactrying to seize the Tammav kingdom from his Kadçarum, and gave Tattaratapídevoced and Akalakhalli country to Vindhyapura. Incidentally, Virarājendrā is also stated to have defeated the Abhavamalla king at Madukâlär apparently on an earlier occasion, and to have thus ended his anger.

From a study of the elaborate details contained in the variant historical introductions preparing his liturgical records, it is seen that the reign of Virarājendrā, though it occupied a short span of only seven years, was crowded with campaigns conducted in as many as four fronts, on the west against Abhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brother; in battle on the east against Abhavamalla's feudatory, the Eastern Chalukya Yajñavalkya; on the south against the Pándyas, the Cholas and Čeylon; while on the north he is said to have invaded Kadçarum and carried his raids as far as Chakkarakottam; in extension of his Vengi campaigns. Virarājendrā began his military career even as a prince and appears to have taken part in the wars against the Western Chalukya as undertaken by his predeccessors Rájakíśarin I, Rájendrādeva and Rájamahendrā, and what they had failed to accomplish themselves, he claims to have brought to a successful issue. Soon after the death of Rájendrādeva, he is said to have returned to Gangāpuri (Gaṅgakona) Shambhunath from the battlefield for his coronation and to have again started out on that very day to prosecute the war against Abhavamalla. In all, he credits himself with having routed Abhavamalla in the pitched battles. These facts have been reviewed in a thorough manner by Dr. Hultzsch, but the sequence of events in this Chola-Chalukya conflict as worked out by him seems to require slight revision.

Before examining this question, however, a few relevant facts bearing upon this period may be recalled here, for purposes of easy reference:

(1) Rájendrādeva's rule extended from 28th May 1052 A.D. to A.D. 1063, his highest regional year so far known being 12.3

---

1 There is only one instance (No. 230 of 1928-29) in which he is styled a "Rājakíśarin armant."

2 Chalukyan and Chakkarakottam were in close political connection with the Vengi kingdom at this period, and the political changes in Vengi had then repercussions in the other two northern territories.

(2) A record of Rājamālāndra dated in the 4th year, gives astronomical details which correspond to A.D. 1062, July 22. In a record dated in his 3rd year, this prince claims to have worsted the Chālukyas at Mudakkāru.2

(3) Rājamālāndra did not rule independently and probably predeceased his father; so Rājendrā may have chosen Visnurājendrā as heir-apparent, some time before his own death.

(4) Visnurājendrā’s date of accession has been calculated to fall between 11th September 1062 and 10th September 1063 A.D.1

(5) He is said to have defeated Abavamalla three times by the 4th year,4 and by the end of the 5th year, he claims to have defeated him in five engagements.5

(6) A record of the 5th year6 which recounts several of his achievements gives astronomical details agreeing only for A.D. 1067, September 10, Monday, and serves as an important chronological landmark.

(7) Abavamalla (Somēvata II) drowned himself in the Tungabhādra on Sunday, 30th March, A.D. 1064.7

(8) In the disputed succession that followed Abavamalla’s death, Visnurājendrā sided with Vikramaditya against the latter’s elder brother Somēvata.8

(9) The date of Somēvata (III)’s accession was 15th April A.D. 1064.9

(10) The highest regnal year of Visnurājendrā found in his own inscriptions is 7, and in two records10 of his successor Adhirājendrā, his 8th year is also quoted.

(11) As Kumāravīra Chola’s accession took place on 9th June, A.D. 1070,11 Visnurājendrā must have passed away early in his 8th year, i.e., towards the beginning of 1070, and Adhirājendrā, who succeeded the latter, must have had a very short independent reign.

Visnurājendrā’s campaigns against Abavamalla—

Now as Visnurājendrā boasts of the title ‘Abavamallavakramamadi-van+%m%ka%d%a’ (i.e., he who saw the back of Abavamalla five times), all the five engagements must have been directed against Abavamalla-Somēvata I during the latter’s lifetime, i.e., before 30th March A.D. 1068.

As Rājamālāndra and Visnurājendrā both claim to have fought the Chālukyas at or on the bank

1 For the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1935-36.
2 S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 743. The name Mudakkāru means a river with a sharp bend, and so it may have been a simple descriptive name of a devBHin river which later became its distinctive name. This Mudakkāru may be different from the Kōkār Sangamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name. It has to be noted that the name Mudakkāru is Tamil in form and if this was its original name in its locality, we may have to look for it in some place where Tamil was current. If, however, Telegu or Kannada name had been appropriately paraphrased into Mudakkāru, its identification becomes somewhat difficult. As another instance of such transformation may be mentioned the name Kānchip (or Kambada) in the vicinity of Kōkār Sangamam, which appears to be a Telugu poetic form of a Telegu or Kannada name. Dr. N. Venkataramaneya suggests that it may perhaps be identified with Kōkār Sangamam i.e., the modern Kōkār. Similarly Kōndai, the scene of another battle, may perhaps be identified with Kōndapattu or Kōndapattu.
3 1062—The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 342.
7 The Takkēsavappattam (v. 774) also confirms the friendship of this Chola king with Vikramaditya VI.
8 Nos. 15 of 1890 and 418 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
9 S. I. I., p. 7, f. 5.
of Mudakkarur, and as there is no great possibility for two separate battles at the same place by two kings within a short interval, it is likely that both Rājamahendravī and Virarājendravarā took part together in the same battle, and as such, this must have happened in about the beginning of A.D. 1062, when Virarājendravarā was only a prince.

In the present record Virarājendravarā states that, on the very day of his coronation, he proceeded against his enemy Āhavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the north. This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Virarājendravarā's coronation could have taken place only after Rājendravarā's demise in A.D. 1063, this first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam by Virarājendravarā, as king, will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But on the other hand, the Mahīmaṇgalam inscription mentions that after the notable victory at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, the king was pleased to ascend the ēravanabhāvanam along with his consort Ulagamūlukalavajjī and donned (mēyoda) the crown (vr̥tra-pajjāyakīntum). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Mahīmaṇgalam record has to be understood in the sense that the king signalled his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremonial after his return from the battle-field.

As Virarājendravarā claims to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by his 4th year, he must have defeated him on two other occasions in addition to the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle. These are mentioned in the Tamil preamble beginning with the words ārumai, etc., i.e., (1) a campaign against Gaṅgāpāṭi in which Vikkaḷam and several sāmāna were routed and (2) another against the Western Chāḷukya army in occupation in Vēṅgi, when the Chāḷukya general named Chāḷaṅgaḷaṇa was killed. The Mudakkarur battle must have to be placed in one of the early campaigns.

Two other expeditions are also specified in the above praśasti to have been undertaken before the end of the 5th year of his reign. One of them was a battle on the bank of an unspecified river, when he slew a number of Chāḷukya and other generals. The other was arranged to be fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam again, in response to a challenge issued by Āhavamalla fixing a tryst there, but as Āhavamalla did not turn up in person, Virarājendravarā waited for him at Kāndai for Karandai in its vicinity for over a month. In the skirmish that, however, ensued between the latter and the Chāḷukya garrison that was near by, three Chāḷukya generals were killed. Virarājendravarā proceeding thence, overran Vēṅgi and gave it back to Vipvadivirāya, and raided the territory as far as Čakkarakkōṭṭum.

Thus the five occasions in which Virarājendravarā ‘saw the back of Āhavamalla’ were: (1) the campaign against Gaṅgāpāṭi in A.D. 1062, (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1064, (3) the battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1061, (4) the battle on the bank of an unnamed river in A.D. 1062. After the 2nd year (i.e., 1063) or 2nd year - 230th day (i.e., 1066) of the king. So Virarājendravarā’s actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvannamalai (A.D. 1064) dated in the 2nd year which commences with ‘Tiruvaṇṇamālam,’ but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (i.e., 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle was tentatively identified with a place on the confines of the Kṛshṇa and the Tungabhadra, who will take us near Nandikottur in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chāḷukya territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kāndai at the junction of the Tung and the Bhadhrī (The tālās, pp. 234-235).

1 Taking the 4th year record of prince Rājamahendravī from Mārangoṇā as belonging to the beginning of that reign year, the Mudakkarur battle, if it took place at the end of the 3rd year, may be dated in about March A.D. 1062.

2 This battle is referred to as early as the 2nd year (i.e., A.D. 1059) or 2nd year - 230th day (i.e., 1061) of the king. So Virarājendravarā’s actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvannamalai (A.D. 1064) dated in the 2nd year which commences with ‘Tiruvaṇṇamālam,’ but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (i.e., 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle was tentatively identified with a place on the confines of the Kṛshṇa and the Tungabhadra, who will take us near Nandikottur in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chāḷukya territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kāndai at the junction of the Tung and the Bhadhrī (The tālās, pp. 234-235).


4 Rājendravarā also claims to have defeated Āhavamalla twice (parameṣṭhiṇu karatā yatra). Vol. XXI, p. 233, l. 94. He is called Āhavamalla (kāndau Ulagamūlukalavajjī). Ancois (Ann. Rept. on S. I. Geography for 1931-32, p. 52).
A.D. 1066, and the encounter at Kûndai (or Kûndai) near Kûndal-Sangamam, which was followed up by a second invasion of Vëngî towards the middle of A.D. 1067. As already stated, all these military campaigns must have occurred before Áhavanâla’s death in March A.D. 1068, and before September 10, A.D. 1067 which is the date of the Manimangalam inscription of his 5th year mentioning them.

**His Vëngî campaign**

From his records it is clear that Vîranâjendrâ took two expeditions against Vëngî during his reign against Áhavanâla’s power in that year. The ChÔja influence which had prevailed in that territory since the time of the ChÔja king Rûjûrâma (A.D. 1060) suffered an eclipse in the middle of the 11th century A.D. About A.D. 1062, soon after the death of the Eastern Chôlîkya king, as the Vînâyâditya appears to have vested the power in his own hands in preference to Kûndal’s son Rûjûrâma-ChÔja, who must have been a very young prince at the time. Taking advantage of the indifference of Rûjûrâma and Kûndal’s revolt against Vëngî affairs, referred to in verse 77 of the present record, Áhavanâla found it a good opportunity to invade Vëngî at this time of somewhat earlier and made Vînâyâditya VII he-bedante. Vîranâjendrâ’s first campaign was therefore directed against Áhavanâla’s son at Vëngî but except for the defeat of the ChÔla general Chantûrâjâ at Chantûrânpur, the expedition does not appear to have accomplished much. It is possible that the death of his elder brother Rûjûrâma-ChÔja, Vîranâjendrâ had to rush back to the ChÔla capital to take the charge of this campaign for his coronation, and as Áhavanâla appears, in the meantime, to have mustered his forces for another attack, the newly crowned ChÔja king was obliged to depart from the capital again on the very day of his coronation post haste to meet his enemy at Vëngî-Kûndal-Sangamam. In the second invasion undertaken about A.D. 1067, another battle was fought in the vicinity of Vînâyâditya (Bezwadu). Áhavanâla’s power having been broken, his subordinate Vînâyâditya appears to have also submitted and transferred his allegiance, for the time being, to his ChÔla conqueror, from whom, it is said, he got back his territory! Vîranâjendrâ’s tomb through Kâliyâganj and afterwards Châkkakâtâ, was in continuation of this Vëngî campaign.

There appears to have been a third occasion in which Vëngî was invaded by the ChÔla army. This campaign which is described only in the Tântâמורה inscription is stated to have occurred after the Ceylon expedition, and so has to be dated in about January or February A.D. 1068 approximately. Though it is not expressly stated as to what had necessitated it so soon after the last campaign a few months earlier, in which Vînâyâditya was given back Vëngî, a clue seems to be afforded in the statement that the Châmâni-Chông Chôlîk ya Vëngî invaded Châmâni-Chông Chôlîk yâ Vëngî, a clue has been alluded to in the former occasion. This

---

1 N I L. Vol. IX, No. 30.
2 In ante, Vol. XXI, No. 35, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar states that the succession of Vînâyâditya was not disputed. Prince Rûjûrâma was perhaps too young to make a strong protest.
3 In a record of Sûmâvara dated in Saka 975, his son Sûmâvara, had the title Vëngîpavârânâdhihâvara, thus postulating Vëngî connection so early above, Vol. XVI, p. 321. A record from Dhâkârâma dated in Saka 986 in the reign of a Vishnuvardhana is attributable to the Eastern Châmâni-Chông Chôlîk yâ Vëngî, who was then probably a vassal of the western Châmâni-Chông Chôlîk yâ. N I L. Vol. VII, No. 193.
4 This event must have happened before A.D. 1067. September 10, which is the English equivalent for the date furnished in the Manimangalam inscription dated in the 5th year of the king, which refers to this episode, N I L. Vol. II, No. 30, p. 67.
6 The expression *âch-Chôlîkâ* used here probably refers to the Eastern Châmâni-Chông Chôlîk yâ Vëngî, who has been mentioned just previously to the description of the Ceylon campaign.
inscription dated in the 5th year states that Virarājendrā defeated Āhavamalla five times, ending with the battle of Karandai. In later records of the 7th year, the Western Chāḷukya king continues to be mentioned as having suffered defeat the same number of times. So the enemy encountered by the Chōla at the subsequent battle of Kōṇḍai (probably Kōṇḍavīdu in the Vēṇī territory) could not have been Āhavamalla, but was in all probability Vijayāditya. The latter who was a Western Chāḷukya feudatory in the initial years of his reign, appears to have transferred his nominal allegiance to the Chōla conqueror, and as the price of his submission, got back Vēṇī. It is possible that a short time later, he attempted to throw off the Chōla yoke and mustering a large army opposed the Chōla king at the battle of Kōṇḍai. The Chāḷukyan army was, however, repulsed, and the victorious Virarājendrā is then stated to have planted a pillar of victory at Śūṭukkalī and marched into Kaliṅgam and Chakkaraṅkottam, defeating and killing some Chāḷukya generals.

Further Chāḷukya hostilities.

The Chōla-Chāḷukya hostilities did not, however, cease with the death of Āhavamalla. In a record dated in the 6th year,5 Virarājendrā claims to have defeated Sōmeśvara before he had had time to take off his necklet (kauṭhikā), to have burnt the Chāḷukya capital Kampili and to have set up a pillar of victory at Kāraṇḍikkal. Another dated in the 7th year,6 states that Sōmeśvara was driven out of Kannada-dēśam and the Raṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half lakṣas country in its entirety was given to Vikramāditya (VI) who had submitted to him. The kauṭhikā or the necklet was the conventional emblem of heir-apparency of the Chāḷukya dynasty, as differentiated from the saktāra or crown, the emblem of royalty, and the Sōmeśvara referred to here was evidently the second of that name. The above-noted claim of Virarājendrā has therefore to be understood to be but a poetical way of saying that the Chōla king swooped down on the Chāḷukya capital evidently in aid of his ally Vikramāditya,7 immediately after the death of Āhavamalla and before the quondam heir-apparent Sōmeśvara II put on the crown of royalty, i.e., in the interval between 30th March, A.D. 1068, the date of death of Āhavamalla, and 11th April A.D. 1068, the actual date of accession of Sōmeśvara II. The result of this campaign has, however, been exaggerated by the Chōla propagandist, for Sōmeśvara appears to have ceded only a portion of his territory to Vikramāditya, as evidenced by his own records being simultaneously found in other parts of the kingdom, and Vikramāditya, the protégé of Virarājendrā, appears to have himself continued in a subordinate capacity, as suggested by his investiture with the kauṭhikā only. The claim for a Chāḷukyan victory made in the Shikarpur record,8 which must have been dated some time later than April, A.D. 1068, may be noted in this connection. It is stated therein that Virarājendrā thinking that this was an opportune occasion, invaded the Chāḷukyan territory with a large army and laid siege to Guttī, but when Sōmeśvara II opposed him with a powerful cavalry force, he was forced to flee. The Chāḷukya records are silent about the burning of Kampili, while there is no mention of the Chōla reverses at Guttī in the Chāḷukya records. It may be inferred that the Chōla king was successful in the beginning of this campaign, and that later he sustained a defeat at Guttī in about the end of A.D. 1068, which put an end to his military aspirations in the north.

---

1. The Kanyakumāra inscription and the present copper-plate. Nowhere has Āhavamalla been described as having been defeated six times or more (arunadīivasam-kandha, etc.).
2. The expression Pah-Sūṭukkaka has been taken to be the name of a village (ante, Vol. XXI, p. 226). But it may also be taken to mean a stone pillar of victory with the mark of a tiger on it, which was probably set up at Kōṇḍai itself.
4. Ibid., p. 203
6. This political pact was also cemented by the marriage of Virarājendrā’s daughter with Vikramāditya.
His campaign against the Pāṇḍya.

In regard to Virārājendrā's southern campaigns, the one against the Pāṇḍya is in a way confirmed by the existence of his inscriptions1 at Kanyākumāri (Travancore), Āṭṭur (Tirunelveli District) and Tirupputtur (Ramanad District). Before the 3rd year of his reign, he had appointed prince Gaṅgaikōṇaḷa-Chōḷa as the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy2 over the Pāṇḍya country in continuation of the previous system of administration, but this Chōḷa prince was not left undisturbed for long, for according to a record3 dated in the 3rd-1st year, Virarājendrā marched against a certain Srivallabha, apparently a Pāṇḍya, and killed his son Virakēsari. As this campaign has not been referred to in the Tiruvengālāḷu' record dated in the 2nd year—236th day of his reign but is mentioned in the Kuruvār inscription4 of this king dated in the 3rd-1st year, it has to be placed towards the end of his 3rd year, i.e., in about A.D. 1065. This victory also appears to have been of a temporary nature, for Virarājendrā's successor Kūḷottunga-Chōḷa I had again to go to war against the 'five Pāṇḍyas' a few years later.

His campaign against Udagai.

In the course of this southern campaign the Chēra must have also felt the impact of the Chōḷa army and consented to pay tribute. The Kēḻa king and his sons are described as having fled before the mad elephant of Virarājendrā in a battle at Udagai5 and to have hidden themselves in the western ocean. In an inscription6 copied at Kiḷall in the South Aroth District, dated in the 29th year of Rājarāja I, the king is stated to have burnt the city of Udagai7 during his Malaiṁāḷu campaign. From these references, it is clear that Udagai was a city in the Chēra dominion, and was, in all probability identical with Udayampērīr, 'the big city of the Udayans (the Chēras)' in the northern portion of the Travancore State, which is only three miles distant from Trichūr and in which the eponymous days was an important place in the Chēra territory. The Chēra contemporaries of Rājendrā-Chōḷa I were Rājaśeṅha and his son Rājarāja who figure in the Mamakkōyir inscription8 of Jatavaranma Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, but who the contemporary of Virarājendrā was, is not clear.

His conquest of Ceylon.

The conquest of Simhaḷam is only briefly referred to in the present record, but the Tirumukkāḷaḷu inscription9 dated in the 5th year of the king, describes this campaign in some detail and refers to his defeat of the Ceylon king Vijayadālan and the subjugation of the 'island, girt round by the waters of the sea'. Though this is perhaps a sweeping claim, it has to be conceded that a portion of the island was under Chōḷa sway at this period. As the Maippuḻam record of the 10th September A.D. 1067 does not refer to this expedition, it will have to be placed towards the end of that year. about November or December A.D. 1067,10 Virarājendrā's predecessor Rājendraḷaḷa had also invaded Ceylon and an inscription11 of his is found there. Inscription12 of Adhirājendrā, the successor of Virarājendrā, are also found at Polonnaruva (Ceylon). The latter

1 S. I. L. Vol. V, No. 976.
2 S. I. L. Vol. III, No. 20. The Pāṇḍya king Srivallabha was the contemporary of Rājendrā-Chōḷa I also.
5 Udagai has been taken to be a Pāṇḍya city (S. I. L. Vol. III, p. 68). 7. U. L. Vol. XI, p. 294.
6 Antq. Vol. XXI, No. 38, where this point has been examined by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in detail.
7 The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayalāla 1067, Vol. XVIII, No. 39, may be considered to mark the eclipse of Chōḷa power in Ceylon, for no inscriptions of later Chēra kings are found actually in that island.
8 If the Ceylon expedition of the 3rd year took place about November 1067, and an incursion of April A.D. 1068 fell in the 8th year, the date of accession of Virarājendrā can be narrowed down between the limits—December 1062 A.D. and March 1063 A.D. A date in his 7th reign 35 at A. M. 1175, Thursday, May 16th, was A.D. 1069, September 19, Thursday (No. 160 of 1937-38).
9 S. I. L. Vol. V, No. 1488
10 S. I. L. Vol. IV, No. 1588 and 1592.
did not perhaps lead an independent expedition against the island during his very short reign and may be presumed to have participated in his father's campaign only. No records attributable to Virarājendra have, however, been found in Ceylon.\(^1\)

**His campaign against Kadāram**

Another overseas victory is claimed for Virarājendrā over Kadāram. In the later historical introduction of the 7th year commencing with "vītarājaṇa gau-rājya-pratipat" \(^2\) this achievement is introduced between the second invasion of Vēṇī in A.D. 1065 and the last campaign of Virarājendrā that we know of, which was directed against Sānīśvarā II (A.D. 1068). As his father Rājendrāla-Chōlā I claims to have invaded Kadāram himself by about A.D. 1026, it is possible that Virarājendrā as a young prince had accompanied the Chōlā army in that campaign also. Such a campaign to the distant Kadāram towards the close of Virarājendrā's reign appears problematical and has to be confirmed only by future researches. The express statement that the Chōlā king conquered Kadāram and gave it back to the (Kāḷa) king who had supplicated him, seems to imply that an expedition, at least under an able general though not personally led by the king himself, may have been sent against this far eastern country in aid of his ally. If it was an accomplished fact of his reign, it may have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1068. The friendly relationship between the Chōlā and the Kadāram kings seems to have been continued down to the 20th year of the reign of Kulaṭṭunāga-Chōlā I (A.D. 1090), when two messengers (dīnā) of the Kadāram king came to the mainland to obtain from the Chōlā monarch some concessions on behalf of the Kāḷa-ummāra at Nērapattānu.\(^3\)

Thus Virarājendrā's short reign was a period of strenuous military effort to keep up the weakening Chōlā power and prestige to some extent. The several campaigns of his reign may thus be briefly reviewed, in their probable chronological sequence:

1. the first campaign against Gānagālī in A.D. 1062;
2. the first invasion of Vēṇī in A.D. 1065;
3. the first battle of Kāḷa-Sānīśvarā in A.D. 1064;
4. the southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya and Chōlā in A.D. 1055;
5. the battle on the bank of an unspecified river in A.D. 1066;
6. the clash with the Chōlā army at Kāṇṭal (or Kāṇṭalālā) near Kāḷa-Sānīśvarā in the middle of A.D. 1067;
7. the second invasion against Vēṇī; the battle of Viṭṭāvāta and the restoration of Vēṇī to Viṭṭāvāta before September A.D. 1067;
8. the expedition against Sēnakam in the end of A.D. 1067;
9. the overseas campaign to Kadāram in the beginning of A.D. 1068;
10. the third expedition against Vēṇī and the battle of Kōṇḍalā in about February A.D. 1068;
11. the campaign against the Western Chōlāka Sānīśvarā, the burning of Kāmpāla and the erection of a pillar of victory at Karajikkal in April A.D. 1068; and the installation of Vīkrumādītāya VI in a portion of the Western Chōlāka dominions; and
12. the battle of Guttī in about the end of A.D. 1068, wherein Virarājendrā suffered defeat at the hands of Sānīśvarā II.

---

\(^1\) See also ante, Vol. XVIII, p. 332 and n. 2. The Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon has kindly informed us that there are no inscriptions of Virarājendrā in Ceylon. \(^2\) S. I. L., Vol. III, p. 203. 

\(^2\) The conquest of Kadāram (Kedilū in the Sēnakāya kingdom situated in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendrāla-Chōlā occurred about his 13th year corresponding to A.D. 1026. As Virarājendrā lived up to A.D. 1069, he may have been a young prince capable of participating in a military expedition, 43 years earlier.

\(^3\) Ante, Vol. XXII, p. 208. 

---

Though this warlike king was so much preoccupied in his wars during his short reign, for not a year, except perhaps the last, passed without his army being engaged in some campaign or other, he appears to have found time to attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is said to have presented many agnibanas to Brāhmans and several benefactions to temples owed their origin to his munificence.

In this context, it may be remarked that the Chōla version of the Chōla-Chālukya war appears to give a slightly exaggerated account of Virarājendrādeva's victories. The Chālukya records, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the reverses were not always on the Chālukyan side alone. In fact, the two parties appear to have been fairly well-matched, with the result that the hostilities were protracted and the opposing armies met in as many as five different engagements. The Chōla army no doubt took the offensive and carried the war into the enemy's country, as testified to by the scenes of battles which were all located in Chālukyan territory, and except for the Chōla reverses in the death of Rājādhirāja I in the earlier battle of Koppam and later at Guttī, Virarājendrā's independent campaigns appear to have met with a fair measure of success: but the fact that he is described as having restored the conquered dominions—viz., Vēngi to Vijayāditya VII and Raṭṭa-pādī to Vikramaditya VI—seems to indicate that his hold on the conquered territories was not of a permanent nature. His Pāṇḍya and Chera conquests also appear to have shared the same fate. This policy of restoration adopted by Virarājendrā may have been due to considerations of statecraft by which he had tried to placate the kings on his frontiers or to the insufficiency of his own resources which had weakened his hold on his conquests so far away from Chōla headquarters. Whatever the reason, the provenance of his inscriptions with the exception of the Kanyakumari, Āṭṭūr and Tirupputṭūr records reveals that his authority extended over a restricted area only, comprising the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli Districts of the Madras Presidency with a portion of the adjoining Pudukkottai State and the Kolar and Bangalore Districts of the Mysore State, added thereto.

The circumstances under which the king died are not known. As a record of his 7th year is dated on September 10, A.D. 1069, and as two records of Adhirājendrā refer to the 8th year of his predecessor Virarājendrā must have been alive till at least October A.D. 1069, and he may have passed away sometime later in the beginning of A.D. 1070. It is possible that there is some reference to his last days in an undated record from Tiruvorrijur in which provision was made for worship in the local temple, for the welfare of the king and for the prosperity of the queen's trisaptādhi. Virarājendrā was succeeded by his son Adhirājendrā, a portion of whose short period of rule must have merged into his own reign. The prayer offered for the welfare of Adhirājendrā in a record from Kūlūr in the Tanjore District, dated in his 3rd year, seems to indicate that this king was himself suffering from illness at the time and his records end with the 4th year. As his successor Kulottuṅga-Chōḷa I ascended the throne on 9th June 1070 A.D.: Adhirājendrā could have ruled independently for only a short time in the first half of A.D. 1070.

1 The Chālukya version of the Chōla monarchs' (Arch. Vol. XXV, p. 91) and the foundation of a temple at Chōḷagomūla-Tiruprasahadesa at Aņapure (S. S. J., Vol. XII, B.K. No. 103) may be noted. An invasion led by Prasāde Vīshnukanthāna Vijayāditya in the reign of Trinbavamalla, against the Chōla king in A.D. 1064 is referred to in S. S. J., Vol. IX, Nos. 127 and 128.
4 No. 280 of 1917.
5 No. 15 of 1899 is dated in the 3rd year—20th day of neem. 6n. 5.
What became of the several Chōla princes, sons of Rājendradēva and Virarājendrā, is not apparent. Of those, if any, that may have survived the numerous campaigns of this period, there was perhaps none strong enough to occupy the Chōla throne after Adhirājendrā. So the enterprising Eastern Chālukya prince Rājendra-Chōla II, son of Chālukya Rājarāja I, grandson of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I, and son-in-law of Rājendradēva, who was thus intimately connected with the Chōla royal family, availed himself of this opportunity to quietly succeed to the vacant Chōla throne. This political step not only helped to relieve the tension in his own country where his uncle Vijayaśānti was still reigning, but also gave Kulōttunga-Chōla I a large tract of new territory to rule over, until such time as, with the demise of his uncle, he could consolidate the Chōla and Chālukya fortunes into one line.

Section III (ll. 170-191).

This section relates to the object of the grant. At the time of making the gift recorded in the present charter, the king is stated to have been seated in the front hall (tiruvelakkam) of the audience-hall (tiruvelakka-mandapam) of the temple of Tiruvōgambam-Udaiyar at Kāṅchipuram, a nagaram in Eyyi-kōṭam, a sub-division of Jayāngondaiša-maṇḍalam. The village Chērān alias Madhurāntaka-chatturvedimangalam, which was granted to the three Brāhmans of the Aṭṭēya-gōdra already referred to above, is said to have been situated in Iṟaṭṭapādi-kōṭaiša-maṇḍalam that had been captured by Virarājendrāvē in the campaign, which he had undertaken immediately after his coronation and in which he had defeated Āhavamalla and his sons on the battle-field at the northern Kūtal-Saṅgam.

The boundary-line of this gift-village is then described in detail. Starting from Kupāri in the east, it passed through several landmarks, such as rocks, shrines, etc., and ended at a hillock called Kaḻattu-malai. The land enclosed by this boundary-line belonged to the village Chērān alias Madhurāntaka-chatturvedimangalam. In this connection it may be noted that the boundary-line was not marked out, as was usual in such cases and in this period, by the circumambulation of a she-elephant (pul-sāḷada) and that though it was drafted by the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhūrājan, it is lacking in the sententious clauses and schedules regarding tax-exemptions, irrigation-privileges, etc., similar to those mentioned in the Tiruvēḷakka plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. After the description of the boundary-line, the verse which is engraved on the seal of this copper-plate grant is also repeated here, to stress the fact that the foregoing charter was the order of king Virarājendrāvē.

Section IV (ll. 192-211).

This section constitutes the concluding portion of the record and contains the names of the signatories, impressory verses and such other routine matters. The name of the adhikārī who drafted this order is given as Gunandi-Aruṇalōiyār alias Miṅavan-Muṇendavaḷā of Pottukaramallūr in Tiruvārur-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kṣatrīyaśikkāmaṇi-vaiṣayāṇu, a district of Śīla maṇḍalam. The tennurumēnuḥ officers were Tēgamaṇyan Rāpaniśan aliases Viraśīrīvallabha-Brahmādhūrājan of Kāṉakkaṇa, a ḫavāḷada in Kurumāṟu-nāḍu, a subdivision of

1 See the table given at page 128 of Tnac. Arch. Series, Vol. III.
2 The 'adoption' theory has been ably refuted by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar in Arca, Vol. XXII, p. 272. Whether Kulōttunga's succession was peaceful or was attended with civil war and bloodshed has also been the subject of much speculation.
3 Virarājendrā was staying in the same place while issuing another record (S. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 69). A palace named Sā Mealakkaḷa-malai and throne called Rājendrākōṭa-Māḻalivāṭam should be referred to in his inscriptions (Nos. 182 of 1915 and 462 of 1908).
4 See Tnac. I on page 264.
The composer of the Śāṅkara pradāta was a certain Chandrabhūṣana-Bhaṭṭa who is referred to later by the paraphrased name of Śāṅkara-Pandita. He is evidently identical with Chandrabhūṣana-Bhaṭṭa abhis Virarājendrā-Brahmachāri mentioned in an inscription of the king from Gaṅgākohīrī-apuraṇa, where a large number of the king's officers are enumerated, among whom Chandredhī-Aurāṇjana abhis Minavan-Mūrvikavēla of the present record also finds mention. A certain Chandrabhūṣana-Pandita figures in two records from the Bellary District dated in A.D. 1654 and 1668 and it is possible he was identical with the composer of this copper-plate grant. In collaboration with this pāṇḍava, the officer named Madhavanātha-Brahmachāri is said to have drafted the copper-plate charter finally, and got it engraved by Sāndkrān-Kāḍaḥ abhis Kāmākṣa-Jāravar, a Tārakārāyaṇa of Kuvalāja in Kuvalājana in Kuvalājana.

A few monetary verses are then quoted, and along with them there is only one verse in the Pāṇḍava-charitra added here, as an exhortation made by king Rājaśāhī whose head is ornamented with the lotus-turban of Hāva, enjoining all future kings to protect this charity. As this reminds us of the title 'Śivapāṭhikāhāra' borne by the Čēle king Rājaśāhī I, it appears probable that like the supplementary verse ending with 'yādhi kālā vāmedhā kālaḥ' this Čēle king also got a similar verse composed for use in Čēle documents. Or as an alternative, it may be suggested that the verse refers to Virarāja himself, who is given the titles 'Rājadarśāhī' and 'Rājāśāhī' in the Trupakkādāl inscription in which case the attribute used in this verse may be understood as indicating simply the king's intense devotion to Hāva.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, the village Čērāh in Puli-nādu may be identified with Čērāh in the Pungamu taluk of the Chittor District, where the copper-plate was discovered. Rattapādikondasāla-mandalam, which took the new name from the time of Rājendrādaiva who conquered Rattapādi, is represented by the tract of country round about Pungamu in the Chittor District, and the adjoining Chintamani taluk of the Mysore State. There was also another subdivision known by the name of Rattapādikondasāla-vajanaḍu in the Pedukottai State. The names occurring in the description of boundaries are too vague to be identified now.

TEXT.

For metres of verses 1-8 see above, Vol. XVIII p. 31

First Plate.

1 Svasti Śīh! 2 Yāh kariṭā jagad-uttābhava-sthum-lavām uttābhūravā śālyā vēcāhām-

adhimāvaka śāvat vati vami sa
2 ravaṇa akāśāvā. 3 varth-bhakti-pravānaśām-apāva-vishāmas tāryaḥ bhava-āmbhōni-
dhīr ddēvād vasi sa vē
3 bhūtaṁ mān-sakalāpādā Bhaqavānpathaḥ 1-4-3; Māyām āyānāmi vēcāhā jagad-śaidam

ūtābhavatīī ājāmānti jāmānti. 1

18 S. I. I., Vol. IX, Nos. 129, 127
19 I. L. Vol. IX, No. 319, 129
20 Śāk. I. 29
21 I. L. Vol. XVI, p. 232, 14
22 I. L. Vol. XIX, p. 335, 14
24 The caption of Pungamu, who was addressed, has not been able to render much help in this matter.
No. 25. CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVĀ : SĀKA 994  250

4  jñāna-prasūtītī(ṁī) splūta-mehe-vapṣaḥ yōgabhāj-āgabhājā|.*| satvā-satvāmukpi sthū-

ta-muddita-mahātāpa-śūn-

5  nām paśuṇānī Śaṃbhūs śaṃbhugpa-pāpa-vatikriti bhavatas sa prapatēt prapātēt 3|.*| Čakrē chakrēna

daitya-prakaram atiśabālāni yas-samastāni samastam pātā pātālā-mūlāḥita-Balir anīṣam

6  bhāṣaīnurtī Bhavatā(bhūh) 1|.*|. Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

7  yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

gatais-samabhavat(ā)bhir bhavat(dibhūḥ) 2|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

8  yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

9  ām adabhrāṃ bibhātrakādī vīś-ādīnārāhā-samuehita-samuehiva-śāmānbhūmī anubhas saṣāipa

10 laiv sa trīloki-kāryāṇān brahmanāṃtēnē chakrē vyādhitē vilāhū apī yāstum apātām

11 laiv sa trīloki-kāryāṇān brahmanāṃtēnē chakrē vyādhitē vilāhū apī yāstum apātām

12 jātās tādānāni sakalam apī jagat sa-prapaṇēhati Vīrīcāmhe(h) kānvaṁśu dūrvāra-

13 vīryān ajayatā apārin Brahmaṇā|h| karm-

14 ma-miṣṭiṃ|.*| tādānāni ēkaśa tvēsēśaḥāpi Vīlīvībhāvanī gaṁbhūtō merēśa-sir

15 vīshyavēśāci-hē Maṃśichī trīkhaṇāna-

16 bhavataṃ śaḥ-atēkāśaṇa sāhakaṇā|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

17 yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

18 yas-samabhavat-śivānāḥ dhāri gaṁṭa-gaṛhena Kaśyapa|h| pasēkā bhūt|.*| anīṣam-
hāmbhūtō mēna śāvīma iha dūrātāν

19 yat-prapātī-sarādāvyā nirvēryājan nirjāvayā pradānām upaśētān amūtpāsā tattam-

20 gūnā|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

21 yas-samabhavat-śivānāḥ dhāri gaṁṭa-gaṛhena Kaśyapa|h| pasēkā bhūt|.*| anīṣam-
hāmbhūtō mēna śāvīma iha dūrātāν

22 yas-samabhavat-śivānāḥ dhāri gaṁṭa-gaṛhena Kaśyapa|h| pasēkā bhūt|.*| anīṣam-
hāmbhūtō mēna śāvīma iha dūrātāν

23 vīrīcāmhe(h) kānvaṁśu dūrvāra-vīryān ajayatā apārin Brahmaṇā|h| karm-

24 ma-miṣṭiṃ|.*| tādānāni ēkaśa tvēsēśaḥāpi Vīlīvībhāvanī gaṁbhūtō merēśa-sir

25 vīshyavēśāci-hē Maṃśichī trīkhaṇāna-

26 bhavataṃ śaḥ-atēkāśaṇa sāhakaṇā|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

27 yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

28 yas-samabhavat-śivānāḥ dhāri gaṁṭa-gaṛhena Kaśyapa|h| pasēkā bhūt|.*| anīṣam-
hāmbhūtō mēna śāvīma iha dūrātāν

29 vīrīcāmhe(h) kānvaṁśu dūrvāra-vīryān ajayatā apārin Brahmaṇā|h| karm-

30 ma-miṣṭiṃ|.*| tādānāni ēkaśa tvēsēśaḥāpi Vīlīvībhāvanī gaṁbhūtō merēśa-sir

31 vīshyavēśāci-hē Maṃśichī trīkhaṇāna-

32 bhavataṃ śaḥ-atēkāśaṇa sāhakaṇā|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

33 yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

34 vīrīcāmhe(h) kānvaṁśu dūrvāra-vīryān ajayatā apārin Brahmaṇā|h| karm-

35 ma-miṣṭiṃ|.*| tādānāni ēkaśa tvēsēśaḥāpi Vīlīvībhāvanī gaṁbhūtō merēśa-sir

36 vīshyavēśāci-hē Maṃśichī trīkhaṇāna-

37 bhavataṃ śaḥ-atēkāśaṇa sāhakaṇā|.*| Āhā dīvasa śīṣṭākāśaṇa upanata-samā-

38 yaḥ pratyaśvēkaśa-

39 vīrīcāmhe(h) kānvaṁśu dūrvāra-vīryān ajayatā apārin Brahmaṇā|h| karm-

40 ma-miṣṭiṃ|.*| tādānāni ēkaśa tvēsēśaḥāpi Vīlīvībhāvanī gaṁbhūtō merēśa-sir

Second Plate : East Side.

Vol. III. No. 34. as made out from the Kangākghani inscription | 1

1. T.18 has kha instead of ṛṣita. 17.1 Smudulates the readings given in the Government Archaeological Survey.

2. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

3. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

4. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

5. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

6. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

7. T.18 has prapātī instead of prapātī.

8. On the whole it is only the 7 sign appears in this line, while the letter 8 occurs in the no.
tvāt pitaram-īhā surati yahā prakāśīchakāra ||-9 ||- Tasya Ḗkṣṭvākuraḥ-abhūd-yasābhīr-amalair-dīkṣṭvah-atatat-
ē sōbhītas-sānus-sūnush bhūnhīrātān sura-gaṇāvayat-kārttim-uṭṭā (d)giyatē ||*|| yasyāṃmitra-
naṝdhihīrā-virahā-
je-jaītram-mahās-sarvavatō durvīvāra-prasaraṁ vyajēṣṭa balavan-Mitraṣya tējaḥ param
||-10 ||- Tasya-ābhūt-tanu-
yasyāmmatnam-aṅyā prēkṣā Vikukshin-urāpiṇī rakṣāṃ-akṣhatav-vikramas-samakaroṭ
kṣemāmaṇahjāлаг-asya yahā ||*|| a-
nyōna-pravimarḍāṇāmanda mahaṭtvā pārthītvair-vāhīyātām sāt sūtē ēṣī(ārī)ram-āśramam
kṣhīṁbhīṛātān yat-pā-
dayō-śāntiḥ ||-11 ||- Putraseśyā Purusāṅjaṇyasamabhadvat sangrāmam-ājannu(m)nu-
śāhāñ-jaṭā bhūmībhūjān-jī-
gishur-asurān jajñē sa māṇyaśtatāh ||*|| Jambhā(a)riṇi vrishabhāni vidhāya kakudē
sṛṇīśa yas-samsthāta-
s-tad-devavir-adhihika-panmōda-gadātām prāptāḥ Kukusth-ābbhitām ||-12 ||- Prithūr-
habhūv-ājira kulē kulēdṛśīna-
samā-samastā-avānīplā-vandita[h] ||*|| vivēda yasmēnuḥ-pitaḥ svānandaḥalthu[hu]na
vēpadhal[ru]nunāyē cha yāchātīm-jana[h] ||*||-
13 ||- Anūśumḥia-varṇaḥ bhūn mahatth Kuvalāśvāo narapati[r] Harērē-vyavāryā-āḥhury-
āri-ari-nūbhītaṃ-utt[du]bhāsita-tanu-
ḥ [||*] sa Duḥkdhun-duttṣatram bāhala-sikatā-sindhu-jītarāni hitānā lōkāyā jānavīda-
harāv-adhulē-[n]duḥ-
14 ||- Yasi-mūmnun-ut(du)abhāvāvā-t(dh)dhuta[ma]h[m]a-ḥarābhrajītasya
ājanārāmām-āvāmī vīvanīdhā-vārtti-praśama-
naṃ anīsān karatnam varsodhā-kārtī thā
||*|| Māṇḍhātē nūma rūjā jana-tayṇa-mab-ananda-
sandhōna-dēya yasyādharma-kshayāya
15 ||- Vyavaharad-arjavār-bhakram-āĉchakravālaḥ ||-15 ||- Tā-mīnurōpiṇī pāraya-[t]ējasi Āsāt-
ānāṁ bhūmīmāḥ-bhāchālī harīqā-
16 ||- Harīqā-sak.[ā]pi ||*|| sarvō muṭhas-vahajam-apāya-sajāhāt[d] varōdhā-marhūnma-stva-adharm-
ma-virāhā sa tarhvā chakāra ||||-

Second Plate; Second Side.

1 Tāś has sa which is the correct reading.
2 Tāś has āne in stead of gah.
3 The corresponding reading in Tāś is doubtful, though its is given as drūkt-āt-praśaram.
4 Read Vikukshī urīpī. Tāś has Vikukshiurīpaṇī.
5 Tāś has the same reading, but it is corrected into jāṅgē.
6 The intended reading of the last plote of this verse seems to be: saṃ ad-āmavāvāsī ṭū ṣaḥchita-janaḥ.
7 Tāś has harād-vyāgya-ādhitvāyāt which appears to be the correct reading.
8 Read yāhūn ścīhām.
42 mēśe-bhavad-ābbhavannā-oṣāpa ṛṣajāpi(y)ndam labdhāna-ṇamem saṃtishu Hariśchandra-
nāmā narāṇḍraḥ [*] dīsām-ekām dadhad-a-
43 pi nayan Kauśikīvān-dhanāyāmī svamī vyakriṇāt-trīṇam-iva tathā yas-sa-putram kaḷatram
||| 19 ||| Āśiṣa-straṇuva-
44 vāyā Śagara iti uṇjapasa-ṭaṅgīṣha-bhūpo yēn-ārāṇāyī-pā kāmān haya-makha-nīkaraś
-trāsi-
45 tō Dēvāṇaḥ [*] yat-puṭraṇāṃ prabhāvālavāṇa-jālandhau sāgarāvam prapannā āṣe-
āṇām vāri-
46 dhinām-api saṅka-ra guru-sāgaratvaṇi-chakāra ||| 20 ||| Āśiṣa-otra Bhagirathaḥ kahtiptaiph
vvānuśa
47 sva-vanā-ot(ā)bhhavān-uddhatamān Kapila-prakōpa-daham-jvālāvāl-bhāṣmītan [1*] svase-
sindhau
48 vasudhān-nayan Tripatḥagān-chaṅkṛ se Bhagirathān-majṛ*tyān-apy-anrītān vyaḍhāt
surārind-vāri-prāvā-
49 ha-sprāsam ||| 21 ||| Anvayā-stra satmahat-a-vatirṇas-sarvva-bhūpati-guṇah paripūr-
ṇāh [*] sajanā-stuti-virājī-
50 ta-vanāṇaḥ kshāmaṇ-arkshad-akhilām Rita(tu)parāṇah ||| 22 ||| lha samajani bhūpasa-
sarvva-lōk-āika-dīpaḥ kaṃpi-
51 ta-bhuvana-tāpas-śāṅkṛi-ārī-pratāpaḥ [*] ari-yuvati-vilāpas-sphārit-ōddāma-kōpas=
sattā-vijāyai-chāyuḥ[*]-
52 sphiṭa-kṛitṛ-Duddhāpāh ||| 23 ||| Asminn-anāśa-chatusṭayeṇa bhagavān vanśe-janishta prabhūk klishām vikṣhyā
53 vasundhāram-ātibalaś-brashtair-mahā-rākshasaḥ [*] Rāṃō Lakṣhmanā-saṃyutō-tha Bharatās-Sa trūjgha-

Third Plate ; First Side.

55 m bhārtṛishu bhāṛtri-vṛttam yuvatishu pati-vṛttam śāṭravē śatri-tru-vṛttam [1*] munishu
nripati-vṛttam bāndhavē bandhau
56 vṛttam samalā=akhila-nāṭhasa-sikśhayāmāsa lōkam ||| 25 ||| Na krōḍhēna jaghāna Rāk-
shasa-patinā kāmē
57 na na prēyastūn sa pratyāhāpyavān mahīsa-charitaṁ kārtyayēna chakre param [1*] nō chēt
kīn-tapasī sthitam
58 sa Malayē śūrdra-jaṭagān āśiṇā kiṇa vaṇāṇaya-kānti-dhāriyā upachītan-tatyaēa Sitūn
punah[*] ||| 26 ||| Sētu
59 m-netunā kapī-balām-asau bābbhavān = naikam-ābdhau chakre vakrētara-guṇa-vidhān-
dharmām-sē[līn]=āsēhā-

1 TAS has the same reading; but it should be corrected into Kauśikī-vṛttākāyān, as his been suggested above, Vol. XVIII, p. 30.
2 * T As has āraḥ[śiḥ]-pi.
3 * T AS has akāra.
4 Read sāṭītāri as in T AS.
5 Read sādhanīścatur as in T AS.
6 * T AS has yuktā[saṇta].
7 The syllable ka is engraved above the line.
8 * T AS has dṛṣṭa[al]m for punah.
9 * T AS has bandhayaṇ for bābbhavān.
60 n[*] kētuṁ hētuṁ vibudha-vipadāṁ vyāpadāṁ dājnavināṁ Rāmaṁ kāmaṁ kathayati
janas=sdagunānāṁ nidhāṁ.
61 nam ||27 ||:- Aṣmin-vaṁśe-jani vidalayann-ōjasā bhūpa-yūthaṁ=Chōjō nāma
kshitipatir-atisphita-
62 rājanya-kālām[*] yasvāśeṣhām avanīm=avatō rājadhanīṁ-iva svāṁ lil-ōdyānais-tulanan
=adhasā=sarvvaṁ
63 taṁ kānānāṁ ||28 ||:- Viharan sa Hara-prabhāḥ kadāchīṁ-muni-bṛj(vṛj)nd-ādhyushiteśhu
kānānāṁ[*] anayan1
64 vinay-āśrayō vīhāra-pratilabh-āvasarāṇi vāsaraṇi ||29 ||:- Kadichana mṛgā-vraja-
pramaṭhama-pra-
65 galbh-ādaraṭḥ-chahāra vipin-āntarēṣhvat-anati-bhūri-sainyaṁ kshamā [*] tadā sa mṛgā-
rūpiṇā jhāṣṭita kōṇa-
66 chīḍ-rakṣasā līpto haritam-anvagāt prakṛti-dakshiṇo daksinām ||30 ||:- Mrīgan-tam=
=anugachhatā prajavā
67 nā saṁair-vājinaṃ prithu-druma-samākulaṁ vipinam=anyad-āśāditam tam[*] tam=
anvayur-anārata-pravītata-pra-
68 yāp-ōmmukhā javēna rābhhas-ōtpatitam prithu-varūthinī nāyakaḥ ||31 ||:- Taṁ hatvā raja-
nicharāṁ
69 sa tatra bhūpaḥ Kāvērin-anu vichahāra bhūri-chāraḥ [*] kshir-āmbhōnīdhi-mathanāt
surāv-avāptam pū.
70 yūsham bhuvī sahila-chehhalāḥ-vahantim ;||32 ||:- Tatra stāḥ(sna)tvā dita(t)sur-ārtthān=
dv addsābhyāḥ nā=āpaśyāv-tān=vaśyā-
71 chittas=tadānim[*] Āryavarttād-vipra-varyyāṁ udagrāṁāṇi-sāiyā=ā(syaḥ) vāsayāmāsaā tirē
: ||33 ||:- Vinampa-
72 khaḷa=chhitvā pāgais-chahāra vānam=mehat-tad-anu vidadbē dhīras=āraṁ sa-nāgalat-
ākulām [*] upavana-chaya-

Third Plate; Second Side.

73 r=anyair=ddhanyaṁ Kavēra-sutā-taṭa-dvaya-vasumatim=ecā-chehhāyāṁ-anēka-phalaṁ
vyaḍhāt ||34 ||:- A-
74 naara-sarīti snānam bhūyaṁ=tapas-chaṛaṇāiṁ=janā vidadhati taṭā tasyāḥ kṛiṃchehhraṁ-tri-
vishtapakaṁyāia[*] iha virachitaṁ
75 snānam ghōraṇa=tapas=cha surā💡yād-āpi subhataṛē̄ tirēn vāsaṇāḥ sthirikurūtē satāṁ ||35 ||:
Anvāṅāt-tam=saṁnu Rā-
76 jakōṣari vāsaraḥhipa iv-āsama-dyutīḥ [*] Chōjabhūpa-tanayō nay-ādhikāḥ kshōpiṁ=ā-
jaladhi bāḍhit-āhita[h]11

1 TĀS has rāja-brindāḥ.
2 Read sṛāṇ as in TĀS.
3 TĀS has addaha which is a wrong form.
4 Read anafād- as in TĀS.
5 TĀS has svudh-ārayō instead of vinay-ārayō.
6 TĀS has prabhū(phall)-ādara(ā)ṁ.
7 This tam is superfluous.
8 TĀS has a[nēka] instead of udagānū.
9 TĀS has aḥdyāvāsayaṁ asa for aṣṇyā vāsayāmāsa.
10 TĀS has eḷāṣa] instead of tirē.
11 TĀS has tōpit- instead of bāḍhit-.
77 [||-36 ||]- Tat-sutas-tu Parakṣāri nṛṣṭō matsari-kṣhitipa-virya-yāṭaṇaḥ [*] sat-sakhaḥ kṣhitim imām-āpālayat(ā)
79 rgaḥ [*] jajñē yājñair-ājñayā vatecha) prakāman=dēvān=chhatrūmaḥ=stōdayan bhrēsha- 
yanī-chā · ||-38 ||- Asmin-vanīśe Vi-
80 rasēn-ābhidhānō jātō nīt-āśesha-lōk-ābhitāpah [*] reē rājā tējasā bhānu-tulvah kalyā- 
81 āṇām- mandarāni sundar-āṇīgaḥ · ||-39 ||- Chitrō nāma kṣhitipatir-ābhūt-tatra vanīśe- 
dhika-ārāte-vvitrašt-ā.
82 ri-prakara-vinati-vyakta-viehehhina-kōpāḥ [*] Vyitrīrārēr jihatīti samarē nirjītō yasya bāṇai-nunītri- 
83 bhūtas-satattam-abhajat(ā)-Vyāghrakētu-ddhva-jītvam · ||-40 ||- Avanim-akula-pārā-
vāra-dhūt(īr)ābhīrām-ōpā-
84 ratim-arivata-sriś-sāsūtum-nāsīt-āriḥ [*] nīja-bhujā-bala-līlā-kṛśilā-rājānā-lakṣmīnir-īha 
saṃjana varāś bhū-
85 paṭiḥ Pushpakaḥtuḥ · ||-41 ||- Asmin-vanīśe Kētumāl-ābhidhanō jātō rājā-ājñatatu-pra- 
kāśāḥ [*] hṛtēvā sarvyā-kshāmabhṛtām kētu-mālāṁ yēn-āvāptāṁ Kētumāl-ābhindānām 
· ||-42 ||- Samudrāy-
87 nāma mārādhirājō babhūva vanīśe-trā visāla-viryaḥ [*] pūrvv-āpar-āmmoōnīdhī- 
nī(μ)šrīyaṇa paṇēmā Mādṛ-
88 śa-suttaṁ sa lebhō · ||-43 ||- Śrīmaty-atra kulē babhūva mahita-śrīḥ Pañcaphāk-āknyō nṛṣṭō 
nirvivāy-ājyāt-
89 thi-pūjaṇ-ōrjjita-manā yakshān sa paṃc-ātithiṁ [*] vidhyā(ddhvā) paṃcha śīrās=va- 
śōnitam-asau tair-yāchitas sa-
90 tvare[n] kīṣha[n-ta]tār sa kālakā-apāyayad-atas-tātanāt Pañcaphāḥ · ||-44 ||- Abhavad- 
vibhavair-ījyant-o-gīti-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

91 sān-īkha vaṁśe nṛjatis-vihāmū-kānṭāḥ [*] Droniśaṣṭaṁ sa Mṛḍāsya samprasādād-ājaya-(
92 prabhāvah · ||-45 ||- Aṭṭ-ābhū(ā)ma-gaṇaḥ kulē-tūla-śrīs=ṛjāśvī samiti Manārath-
ābhūdānāḥ [*] yō hatvā 
93 jhaṭṭi manārathān-ariṇāṁ bandhūnām akurata sat-ṭhalan balēna : · ||-46 ||- ēkasmu Parunetkili-
94 prabhūtyavā vaṁśe dīharāhīvāra bhūyātmis-tutē.Āmarēśvara-bala-śrīśrī-vikramā 
jajūrē [*] yēśhūn-ā-jā-
95 ladhī kshāmān samayātānmu vyāptāṁ yaśōblur śubhair-ā-brahmāṇḍa[m-a]khaṇḍa-dēśa- 
samayāṁ viṣavaḥ-jagad-rājātē : · ||-47 ||-

1 TĀN has matsari[itisam]viriga-yasunah.
2 The corresponding reading in TĀS is uncertain.
3 Here a is superfluous. Read =chhatrūmaḥ.
4 TĀS has lōkšhita[ca].
5 TĀS has tarjūtā.
6 TĀS has jata-sah[p]-purkrūtha.
7 TĀS has [pryē]a[na].
8 TĀS has [sa]sūra[ns]a[bbah].
9 TĀS has sādam.
10 TĀS has arimūdaya.
11 TĀS has sa[patu]na, which is ill-suited in the present context.
Asmin kulē kula-dharadhara-sannikāsah kāś-ōpamāna-vitāt-ōru-yaśāḥ-pratānaḥ [*] āsīt kshitiṣa-tilakah Ka-

97 rikāla-nāmā Chōḷa-saṃuddhatā-ripu-kṣhitipūla-kālaḥ |||–18 |||. Sa Kāvērin-ādikṛita-
sakalā-sasyāṁ viḍadhātan

98 paśaya-pūrās-śṛṇvār-avanima-avinīt-ōḍhätī-haraḥ ||| prātibhūtābhir-śnara-pārikaṃ-
[h*] śiśṭa-piṭaka-prakīrṇābhir-rmnjōt(d)bhir-śnara-

99 [nad-Γ]ruṇa-āṅgāra-saṃam(mahā) :|||–49 ||| Asmin kulē sakala-pāṛṭhiva-vandya-pādō jātō-
bhijāta-gūna-saṃ-

100 hati- brīhmā-bṛīh ||| īrjanīval-ōt(d)bhrata-ruṇ-āpratima-pratāpas-santāpit-āri-śalabhō Vaḷabhō mahiśāḥ |||

101 50 ||| 1h-anvanaye-bhūd-amaṛēsā-tulyaḥ parāsta-vidvaj-sāpa-sālaḥ [*] samasta-

102 rājanaka-bhūri-vallabhaḥ2

103 kshamādhiṇāthō Jagadēkarmalāḥ |||–51 |||. Vaiūti-saṃmn-ari-rāja-vandita pada-dvandv-

104 ārvindaḥ kshamā rāja Vyāḷabhayam-

105 karaḥ samabhavat sūnō-saṃaṇū rvēḥ [*] dōr-ṛddhaṇ-āchitra-khaṭḍagā-kaṇḍita-ripōr-

106 yaś-yōṛjita-śri-juṣhaḥ


108 sakalā-kṣhiti-ńāthaḥ [*] yat-pād-āmburaha-yugmām-ājasraṃ āksharādhitaṃ-ācēśaḥ-

109 mahi-

110 saṃaḥ |||–53 |||– Nivēśayām[ā]-

111 sa sa Chōḷa-dēśe nivēṭi-āśēśa-gūna-pravṛddhām [*] Kaṇṭaśaṇ-ādaivaś smaraṇa pragitaḥ-

112 Taṇcāpurī-nāma pu-

113 rīn-araṇḍraḥ |||–54 |||. Adityavannm(m-ṃ-ṃ-)bhadav-adyaḥ Kōḍaṇḍaraṃ-ābhita-

114 tayāḥ[*] prasiddhiḥ [*] utplutiya matta-dvīraṃ-ēndra-

115 sarṇīthāñ-jaghhana yah Pallavarājyam-ājau :|||–55 |||. Asy-ābhūt-tanayāḥ parākramaṃvātāṃ-

116 ēkādhīpaḥ kṣma-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

117 bhujāṃ virāś-nilayaḥ Parāntaka iti khyātaḥ kshamādhiśvarāḥ [*] vēl-ōdyāna-viśārabhir=

118 mmadakeśair-yayaṃ vē-

119 raṃ-ādhiśvarair-śṛṇvantaṃ mada-sindhubhiḥ pratidhāmaṃ pāṭhāmāṃ pāṭhōnidhēḥ |||–56 |||. Ha-

120 tv-āṣu Paṇḍyam-aṅkileṇa balēṇa sākaṃ hptvā tadiyam-akhilam vasu viryāsālī [*] bhāmćiśākara Ma-

121 dharāṃ yad-adhaḥ-krit-ārīr-lēbbē nata-sa Madhurāntaka-nāmādhēyaṃ |||–57 |||. Yaj- 

122 jīgāya Vījya-ōpama-

123 dyutiḥ Kṛishnārājajajita-naraṅdhipah [*] bhūri-vikrama-vivekahā-daṇḍit-Vīra-Chōḷa 

124 iti tēna kṛtayati :|||–58 |||. Yat-ti-

125 rṇ-pair-jalaniḥ-dhimuddhatai[*-]-bal-āughai-sānyattān samitī jaghhana Sinhalaēśān 


127 kō-sa rājñā-sakala-gūna-

1 TOS has samadhitā.
2 TOS has rājaṇeṭa-bhūri-śrṇvamā
3 Read sambhāna as in TOS.
4 TOS has sāmaṣṭa-āśēṣa.
5 Read abhīdhyā as in TOS.
6 Read yagad-sō as in TOS.
7 Read tatas as in TOS.
CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVĀ : SAKA 991.

116 nidhāśakunyat kō-saya vaktum bhāya[h] ēlāgyān guṇ-əughān-upasāmita-ripōr-vvikram-aik-āspadaeya [[*]]

117 yō vīt(d)vat(d)-vīpra-bhōgyān-anupaṣema-vibhavaṇ-Virarārayaṇ-ādyān=styaṛgyān-agra-hārān=vyadhaits vidhirsiva va-

118 rggam=ast-āri-varggaḥ |||-60 |||: Amushya tanayō-bhavat(d) vibhura Arindam-ākhyē

119 nripaḥ kshipākara-sama-dyut([h]) kshipa

120 iva-[h] stīyvata [[|-61]]: Asakpīd-ākrika rājha=svairam=ājāh=vidheyām=vyathita Vīdhi-samānasam-

121 padam sajjanānām [[*]] atanuta nuta-viryyō vyāpadam śātravāṇām-atulayad-ātula-śriś=

122 chandra-kāṃtīn sva-kāṃtyā : |||

123 62 |||: Ayasa sūnur-abhavat Parāntaka-santata-kshipita-vairi-santatiḥ [[*]] chintayan=

124 yaḥ=udayam sa-sādhvānāh

125 Pāṇḍya-bhupatir-ālaṅghaya(t)�rīm |||-63 |||: Chākara kārāu ripūn-āśeṣhānir-tātāra

126 bhūrin samān-ām

127 burāśīn [[*]] jāhāra tūpam budha-saṃhāthinā-tatāna santāpam=saajjanānām |||-64 |||

128 Akuli-guṇa-

129 nidhānāt(d)-bhūmipālād=amushmād-udajani naranāthō Rājarāj-ābhichānāh [[*]] sa khalu

129 ruchira-deḥāh kānta-nē

126 tr-āraṇivō Dhananda iti param yaḥ=Rājarājēna tulyaḥ |||65 |||: Saṇjāhāra samarē sa pārth-

127 thivān-u

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

127 jāhāra vāpaḍas sa bhūta[t] [[*]] ājāhāra cha makhān-anēkaśō vyājāhāra yad-asūnītan=

128 na tat |||-66 |||

129 Saty-āsaṃyē thirurte bata Rājarājē Satyārayaḥ kila palavata manda-buddhiḥ [[*]] natyā

129 jayanti

129 sa-bhāyā ripavas-tam-ājau na tyājayate=ayam-asūn-aribhiś-śriyatis-taṅh |||-67 |||: Tasya

130 sū-

130 nur-nayaṣya śa-sitā Pākaśisana iv-āri-śasanānah [[*]] Śamburaśi-ruchir-ākritir-nuripas=

131 sanbhalū

131 va Madhurāntak-ābhidhāḥ |||-68 |||: Ajayad-ājita-vīryyās=sauryya-saudaryya-sāli Vijaya

131 iva sapa-

132 nnāt(na)n Kunda(n)taḻam-adhindān [[*]] aharat sa kīrtam kshātriyānin-nihantu[h]

133 prasambham-ahbhilat-ārīr-jāmadā

133 [gnyayē] vyṛgyāt |||-69 |||: Jāhāra hārān-tuinānān-kāntāṃ Satakātō-ṛvikrama-nirjut-

134 tārī[ ] vihā-

134 ra-bhūmin-nija-sainikānām sa chākarot saṃyati Mānyakatām |||-70 |||: Sva-aṃśudhiś-

135 n-apracīhīta Kālit-Orkalupatī Kālingām-Vaśīgendranā-saha bhāna-ṛvyān vidālayan

135 [[*]] sa

136 Gaṅgām-ut(l)garjjan-nija kari-ghaṭā-ghāṭita[t]tātāt-ū-(ghaṭair-jahrē bhūbhṛn-makuta-

136 nihitār-uddhira-

137 ta-jalām |||-71 |||: Ulaṅghiṭ-āmbudhūbhīr-uddhata-bāhu-ṛvyār-niruddhāta-vaiṛṭipara-

137 nāṭā-bala-prapaṇeḥa[ ]h [[*]]

1 TāS has Vimiś-uddhaḥ, which has been rightly meant to be meant for Tung-uddhaḥ, above. Vol. XVIII, p. 45, n.
2 TāS has paṭīn.
138 sainyair=ddadaha sa Kaṭāham-adaddha(gdma)m-anayai Rajendra-Chola-nripati-kim= asāddhayam-asya | | |72 | | | Taṣy-a.
139 samas-tanayas=trayas-traya iva khyāṭāh kratōr-agnayah's-tēśhun-tu prathamaḥ kshitiśat-
ilakō Rājādhirā-
140 jō nripāh [*] yah Kalyāṇapuran-dadaha nripatin-nirjitya Karnāṭakaṇi-dāyā-Āhavallama-
vāraṇa-ghatām Kō-
141 llāpurai-ch-ākśniṇōt |||73 ||| Taśmin gatē tridivam=uddhīta-lōka-śokas-tasya-śanjah kshitim-imām-akhi-
142 lāṃ-arakshat [*] Rājendradēva-nripatis=saripūn=aśēśhan Śesh-ōpam-ōt(d)bhaṭa-bhujah pralāyaṁ vyana-
143 shit |||74 ||| Taśmin=yatē tridivam-anujas-tasya nistēj-āriḥ prājyaṁ rājyaṁ vyadhita vidhivat(d) Virarā-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

144 jendradēva[*] atyut(d)bhūtai samadhika-balō Rājarājendradēva-sartr-vatāṁ vya-

jyata javāt(d)-bhaiyam=a-
145 bhyaṁtaraṁ=cha |||75 ||| Hatvā Kūṭala-saṁgamē kshitibhṛtaḥ Karnāṭaka-saṁś-ōt(d)-

bhāvān sainyai yajñabhūjam prav-
146 rddhayati yas-tair-ddēvabhyāyaṁ gataiḥ [*] yēn=aṅkēna gajēna Kuntalal-balana-nirhatya ta-

ch-chhūniṭaiḥ krītva-śeṇyāṁ sa-
147 ritaṁ samudra-paritāṁ santéṣhitō vārdihīṁ |||76 ||| Bhṛṛṭibhyāṁ samuṣpēkṣitāṁ jana-

padaṁ vahśa-kram-ābhhyāga-
148 taṁ krāntam vaiṁ-mahīvairai-atibalai-vVēṅgin(i)-Kal[i]n-gan-api[*] jītvā satri-param-

param-ātibalai bhūtva cha
149 durga(gagaj)i[u] bahūṁ=cha[*] śrimān-Vallaḥba-Vallabhaḥ kshitipati-kshēmēṇa tam sō-nva-

śāt |||77 ||| Virachōla-nripati-kari-
150 kālah kālayan kalibalaṁ sakalaiṁ saḥ [*] dharmma-śāsana-sanuṣchayam-nuḥchāṁ vyātānōt(d)-Bharatasaṁ-saṁetam |||-
151 78 ||| Dēvaya-Arisutādhipasya mahatams-Tailōkyasār-ābhūdhaṁ śrīmad-Dabhraśabhā-

nātasya makute muniṣka(kya)m=a-
152 rōpitam[*] manyo vairukul-ādīmasya śaṁnas-Śrōikaṭha-chhūḍāmaṇeṛ bhamag-ārttham=

niya-vajñākṛit sa bha-
153 gavān bhānas samuropitam(tah) |||79 ||| Chōla-Tuṇḍira-Pāndaśrhu Gaṅgavāṭi-Kulūta-

yōḥ [*] Vi-
154 rājendro-nāmm-a sa bhra[madē]yān-akaḷapat |||80 ||| Chatvārinśat-sahsraṇy brāhma-

nāṁ-jaṇam-āgyuddha(d)ām [*] atōshayat(d)=bhūmi-duṁair(a)sthapayad-ad(ti)sthiram |||-

81 ||| Svasti śṛ[*] Sakalabhuviṣṇuṣa-
156 ya śrī-mēdiniv[e]* labha Mahārājaḍhirāja Paramēśvara Paramāṣṭāra Rāvikula-tilaka Chōlakula-sīr-

157 khara Pāṇḍyavakul-āntaka Āhavallama-kula-kāla Āhavallamaṇi aṁmaṇī veṅ-kanda Rāja-

śekhara Rājākāra.

1 Here the viṣṇa is redundant. Read agnagasya.
2 TAS has manumāṇa.
3 Read samudra-taṇtalāṁ as in TAS.
4 TAS has bhūtām.
5 Here cha is redundant: read babōv.
6 Read bhūtīrakā.
Charala Plates of Virarajendra etc.: Saka 991.

6th Plate: First Side.

158 ya Rājarājendra Vira-chola Karikāla-chola Rājakōśari [embraced by a line].

159 sīrī Virarājendradevārakku vāṇḍu ējāvadu Śakābdan-toḷāyirattu-ttanuprāṇṛṇṛu ma-

160 r Saumya-sam [va]tsarattu [†] Viramēy tuṇaiyāgavum-riyāgamēy-aniyāgavun-chēngōla-

161 ūējēkkāraru [kāraru]

162 gala kaṇḍu Tēmāḷaita-kōṇḍu Čhēranai trirai-kōṇḍu Śūngaladēśeṃ tvaḍip- paduttu veṅgalatt-Āhavamallāna saimmadī veṇ-kaṇḍu Vēṅgai-nādu ṇītu-

Sixth Plate: Second Side.

163 kkoṇḍu taṃnaḷ-jiranda manṇavar virada-mudittu vandu-pañjia Viyādittarkku1

164 ma-

165 ṇīlaḷa arulī-kkaḷal adalinda manṇarkku-k Kaḍāra jinn erindu kūlutt-arulī Sōmīsvariṇāti-

166 k-

167 Kaṇṇadādēsāṇ kaiyvāda-ṭtutrattu ṭṭam-adalinda Šaṇjukku3 Vikramāditanai eṇḍiśai nigai-

168 la-kāṇjaḷīgai-kaṭṭi Iraṭṭapāḍī īṭalai-Ṭalakkum-erindu kōṇḍutrulī vijaya-sī-

169 nḥāṇānattu Ulagamuludaiyājōdu virīrind-adrulina Sakravattiya ēri-Vīra-rā-

170 jendraceśar manṇaṭ-Chāḷakkīyai Munjakkārjil mudugu-kaṇḍu muṇjav ariya Iraṭṭarāja-ku-

171 la-kāḷan igal Virarājendraṇ puyai-koṇḍu pōdu-nikkyiv-āḷkmra Jayaṇgō-

172 āsōḷa-mandallattu4 Eyyī-kōṭṭattu nagaram Kāṇchipurattu Vēyaiy Tī-

173 ruvgamambu-Uḍaiyār kośilī-stṭepakkattu tīruvōlakka-mandapam Rā-

174 jāraṇāḷi muṇbil tīrukkāṇṇattu ēḷundarulī Uttarām-ayana-saṅkāṭṭu niṅṟu-

175 dānāṃ-chēydaruljāṅṇu [†] nuḍi-kavittu muḥūrttam-āgay ējuttv-pōy

176 vadiko-

177 [-vēppaḷai Virarājendraṇ vāḍa-Kūdai-sangamaṭṭu-pḍōr-Āhavamallaṇaiyum makkāḷai-

178 yum puṇaḍaiṇḍu koṇḍa Iraṭṭapāḍi-kōṇḍaśōḷa-mandallattu-pḍuli-nāṭtu-

179 -Chēryam-

180 na śri-Madurāntaka-sāturvedēmaṅgalattu5 Brāhmaṇaṇ Aṭṭīya-gōrattu

181 Bahudhānya-sūṭrattu6 Rishikēsava7-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayāśi(jiyā)yār varattu Sō(Śrō)-

Sixth Plate: Second Side.

182 triya-Kramaṅvittaṃṇu Mundaya-Kramaṅvittaṃṇu Pallaya-Kramaṅvittaṃṇu

183 uḷiṭṭārkkum

184 ivargal anvayattarākku dānāmā-gaṇḍuttarulīna Čhēṛāṃ-aṇa śri-Madurāntaka-śa-

185 (cha)turvēv-

186 dimañgallattuṅku simāntaram |||- pūrvandikku Kuppēriyum paṭhāt Nattuvan-kuṟu-

---

1 Read adaippadattu.
2 Read Viyādittarkku.
3 Read Saṇjukki.
4 Read charavattiya.
5 Jayangōḍḍakā maṇḍalam is similarly described in another record of Virarājendra dated in the 7th year from Perumbēr (S. J. L. Vol. III, p. 209). For a variant see f. n. 3 on same page.
6 Read choṭṭurvēvē.
7 Read Bōṭhāyana-sūṭrattu.
8 Read Rishikēsava-Bhāṭa.
kkaiyum paschāt=kKoṭṭikakauvāyum Pulugiyaṟūm Śirukauvāyikku mēṟku
182 Arūndiy-ullē Śeṅguṟum paschāt Andimudakkil Vauvāl-pārāi-
yum adukku mēṟku Puṇarkuruchihiyī Vadā-kurukkaikyum adukku mē-
ku Oluṉ-guṟīyayum paschāt Andiyulꞌalai-kKuṇḍaraṟ-pārāi-
yum paschāt Ūshai-kuṟukkaikyum adukku vaḏakkuku alukkal-
rum adukku vaḏakkuku Vaiṟuṛpaḏiyum adukku vaḏakkuku Taṉimmṛtstu-na-
187 [d]ayum adukku vaḏakkuku Mōṭṭan-kuṟṭaiyum adukku-kuḻkakku
188 Triṅkṣa-muṭṭu-madaiyum Kāmamāra(ra)-śunaivum paschāt Perumballam-u-
ḷḷāga-kkaḍattṛ-malaiyilī kūṟittu [[*] simāntaram samāpti || Viśvair-viśvā-
mbharādhīsair mānditair-ṛ-vandanā(ta)m idam [[*] śāsanam ViṉaraṆḍra-
Rāja-kēsarīva-
189 raṁmaṇaḥ [][82][*] ViṉaraṆḍrandāvasya vikramasya prakāsanam [[*] Chandrabhū-
ṣaṇa-Bhāṭṭe-

Seventh Plate; First Side.

192 na rachitaṁ suddha-buddhiṁ [][83][*] Tiruvāymolindaruḷa i-śāsanāṁ=chevyit-
tār Adikārīgaḷ tiru mēvampati-viṅaṅa ttēr-vēndar ađi-vanāṅa paḷi-nikki
194 unag-śaṇḍa viran Vaiṛ[ra]*ṛaṇḍraṇa aliyā-ttol-Manu-neṇiyāl vaḷarkṅira
195 Šoḷa-mandālatu Kṣaṭřiyaś jikāmaṇi-vanāṭṭu t Tirunaraiyūr-nāṭṭu-p Parakēśa-
rinallūr kilavaṅ Guṇanidī-Āruṇmoḷiḷḷa-rana Minaṇā-Voṇeṇdvēḷar [][Tiru-
mandira-ṅaį Jayaṅgondasōḷa-vanāṭṭu-kKurumbūr-nāṭṭu brahaḍāyain Kā-
yākkulū ᾲGu(Ku)ṇḍina-gōrttattu Āpastambha(ba)-sūrattu Tōṇaṇayā Pāpanās-
n-āṇa Viṉaraśivallabha-brahmādhīraṇa [][Nittavinōdā-vanāṭṭu Viraṅsōḷa-vā-
janāṭṭu Śendamaṅgalam uḷaiyain Āruṇmoḷi Rājendraśoḷaṁ-āṇa Jana-
ṇida-Viḻupparaiyaṅ [][Sāmāṇyō-yam dharmam=etaiu[*]=nippānām kēle kēle
202 pāliniyē bhavat(d)bhīh(bhīh) [[*] tasmād-ētēn bhūvinaḥ pūrtthivendrān bhūyō bhūyō
yācha.
203 tō Rāmabhadrabhūṃ[*] [][84][*] Sukritam-īdvam-aṭvai rakh yatē dīśaṁ dīśain sakalasṇi-
ṭṛ[i]-vandvynasā= 204 caṁ sāgāmnō vai [][*] Haru-cheranār-sarōtvanaṁsāl-kuḷiṇē mūrdhē-mū[ka]ḷīta-kara-pamnō
205 vardvalē Rājāṟaih [][85][*] Balubhirv-vvasudhā dattamī rājhaṁs-Sagarādhibhī [][*]
yasaya yasaya yadā
206 bhūṁīs-tasya tasya tādā plalam [][86][*] Parinatam-adhiśavaiṁ Madhurāntaka-brahmā-
dhīraṇa-a-

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

207 [tanaṭa] śāsanam-āṇa dēśa-madhyē sva-pati-kṣṛya-vinīśchyāṛtthain buddhiḥ krita [Ṣaṭī]-
bhūṣaṇa-
208 paṇḍitēna sārdhadiṁ [][87][*] Tiruvāymolind-aruḷa i-śāsana-ṭṭuttu veṭṭi-

1 It is possible that the expression Koṭṭi malaiyilē, may be the name of a hill, or it may mean 'having traversed[kkoṭatu], it terminated (kōṭī) at a hill [malai], which may have been a landmark in that locality, without however, having a specific name.
2 Read mānditair.
3 The correct reading is drma-sētron-nippānām.
4 Read pāliniyē.
5 The verse is defective; and the following corrections may be suggested: dikoṭa-adhiśah; nippati; sarōṭṭama-saṅkhrēna muṛddhē; mukulīṭa; podṇā; vantāṭ. The metre is Māḷai. [The intended reading of the first quarter appears to be: Suṅkrītam÷dromajaram rakh σati kōṭiśah. -B.C.C.]
Charala Plates of Virarajendradeva; Saka 991 and 7th Year. (III).

Seal of the Charala Plates.

Seal of the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chola.

From photographs (ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE).

N. P. Chakravarti.

Survey of India, Calcutta.
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 155-158) Hal 7 Property ! Sakaladhvanāsaya, Śrímadnirāllaka, Muhārāpārāśa, Paramāča, Paramakubātāka, the top-head mark of the solar race (Ravakulatīka), the crest-jewel of the Chōla family (Ubbakulikākalam). Death to the Pāṇḍya family (Pāṇḍyakalikākala), the foremost of kings, who saw the back of Āhavanallī five times. Rājasampad, Rāmaśarda, Virachōla, Kārikāla-chōla, Rājakāsari-varman Ārī-Virārajendradeva

(L. 159-161) In the seventh year of the Šaka year nine hundred and ninety-one (corresponding to the) Ārāhadeva, who, with bejewelled, and (his) only ornament, wielded the sceptre, and dispelled the dark Kāli (-age), took the head of Teṃsava (-ra), the Pāṇḍya king, levied tribute from the Chēra (-ra), subdued the Śiṅga (-ratī) country, saw the back of Ṭhāvanallī five times on the fierce battlefield, recovered Vēnpai-nādu and thus fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers who were born with him. gave the territory to Vijaya-ditya, who came and submitted to him, gave Kaḍāram after conquest to the (Kaḍāram) king who had approached his feet (-ra), routed Sōmeśvara so as to abandon the Kannada country, invested the Chālu(kava) Vikramāditya with the necklet (kaṇṭhikā) so as to shine in the eight directions and bestowed on him the Iraṭṭapādi-Sēven-and-a-half-lakha country, after conquest, and was pleased to be seated on the throne of victory, together with (his) con-quant Ulagamulududaiyāl:

(L. 168-180) while (this) warlike Virājendra, the god of Death to the family of the Raṭṭa king, whose anger abated only after seeing the back of the obstinate Chālākiki on (the back of) the Muḍakkāra, was pleased to be seated in the frontal portion of the audience-hall called Raṭṭarajān in the southern portion of the temple of god Tīrṇavēgamāl-Uḍaiyār at Kaṇḍalpuram, a nagaram in Eyyir-kōṭtām, (a sub-division) in Jayaṅgangadasōla-maṇḍālam, which is ruled over (by the king), having been conquered by the strength of his arm and made his exclusive property, and was pleased to offer gifts on the day of Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.

(h) gave to the Brāhmans Śrōtriya-Kramavittan, Mundaya-Kramavitan and Pallaya-Kramavitan and others and their descendants of the rāgra (lounge) of Rishikēśa-(Hrissikēṣa)-Bhaṭṭa-Saṅjaya-jīvyā of the Aṭṭēya-gōta and Baudhānayaka-Baudhāyana-gōta, a Brāhman (resident) of Chērām alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdīmaṇgalam.

(the village) Chērām alias Śri-Madhū-anataka-chaturvēdīmaṇgalam in Puli-nādu, (a sub-division) of Raṭṭapādikondasōla-maṇḍalam, which was captured after seeing the back of Āhavanallī and his sons in the battle on the bank of the northern Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, when (he). Virājendradra of the beautiful spear started out on the auspicious moment in which he was (himself) crowned.

1 These Sanskrit verses have been ably translated by Mr. K. V. Subramaneya Aiyar in Trac. Arch. Series, Vol. III. pp. 150 ff. and by Mr. T. A. Gopnatha Rao in anta, Vol. XVIII, pp. 48 ff.
180-189: The boundary of this district ran to the east (at) Kippat, then Natwarankukkar, then Kottikkamavu, then Puliguma and Senguna in Ampuir which is to the west of Sundaravu, then (the park called) Vamalapati in Andharakakukkar in Pungaruruthali to the west of it; then Ongapura to the west of it, then Pukurappu (north) in And; then Úshakkamavukkar, to the north of Makkallu to the north of Véntak to the north of the park called Mangal-kattu, to the east of it. The boundary then ends (plus).

182: This is the order of Virarājendra-Rājakṣara-varman which is honoured by all the happy kings of this earth.

183: This (prose), illuminating the prowess of Viratādikavatā, was composed by the pandit Chandrabhūshana-Bhatta.

192-196: At the order of the king, this poem was caused to be set to the music (Adhānā) of Gunandī-Arunolīyak through Minavā-Muvendavelār, the king of Parakṣa-saritāllār in Tirumaraṅvīr-nādu, (a sub-division) of Karakama-sīkānuma-vālangādu, in district of Śkulamandīlam, which was prosperous in accordance with the eternal and ancient laws of Manu, under Virarājendra, the hero who is resplendent with the goddess of wealth, who is worshiped by the charioteers kings and who rules the earth suppressing evil.

197-201: The Tirunāvatamālu (verse) Tōgamugan-Papanaši through Virasāvallakkha-Badhurādharmaṇaṇa of the Kandipet-vātu and the Āpostambara-sōna of Kavikkul, a Šhitarama in Kottambur-nādu, (a sub-division) of Dāvarangapālīvālangādu, and Arunolīya-Rājendrasāthi through Janadava-Vilappumalamaṇ of Śkulamandīlam in Virasāvālangādu, (a sub-division) of Šhitavinīva-vālangādu.

184: Imprecatory.

185: Let this charity be protected by the future kings of all the dominions;” thus does king Rājaṇa, who is worshiped by all the kings, and whose lotus-like hands are couched (in the shape of the lotus), suppliant with his head marked with the ornam ent in the shape of the lotus-flower of Hara.

186: Imprecatory.

206-211: In collaboration with Sasibhūshana-Pandita, this excellent charter was completed by Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja, so that the royal gift may be known in this territory.

1. Sàkaran-Kāḷiṭhala through Kandipet-Āχāriyana, the Master-carpenter (Tāvehtācāriya) and a resident of Kavikkul in Kavikkul-nādu, cut (engraved) the letters of this royal charter.

Do not forget charity: there is no support other than charity. Let all sentient beings protect (this gift).

No. 26. DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

A. Ghosh, M.A. Patna.

The dynasty of the Pāndavas of the Lunar race, ruling in Southern Kosala for about a century and a half, is known to us from eight inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. It is

1. Kārura is probably Kāromu, “a ravine between two hills
2. To the list given in D. R. Bhandarkar’s List of Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 229, add Mālīr plates of Mahāvīragupta, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.
perhaps desirable for the purpose of the present note to reproduce here the genealogy derived from these inscriptions:

```
Suravāra
    Udayana
      Indrakaṇḍa
        Nannadeva
          \[\text{son}\]
            Kânadeva
              \[\text{son}\]
                \[\text{son}\]
                  \[\text{son}\]
                    Bhavadeva Ramakṛṣṇa
                      \[\text{Chana\ddot{a}rqa}^2\]

Mahāšāya-Tivara
      Chandra-gupta
        Daughter
          \[\text{Har-hagupta}\]
            \[\text{= Nannadeva}\]
              \[\text{= Vīsa-gāti of Suvra-varma of Magadha}\]

Mahāśāya-gupta Bhiraja
      \[\text{Ramāśūra}\]
```

The date of these kings is anything but certain. Kœlhorn tentatively proposed to place them in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. on some of the grounds. This has been responsible for a theory that has gained some popularity, viz., the Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjōn plates of Anurāhavarsha as having been defeated by the Raśtrakūta king Gōvinda III (A.D. 763-811) is to be identified with the Pāṇḍava king of that name. It is overlooked that the Sanjōn plates deal with the conquests of Gōvinda in a strictly chronological and regional order (more certainly than the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta). The mention of Chandragupta along with Nagabhata and the separate recounting of Kōṣaṭhā make it definite that it is not the Pāṇḍava king who is intended there.

Of late some scholars have tried to establish that Tivara-deva, an important king of the Pāṇḍava line, ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D. The object of this note is to show that such an early dating is not possible on palaeographical grounds.

A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Suvra-varma, the Varman king of Magadha whose daughter Vīsa-gāti was married to Har-hagupta the nephew of Tivara, was no less than the Maukhari of that name, who, as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Siva in

---

1. It is not definitely known whether he was an ancestor of Udayana.
2. He is probably referred to under the title of a minister in the Bhāndak inscription, *J.R.I.* n.s., 1905, p. 831, n. 4.
3. There is nothing to show that he ever became king.
4. I am inclined to think that Nannadeva mentioned in the Bhāndak inscription (ibid. cit. n. 62) is no other than this Nannadeva, his mention being necessary owing to the fact that he was ruling when his cousin Bhavadeva repaired the monasteries mentioned in the inscription.
5. He is referred to as *śripati* in line 10 of the Bhāndak inscription.
6. He is probably the elder brother of Chandragupta referred to in line 5 of the Sirpur inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 190.
A.D. 534. But, as I have said elsewhere, this identification is highly doubtful, for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukharī Śrīvarman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Āśīrgadh and Nālandā seals of the Maukharīs, and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Śrīvarman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadhā, the Maukharīs of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kānauj.

It is now practically certain that the Śrābhapura line, consisting of Prasannamātra, his sons Mahājayarāja and Mānāmitra, and Mānāmitra's sons Mahāśudēvarāja and Mahāśravirāja, preceded and not followed the Pāṇḍava kings in Southern Kāṇa. Professor Mirashi holds that Mahāśravirāja (who issued his Thākurdīyā plates from Śrīpur) ruled in the first half of the sixth century and was ousted by Tīvara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A.D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view: the Kharōṭ inscription of Indrabala and Iśānadeva shows that even before Tīvara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as had been held by the Śrābhapura kings. The fact that Tīvara is the first king of his line who is known to have made Śrīpur his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father and grandfather was situated elsewhere, as no copper-plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of issue of the charter) belonging to them has as yet been found.

Having seen that there is no sure ground for placing Tīvara in the second quarter of the sixth century, we may turn to an examination of the paleographical chart attached hereto. The Ārāṅg plates of Bhāmasena of unknown lineage are dated in the Gupta year 282 = A.D. 601; it is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period with which we are now concerned, and as much affords a convenient standard of comparison. It will be seen that the characters show typical Gupta forms throughout. Comparing this record with the Bhāndak inscription of Nānadeva, which according to Professor Mirashi's chronology must belong to c. A.D. 500, we find that every letter in the latter presents a more developed appearance: in ā, h, and s there is now a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; looped tripartite y has given place to the bipartite form; the right vertical of s projects a bit above the curved top—an important development which led to the ultimate separation of the left and right limbs of the letter, leaving the left limb to develop independently into the Nāgārī and proto-Bengali forms (which tendency of separation is already noticeable in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśravagupta, where the horizontal cross-bar of the letter has turned into a curved inward prolongation of the left member, the right member being thus a separate entity); in k the left limb is no longer a vertical straight line but a curve, and the right downward stroke shows a tendency to hang below the base line. The persistent occurrence of late forms in the Bhāndak inscription marks it out as definitely much later than the Ārāṅg plates: a fortiori the possibility of its being placed a century prior to the latter cannot be considered. It is also evident from the chart that the letters of the Kiṅgishēla plates of the Śalīdhārava Dharmatāja have practically the same forms as those of the Bhāndak inscription.

1 Hārinā inscription, above, Vol. XIV, p. 110. This theory was first started by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed., p. 512 n.
2 Two Maukharī Seals from Nālandā, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.
3 I.f. above, Vol. XXII, p. 16.
4 P.R. A.S.W., 1903-04, p. 54.
5 The letters in the chart have been traced out of the published impressions of the respective inscriptions. They do not claim the preciseness of mechanical reproductions but may be regarded as accurate for all practical purposes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hārāha inscription of Iśānavarman A.D. 554</th>
<th>Āraga plates of Bhimāsenā A.D. 601</th>
<th>Kōṇḍeda plates of Dhararāja</th>
<th>Bhāndak inscription of Nannadhāraja</th>
<th>Sirpur inscription of Mahāśīvagupta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bh</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>य</td>
<td>य</td>
<td>य</td>
<td>य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'</td>
<td>स'</td>
<td>स'</td>
<td>स'</td>
<td>स'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
<td>स</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ह</td>
<td>ह</td>
<td>ह</td>
<td>ह</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be readily admitted that it is not strictly scientific to compare the Hārāhā inscription with the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍavas owing to the great distance separating them; but if it were allowed, it could be easily shown that the Hārāhā inscription is distinctly earlier, so that Śūryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harsha Gupta.

It is clear, therefore, that the ascription of the Bhāndāk inscription to a date earlier than A.D. 650, i.e. at least fifty years after the date of the Ārung plates of Bhimāsena, is a palaeographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We may now proceed to examine some incidental facts and identifications arising out of these tentative dates.

1. Some scholars have found a reference to Tivara in the Pulombaṇḍu and Ipur grants of the Vaiṣṇukūṭin Śādavaavarman, which refer to an invasion of the city of Trivara by Mādhava-varman. But from the wordings in the inscriptions it is not certain that the expression Trivara-papatar should be taken to mean the city of King Trivara and not the city called Trivara. King Tivara of the Lunar race, who is proposed for identification with this Trivara, is not known to have founded a city of his own: on the other hand, the city of Śrīpurā was the capital of Southern Kōsaḷa before, during and after the reign of Tivara. It appears to me that there is much probability in the view that Tivara is a place-name, being a partial Prakritization of Tripurā, and giving rise in due course to Tīvra or Tīvra, by which name the ancient Tripuri is now known. Even assuming that Tivara in the above inscriptions is the name of some king or prince, there is little likelihood of his being identical with the Pāṇḍava Trivara, in view of the fact that the date of the Pulombaṇḍu grant is most probably A.D. 594, which is much too early for one who, according to the chronology proposed here, flourished towards the end of the seventh century.

2. The Köṇḍēḷa and Nivīṇa plates of the Śailēdhava king Dharmarāja say that Mādhava, the younger brother of the king, became a rebel: being defeated at Phāṣikī he took shelter with another king Tivara, but was again defeated along with Tivara at the foot of the Vindhyas. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Nivīṇa plates, proposes to identify this Tivara with Tivara of Southern Kōsaḷa. Dharmarāja, being the grandson of Mādhava-Sāmyabhīta II, the author of the Ganjūm plates of A.D. 619, must have flourished in the latter

---

3. For this reason the analogy of Pravaraṇa and Yaṭṭiṇagara cited by R. S. Pancharūka (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 90, n. 5.) cannot stand. Nor is it possible to agree with him (*loc. cit., p. 91, n. 6*) that the superscript *b* in *Trinava* is distinctly long in the Pulombaṇḍu and Ipur grants. In the latter, at any rate, it is clearly short.
5. R. S. Pancharūka (*loc. cit.*), tries to prove that the date of the grant is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the forty-eighth year of the king who was defeated in c. 631 by Pulakōśin II or his brother Kūja-Vishnuvardhana. As Pulakōsin's conquest of Kalīgada, Kōsaḷa, Pishapura, Kuṇḍala and Kāṇchipura, recorded in vv. 20 and 27 of the Ahola inscription (above, Vol. VI, p. 6.), were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishnuvardhana was the governor of Vīrag from c. 610 to 633 (*cf. D. C. Ganguly, I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, p. 442*), it seems very likely that the Vaiṣṇukūṭinins were ousted by the Chālukyas in c. 615. The fact that the son of the donor of the Pulombaṇḍu grant of Mādhava-varman was the recipient of the same village in the reign of Jayasimha, the son of Vishnuvardhana, (above, Vol. XIX, p. 254), does not prove that Mādhava-varman just preceded Jayasimha in time; the two kings might well have been separated by two short reigns of a successor of Mādhava-varman and of the Chālukya Vishnuvardhana. *But Jayasimha is definitely known to be the successor of Vishnuvardhana.—N. L. R.*
6. Or Trivara, as the word is spelt in the Nivīṇa grant.
half of the seventh century, which, according to our chronology, was also the date of Tivara. The identification proposed by Dr. Chakravarti is, therefore, highly probable.

3. Nannaraja, the son-in-law of Tivara, may perhaps be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of the same name who is known from the Tiwarkhēl and Multāi plates to have lived in the first half of the eighth century. It is to be noted that both of them are said to have acquired the pañcika-modhāṃśa.

4. Harshagupta, the nephew of Tivara, seems to find mention in the Dhibāi plates of Karkaraja, which says that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga won victories over [Kritivarman] the Kārnāṭaka (Chalukya) king, who had defeated, among others, a king named Harsha. As Harshagupta flourished in the first half of the eighth century according to our chronology, it is very likely that he was the senior contemporary of Kritivarman II, who began his reign in c. A.D. 744.

5. Lastly, it must be admitted that we are not aware of the existence of any Śūryavarman in Magadha in the first half of the eighth century, who could have married his daughter to Harshagupta. Not much is known about the history of Magadha in the seventh and eighth centuries, but we do come across references to some chiefs whose names ended in varman and who therefore may be regarded as having formed a Varman dynasty. (The Sirpur inscription says that Śūryavarman was born in the Varman family.) The Korean traveller Hwān Lum, for instance, refers to the contemporary Magadhān king as Dāyavarman. Further, Cunningham points out that in A.D. 692 the king of Eastern India was known in Chinese as Mu-lo-pa-mo or Malavarman. For earlier times we may recall the names of Pūrama Varman, who, according to Hīravi Tīkā, restored the Bādhi tree at Bāḍh Gaya, and of the Mauḍhārī sāmaṇu-chālāṅga-yaṭāiva Varman, Sāndlāva Varman and Anantavarman, known from the Barābār-Nāgarjuna cave inscriptions. We may prolong the list by adding the names of Sundaravarman and Kālāyavarman, mentioned in the Kauśa-dīvanādī, a drama which, it has been shown, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 700. There is thus an almost continuous record of the existence of Varman rulers in Magadha who were probably usually feudatories, assuming independence under favourable circumstances.

No 27. NILAGANGAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF AMBADEVA-MAHARAJA: SAKA 1212.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab set up in Survey No. 307, 2 about two miles to the north-west of Nilā-Gangavaram in the Vemankonda Taluk of the Guntur District. The
slab is broken into two fragments—both of which contain writing on the front and back sides. They are mutilated in parts and so a few letters are lost of the invocatory and imprecatory verses. The inscription consists of 96 lines and the writing is fairly well preserved. At the top of the slab are carved a conch bull, the sun and the moon with a dagger below them. I edit the inscription below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachari, the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The alphabet is Telugu-Kannada of the period to which the record belongs. The hooked vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter ठ to mark the aspiration deserves notice; see महा (l. 21), नरसिंह (l. 25), जलाशय (l. 28), etc. Orthography does not call for any special comment except that a consonant before a न्द्र in the body of a word is usually doubled as in भार (l. 18), ब्लान्न (l. 31), सर्व (l. 51), etc., but in देवादयानि (l. 33), सर्व (l. 36), etc., this practice is not observed. Dental ं is wrongly substituted for lingual ं in मनंतवा (l. 44) and palatal ं for dental ं in मनंतवा (l. 31). There are a few mistakes of the engraver as in सदासिद्ध (l. 40) for सुदासिद्ध (l. 40), and देवादयानि (l. 42) for देवादया (l. 42). The language is Sanskrit (verse) in ll. 1-51 and Telugu (prose) in ll. 52-99. ll. 61-66 also contain a verse in corrupt Sanskrit the sense of which is not quite clear.

After invocation to the वाँडारवी of Vishnu, the record introduces the कश्टी caran created by चालान and states that there were some heroes in it, who remained undaunted even though the whole कश्टी race was discouraged by the acts of Bhāgavata, c.s. Paramañña and that they were in consequence known as Kāyastha. In the Tripurāntaka inscription of Ambedāva, the origin of the family-name Kāyastha is explained as born of the body (काया) of Dvāraka (c.s. Brahmana). In the Kāyastha family was born Gaṅgāya-Sāhini. His sister was Chandalādevī who bore to Ambakshēpā two sons c.s. Janārādana and Tripurārādēva. The latter's youngest brother was Ambadēva who had captured the royal glory (साधुसिद्ध, जलाशय, l. 29) of Guriṇḍā-Gaṇadhīpaka a metre to the Maharaja king. The inscription further states that king Ausa granted on the date specified in ll. 31-33, the village Mollākkaluru alias Śivapura to the temple of god Matēvara (l. 33-35). Then follow five imprecatory verses (ll. 36-38). The record is composed by Naṃmanaṭhurā who was dear to the goddess of speech. The Telugu portion repeats the date and adds the name of the donor as Mallināthaṭhayāṅgara of Reṅḍrēva residing at Tripurāntaka-kshētra. The gift was probably placed in his charge to be managed on behalf of the temple. At the end is added a verse in Sanskrit which seems to refer to the construction of a flight of steps at the eastern gateway of the temple, by Kumāra-Kṣhitibhūti (c.s. Kumāra. Prataparudra).

The details of date are given in ll. 31-33 and ll. 52-54 as:—Saka year (expressed both in chronological and numerical figures), भाव (12) and आक्ष (12) i.e. 1212. Vikūta. Bhādrapada, 13 darśa, Tuesday, solar eclipse (देहादयानि) the eclipse probably covered 12 digits (आद्यकाल) of the Sun. These details regularly correspond to Tuesday, September 5, A.D. 1290 when the according was Uttara-Phalguna.

The inscription is important as it furnishes a specific relationship between Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Gaṅgāya-Sāhini the Cavalier of Kākatiya Gaṇapati and Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Ambedāva which was not known hitherto. As stated above, Gaṅgāya-Sāhini's sister Chandalānābha or Chandalādevī was married to Amba-kṣhēpā who was the father of Ambedāva. Since the record states that she bore to Amba two sons, c.s. Janārādana and his younger brother Tripurārādēva it may be surmised that Ambedāva was probably born of a different mother. In the Tripurāntaka inscription mentioned above, the pedigree of Ambedāva is given as follows: In the Kāyastha family was
born Gāṅgēya; after him came his sister’s son Janārddana (udabhavat-tad-anno deibhyo yr-pa[h]) swasur-apatya-amushya Janārddanaḥ II. 8 f.), his younger brother Tripurārīdeva and the latter’s younger brother Ambādeva ‘as Upendra was of Indra’. The names of the sister of Gāṅgēya-Sāhini and her husband are furnished here for the first time. Rangachari2 and Sewell3 have misunderstood the relationship between the several chiefs of the Kāyastha family and have thus given a wrong genealogy.

It may be noted that the Tripurāntakam inscription as well as the present record specify without ambiguity the connection between the four members of the family which put together stands as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmā</th>
<th>Kāyastha family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gāṅgēya-Sāhini (Saka 1172, 1176, 1179)</td>
<td>Chandaladevi m. to Ambakshita I (Saka 1166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janugadēva (Saka 1180-1190)</td>
<td>Tripurārīdeva (Saka 1190-1194)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambādeva II (Saka 1194-1230?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kāyasthas were a powerful family of feudatory chiefs who played a prominent part in the politics of the medieval period in the Telugu country. They started their career as cavaliers (Turaga-sūdhanakas) under Kākatiya Gaṇapati and styled themselves as Mahāmadalēscara, Ōmadika-Brahmarākhasa and Gāṇapapadhara. Ambādeva the most powerful chief of the family assumed the epithet Gṛṇḍikōṭa-Manorathapuravari-ādhēvāra and ruled from his capitals Vallu-rupattana and Gṛṇḍikōta the former of which is Valluru near Cuddapah while the latter is the modern Gṛṇḍikōta in the Jammalnadugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In order to understand the extent of their power and territory, it is necessary to study their records critically, and to facilitate such a study, a classified statement of their principal dated records is given below specifying in each case the name of the overlord under whom the chief ruled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Overlord</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saka 1166</td>
<td>Ambayadeva</td>
<td>Gaṇapati</td>
<td>Satrasila (Palnad Tk., Guntur Dt.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saka 1172</td>
<td>Gāṅgēya-Sāhini</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saka 1176-79</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Though the Tripurāntakam inscription contains the specific relationship namely ‘sister’s son’ (swasur-apat-gam) between Gāṅgēya-Sāhini and Janārddana it has been missed by all writers on the Kāyasthas who nevertheless proclaim that the inscriptions do not disclose the connection between them. See also Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905, Part II, page 63.

3 Historical Inscriptions of Southern India. p. 359.
4 No. 314 of 1930-31 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 No. 283 of 1905 of the same collection.
6 Nos. 231, 176 of 1905 and 233 of 1937-38 of the same collection.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1180-82¹</td>
<td>Janaghyādaśa</td>
<td>Gaṇapati</td>
<td>Pundālaḥ (Pulampet Tk., Cuddapah Dtr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1186²</td>
<td>Janaghyādaśa, ruling the territory extending from Eningad to Ṣaṅgāyana Ḍūgarā,</td>
<td>No mention of the overlord.</td>
<td>Kārṇāpūraḥ (Palknad Tk.), Nandāśa (Cuddapah Br.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1191³</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Rudrāmaśaśi</td>
<td>Do (Penal Tk.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1192³</td>
<td>Tripiṭāraśa</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Puripādaḥ, Dursa, Nellore Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1194³</td>
<td>Tripiṭāraśa</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Tripiṭāvarāṣa, with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1194 to 1224⁴</td>
<td>Ambadēva</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Tripiṭāvarāṣa, Amrudā, Ṣaṅgāyana Ḍūgarā, Cuddapah and Kamalaparam Tulka.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this tabular statement, it is apparent that a certain Ambadēva was the eldest member of the Kavastha family who governed a portion of the Guntur District round about the Satrasāla where his inscription was secured. Gangīya-Sāhini appears to have simultaneously held service under Gaṇapati in the Cuddapah District where his records are found. Both of them are given the epithet Dāmādiṣaṇu-gaṇapati which is likewise adopted by the two successors, etc., Tripiṭāvarāṣa and Ambadēva along with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits. Ambadēva, the younger brother of Tripiṭāraśa whose records range in date from Śaka 1194 to 1224, could not have held any administrative authority as early as Śaka 1166 which would otherwise invest him with the governorship of the territory for nearly 60 years which is far from likely. Further, this would lead to the contingency of assigning no period of rule to his elder brothers Janaghyādaśa and Tripiṭāraśa who have, however, issued several records as governors under the Kākatiyas. It is therefore reasonable to think that Ambadēva of the Satrasāla inscription is an earlier member and different from the homonymous chief the younger brother of Tripiṭāvarāṣa. The earlier Ambadēva may be identified with Ambākṣaśaṇa mentioned in the present record as the father of the three brothers. Since the earliest reference to the defeat of Dāmādiṣaṇu of the west is found in a connection with both Ambadēva I and Gangīya-Sāhini, it is likely that both these officers had a share in the event.

Whether Ambākṣaśaṇa's principality was confined to the Palknad Taluk of the Guntur District or extended as far south as the Cuddapah District where his son's inscriptions are discovered, there are no means to decide. But it is quite probable that Ambadēva I and Gangīya-Sāhini governed different parts of the Kākatiya kingdom separately and on the death of the latter

¹ V. Rangachari, op. cit., Guntur 502, and Cuddapah 859.
² Nos. 610 of 1907 and 500 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. See Rangachari, op. cit., Cuddapah 824 and Guntur 529.
³ V. Rangachari, op. cit., Guntur 500 (No. 573 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection). *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Darsī 57, 60. The Śaka year 1151 appears to have been wrongly read for 1192 and the cyclic year Pramaṇī for Praṃaṇīṭa which corresponded to 1192. Śaka 1151 does not combine with Praṃaṇīṭa at all.
⁵ Nos. 486, 173, 174, 242 and 268, of 1905, 406 of 1911, 622 of 1907, 618 of 1907 and 414 of 1911, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
⁶ The identification of Ambākṣaśaṇa with Ambadēva made in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1930-31, Part II, para. 18, is not tenable.
apparently without issue, his territory passed to the nearest relative, i.e., his brother-in-law Ambede I or more probably the latter's son Janardhana. This would account for the tracing of Ambede (II)’s genealogy from Gāngēya-Sāhīni who had, otherwise, no direct lineal connection with him. Thus from Janardhana’s time the territory of the Kavaatha chiefs comprised a large area from Panugāl to Māragaṇḍa or Kāvāra, i.e., from the Nalgonda District (Nizam’s Dominions) to the Cuddapah District. From the table given above it is clear that Janmaṣṭya must have come to power some time after Śaka 1179 as Gāngēya-Sāhīni’s latest inscription is dated in Śaka 1179 and held the governorship till Śaka 1192 which is the earliest date for Tripura. Tripurā was succeeded by his younger brother Ambade I in Śaka 1194, who continued to rule till at least Śaka 1224 in which year his Lēpāka inscription is dated. It is significant that the Kāremputi and Nandali iscriptions of Janagadēva bearing the Śaka date 1186 do not refer to the overlord whereas his earlier inscriptions of Śaka 1180-82 introduce him as a feudatory of Gaṇapatī. The Durgi and Polapudi inscriptions of Śaka 1191 and Śaka 1192 belonging respectively to Janmaṣṭya and Tripurā mention Rudra-Mahādevī as the reigning monarch. But Tripurā’s inscriptions of Śaka 1194 and almost all the records of Ambede II from Śaka 1194 to Śaka 1224 are issued by the chiefs independently without acknowledging the suzerain power. This omission to mention the reigning monarch, if it signifies anything, may be taken to reflect the unsettled political conditions in the country due to weakness at the centre, particularly between Śaka 1182 and 1186 and Śaka 1192 and 1194. This is borne out by a study of the political events that happened at this period in the Telugu country. The most important document that furnishes many political synchronisms for the history of the period is the Tripurāntakam inscription of Ambede-Mahārāja dated in Śaka 1212. It states about Ambede that he (1) acquired the title of Rājya-Mahārāja after defeating Śripati-Gaṇapatī; (2) routed Kēśava joined by Sōmīdeva and Alluagāṇḍa; (3) vanquished Mallikārjuna who was a hater of Gods and Brahmans; (4) gave his daughter in marriage to Rājāṇa son of king [Bēḷḷaya] who had celebrated several sacrifices, together with the Nandana pura country (Nandalur) as dowry; (5) reinstated Manmagāṇḍa as Ālula at Vikramaṇḍi (Nellore) in his kingdom which he had lost; (6) captured the treasures of the Pāṇḍya princes; (7) defeated Dāṅḍara of the west; (8) took the head of Krūva-Malla-deva; (9) was honoured with rich presents by the king of Dēvagiri who was pleased at his valour: (10) destroyed Kāṇḍarāya and (11) was helped by his friend king Purakripāpandya with strong cavalry forces. Most of these exploits are confirmed by the contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences as shown in the sequel.

A record from Tāḷḷaprodutri belonging to Jataṭīpi Gāṅgeyadēvāchōla Mahārāja, son of Allugāṇḍa, and bearing Śaka date 1244 describes the chief as Gāṅgeyadēvā-Gāṅgeyā-Sāhīni-saccavasa-bandālī, i.e., robber of Gāṅgeyā-Sāhīni’s wealth and as one who obtained the (regal) fortune by churning the ocean of Sēvum (i.e., Yādava army, indicating thereby that the chief had rid himself of the Yādava domination by Śaka 1244. From an inscription at Nīluru in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District dated in Śaka 1137, it is learnt that Jatapita Dandijdēvāchōla-

---

1 This area roughly included the modern Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Districts.
2 In one of the Lēpāka inscriptions examined and copied by the Telugu Assistant of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, in 1938, Gaṇapendura Tripurāntaka-Mahārāja is introduced as ruling Mallaṇḍu from Vallaṇṭippattana in Śaka 1226. Kṛṣṇa (A.D. 1301) and making a grant of the village Lēbāka as a saccavasa-agrakara to the temple of Allu-Mahādeva. This is a solitary record of Tripurā belonging to such a late date. If he is identical with the brother of Ambade I, we have to presume that he continued to rule conjointly with Ambade I till Śaka 1226.
3 No. 268 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
4 No. 308 of 1933-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 No. 345 of 1920.
mahārāja probably an ancestor of the above chief was a subordinate of Yādava Simhanā. And Gaṅgeya-Sīhini is stated in a record of Saka 1176 belonging to the reign of Kākatiya Gaṅapati, to have defeated a certain Rakka-Gaṅgara-a who may be the same person as the Rakka-Gaṅgarasa of the Jōh inscription2 (Siddhant Taluk, Cuddapah District) dated in Saka 1188. The Telugu poem Nīcaraṭa-Rāmāyaṇa records that Gaṅgeya-Sīhini who had been deprived of his kingdom by a certain Rakka-Gaṅgarasa evidently the above-mentioned chief took refuge under Manma-Janapāla who restored the lost kingdom to his protegé by vanquishing Rakka-Gaṅga. This event must have occurred between Saka 1188 and Saka 1176. Alluṅgaṇa who was probably connected with Rakka-Gaṅga in some unspecified way, as their territories and the hostilities they both bore against Gaṅgeya-Sīhini would indicate, must have taken vengeance against his opponent Gaṅgeya-Sīhini, which was reciprocated by Anibadēva who as stated in his Tripurāntakam inscription, routed Alluṅgaṇa and his allies. Thus for three generations the Kāyaṇhas ranged themselves against the Jagatapi-Chōḍaṇamahārājas who appear to have rebelled against their overlords the Yādavas of Devagiri. It is likely that Gaṅgeya-Sīhini and his relatives were the friends of the Sauṇa kings and that they suppressed the rebellion of the latter-subordinates who, however, ultimately became independent by Saka 1191 when the Yādava power was on the wane. It must probably with the help of Anibadēva during the governorship of Janugadēva that Yādava Mahādeva wrested from Kākatiya Gaṅapati the honour of prabhu-gaṅgarasa as recorded in the introduction to Vatsadānaṇa of Hemadē. We know that this event took place in about Saka 1183 during the last days of Gaṅapati.3 On the death of Gaṅapati the whole country was plunged in utmost disaster and chaos and the internal rebellion and the danger from the neighboring powers were too much for the queen Pratīkātā. Rukamaṇadēvi to cope with in the beginning of her reign. Accordingly several Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs such as Erava-Bhanumūlīdeva, Vijayavallabhaṇḍapala and Sidhaṇḍa-Chōḍa Mahārāja are found issuing their inscriptions independently without referring to their overlord,5 in Saka 1189, 1185 and 1189 respectively, i.e., within a few years after her accession to the throne. Soon, however, the Kākatiya queen appears to have consolidated her power and reduced the refractory chiefs to subjection. She must have first subjugated the Kāyaṇha chief Janugadēva by about Saka 1190; for he expresses his loyalty to the reigning monarch in his inscription of Saka 1191. Thereafter, with the help of the Kāyaṇha chiefs of whom Anibadēva appears to have taken a prominent part, the turbulent officers were brought down on their knees since, in the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, Anibadēva boasts of having taken, evidently on behalf of the Kākatiya ruler, the head of a certain Erava-Bhanumūlīdeva who must be identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Erava-Mallidēva. Simultaneously with or shortly after this achievement, the defeat of Alluṅgaṇa, Sūnidēva, Kṛṣṇa, Mallikārjuna, etc., ascribed to the chief in his records appears to have happened. Kājaṇaraṇa, i.e., Koppaṇaṇaḍa II (A.D. 1213-1279) who had been reduced to subordination by Kākatiya Gaṅapati as can be surmised from his Drākshāna inscription in which he calls himself the executor of the commands of Gaṅapati-Mahārāja (Gaṅapati-Mahārāja-dhāraṇa pradus-tayat)6, must have attempted to throw off his allegiance to the Kākatiya banner on the death of Gaṅapati. In fact he has caused to be engraved a highly pedantic inscription at Tripurāntakam in which he glorifies his past achievements including the numerous rich gifts he had

---

1 No. 231 of 1905.  
2 No. 563 of 1915.  
5 Nos. 190, 272 and 175 of 1903.  
6 S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1342 B.
made to the temple of Bhīmatīvarya at Drākahārāma, without mentioning the Kākatiya overlord who was reigning at the time. The record is unfortunately not dated. But it must be assigned to a date subsequent to Saka 1184 in which year Köppernūjāṅgadēva figures apparently as a subordinate of a Kākatiya king. The defeat of Köppernūjāṅgadēva called here Kāḍavarāya must have been accomplished some time before Śaka 1201 the last year of the chief1 and after Śaka 1194 when Ambadēva succeeded to the chiefdom. Ambadēva’s Tripurāntakam inscription of Śaka 1194 does not refer to any of his exploits mentioned above whereas his epigraphs dated Śaka 1207, 1212, 1213, etc., narrate them in detail. Ambadēva appears to have been puffed up with the signal victory he had gained over his powerful rival Köppernūjāṅgadēva, proclaimed himself as a quasi-independent chief and to have held that position till the very last year of his rule. It is, however, certain that he did not turn a rebel against the Kākatiyas or attempt to subvert their sovereignty. For a record from Malāla4 in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District refers itself to the reign of the Kākatiya king Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja in Śaka 1212 and 1213, thus marking the extent of the Kākatiya rule in the territory of the Kāyaṭha chiefs during the same period. Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) and Nilagāngavaram (Vemukonda Taluk, Guntur District) where Ambadēva’s inscriptions are found, were situated within the Kākatiya dominions. It is therefore possible that though Ambadēva maintained a semi-independent status like the great feudatory families of the Dekkan, i.e., the Western Gāndhis, Bānas, etc., under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, etc., in the medieval period, the Kākatiya suzerainty was acknowledged in the territory of the Kāyaṭhas as shown above. In course of time, however, Ambadēva’s power suffered heavily in consequence of which he appears to have been deprived of his principality, since an Upparapalle inscription2 of Rudradēva dated Śaka 1236. Pramāṇa, refers to the reduction of Ghaṇḍikōṭa by a subordinate of the king. Another fragmentary inscription3 in the same place, without date, states that the king appointed Goṅkaya-Redji, a servant of Juttaya, to the governorship of Khajjikōṭa and Mulkināṇḍa districts. This shows that Ambadēva had been subdued under the orders of the king and his territory annexed to the Kākatiya dominions some time before Śaka 1236. In one of the inscriptions4 at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulkināṇḍa, Penaṅpādi, Pottapināṇḍa, Peļikallu and Nāntavāji under Pratīparudradēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1230. We know that these wādas had been subject to the administration of Ambadēva5, but it is not definite whether Ambadēva continued to rule till Śaka 1230 or had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Śaka 1236 as stated above.

TEXT.9

First Fragment : First Face.

1. Vānāhuṁ vāpur-avyād-vō mahī-mu
2. harēḥ yaśya daṁshṭāgra-vistāṁti mahī

---

1 No. 197 of 1905, see Madras Epigraphical Report for the year, part ii, p. 46.
2 S. l. i., Vol. IV, No. 1341.
3 The chief came to power in A.D. 1243 and ruled for 36 years (Historical Ins. of Southern India. pp. 162 and 376)
4 No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kshitāharīt in the present record points to the over-bearing attitude of Ambadēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.
5 No. 328 of 1905.
6 No. 320 of 1935-36.
7 No. 406 of 1911.
8 From ink-impression.
Second Fragment; First Face.

3 tējas-samumūrṣṭa
4 [jīyā]

5 [kā] tama
6 tāṁsura-mārataṁ
7 yathā-mārga-pravaratānūṃ Vidhur-vvīryaikanilaya[ti]
8 kšātra-ravam-a-jījanat śaṅgavād-bhagha-hridyalā?
9 kṣatra-lōkā [py] avikriyāḥ śaṅkṣa-pāraṁ-gaṁ-gaṁ-sattra
10 Kāyasthāḥ kari viśrutāḥ Tatr-śvavāya sam[ī]?
11 taḥ[*] śiśumān Ganggaya-Sāhīṃį \[^{[*]}\] pāyōdhāv-irv pa-
12 ryaṃta-tējā aṁśita-līlāti? Sva-sākhīna iva
13 Surabhīḥ Kalama-śvā-śaṁpātakas-vya kalyānī ś-arvva-
14 janīna sahaṣā Chāmaldāvī bābhuv-āṣaya\\; Arība-
15 kshēmapād aṁt śanci Chaitidāmbuśu-sata-dvayaṇiγam \[^{[*]}\]
16 Vasudevaśc aṁśaśyam Dévaki dvavatārāpi Śrī-pratyaṃṣh-
17 prthviharpita-mañjula-prabhū-paśupikṣṇa-paḍa-pīṭhā-
18 ī Janārdanāḥ kshemādhipatrāj janmānā jāyāyūn-abhū-
19 t jaij jaiṃgama-pāḥ pāriyāṭalāḥ Śrī-Tripūrārīdevā \[^{[\]}\]
20 vipaksha-lōkā-sasya-anuṣṣṭāḥ Śrī-Tripūrārīdevā \[^{[\]}\]
21 saṁdāryya-saṁyogita-Maṁ🎨a-śīr-vīdeś-
22 vilās-āśpadam-śāvīcīśti śvāmān-Ambādē-
23 va-kshētaparām-anuṣṭa-sava prthviśū prāśasti pṛāelūṇa-
24 kṣaṇī-pāla-praṇiḥita-saṅkara-praṇuḥ-pāṛṇa-bālūḥ \[^{[\]}\]
25 prabhava-pravartih-śvāsparbhī[ti]jha-maṅgala-syuṭā-ma-
26 guṇya[\*]-nīryāj[\*] vālā-jaś-kāvalīja-sūp[\*] śaṁkau-paḍa-kaṁsā-\[\*\]dva
27 saṁdārya-anuṣṭāḥ \[^{[\]}\] Ayaṃ māhā-bābura-arūk-\[\*\]
28 gē māṇyaśrīvō Māja-vāhāmakōṭi[\*] gunvī-
29 śi Gūrīṃḍāla-Gaṇāḍhipaṣya saṁbrāntiṇājja-lakṣaṁ[\*\]śa
30 sahasā pāhā\[^{[}\]

First Fragment; Second Face.

31 Śākē bhāṁ[nv] (bhā[nv])-arkka-śan(śam)khyā-viśasati Viṁṭe vaṭa[ra]\[^{[}\]
32 Bhādra-māsē dārsē Bhauṃṣya vāē \[^{[}\] sukṛṭīṇi (su[kr̥ṭīṇi])
33 samayā dvāṣa-amṛddh-ōparāgē \[^{[}\] pradhā-śambhā-she-
34 tīṇḍraḥ prati[ti]ṣṭa-Sīvapuraṇa Mollakallūrī-ṇāma-grāma\[^{[}\]
35 ni Māhēśvarāya \[^{[}\] prakṣaṭīma\[^{[}\]

Second Fragment; Second Face.

36 . . . . . . . . . . . yam dharuma-
37 . . . . . . . . . . . pālaniyyō(ṇiyyō) bha-

1 Metre : Anaśṭāḥkha.
2 This syllable is superfluous.
3 Metre : Indrāṣṭikha.
4 Metre : Nyuṣṭāḥ.
5 Metre : Śrīṭānakha.
6 Metre : Āṣṭāṅkha.
7 Metre : Upādāya.
8 Metre : Suṣṭhāna.
9 Metre : Suṣṭhāka. 
38. ... dhīs-sarvāṃ-ētāṃ bhāvīnaḥ prāttīrthvēṇādāṃ bhūyō
39. bhūyō yācchāte Rāmakṣaṇādāṃ || 2 Bahubhi-
40. reva-sadvāḥ dattā rājaḥsūdada-gārāṇīdībhīḥ || yasya
41. yasya yadda bhūmīṃ(mis)ta-syā tasya tathā(ḍa) phala-
42. mā(lam) ||[*] Śatrūṣaṃpi(n-āpi) tiridā dharmam(ḥ)* pāliṇyāyō(nīyō) prayā-
43. mātāḥ, sutrāṇevā hi satrūḥ[ḥ]* syād-dharmam(ḥ) satru
44. r-ma kṣva-chit ||[*] Mān-dākham suvarana(ṛpa)sya bhūmī-
45. r-apy-aruddham-aṅgālaṃ(aṅgulam || haran-narakam-āpuṇī yī-
46. vadābhūta-saṅkaḷaṇa(vanu ||[*] Yathā chaṇḍra-
47. sō vṛddhir-ahāny alaṇi jāyatē ||[*]tathā bhū-
48. mi-kṛtaṃ dāmanī sasyē sasyē vīvarddhate ||[*] Ayuṃha-
49. tā Nāmānandandēṇa pratya-gravāṇi-hṛidaya-
50. aṅgālaṃ || sanyagyuktaḥ śāsana-varyyamī-
51. tat-sarbve-pi śiyavatthu sab-āḍārēga ||[*] Svasti śrī-
52. Sāka-varshaṇibulu 1212 agu-nēṇṭi Vikri(kri)jīti-
53. saṁvatsara Bhādramapa bahu la 15 Maṅga-
54. lāvānā sāryya-graḥana-kālamuna-
55. [m]du svasti śrīmatu Gaṇḍa-pedāra Ammodē-
56. va-Mahārājulī śrī-Tripunātakati-κsēb-
57. tra-viśu-ānā Remṛdvula Mallināthaya-
58. aṅgālaṃ Mollakalāluru sarvā-vāda(ḥā)-pari-
59. lārāmnu a-chaṇḍrāṅka-stā(-thi)yīgaṇ-icihaca Śi-
60. vāpuramu ||[*] maṅga-la mahā-śrī śrī śrī || ||
61. [D]ēvī yasya tvakyaṃ (svakyaṃ ?) Tripura-vijayin[ṛv]
62. chaksha-(at-tat)-pāṭya pūjā [m]* śītva (kītvā) rējē tatt-pi [dda]-
63. .. tama-analai Dūch(a)-yākhyam prasiddham ||[*]
64. pūrya-dvārē Kumāra-kṣitiḥbhṛj-dhuparita-ta[t[ṛ*] Pu-
65. rārē[ṛ*] pūra-tād ranyani sōjana-mārgam [vumā?]
66. karam-analai dyuḥ pratijñāṃ vidhiyā ||[*]

No. 28.--BARGAOX TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This inscription is inscribed on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargao, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā tahsil of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by Genetal Cunningham who visited Bargao twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his Archeological Survey of India Reports, Vol XXI, Part I, p. 161 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, but it has not

1 Read paṭṭhaṇaṛṇā.
2 Metre: Śāliṣṭ.
3 Metre: Anasaḥṭaḥ.
4 Read ātītō.
5 Metre: Indraγṛjā.
6 Metre: Sṛṣṭhāra.
been edited so far. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has, of course, been lost at the top, the bottom, and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters have disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three aksharas. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters we may note that kh consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top: th shows a vertical stroke on the right. It exhibits two forms—one with a loop as in kṛṣṇa, l. 3 and the other without it in Śabara, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiradāl conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A.D., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of sandhi (as in utā asthē for utā 'asthē in l. 1) and of gender (as in sapath-śatam for sapathā-yam in the same line). The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that b is throughout denoted by the sign for c, see Śabara and Vālūkākṣa, both in l. 1 and rāmat-stanica in l. 2.

The record opens with Oṁ namah and refers to a commander of the army (Bhādakṛta) of Śabara. His name which is partly mutilated appears to be Śiva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cēsa on the threshing floor together with a grainary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Bāhmanas for the benefit of (the god) Śankarana-nārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Bāhmana.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but, as stated above, it can, on paleographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Simha, mentioned in a fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsa, to which Dr. F. E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kamujinya gōtra, who was a minister of the king Krishṇa after defeating the lord of Chedi and slaying a Śabara named Simha placed the kings of the Rāj-aṁśalya and Rōlāpāli on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhūlāsīmain evidently at Bhilsa where he composed a stotra in praise of the god. From the mention of the lord of Chedi and the Śabara chief Simha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chédian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription, too, was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chedi or Kalachuri king, and a much defaced inscription at Bargaon to which General Cunningham has drawn attention refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chedi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsa is also undated, but the date of the king Krishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsa, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology.


Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one Narasinha of the Sulki (or Chalukya) family, who at the command of Krishnaraja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood. As Kesari, the son of Narasinha, was, according to the inscription, appointed Tantralakshmi (Minister for home affairs) by Vakpati-Munja (circa A.D. 972 to 995), Krishnaraja can be placed about A.D. 950. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (A.D. 982) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde has discovered on a pillar of a dilapidated medieval temple at Masur. This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Krishnaraja. The god was evidently so named after a king named Krishna who consequently must have flourished before A.D. 982. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the above-mentioned date for Krishnaraja. This Krishnaraja is probably identical with Krishnapa of the Chandella family, a son of Vasavarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsa. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Vasavarman is the well-known Chandella king of that name, the father of Dhauga for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 954 to A.D. 1002. Krishnapa may, therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 900-95. From the Khajuraho inscription of Dhauga, dated V. 1011, we learn that the Chandella kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhasvat or Bhilsa in the south. It seems, therefore, that Dhauga placed his brother Krishnapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandella kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsa in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Shabara of the present inscription with the Shabara chief slain by Krishnaraja's minister is accepted, the Shabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. The Kalachuri suzerain to whom he owed allegiance was probably Sankara. The name of the god Sankaranarayana appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Narayana installed by Sankara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Karitali stone inscription of Lakshmanaraja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called a Pratara or devout worshipper of Vishnu in that record.

TEXT.

1 संहिता: [1] चाँ नमः [1] चार्यवयासलक्षणायोक्तः [भव]... ... ...

2 निक्षिप्तमयस्मांन (भ) ज्ञानसत्त्वमयस्मात्पीपनसम ... ... ...

3 शुकर्मानवस्यार्थं चतुर्भिष्य(च) प्रदत्ता कुदरः... ... ...

3 Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for 1930-31, p. 10.
4 I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.
5 These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, see his A. S. R., Vol. X., pp. 94-5, plate xxxii., and edited by Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII., pp. 236-37.
6 Above, Vol. I., p. 129.
7 [Sankaranarayana here apparently refers to an image of Varaha.—Ed.]
8 Ibid., Vol. II., p. 174 ff. This king must now be called Lakshmanaraja II in view of an earlier king of the same name; see above, Vol. XXIII., pp. 255 ff.
9 From inked estampages.
10 Expressed by a symbol.
11 Read Baladhikriti.
12 The anusvara on ra is very faint. Some word like cira may have been lost after kridaram.
JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMA: YEAR 39.

4 के चलते चर्म1 या विभवरति2 तथा ज्यावद्3 या (ब्र)हः या (चा)पाँकियै4 . . .

5 अऽ शिति5 [ii*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3) Success! Oma! Adoration! [Śiva], the Brahmakṣetra of the illustrious Śakara . . . has given the cess at the threshing-floor and a granary for the holy Śankaranāḍāyana to . . . , the ascetic residing in the temple (which is the only one) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇa6 venerated by

(Ll. 4-5) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (om) imprecation that he shall meet the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa . . . . . .

No. 29. JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMA: THE YEAR 39

BY R. K. GHOSH, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The plates which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up along with pieces of old pottery in course of excavation of an old temple in the village of Jirjini near Tekkhā in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. They were secured by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., who made them over to Mr. R. Subba Rao of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry. Mr. Rao subsequently published them in the Society’s Journal. In view of the great importance attached to this record for the early history of the Ganga kings of Orissa, and considering its rather inadequate treatment by Mr. Rao, I re-edit the inscription from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for Indore.

These are three plates of copper, each measuring 8½” by 3”. Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole through which passed a ring, 3” in diameter, the ends of which, however, remain unsoldered, owing to the fact that the seal which must have been fixed to this ring is missing. The weight of the plates is 56½ tolas, and that of the ring 12½ tolas, making a total of 69 tolas. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. The first and the third plates have writing on their inner faces only, while the

---

1 Used in the sense of sannāsātithi.
2 Read saṁbhikāraṇa.
3 Read saṁabhāyātum.
4 The original perhaps contained pātekāṁ asamyaṅkī bhuvanagati.
5 Read ṣya-ṣti.
6 Khala-bhikṣuḥ, lit. alms at a threshing-floor, was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donor. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floorms in the particular locality was conferred on the donor the record does not make clear. The Kārttikā stone inscription of Lakṣmaharāja (II) (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.) refers in line 34 to the donation of four khala-bhikṣuḥ.
7 Brahma-sāmabhā occurs in verse 14 of the Jabalpur and Kharrā grants of Yaśāṅkara, (above, Vols. II, p. 4 and XII, p. 212) but there, too, the correct expression evidently is brahma-stambha meaning *a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.* The same verse occurs in the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha. Dr. Hall’s transcript of it gives the reading brahma-stambh. See J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 117.
second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a state of perfect preservation and the engraving is clear throughout. The first and third plates, which are inscribed on one side only, have seven lines of writing apiece, while the second one contains six lines on each of its sides, thus twenty-six lines in all. The height of the letters is about 3" on the average.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and have resemblance to those used in the Gōdāvari plates of Prthivivināya,1 Gōkāk Plates of Dējja-Mahārāja,2 the Srungavara-pukōța3 and Siripuram4 plates of Anantavarman, king of Kaliṅga.

The script of the Jirjina plates has further some obvious resemblance to that employed in some of the early inscriptions from Cambodia.

The inscription under discussion furnishes examples of initial a in lines 1, 4, 8, 14 and 22 and of initial ā in l. 24 as well as of final m (l. 18 and 21) and t (l. 25), which are so indicated by their smaller size. The northern form of t is employed in -sukula (l. 1) and -latā (l. 8).

The numerical symbols for 1, 9, 20 and 30 are contained in the date in line 25.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of two of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among orthographical peculiarities deserving notice are (1) the use of the jhikāntiya in l. 21; (2) the use of the guttural nasal in place of anuṣṭapī in ānistriśa (l. 5); (3) the doubling of dh and the change of the first dh into d in -rāndhāvus (l. 10); (4) the doubling throughout of a consonant after r; (5) the occasional doubling of a consonant before r, as in sannāttiya (l. 13). In Taittirīya (l. 13) the doubling of the first letter is ungrammatical. Both b and c are indicated by the sign for the latter, exceptions being sañci(s)akyadibha (l. 11) and kuñambalas (l. 12). The rules of sandhi have not been observed in a few cases.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant, which is non-sectarian in character, by Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikalinga, a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. The grant is issued from the city of Dantapura and concerns the village of Jijjika situated in the Vōukhara-bhūga, which is given away as an agrahāra, in equal shares, to Aṇgirāvāra, son of Raudravāra, and the former's (i.e., Aṇgirāvāra's) son Raudravāmin, who belonged to the Vishāyaviddha gōtaṇ and to the Taittirīya sākṣaḥ.

The date is given, in figures only, as in the Year 39 on the 21st day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year in all probability refers itself to the Gaṅga era. The present record, therefore, may be considered as the earliest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅga kings discovered so far.5

The charter was written by the king’s Sādhiyaṇaṇīka Dēvasimhadeva.

There has been lately some discussion over the question of identity and antecedence of Indravarman, Lord of Trikalinga, of the present record. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies6 the donor

2. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.
4. Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

5. The next oldest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas yet available is the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman of the Year 79 (see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.). There is much uncertainty about the reading of the date in the stray plate from Tirungi which has been assumed by Mr. N. N. Rajaguru (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) to belong to the Year 28 of the Gaṅga era. Much of this uncertainty will undoubtedly be removed when the remaining plates of the set come to light and clear impressions of them are made available to scholars. It seems therefore premature, just now, to doubt, as has been done by Mr. G. Ramdas (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 82-3), the genuineness of the Tirungi plate on what appears to be very thin grounds.

of this grant with Adhīruṇa Indra, who, as recorded in the Gōdāvari plates of Pṛthūvimūla, is said to have overthrown in battle one Indrabhaṭṭaraka. This latter potentate has been equated by Dr. J. F. Fleet with the Eastern Chāluṣya king of the same name who was the younger brother of Javaiśēha I and father of Vishnurādhanā II; while according to Drs. Kielhorn and Jouveau-Dubreuil, Indrabhaṭṭaraka should rather belong to the Vishnukundin dynasty. We along with Mr. Subba Rao are inclined provisionally to subscribe to this latter view.

It seems that the Vishnukundins being hard pressed by the Eastern Chāluṣya kings pushed further northward from their original home in the Kistnā district of the Madras presidency. Their chief opponents in this direction were the Gaṅga kings of Kānīcā who had then only recently eked out an independent principality in and about the Ganjam district. The two contending armies seem to have met each other in the heart of the delta of the Gōdāvari, possibly somewhere near the modern town of Rājāmundry. As has been claimed in the Gōdāvari plates, victory rested for the time being with the Kānīcā forces. And it is quite probable that Indravarman returned in triumph to his capital at Dantapura. The victory over the Vishnukundins further prompted him to assume the (then rather anomalous) title of "Lord of Trikalūga" (Trikal Васyādhispa), seeing that his hold over the three contiguous districts of Gōdāvari, Vīzāgapatam and Ganjam now became practically undisputed. To this victory may also be attributed his description in our inscription as 'the thousand-rayed sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. Indeed, the might of Indravarman may be said to have dispelled the threatening clouds of a dangerous foreign offensive.

At this point it becomes necessary for us to take into consideration a number of kings whose records should be placed on paleographical grounds in the period A.D. 400-500, roughly indicating the interval between the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. These are Anantavarman of the Śrīṅgavara-pukṣa and Sīripuram plates, Śaktivarman of the Rāgūla plates, Umāvarman of the Bripplingsthā plates, Dhavalapēta and Tekkalō plates, Chauḍaivarman of the Kōmārti4 and Tirithiṣu5 plates, Ananta-Saktivarman

1 J. R. R. J. S., Vol. XVI, p. 149. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, assumes on the evidence of the Rāmatirtham plates that it was the Vishnukundin monarch who emerged triumphant from this struggle (Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 91).
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 129.
4 Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 76 and 91.
5 In an earlier study (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 130), Mr. Subba Rao held that Adhīruṇa Indra of the Gōdāvari plates should be identified with Indravarman of the Achevaṭaparum (above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.) and Pari-Kimēha (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.) plates. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, was inclined to identify Adhīruṇa Indra with the Indravarman of the Characode plates of the Years 128 and 146 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.).
7 However, no inscriptions of Indravarman expressly under his own name have turned up yet from either of the districts of Gōdāvari and Vīzāgapatam. The Ganjam district on the contrary remained the stronghold of the Eastern Gaṅgas throughout their history, as can be judged from the imposing array of copper-plate inscriptions beginning from the Jirnḫu plates onwards.
8 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.
9 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.
11 Ibid., pp. 4 ff.
14 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.
of the Madras Museum plates, Nanda—Prabhaṅjanavarmam of the Chicaole plates and Viṣākhavarmam of the Kōrōşhandā plates.

All of these potentates, with the exception of Viṣākhavarmam, call themselves 'kings of Kalinga' (Kalivañijñati). It is probable that these kings rose into prominence in the period following the withdrawal of the arms of Samudragupta from the south. After him the Guptas never actively interested themselves in South Indian politics, thus affording ample opportunity for these chiefs, as they originally were, to raise their heads and assume regal distinctions. Naturally, as some of them were living contemporaneously with others, they fought vehemently among themselves for control of the territory now covered by the districts of Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam. Their objective, at least that of some of them, was perhaps the Orissa littoral, pushing through the districts of Gaṅgām and Puri right up to the outskirts of Balasore and beyond that the important port of Tāmarapāṭi on the Bay of Bengal. This was the period which coincided with the gradual rise to power of the Eastern Gaṅgas under the capable leadership of Indravarman. It is not yet possible, in the absence of more substantial details of historical value, to make out the relation, if there were any, in which all these early 'kings' stood to one another. While some of them like Saktivarman, Umavarman and Viṣākhavarmam may have flourished before the time of Indravarman, it is probable that others like Anantavarman and Nanda—

1 Ibid., No. 24.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. Here we may in passing be permitted to dwell a little on the significance of the prefix 'Nanda' coming before the name of this king. Dr. D. C. Sircar's suggestion (Jour. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, p. 66, n. 2) that it denotes 'Prabhaṅjanavarmam of the Nanda family' seems to be somewhat speculative as it is without a parallel in the early history of Kalinga. A simpler and more reasonable explanation would be that 'Nanda' is here used as an honorific adjective (qualifying Prabhaṅjanavarmam) in the sense of 'one who pleases everybody'. In fact, another variant of the same word, 'Nandaka', has the significant meaning of 'one who gladdens one's family' (cf. V. S. Apte, The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1912, p. 535). The names of some of the early Pallava kings like Śiva-Skandavarman, Vijaya-Skandavarman, etc., could be cited (as suggested by Dr. Sircar in Successors of the Śālavahana in Lower Deccan, pp. 166-67) as parallel instances of such honorific prefixes being in common use in South India from an early time.
3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.
4 Mr. G. Ramadas, however, advances (above, Vol. XXI, p. 24) two plausible reasons in support of his supposition that Viṣākhavarmam was a Kalinga king. These are (1) Kōrōşhandā-Pañchabhā, mentioned in the Kōrōşhandā plates, 'formed a part of the Kalinga Country', and (2) Sirpur from which the Kōrōşhandā plates were issued may be identified with Siripuram (Vizagapatam district) which is close to the ancient district of Varāhavartan of Kalinga. Mr. G. V. Shriniwas Rao, on the other hand, suggests (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49) that Sirpur of the Kōrōşhandā plates may rather be Siripuram, a village near Chienoule, the find-spot of the inscription of another 'king of Kalinga' (Kalivañijñati), i.e., Anantavarman.
5 A most convincing and significant evidence of this having been the actual state of things is afforded by the Srungavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.), 'Lord of Kalinga', whose grandfather, Gunavarman, is called 'Lord of Dévarāṣṭra' (identified with modern Yellamanchili tāluk of the Vizagapatam district) and who himself issued his grant from Pishapurā (identified generally with modern Pithāpurā in the Gōdāvari district). Both of these countries constituted two distinct kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta.
6 About this time the Balasore district seems to have been in the hands of a group of chiefs, of obscure antecedents and relation, who called themselves (with one exception) mahārāja. Four inscribed copper-plates purporting to belong to their rule have recently been published by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff.). Incidentally, there is one more (rather imperfectly studied) inscription belonging to one of these chiefs which escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This latter record I hope shortly to deal with in this journal.
7 This of course is more in the nature of a conjecture as we have no more a basis than that of the indefinite evidence of paleography of the records concerned. It seems rather distressing that some of these 'kings' did not think it worthwhile to put on record the names of their fathers.
Prabhaṇjanavarman lived contemporaneously with Indravarman. It is even possible that the latter was originally a petty chief of no political position, wielding his influence over a small stretch of territory in the Gōḍāvarī valley. In course of time he collected a large following, with whose help he set forth to carve out an independent realm for himself. The Gaṇjūm district conveniently abutting on the Orissan frontier and affording avenues for further northward expansion, satisfactorily answered his expectations. And while yet endeavoring to build up the nucleus of a future empire, disquieting news reached him of clashing of steel at his rear in the Gōḍāvarī valley. In all haste, Indravarman prepared and launched an offensive, and, ultimately, after what must have been quite a number of fierce engagements, succeeded in maintaining his hold over the Gōḍāvarī and Vijayapattam districts, while improving and fortifying his base in the Gaṇjūm district.

Unfortunately, the material at our disposal does not permit us yet to develop in fuller details the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga power. What we have contented ourselves with doing is to suggest the broad outlines of a story which after all may not be quite out of time with those hectic days in the history of the Gaṅgas. At least, and it appears to lend some force of conviction to our line of argument, it would explain the claim, though somewhat conventionalised in form, of Indravarman in our present record (ll. 4-7) to have subdued in more than one battle many ‘chiefs’ by his own prowess. It does not seem to be an empty pandering to the vanities of a disillusioned patron by his scribe. No other epithet could describe the feat of this valiant soldier more aptly.

Of the localities mentioned, Dantapura is referred to for the first time in this record. It occurs next in the Pullū plates of Indravarman (year 149). The place had a Buddhist association in that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of the Buddha is said to have been brought over there by one of the Master’s disciples and a stūpa built over it. Subsequently, it was taken away to Ceylon. A verse preserved in the Dīgha Nikāya, and incorrectly reproduced in the Mahāvaṇṇa, speaks of Dantapura as the capital of the Gaṅgas. It is also mentioned as such in the Mahāpārashurāma-dīvya. The Jātakas refer several times to this city, which fact doubtlessly establishes its antiquity. Many suggestions have been advanced in regard to the identification of this ancient city. Sir Alexander Cunningham places it at modern Ramnundry on the Gōḍāvarī. Mr. Ramdas places it in the neighbourhood of Chincotale. Professor Sylvain Lévi identified this Dantapura with the Paḷava of Ptolemy and was inclined to seek for it somewhere near modern Chincotale. Mr. N. L. Des., on the other hand, suggested its identification with modern Dantān on the river Kāsālī in the Midnapur district of Bengal. According to Mr. R. Subba Rao, Dantapura may be looked for in “the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river Vaṅśadāhāra, three miles from Chincotale Road Station” of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. According to another view, the place must be near

---

4 See now, Ratinal N. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist Indas, Bombay 1938, p. 401, n. v. Dantapura.
5 Geography of Ancient India (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Santra), pp. 362-3.
7 L. Renou, La Géographie de Ptolémée, L’Inde (VII, 16), Paris 1925.
8 P. C. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Drauvian in India, pp. 163 ff.; especially, p. 171.
10 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 73.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

the Chilkā Lake and the old route from Mahul”. Pandit Nilakantha Das, finally, believes that “Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath”.

A like divergence of opinion prevails over the question of connotation of the geographical expression Trikālinga. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji, Trikālinga comprised within it the tracts of country anciently known as Kaliṅga. Tōsala and Utkala; while Dr. R. G. Basak believes that it included Udra (Orissa proper), Kōngōda and Kaliṅga. Mr. G. Ramdas lastly holds that Trikālinga denoted “the highlands intervening between the coast (sic) strip called Kaliṅga and the Dakshinā-Kōsala or the modern Chatisgarh (sic)”.

The village of Jijigika which was given away, is evidently, as already suggested by Mr. Subba Rao, the same as the modern village of Jirjing, the find-spot of our record, in the Tekkali Zemindary of the Gaṅjān district. The Vānkara-bhōga, in which the village granted was situated, I am unable to identify.

The date of the record is given as the 21st day of Vaisākha of the year 39 of the prosperous reign [of the Gaṅgas]. The epoch of this era being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age. Failing all other help, we are constrained to fall back on the solitary evidence of the palaeography of the record under discussion. Taking all things into consideration and leaving a reasonable margin on either side, we would refer this record to the period 475-550 A.D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōūṁ Svasti ||*|| Amara-pura-pratisparul(iḥ)-śri(ṣrī)mad-Dantapurād-is-sakalābhagavata
2 vāna-tāl-ōṭpatṛ-itthī-pralaya-lētōh Paramēśvarasya satata-prañā
3 māvāptaḥ-puṣya-sañcayaya-prabhāva-nirast-āśēsha-durito Gāṅg-āmala-kula
4 gagana-tala-sahasara-raśmīḥ anēka-chātunīdanta-samara-vijaya
5 vīmala-vikōsa-śtriśu-bhārīsamākṛanta-sakalā-sāmaṇta
6 niḍapati-māndal-ādhīpatīḥ mukta-nīhita-ruchira-padmarāga
7 prabhā-prāśēka-parisva-vīgā-pihōṅgīkṣita-ī charaṅga-yugalāḥ

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 atula-vat(ha)-la-samudrāyāvāpta-vipula-vibhava-sampal-latā
9 māñjapā-echhāyā-visrānta-suhīt-sādhku-vābāndhava-ārthī-janaḥ
10 mātā-pitṛ-pād-anudhīyatas-Trikaling-ādhīpatī-śri-Mahā-
11 rāj-Endravarmā \sb Vōakhara-bhūga-saṁimbaddha-Jijjika-grāmē
12 sarva-samavēta-kutumbin[a]*-saṁājñāpayaty-asty-ayatnā grāmē\-
13 smābhīr-Vishnu-pīḍā-saṅgōtrīya Trai(Tai)tīrīya-sarva(brai)machāriyē

Second Plate : Second Side.
14 Rudrasvāmi-sūnavē Agnivāminē tat-tanujāya cha Rudrasvāminē
15 sanīvibhayā ārdhen ā-saṁartic-ādē-saṅi-ārakā-pratissūthu tāmā-āgrahāraṁ kṛtvā
16 sva-pūny-āyē(yu)rdvah-te-rdha-vairādhan-ārtha[m]ī* mātā-pītrī tē cha pūny-āvāpta-
17 yē [s] sarvā-kara-pariḥuṛa[m]ī* \ L pariḥūṛīya ch-āyānī grāmē\-
18 prattāh [**] tē ṝāvān bhatvād bhalabhā pṛrv-ōfita-waryōday āpasthēvam [**]
19 bhavishyata-cha rājīṇī vijñāpayām \ dharmāma-krama-vikramē-

Third Plate.
20 nām anyatama-yōgād-avāpta-bhūmaṇḍa[d]-ādhirījyair aśama(p. imamū)
21 mahīm-anuśa-sabdēli kram-agatanā dānamūm jīty-anupalaniyām ||
22 api cha ślokau bhavatā \ Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ māv(vā) yatmād-rakṣa
23 Yudhās-thuru[**] mahīnī[**] mahīmatām śrēṣṭhā dānācār khuṣyōn-upalani-
(nam) [**]
24 Sha-shtūnī varsha-sahasrāṇī svarga mōdānī bhūmaṇā[**] \ ā-vāhēttā ch-ānam-
25 nā cha tāyē eva narakē vasōt [**] pravardhāmā-sam 30 9 Vaiśākha-di
26 likhitam-idānī mahārājōn śūlaktivahāka-Dēvasīṅgha(sinhā)dēvēn-ēti [**]

TRANSLATION.

(I. 1) Ōm Hail!

From the beautiful (city of) Dantapura, which vies with Amarāvatī (the city of gods), the glorious Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikaliṅga— who has had all his sins removed by dint of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through his constantly doing obedience to Śiva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the entire world; who is a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas: who has his pair of feet made tawny-coloured by his contact with the lustre of brilliant rubies infused to the crowns of all the sūmanta-nripatis and mahāyālādhipatis whom he had subdued by his stainless and unsheathed sword while winning many a battle of four-tusked (elephants): who has his friends, the virtuous, relatives

1 The stop seems to have been indicated by a single dot. This is however superfluous.
2 Read -saṁimbaddha...
3 Metre Avaraḥ: and in the following verse.
4 Mr. R. Subba Rao first read the date as 309. Subsequently, however, he corrected his mistake in a slip attached opposite the title-page of the same number of the journal in which his article appeared (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, Part 1). Cf. also in this connection a note by Dr. D. C. Sircar (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII, pp. 229 ff.) also An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epi. for 1934-35, Part II, p. 53.
5 Read mahāśrīmān. I have preferred to leave these two titles untranslated accepting the strictures passed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (J. B. R. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 114, n. 2) on the common practice of rendering such technical expressions into (meaningless) English.
6 Chaturdanta signifies, traditionally, the far-famed mount of Indra, viz., Airāvata. [See above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]
and suppliants enjoying comfort under the shade of an arbour, as it were, of his enormous wealth obtained by his unequalled might and exertion: who is devoted to the feet of his parents—issues (the following) order to all the assembled householders of the village of Jijjika belonging to the Vāṇkhara-bhoga:

(L. 12) "We have granted this village, in two equal shares, after making it an agrahāra which is to last as long as the ocean, the mountain, the moon, the stars and the sun, and freeing it from all impositions, for the increase of Our own religious merit, life, fame and strength as well as for the acquisition of religious merit of Our parents—to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin and to his (Agnisvāmin’s) son Rudrasvāmin, who belong to the Vishnuvīddha gātra and are religious students of the Taittiriya śākhā.

"Therefore, you should abide by this order according to usages obtaining heretofore."

"I also exhort the future kings: — Even having obtained possession of the entire world by means of right, inheritance, or conquest, while ruling on this earth, they should always preserve this gift."

"And there are also two verses:

(Verse 1) — O Yudhikṣṭhira! Most excellent among the possessors of land! diligently preserve (a gift of) land given to yourself or given by somebody else. Maintenance (of a donation) is more meritorious than donation (itself).

(Verse 2) — A donor of land enjoys himself in heaven for sixty thousand years. A confiscator (thereof) and one who consents (to the confiscation) remain in hell for the same number of years."

(I. 25) The increasing Yeer 30 9; the day 29 1 of (the month) Vaiśākha.

(I. 26) This has been written by the king’s Śāndhriṇākīlā: Dévasirīnadēva.

¹ For a note on bhoga, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64.
² Dr. A. C. Burnell quotes (Elements of South Indian Palæography, 1st ed., Mangalore, 1874, pp. 64-66) passages from old texts like the Yājñavalkya Dharmasāstra, the Mahābhārata, the Śuritachandrika, etc., to show that common usage required that the Śāndhriṇākīlā, among other officials of the same rank, should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant (yājñavāana).
No. 30.—POONA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAyADITYA: SAKA 612.

By MADHE SARGAP VATS, M.A.

This grant, consisting of three copper-plates each measuring 9 1/2 x 4 in. and held together by a big ring, was purchased by me in 1936 at Poona as Superintendent of the Western Circle. To the ring, which is 3 1/2 in. in diameter, is affixed a projecting seal, somewhat oval (1 1/2 x 1 1/2 in.), of which the countersunk surface is relieved with the figure of the boar (incarnation of Vishnu) as is usually found on grants of the Western Chalukyas of Badami. The seal is however without any legend. The weight of the three plates together with the ring and the seal is about 3 lbs. and 14 oz.

The first and the third plates, as is usual with such grants, are inscribed on the inner face only and the second or the middle one on both. The inscription, which I have edited from the original plate, is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of 35 lines of writing, i.e., nine on each face except the last one which has only eight lines. The orthography is generally regular, though in a few places the rules of sendhi are not observed, e.g., in Vīkrama Vārāhiṇī (l. 1), "nābhīkā vārāhiṇī" (l. 23). It is wrongly observed in bālīkā (l. 18). A consonant followed or preceded by r is generally doubled as in kṣhāsīdīrījāyava (l. 1), vadhīkā (l. 24), pravīvā-pājāyava (l. 25), etc., and in sugāṭṭā-yāyava (l. 2), purāṭṭā-yāyava (l. 3), parivāṭa-yāyava (l. 4), māṭṭā (l. 11), etc.

Except the grantee, the property granted and the date, the present record agrees very closely with the published grants of the Chalukya sovereign Vinaṣāditya.1 It opens with the cursive-typed description of the Chalukya family in which Pulakāśin I, Kirtivarman, Satyāsraya (Pulakāśin II), Vīkramāditya and Vīnāyāditya Satyāsraya ruled as direct descendants. When Vīnāyāditya was encamped at the village Maṇḍhāna,2 which is probably no other than Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nashik, he issued the grant at the request of his queen on the full moon day of Vaiṣākha, Saka year 612 expired, corresponding to his 10th regnal year in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named Durgāśarman and Raviśirman of the Kasyapa gōra.3 This date corresponds to Friday, 29th April 690 A.D. The property granted consisted of a field measuring 50 nīcavatas of land in the village of Torrei, presumably the same as the modern village Torrei in the Bijapur District. The record closes with the name of its writer Śrī-Rāmapunyaavallabha, the high minister of peace and war who is mentioned in all other grants of the king.

As several inscriptions of dates earlier and later than that of the present grant have already been found, this record adds very little to our knowledge of the history of the Chalukya family.

---

2 [See p. 291, n. 1 below.—Ed.]
3 The difficulty of reconciling the dates given in Śaka Samvat with the regnal years of Vīnāyāditya has already been referred to by J. F. Fleet in editing the Sorab copper-plate grant of this king, cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 148-49.
4 [The gift was made kanyā-dharmā-ārtham which I take in the sense of kanyā-dhāna-dharmā-ārtham, i.e., "for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage)." Apparently the girls were given in marriage to the two Brahamins chosen by the queen. The 'gift of a girl' to a learned Brahaman entails great merit and according to Dharmakāśstras this should be accompanied by grant of lands among other gifts. See Hēnādri, Chaturvīpa- 
chindāmaṇi, Dānakāśaṇi, Pt. II (ed. S. A. Deekshita, Benares), pp. 649-50.—Ed.]
TEXT.

First plate.

1 स्त्रित [II*] जयवाविष्कृतं विषयं: वाराणी सौभिष्टर्षवं(तस्म) [I*] दिव्यदीर्घतः
   ग्रविमानामु- 

2 वनं वपु: [II*] श्रीमानं सकलभुवनसंहीमानकामनवसीचाणं चारितीपु-

3 लामां समालोकार्यब्धमाके शाराज्यरथारिवराविश्वासभालाश्वाननकाननप-

4 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

5 वनवायशिरप्रसिद्धपतिमधुमिनामविश्वमिर्गीरवनष्टमनप-

6 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

7 वनवायशिरप्रसिद्धपतिमधुमिनामविश्वमिर्गीरवनष्टमनप-

8 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

9 राजयोगिपरमेश्वरारायणमेश्वरायश्युगविश्वामभ-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

11 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

12 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

13 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

14 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

15 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

16 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

17 विवृतमानाश्च श्रीप्रकोष्ठश्वरभमहाराजस्वैत: पराक्षमानानां

18 न: पितुराज्यया वालित(ती)नुवेकायथेऽन्निन्यवल्क्षमतिसमृद्धतं

1 Read Vishpūr-śrāhāsena.
Poona Plates of Chalukya Vinayaditya; Saka 612.
Second Plate; Second Side.

19 वैराज्यपञ्चवत्तगम्य समस्तविषयमप्रयासमनागहितत्प्रभावने।
20 रक्षन: बलवतियलायुक्तिर इव जीरामलाहासुदेव इव नायाकुम्भ।
21 क्षी(वा)परशुराम इव राजायण्यातरात इव विनयंदिक्षमायस्ययोग्यः।
22 वीरवनस्माराज्यहिरानेषमेषम्यंशर्तारक्षण्यंनिस्मायात्मायाधिक्षित।
23 दित्तमस्तु वीराभि: दादेहीतरूः(र्ग)ते भक्तवर्यशीतवर्य प्रव।
24 वैमाणविजयराज्यंवसंकरं दामसे वर्तमाने 'सन्नूक्तममविवस्तित विव।
25 यस्तववारे वैशाखोपेशमार्गं महाकेचित्रायोगं कयापमां।
26 काश्ययमीघामश्वाम्य(क्रामः) तु कमः(ग्र)मीचारविषमायं राजमानोत तीर्थयामि पराग।
27 विवार्तनपरिवार्त परिवर्तिप्रभावहि सर्वमेंगाम(ग)परिवहारे दलः।[*]

Third Plate.

28 तदामिनिभिस्मितश्रावेशैव राजभिराजवेश्वरवर्यांदीनां विनिमित।
29 बच्चपंशु[रं]स्म्यवगशुकर्षिराज्यवांश्वक्षिनिसमकालं।
30 यशीवशीपुभिः[*] स्त्रदिविनिभिश्चित परिपालनीयमें च भगवता वं।
31 दामस्यन आसिन [11] वहुभिर्मुखसा भुजा राजबिङ्गमधिभिषेध्यं यः।
32 या यदा भूस्वस्तिकाः तत्व तदा फलं(नम्) [11] स्त्रदाः सुमहस्वंह दुः।
33 खमचन्द्र पालनं(नम्) [11] दान का पालनं बैत दानान्त्रेयोपादानं(नम्) [11]।
34 रक्षाम र धीरें परेत वसुभवमिन(र्गम) [11] यस्ती वर्षभवस्थिणि विवाहं जायम फिमः।[11]*
35 महासाम्यविविष्ठोयरामपुष्कलभिन लिखितमिनि शासनं [1]

1 [I read Maichul-grāmam=—Ed.]
2 Read =Sugar-adibhiṣṭipseya.
No. 31.—ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

This grant consists of two plates which are held together by two copper-rings, one of which has an oval seal containing the letters śrī-Jayabhata embossed below a peculiar symbol resembling a flying Garuḍa. They were found with a Marāṭhā family surnamed Shīl of Anjaneri village in the Nāsik District along with two copper-plate grants of Prithivichandra Bhūgasakti, dealt with above, and measure 123⁄4" × 93⁄4". The first plate contains 18 lines of writing and the second 21.

The characters belong to the southern variety and closely resemble those of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates of Jayabhata III and IV issued in the years 456 and 486 respectively. With the exception of the attestation in the last line, its paleography is similar to that of the Chalukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants of the seventh century A.D. found in Gujarāt. The characters in the attestation are cursive and differ from the rest of the inscription. Often a dot has been used in the record to denote a mark of punctuation.

The record is dated the 11th day of the dark half of Āśvina, Tūlā-saṅkrānti, (Kalachuri) Samvat 461 corresponding to A.D. 709-10 and was issued from Bharukachchha (Broach). The introductory portion, containing the description of the family of Jayabhata, agrees with that given in the two grants mentioned above. The genealogy starts with Dadda (II) who was born in the lineage of Mahāśrīka Kṛṣṇa and who protected the lord of Valabhi who was defeated by Harshadēva (identified with Dharasana IV who suffered defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj). His son was Jayabhata (II) and his son Dadda (III)-Bālusahāya. The latter’s son was Jayabhata (III), the donor, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara and had obtained the five great sounds (śravatikṣa-pāchaka-māhāśabda).

The beneficiary in the present grant was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārayana son of Vasusvāmin of Dābhīya gōtra and Chandōga-Kauthuma śākhā and a resident of Brahmapuri.

The property granted consisted of three pieces of land totalling 60 nivartanas in and around the village Tauranaka situated in the Nandipura Vishaya: the first measuring 52 nivartanas, the second 5 nivartanas and the third 3 nivartanas.

The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it extends the date of Jayabhata III from the year 456 of the Nausāri plates to the year 461.

The grant mentions certain places situated in the Nandipura Vishaya which has already been identified with Nandod situated on the Karjan river in the Rajapipa State. The places mentioned are the villages of Tauranaka, Jayapura, Vidvēraka and Bhūtishohi and the river Karillinī. Tauranaka, in and around which were situated the three plots of land granted, seems to be the modern Torān (also called Torannal) on the Karjan river which seems to be the river Karillinī of our grant situated about 2 1/2 miles north of Nandod. It is possible that Jayapura is the same as modern Jitpur, 6 miles east of Nandod and about 8 miles south-east of Toran or Tauranaka of the grant. Bhūtishohi and Vidvēraka, however, cannot be identified but should not be far away.

1 See above, pp. 225 ff.
2 Ibd., Vol. X, pp. 70 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 113 ff. Professor Mirashi has since proved that this grant is referable to Jayabhata IV, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.
4 [The date would correspond to Tuesday, 23rd September A.D. 710, when the sun seems to have entered the Tula-ṛāti.—Ed.]
5 [See below p. 234, n. 2.—Ed.]
6 [This is apparently identical with the modern village of Bhuchhād, about 1 1/2 miles south-west of Toran the western bank of the Karjan.—Ed.]
from the neighbourhood of Nandod. It is interesting to note that the present topography of the place agrees fairly closely with the description given in the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 अः खसि [॥]* शीभशक्ष्क्रात् सतनवशरीरवाच्यतृत लामासलापल्लारिणि दिननाथ–
   विस्तारितानुभावें हिजकुलीप्राच्यमानविभवगः

2 लिनि महति महाराजकर्णान्वये कामलाकर एव राजञ्जुकः(क्रमः) प्रवनालिकान–
   विजतसतकुलिकविविधमानसहारीं गम्भीराः

3 दारवर्तिवियापायतसनवकालपालमासः परमेश्वरोपणेविकुलमृतमधमोपितमहाप्रजाधानीजात–
   तत्तमदः

4 दृष्टेऽक्षत्रि भवानविभमानितानि: वैद्व्यनृति भूनुक्षिरि: गत्यविज्ञानि: भूज्यवाहवं संभव्यति
   वैद्योगायां

5 नीनिर्दिन्तकशक्ष्क्रात्कन्दः(क्रमः)प्रवनालिकानुविपातान्वये निश्चितिनिक्षणः(क्रमः)धारारात्तिकारकुरुक्षुमाकुरुक्षु

6 लोकशिवायवस्था(क्रमः)काव्यपुष्पितविद्वृद्धवनसरसिः: श्रीजयदेवस्त्राक्षी महासुनिम–
   तुणशीतनिर्वचनार्थाः

7 मनविंद्रकश्चार्यानुतानमप्रदत्तश्रीं वर्षास्त्रीयमवस्त्रविलिकालकालाबलपूर्वोऽपि: प्रणाविज्ञनम–
   नौस्त्रविश्वाटप्रतिसारिः

8 संपादनापरोनीतयश्चिर्पारिश्वद्यानजीभ्नि मद्विकांस्तावित्किन्तनकारिनार्माण्यश्रावित–
   गुरुनार्थाधिपोः

9 श्रुष्ट्रस्मानि विप्रव्यापायतसनविप्रतिबधत्वाभूब्रविख्यातलोकविवेदनरोमेकार्करणयथासत्: प्राचि–
   प्रतीशाधि

10 राजविश्वासीभाषांस्तमनपतिविश्वपरिवारीतानि कङ्गजवटविचन्तप्रकटसनजीविस्मितवाच–
   हुस्तायाः

---

1 [ There is a Virampura about a mile to the west of Jetpur which may be the Brahmapur, the place of residence of the donee.—Ed.]
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Should be -vīśāti-ānākūlakas–.
4 Sīka has been repeated.
11 परनामा ¹ परमात्मेकाश्चार्यस्मिनीदेशस्थरस्य द्वादशरस्स्य सनुणकस्मिनरस्तवमात्र चमचिति
गजातापातः

12 नयंत्रसांस्वर्णाकाननहदावानलिदीनायात्तुरस्स्य वस्म्यरस्य बन्मसुदाराकोसुदीनिमानिक्रि भागी
रशीप्रवाह ५

13 व विपचारोऽभासम: शान्ततिर्व शस्सुतक्षकलकारावस्मरस्य[ना]चिन्णपितारासिद्धराह इव
स्वभुजवलपराभार्षीतत्र

14 राधर: परमात्मेकाश्चार्यस्मिनीदेशस्य श्रीजयवाहः<कुमारी> ¹ सर्वानीव राजस्मा
मत्तभीमिकवित्यपिताराह

15 याम[म]² इतराधिकारिकातिनामामुन्दर्ष्यबिस्तुब्धविद्विंतु यथा मया मातापितीरावह
ैविकामुनिकपक्षविषयार्थभि

16 हदये ¹ भ्राष्ट्रपुरीविनिवेषतवातुध्यासामान्याविभ्यशस्सीविषयकः[ख]ये०ग्योयुसमस्यशायवाहिरासः
श्रावसुवाहान्धि

17 भ्राष्ट्रण[ना]रायणाय ¹ वलियत्मेघद्वयविभीतातिविपश्चस्महयादिविश्व[ब्र]वीकार्यायेः ¹
नारदीपुरिवियानास्तमिन

18 तौरणक्यामशः² पूवांतत्वदिवभागः ¹ इवप्रभायविफतनप्रमाणं भूखूखं यथा
घाटनानि

Second Plate.

19 पूर्वतं: अयप्रायायायी यथा इस्तानिकागर्तासंज्ञाम: (म्न:) सरी(४:) [¹] दशिणि:त
कृ(४:)दर्द्धीश्चापतिमैत्रान्तरि

20 न कुर्रित्विम्स्म्यत्वोरेत्वम् मैरान्त्याम(स)मुखितो दशिणिमुखें वहखः । तथा
चयतः: तौरणक्याऽः ²

21 मातू वनिर्ग्रामयायी यथा तथा स्त्रमदिशार्तिनी चासिद्धर वचः: तथा
ध्याणगतागीमो वहखः । उत्तरम: ध्याणक्षणः

22 एकम[न]³ चट्टोतावत्तीपतिविषयं भूखूखं [¹] तथाप्रवेश त्यामशं दशिणिद्विभागे
कालेऽपावश(न)तत्त्वप्रमाणं भूखूखं । यथावांछिनानि । पूः

¹ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.
² [The plate reads Térasaka, Ed.]
23 कर्त: बदजगमठीललसरकारकुप्रनकरकोठबाणिच। दिशान: कारिक्षिनो नदे। पररत: लघुम्सूप्लामवतवदकरमांगः।

24 दानसरकुप्रकोलकाकोठबाणिच। उपरत: बाझाणादामोदसमालक्ष्यसिलिख। राजकीयमार्का च। यदेवं चनुरावाह।

25 नीपलानां भूख्षणं। तथायेव भूख्षणं दिशाणांदीमिवमां कच्छ। कक्षिका-प्रतिवहनवर्तनमप्रमाणं भूख्षणं यथाधारनानि।

26 पूर्वत: कारिक्षिनो नदे। दिशाणातीसित(तथा)व कारिक्षिनो नदे। पररत: भूमिकोसीयाम-गामोसीयामसिध्यः। [*] उपरत(न): कौशल्यालसरकार।

27 करिररिजीन्दरीववीं। एवमित्तुहूँ राघवरोपलामिभूक्षणवालवस्तं परिवर्तनप्रमाणं चें। सीपरिकं। समूः।

28 पा(वा)तपस्वायं। स्थानागिरिमिच। सदापररची सीताप्रमाणविठ्ठं। सर्वराज-कौमानामहस्तप्रेयेपवियं। पूर्वप्रत:-

29 देववाणाशरस्तं। भूमिकीवत्तयाविवाचनाकोणविवक्ष(पित)तिमारत्यावंसमकालों। पुत्र-पाठवनथकममियं। यहस्ताकः।

30 रत्नाकरत्रित्वमिद्वावमजावहुः(ने)कालवं तुलावंक्रवते स्वातृकारतिसंगणं प्रतिप्रदीतं। यतोधीरचित्या ब्रजदायकंबा भुः।

31 जात: कथत: वर्षप्रत: प्रतिदिनं वा न आशिर्यातिचे परित्वत्यमामागममिद्वस्तपृत-भिरप्राइंग्रैवन्यैवयस्मादवातीतमत्यः।

32 पालितविख्यां। यथाज्ञानसेरप्रकटालातिर्रितारिक्षित्वादारिक्षित्वामानं चानुमोदितं स पन्निमानवपत्रक्षेपः।

33 पात्रक्रियः[*]: स्थित्यें। च भगवा(नला) वेदवासिन व्यासे। धर्म वर्षसम्बन्धी खनी तिथिविशिष्यः। [*] पाचनात्मका चानुमानता च ता।

34 नेव नववेको वसमूः। विन्यासयोगनीस्तु श्राकोशिरवासनं। [*] क्राणायही घि जायसं भूमिदद्यं हरस्त ये। वहुभवसुधा भुजा।

35 राजभवस्तिरदितः। [*] यथा यथा यदा भूमित(सिद्धते)ख तथा तदा पत्तें। च यानस्थलं प्राप्तं सुवनं भूमिज्यवा सुभुगस्ताय गव। [*]

[*] Omit चान which is redundant.
TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Om. Hail! From the illustrious Bharukachchha.--

(L. 1-15) [Common to Gurjura grants. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80.]

(L. 15-30) Today on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Aśvayuja while the sun was in the Tula Saṅkṛanti, I have given with libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, son of the Brāhmaṇa Vasuvasāmin, resident of Brahmāpurī, of the Chāturvidya community and Dābhiyā gātra, a student of Chhandōga-Kauthuma (sākhā) for the performance of the five mahāyajñas, viz., bali, chara, raiśvala, agnihotra and aśī, a piece of land measuring 52 nīrātanās in the north-east of the village Taurānaka included in the Nāndipura viṣaya, bounded on the east by the path leading to Jayapura village and the pond adjoining the Hastinikā streamlet, on the south by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Dīpā, which is comprised in the marsh indicated by the Chēdami tree, and also by the streamlet rising from the fringe of the marsh and flowing southwards; in the west by the path leading from the village Taurānaka to the village Vidvēraka, and the Amiāra (?) tree as well as the streamlet flowing into the Dhammāṇa stream; and in the north by the Dhammāṇa stream—this piece of land thus bounded on all four sides; and a plot of land measuring five nīrātanās in the marshy tract to the south of the same village (Taurānaka) bounded on the east by the proprietary field of the householder Rāvallā included within the limits of Baradaka; on the south by the Karillini river; on the west by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Vijādharma comprised within the limits of Baradaka marked by Lagusūta (?), and on the north by the donated land belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and by the royal pasture land—the land thus bounded on all four sides; and (lastly) another plot of land measuring 3 nīrātanās in the marshy area along side the embankment and situated to the south of this plot of land, bounded on the east and south by the Karillini river; on the west by the boundary line leading to the village Būṭihōhi; and on the north by the vaiṣṇa (?!) of the Karillini river marked by the Kaula tree—these plots of land with the boundaries detailed above and measuring in all sixty nīrātanās together with the aparikara, bhūta, ōṭa, protyāya, etc.

(L. 27-38) [Are common with the published Gurjura grants, especially the Nausāri plates. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 80-81.]

(L. 38-39) Written by the army chief Sahabhaṭa son of the army chief Durghātha. The army chief Bāvuila (active as) the Dūnikā. Recorded in the year 461, 11th day of the dark fortnight of Aśvayuja. This is the sign manual of myself—the illustrious Jayabhaṭa.

1 Dāpṭa unnecessary.
2 Read ज्ञातेन्द्रस्य बुद्धिमानम् || iti.
3 [See above, p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]
From a photograph.
No. 32.—THE PUNJAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADÉVARAYA.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king Krishnadévaraya of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river Krishnávēni some time after his conquest of the Kaliṅga country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the Chōlamaṇḍalām which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are: Śundamaṇḍalām, Tirthanagari, Elavānāsūr, Neyvānā (S. Arcot District), Tiruvīsālūr, Tirukkanjīvārām, Perumulai, Koṅukkai, Tirunagiri, Paraśālūr, Puṇījai, Ākkūr, Tillaṇīyāṭī, Tirukkaṇḍāyīr, Śendalai, Huppanattūru, Talaināyar, Tirumangalakkuṭi (Thanjore District), Tiruppalātturai, and Kaṇṇanūr (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The script of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The language is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the Chōla inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, those found at Paraśālūr, Puṇījai, Ākkūr and Tillaṇīyāṭī; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to Gaṇapati and Śiva, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of Krishnadévaraya in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the Krishnāvēni in Śaka 1439 (A.D. 1517), remitted 10,000 vārahān (gold pieces) in favour of the Śiva and Vishnū temples in the Chōlamaṇḍalām. The remission comprised the dues called jōdi and araṇātāru; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following: śālavari, nilavali and māṟṟum pala pippāvaringālum.

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

---

1 No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2 No. 125 of 1904.
3 No. 142 of 1906.
4 No. 381 of 1908.
5 No. 355 of 1907.
6 No. 80 of 1911.
7 No. 210 of 1917.
8 No. 232 of 1917.
9 No. 406 of 1918.
10 No. 167 of 1925.
11 No. 184 of 1925.
12 No. 226 of 1925.
13 No. 235 of 1925.
14 No. 231 of 1925.
15 No. 214 of 1926.
16 No. 137 of 1927.
17 No. 157 of 1927.
18 No. 223 of 1927.
19 No. 388 of 1903.
20 No. 311 of 1905.
21 See n. 4, p. 305 below.
others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishnadevaraya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of "Catuir" of Nuniz. a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishnadevaraya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catuir mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya’s reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king’s northern campaign up to Simhachalam and Poṭṭunuru, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign. "From the Pārijatāpaharayamu and other Telugu works, however," says Krishna Sastri, "we learn that Krishnārṇayā did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunuru, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Oḍḍādi and burnt his capital town of Kāṭaka (i.e., Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters". He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Oḍḍādi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunuru or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: "This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Simhachalam records, viz., that Krishnārṇayā was at Simhādrī at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Simhachalā certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishnārṇaya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event— not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Chārmāodel side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishnārṇayā’s capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead us to the identification of Catuir. Sewell thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catuir' of Nuniz is identical with Kāṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishnārṇaya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

---

1 Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9, pp. 176-82.
the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. . . . . . . Very likely Nuniz took ' Catuir ' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnapraya started against Catuir '.

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnapraya's expedition against Catuir is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catuir was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: ' After Crienaarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir ', and he also says: ' after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither '. These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catuir had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catuir with Kajaka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catuir should be sought in Kayattar in the Tinnelvelly District. The Pandyyan ruler of Kayattar was, he thinks, besieged at Kajal by Krishnapraya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catuir was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnapraya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Piramalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnelvelly District including the sea-coast, and Krishnapraya's expedition must have brought this about. But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catuir ' is on the Coromandel side '. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Krishná river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattar which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kajal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catuir must be taken to be a variant of Kajalvar ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catuir is a geographical name—' Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years '. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the farther stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

---

1 Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 320, 322.
3 A yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten empire, pp. 8-11. Dr. Aiyangar's statement that Nuniz's description of the capture of Catuir is exactly the description that is given of the siege and capture of Sivanassanadram in the Krishnárajyaganam (p. 9) is not supported either by the text or by the summary of it in Sources, pp. 130-31. His other citations from literature, e.g., Párijátapaharanam are not more helpful. The Kumbudisajrajjakaj contains a good account of the Ummattur campaign, but it has no resemblance to Nuniz's account under reference.
name Aṉai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obberāja, a captain of the Vellore army, i.e., of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. 1 Again we find Singhama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of 3/4 mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1625. 2 Passing over unimportant references to the place we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Śrīraṅga, a nephew of the ruling king Veṅkata II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timarāja, the chief of the rebellion. 3 We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr (‘Katoer’ of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and on the Coromandel side which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz’s Catuir. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch = 2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Palecate among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II, that is, some time about 1449 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: ‘This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years.’ 4 It seems probable that ‘the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years’ and in whose land Catuir lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Crisvāna ṭh prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charmaōel side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called . . . . and is surrounded with water’. 5 The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Catuir may well be taken to mean that this was the ‘principal city’ in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Kṛṣṇaṇāyā’s war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Krishna Sastri has observed: ‘The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇa for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōla-māṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Kṛṣṇaṇāyā was about this time, viz., the end of Saka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kalinga country against Catuir’, which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack’. 6 Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Kṛṣṇaṇāyā returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gaṇapatī’s daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription 7 dated Saka 1438 that Kṛṣṇaṇāyā had already accomplished the conquest of the Kalinga country as far north as Kattaka, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Krishna Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Saka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezvada was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamil country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhātṛī), 8 the monarch had attended the mahaṁāḷkoma festival in Kumbhakonam.

---

1 McLeod, i, p. 96.
2 Ibid., i, p. 473.
3 Ibid., i, pp. 157 and 492; ii, pp. 171, 179.
5 A Forgotten Empire, p. 302.
6 Ibid., p. 321.
8 No. 824 of 1923. See also pp. 177-81 of Tiruppa Devasathanam Epigraphical Report, by Sudha Subrahmanya Sastri, who accepts the identity of Catuir with Cuttack.
9 No. 493 of 1907, the Saka date 1440 must be wrong.
and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the Rājavīchākamu. Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkrānti of the Iṣvara year, and the visit to the Krishnā river and the shrines of Anantasāyin of Uṉḍavalli and Mallikārjunā of Bezwada on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1517.

It is possible that Krishṇārāyaṇa's presence at Bezwada was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultān of Golconda, Kuli Kutb Shāh. Late in his life the Sultān boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājamundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms. The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Krishṇāvarāya himself after the capture of Devārakopaṇḍa by Kuli Kutb Shāh. The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nuniz as having occurred after Krishṇārāyaṇa's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kuli Kutb Shāh of Golconda. If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Krishṇārāyaṇa at Bezwada receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Śiva and Vishṇu temples of the Chōlāmanḍalam were Jōṭi, Śālāvāri, Nidavali (Nīḷavāri), Arāśupēru, and other taxes (piṟavāri). These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (I. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made: Jōṭi is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on inām lands. It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government. In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the māṇyakōṇite which the holders of inām lands like Brāhmans and Fakirs paid to the State. Thus Jōṭi was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their inām lands. The rate is unknown.

Śālāvāri is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word Śālām in the Tamil Lexicon is: 'Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped'. No authority is cited in the Lexicon, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

---

1 Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 123-9.
3 Ibid., pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
4 A Forgotten Empire, p. 322.
5 No. 289 of 1903.
the Śūlavari was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

Nilavali seems to be only a variant of the usual Nilavari land tax, levied on lands which were not ināms, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

Arasupēru is another difficult term. Wilson\textsuperscript{1} notes that Arasu means 'privileges allowed for watching', and 'Arasukkāran'—'a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty'. Pēru is an abstract noun from Tamil pēral, 'to get', and means 'receipts'. Arasupēru then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i.e. to the king—aranmanakkku izuttavurugira (l. 30) or aranmanai kaṇakkil padindu varugira (No. 288 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1521 which is mentioned in an epigraph dated Śaka 1443, Vikrama, Mithuna, ba. Tritiyā, Friday, Tiruvōnam. It states that one Kariya Māṇikya Bhaṭṭar Āpatahāyār waited on Krishṇadāvarāya at Vījayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of Jōḍi and Śūlavari on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tīrūkkājaiyūr, but was not given effect to till then.\textsuperscript{2}

The Śendamangalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōlamandalālam, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in which were benefited by the remission.\textsuperscript{3} Chōlamandalālam comprised the region south of the Gadjilām, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭṭaikkarai.\textsuperscript{4} This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōla country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or śimais. They are the Iraqḍāṛṛuppaṟṟu Bhuvanēkavirān(Bhuvanagiri)paṭṭane-chēhirmāi, Taṇḍāvāṛṛpaṭṭane-chēhirmāi and Tiruchchināppaḷḷi-chēhirmāi. In the Vījayanagarā days a śima was a smaller division than a rājya, and its exact relation to the more ancient kōṭtam or nādu is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the śima was a larger division than the nādu or kōṭtam. The Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭana-chēhirmāi covered the northern part of the Chōlamandalālam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanagiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north) in the Chidambaram taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaikavira, a title borne by two Pāṇḍya kings, Māravarman Kulaśekhara I and Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya,\textsuperscript{5} who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Iraqḍāṛṛuppaṟṟu Bhuvanaiūcavirāpaṭṭana, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gadjilām and the Vellāru. Taṇḍāvāṛṛpaṭṭana-chēhirmāi is probably all the territory covered by the present Tanjore and had its headquarters at Taṇḍāvāṛṛ. To the west of this was the Tiruchchināppaḷḷi-chēhirmāi with its headquarters at Trichinopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāṣāsura-chēhirmāi, mentioned before Taṇḍāvāṛṛ-chēhirmāi;\textsuperscript{6} Viramāḍakkante-chēhirmāi

\textsuperscript{1} Glossary, p. 31, col. 1.
\textsuperscript{2} No. 246 of 1925.
\textsuperscript{3} No. 74 of 1903.
\textsuperscript{4} There is a verse in Tamil which gives practically the same traditional boundaries substituting for Gadjilam the Northern Vellāru which enters the sea near Porto Novo. See The Cojas, i, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{5} The Pāṇḍya Kingdom, pp. 188, 189-90.
\textsuperscript{6} No. 511 of 1905; Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.
and Perambūr-chīrmai and Kūlīttanānanai-chīrmai, mentioned after Tīruchchirāppali-chīrmai. It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chīrmai is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kūlīttanānanai-chīrmai that covered by the modern Kūlīttalai taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made; and arranged by taluks they are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluk</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chidambaram</td>
<td>S. Arcot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānanarkōyil</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāraiyyūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīruchchinnaparam (now Tīruchchinnaparam)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrumanṣṭam (now Śrīmuṣṭham)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udaiyyārkōyil</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrumanjikkuḷi</td>
<td>Cuddalore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīruppādirippuliyyūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīruttīminagar</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīruvantirapuram</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyjgavali</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śēndavanmāṅgalam</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irivānākkōr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrumanānallūr (Tīrumanavallūr)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūnanukonḍai (now Tīrūnanukonḍai)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīṭalakūḍī</td>
<td>Vridhāḥalal taluk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penāṅgadam</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrucharī</td>
<td>Kumbakonam taluk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇḍapānallūr</td>
<td>Taurāj District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīrūkūḍī</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrvayıṭānānārkōyil</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūkkōjikā (now Tīrūkkōjikāval)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrundōṭeṽankuḍī (Tīruttūṭeṽankuḍī)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūmāṅgalakkukūḍī</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūppanāndāḷ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūvēḷiyāṅgūḍī</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūveṇugār (now Uppuliyaṽankōyil)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūvīḷūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiṭal</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅgalanāṟu</td>
<td>Māyavaram taluk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākkūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫaṭṭārokkūḍī</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iluppappattu</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irāḷurāmapplāyam (now Irāḷasūrṇāṃpēṭṭai)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korukkai</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūṟāḷam</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāḷuṟūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāriyāḷūr (Tīruppariyalūr)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perumalai</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāḷācēḷaṅgāḍu</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāḷināyaṅ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūkkipāḷī</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūkkadaiyūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūnanipāḷi</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūvāḷūnāḍūr</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrūvāḷippūṭṭūr (Tīrūvanputṭūr)</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 No. 355 of 1907; No. 125 of 1904,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tirukkonduvaram</th>
<th>Nannilam taluk.</th>
<th>Tanjore District.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tirumarugaṭi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumēcēchār</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppattūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppugāḷūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāṭiayam</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīkūḍi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēvūr</td>
<td>Negapattam taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālūr</td>
<td>Pāpanāśam taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āchēpūrūm</td>
<td>Śhīyāṭi taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strāmavinnagar</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadānanākoyil</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirukkuraiṭūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrthangāri</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunagāri</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirunāgūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppūṇḍūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandralekai</td>
<td>Tanjore taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṭchāvīr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumalipāḍi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppuntaruttī</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāṭiayūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirukkaṭīṭupalī</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāḷam</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṇṭanūr</td>
<td>Musiri taluk.</td>
<td>Trichinopoly District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpārākāyīl</td>
<td>Trichinopoly taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruppaṭīṭurai</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruchchērīṭuḷi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṅgakaṇḍapalūm (Gaṅgakaṇḍam)</td>
<td>Uḍaiyāḷāḷaya taluk.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷuvūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīlaiyāṭiivīṭṭam</td>
<td></td>
<td>(not identifiable.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT.**

1 Subham-asu¹; śri-Gañāṭipatayē namaḥ | Namas-tuṅga-[śi].
2 raś-chumpiṭta-[chantiṭa]-chāmara-[chāravē] traḷōkya-nakar-a[r]-s[r]-mpa-[mula].
3 stampāya² Śampuvē[va]\*[\*]\* Subham-asu | Svasti Śrī Vijayāṭ-
4 bhuta³ Śāli[vā]-na-[śa [ka*]-varuḥam 1439⁴ | māl-cchēl-
5 lāṇi[ṛa] Jāvavara sarīval[sas]-rattu Āushya⁵ | śpaya⁶ Paurṇamaṇi[ḷ][nāl]⁷ śri[ma]|
6 n-mahārajādhīraṇā rājaparamēśvara hariya[ari]rāya-vībhāṭan⁸ ḇẖ-

¹ Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.
² Read Gaṇāḍāṭi\*.
³ Here ra is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.
⁴ Read chanda\*. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is chaṇḍra.
⁵ Read \*epa\*.
⁶ Read \*āpā\*.
⁷ Read \*mūla\*.
⁸ Read | Subham-asu; Śrī Vijayāṭ-
⁹ The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 235 of 1925 it is bhūṣya. The usual form is Viṣṇujñāyadaya.
¹⁰ Siṭkan in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.
¹¹ No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give Mākha.
¹² Probably stands for śudāka; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is Pusṭamāṇasattu pāravapakṣatu.
¹⁴ In No. 167 of 1925 it is arigāya-vībhāṭa, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is vībhāṭan.
7 shakku-ttappuva-rarya^1-gandra^2 Yavañarasa^3-sthapanachariya^4 Pratat^5
8 parudra-Gejapati-saptangha-harana ári-Virapradäpa^6 ári-Vira-Krishnadévaraya-ma-
9 haryar Şolamañdallatu Vishayuthanam^7 Visvasthanam madalana
10 devasthânañgajuku śodi arasupu^6 śaravam[ājnyam-āga viča taņ-
11 ma-a śatâna irâyasam śri(nā)¹⁵num Vijayañagarame ppaṭaṇattii¹⁵ irundo pûrva-¹⁴
12 dikku viśa[jy^4]-yâra âga purappatâ Udayagiri-ttukkanume sâdichehu²³ Tirumalai
13 Irâguttamâ²⁴-râyanaiyum pîdîttru koṇḍu Viñikkondu²⁷ Nâgâr-
14 râhunakondu²² Vellamukondu²² Koṇjaivudu Koṇ[a]*[ppa]li²⁰ Irâśa-
15 mavanîrapurum²¹ madalâgîya du[rga]ñgalûn-gaṭṭikkondu²² Prâtaperutru*ra²³] Geâ-
pati²³
16 kumâran Virabhâdrasena²¹ Geâpati²⁵ Pratânapâpati²⁶ Prâkalatâ³² Širachchanti⁴²
Mallick-Kân²⁷

¹ Reading is tappurâya in No. 235 of 1925.
² The reading is râyaragândha in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
³ The reading is râya in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.
⁴ In a few other copies Krishnâraya takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title mûvurâyaragândha; in No. 515 of 1905 are found the titles mûvurâyaragândha and aṭṭadikthrâya-mândâ-
bhayankara, while in Nos. 74 and 288 of 1903, 80 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles aṭṭadikthrâya-mânâ-bhayankara and mûvurâyaragândha.
⁵ Read Gejâ.
⁶ Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read "pratâpa.
⁷ Visâghu temple alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.
⁸ In No. 238 of 1903 the tax records read bi jëdiva śalavari nilâveâli ãrasûpiyû marûpaṇa pala piya-carîgama.
⁹ No. 515 of 1905 reads: sâdi śalavari arasûpita pîpuvari undâna yélûn. In No. 355 of 1907 only sâdi and śalâ-
veâli are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions sâdiyâl, nilâveâli and arasûpita while No. 214 of 1926 has sâdi, śalavari and arasûpita.
¹⁰ Read sarâs.
¹¹ No. 74 of 1903 reads: viṣṭupâlitta arulina darma-sâkâma râyasan; 125 of 1904 sarvamân-āgam-āga-puk-û
lita dharma, 511 of 1905 an âga tîru ulamparitiga tamma, 80 of 1911 viṣṭurākhittâsâ pâlitta dharma. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word dharma-sâkâma-râyasan in Grantha.
¹² No. 226 of 1925 reads nâmuma.
¹³ The letter s is superfluous.
¹⁴ Ppattanattii] in No. 226 of 1925 and pppanattirundu in No. 235 of 1925.
¹⁵ Read pûra.-
¹⁶ The reading is yâtraîgâya ñittû Udayagiri-durgagamu sûdhittu in No. 74 of 1903.
¹⁷ No ma in 167 of 1925.
¹⁸ The reading is Visikônda in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.
¹⁹ Read Nâgârjunakondâi; *koṇḍâ in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
²⁰ Vellamkondâ in No. 167 of 1925 where Vella is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.
²¹ Tondapalli in No. 235 of 1917.
²² Read: makhendrapuram.
²³ Sûdhittu sângikkondu in No. 74 of 1903; sângikkondu in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [vâthi] tîru-ûkattii-
kkondu in No. 167 of 1925.
²⁴ Read Gejapati.
²⁵ Perhaps stands for śeganâyûm as in No. 511 of 1905: jayaja in No. 226 of 1925 and jayana in No. 235 of 1925.
²⁶ Read Gejapati.
²⁷ Read pradhânaabâpati.
²⁸ Prakalâtan in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
²⁹ Read Sîrachchandram as in No. 235 of 1925.
³⁰ Kâman in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with Kâraam, and in No. 511 of 1905 with Kânan.
17 Utpāḍakāṇaḥ 1 mudalāna pāṭṭira-śāmantargalaiyum śivikširāmamāṇaṃ 2 ppiṭittukkop-

18 du Prataparuttirī Geśa(Gaja)patiyiyum mūrayakkutī śīṅgāṭṭirikku 3 elundarulī Potthāṇurīl

19 jayastampā(bhamu)m nirī(ṛ)tti 4 Śōlamandalam 5 devāstānam śīruchhirāpalli ā

Śāntalaga; 9 Tirukkā-

20 tuṟpaḷi Tirunagira 11 Tirunāṅgūr T[i[*]ruvelundur 13 Tēvūr Tiruvēnagars 13 Agalaṅgaņ

21 Tiruvantiperumāni Tirumāṇikulī Tirupattūr 15 Vaiygal Tirumuttam Tiruppādiripali-

22 yir Tiruttirעהnagār Īraṇānāś 17 Śēndavaṇmāṇgalam Tirunāvallūr Tiṭṭaiṅkiḷi ā

Tirunā-

23 raiyivāri Kaṇṭāṭappullīrī 26 Tiyāgavalli 31 Śīrāmānvīnagār Tiruvelliyangudi Pan-

24 ḍayanallīrī Tālaichchāṅgāḍu 23 Kuruchchērī Tiruppungūr Korukkai 21 Talaināya[k]aḷnā 25

25 Tirunāṭgalakkudi Tiruvīsālūr Tirutēvāṅkudi 26 Śūriyadēyananāńkāyīl 27 Ti-

1 Read Uddanta.
2 Read pātra, Rāṣṭrāṇi
3 Read jīvaṛagānāma, jīvaṛagānāmaṃ in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.
4 In No. 511 of 1905 it is mūryaṣeṣi.
5 i.e. Simhāṭṭukku as in No. 226 of 1925.
6 In No. 511 of 1905 the reading is pūvivitā in No. 74 of 1903 and 30 of 1911, and shāpsiṭta in No. 125 of 1904.
7 Śōlamandala-naduvel in No. 74 of 1903.
8 In No. 125 of 1904 the word Tiruttirusahaan follows the word devāstānam.
9 No. 511 of 1905 has the following: Tiruchchillāppalli-echinai vadaparai Iraṇāraṇya-vaḷanāṭṭa Malanāṭṭu Pōchchiliṟṟattu kī Pāḷīṟṟ-kāṇṇayūr nāṣagūr Pōsallāvarumudaiy-nāṣagūr kōgil 57 idi sūravari parasari araṇiṟṟu uṭpadum Tirunāḷapōdi Vallam Tāḷāḷ Tāḷāḷ Tiruppāndūrūṭti Tiruvaṉiyār Tiruvēnagars Tirunāṅgūr Iraṇāṟṟamāṉalayum Tiruvippagōḷ Pāḷīṟṟ Pandanāḷḷar Tiruppaṇāyadāl Tirunāṅgūr Tirunāṅgūr Tāḷalakkiḷi Śīrgalī mudalāna Iranduṟṟavappru-śīrmaī, etc. No. 288 of 1903 has Tiruchchippalī vācupi tekkarai Iraṇāraṇakāva-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Tirupparāṭṭuri mudalāiyu Śōlamandalatu iraṇu . . . pāḷīṟṟu-śīrmaī-āṇa Kūṟṟappatēnuttu-śīrmaī Rada-

25 Tirunāṭgalakkudi Tiruvīsālūr Tirutēvāṅkudi 26 Śūriyadēyananāńkāyīl 27 Ti-

10 Read Chandralikai.
11 No. 167 of 1925 reads Tirunagari clearly.
12 Followed by Tiruppārīgāḷār in No. 125 of 1904.
13 No. 355 of 1907 reads Rāṣṭrāṇiṟṟiṇaṅgar.
14 Tiruvangāravaram in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.
15 Tirumāṇiṅkiḷai in Nos. 235 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes Tiruvan-

25 Tirruppaṇāyadāl.
16 Tiruppāṇāyadāl in Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1923.
17 Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., Korukkai, Tiyāgavalli.
18 Before Tittakūr we have: Tirunāṭṭṛṇgāḍai and Tirikkōḍigā in No. 125 of 1904; in Nos. 226 of 1925 it is Tittakaṇḍī. After Tittakūr we have Penṉuṟṟadām in No. 125 of 1904.
19 Tirunāṅgūr in No. 226 of 1925.
20 Udayāṅkāyīl, Mannārṅkāyīl and Tiruchiṟṟagāṟum before Kanāṭtumallūr in No. 125 of 1904; Kanāṭṭum-

22 Kandāṭṭumallūr is followed by Panduṇaṅgalūr, Ārēkāṇaḷḷa and Kuruchchērī in No. 125 of 1904.
23 Mentioned after Tiruvaṉiṟṟiyangudi in No. 125 of 1904.
26 Tirunandiraṅkuḍi in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.
27 Śūriyadēyananāńkāyīl in No. 355 of 1907; Śūriyadēyananāńkāyīl in No. 235 of 1917 and Śūriyadēyananāńkāyīl in No. 235 of 1925.
THE PUNJABI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

26 rukkōḍikā Kurūlām Śirūkudī Tirukkurayalar Virkudi Āchēhāpuraṁ Tiruvālāput-
27 tūr 3 Nallūr Ḍignākūrīlī Gēngākoṇḍam Tirumēzhūr Tirunāṭipālī
d 28 mudalāyiga Chōljamaṇḍalattu yiruṇḍārappuṟṟu Buvanēkaviramāṭṭaṇa-śrīmaī
d 29 Taṭijāvārāṭṭaṇa-chiṅ(g)ṟmaī Tiruchchirāpāḷḷi-chiṅ(g)ṟmai Aiṟṟпп paṭṭa 8 Śivammān Vīṣh-
30 tīṭtāṃṇaṃ 11 mudalāiga dēvattaṇaṅgaliśī pūruva-mudalāyiga 12 varaiṁṇaikku 14 írū-
31 tu-varuṅgiṟa 15 śōṭi 16 āraṣuṟṟēṇi 17 patiṁṇya varāgaṇ ina varāgaṇ patiṁṇyirumum
an-
32 dandā dēvattaṇamakāḷkumma makara-śākasṛntī puṇṇiya-kāḷāttīlī Kēvittipavēṟṟi 19
33 tirattīle Uṇḍavillī 18 Āṇantaśāyi śaṅṭāiyuṃ 21 Gesavāḷai 22 Mallukāchehinadēvar 23
śaṅ-
34 šāṇiyuṃ 24 āga-ttāṟṟāpuṟuṇamāşa 25 chehaṟuṇamāṇiyamāşa viṟṟu tanaṁ-śādaṇa
yirāyanum 26
35 pāḷḷitōm yindā yirāyida 27 piraṇmāṭṭatī ēllā-ṭṭevattāṇaṅgaliḷum 28
36 sīḷā-śādanum 29 paṇṇī ēllā-ṭṭevattāṇaṅgaliḷkumma 30 puṟṟai 31 punarkāram 32 aṅga-
rāṟṟa 33

1 Śāṇkūḷai in No. 210 of 1917.
2 This is followed by another Virkudi in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1923.
3 Tiruvāḷāputtār in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvāḷāputtār in No. 226 of 1925.
4 Caṅkōkuṇḍalāpuraṃ in No. 125 of 1904.
5 Tirunāṭipālī in No. 125 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.
6 This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Perūnumāi; No. 167 of 1925
Parigalār, No. 226 of 1925 Ākkūr; and No. 235 of 1925 Tīlaiṇalviṣṭam and Ḍinaṃkūddi. 74 of 1903 has ; śāmaṇṭāla
naduḷi maṇḍalam Śēṇḍasānuṇuṇaḷum uṇaiyār Aṭṭukkāṭtāruṇāyaniyār tirunāṭatbakkāṭi Kēiḷaimōṅgar
Mēḷaiṅguṇār Nāṭavāṭāma-nūruṇanḍamākkūr Kambān nāṟṟum uṇṭāṇa dēyvē-ṭhāṅkuḷa ṭēvēvāravāṟṟu uṇṭāṇa
Śrībhūṇaṁ Vīṣhunēḻhuṇaṅgallē pūṟṟam mudalāya araṇmaṇikkā irutuṟṟuvāṟṟu jōṭi poṭ ponuṇuṟṟāṟṟum.
7 Bhūṇigaiṭṭaṇaṅcheṭṭirmai in No. 226 of 1925; Pongiripāṭṭaṇaṅcheṭṭirmai in No. 235 of 1925.
and 235 of 1925.
9 Chōrtnu upṭuḷa in No. 235 of 1925. 10 Read "sthānaṃ.
11 Read : Vēṇuṇāduṇam ; Vēṇuṇattānum in No. 235 of 1925.
12 Read : dēvasthāṇaṅgalī.
14 Read : araṇmaṇikkā us in No. 235 of 1925.
15 araṇmaṇi [kuṇj]kīl pōṇduṇu tāṟṟvāṟṟu in No. 235 of 1903.
16 Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.
17 Pauṇupārmaī is found in No. 355 of 1907.
18 Read : dēvasthāṇaṅgaluku; m is superfluous; dēvasthāṇaṅgalī kōṭṭu in No. 80 of 1911.
19 Read : Krīshnavēḷi; Kivuttuṇaṅcēṇi in No. 235 of 1925.
20 Uṇḍai in No. 235 of 1925. 21 Should be "śīyilm.
22 Gejarāṭi in No. 226 of 1925; Deṇavāḍai in No. 235 of 1925.
23 Read : Mallikāṟjuṇadēvar; Mallukāṟjuṇadēvar in No. 226 of 1925, and Mallukēčhinadēvar in No. 235
of 1925.
24 Reading is sanndāṭīyulum in No. 226 of 1925.
25 Reading is dhārāpāṟvāṉmāṇa in No. 226 of 1925.
26 Read : dharmāvēkuṇnaṟṟaṇam as in No. 226 of 1925.
27 Read : rāyaṇas. 28 Read : dēvasthāṇaṅgalīm. 29 Read : sāhānumanum.
30 Read : dēvasthāṇaṅgalukku; dēvastā in No. 226 of 1925; dēvasthāṇaṅgalīṁ in No. 167 of 1925.
31 Read : pūṟṟai.
32 Reading is punarkāram[um] in No. 167 of 1925.
33 This precedes pūṟṟai in No. 167 of 1925.
Let there be prosperity. Obeisance to the blessed Ganaídhipati. Salutation to Śiva who is beautiful with the moon kissing his lofty head like the chāmara and who is the main pillar (the cause) of the creation of the city of the three worlds. Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal order issued on the day of the full moon in the bright half of the month of Pushya of the year Īśvara which was current after the expiry of the prosperous and victorious year Śālīvahana-Śaka 1439, by the glorious Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, the conqueror of hostile kings, the destroyer of those kings who break their word, the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas, the confessor of the kingdom14 of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, the glorious Vira-Krishnadēvarāya-Mahārāya, conveying the charitable edict to remit jōdi and aruṣṭūpēra as sarvamānya to the Śiva, Vishnu and other temples in the Chola country. We (the king) started from Vijayanagara to the eastern region on a tour of conquest, took the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, took Vinikondai, Nāgarjunakondai, Veḷlamukonda, Koṇḍavaṇi, Koṇḍapalli, Rājamahendrapuram, and other forts, captured Virabhadrasena Gajapati, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Pradhānabhūpatai, Prāhātaṇa, Śiraśchandran, Mallu Khān, Uddānda Khān, and other feudatories as prisoners, and defeated and killed Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati. We then went to Śrīnāhādri and set up a pillar of victory at Poṭanūr. On the auspicious day of the Makara-saṅkrānti on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇavēni and in the presence of Anantaśyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikarjunadēvar of Gajavādai, We issued with libation of water a royal order evidencing a sarvamānīga grant to the respective Śiva and Vishnu temples of 10,000 varaḥans being the contributions of jōdi and śūlvarī payable by them. The temples were those viz., of Tiruchchirāppalī, Śāntalagai, Tirukkāṭupalālī, Tirunagari, Tirunāgūr, Tiruvaḷundūr Tevūr, Tiruvenṇagar, Agalaṅgaṇ, Tiruvanṭirupuram, Tirumānikūlī, Tirupattūr, Vaigai, Tiru-muttaam, Tiruppādikupulīyar, Tiruttītanagai, Iraivanāsūr, Śeṇḍavanāngalai, Tiruṇāvallūr, Tīṭtāikuṇī, Tirunāṇayūr, Kāṇṭāṭampūlūr, Tiṭṭagavalli, Śrīrāmaviṇṇagai, Tiruveljiyaṅguţi, Panda-

1 Read : ā-chand-rādiya-sthāvyuva; in No. 226 of 1925 it is ā-chand-rāka-sthāvyuva.
2 Should be sāgama as in No. 226 of 1925.
3 The reading is nadattukondu; in 235 of 1925.
4 No. 226 of 1926 has sukhattile.
5 The reading is dharmattuku; in No. 226 of 1925.
6 The syllable yi is superfluous.
7 Should be akita as in No. 235 of 1925.
8 The reading is pāmiṇa pērai; in No. 235 of 1925.
9 Followed by another tasiqal in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.
10 Read : go-brāhmanaraiyum.
11 Vāraṇarāi in No. 226 of 1925.
12 The reading is dōhāttile in No. 226 of 1925.
13 Followed by the words śubham-asta and ēri-Virupākṣa in No. 226 of 1925, and ēri-Virupākṣa only in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 235 of 1925.
14 Sampāngam rājya-uchṣyate—Kāmandaka.
No. 33.—JUBBULPORE STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIMALASIVA: THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 926.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Jubbulpore, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces and is now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. The record has been referred to several times, e.g., by Dr. F. E. Hall in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n. 2, and again in this journal, Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 60, n. 4, and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, (second ed.), p. 42, but owing presumably to its very bad preservation none has so far attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. A careful and patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript and while I have not been able to decipher or restore the complete text, I hope I have been able to make out almost all that can be deciphered in the present condition of the original.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of letters is 5". The surface of the stone, which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather, and several letters in the middle as well as on the right hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible. The characters are Nagari. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of b as an independent letter in bibhrot, l. 25 and in its superscript form in "r-beabhūra, l. 9, and also to the form of the initial i in ī, l. 12, of the initial ri in rīchāṁ, l. 15, and of ś, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8, as in Śīvāya, l. 1. The language is Sanskrit and except for the obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that v and b as well as ś and s are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Śiva) by Vimalasiva, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasimha of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. The god was named Kirtiśvara after Vimalasiva's guru Kirtiśiva. The

---

1 For various forms of this name see n. 25, p. 306 above.
2 Hiralal remarks in his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (Second ed.), p. 42, that 'this is a pretty big record but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.'
inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It is dated in words as well as in numerical figures in the year 926, without any specification of the month, fortnight, tithi or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to A.D. 1174-75. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, viz., that which occurred on the amāvāsyā of the pūrṇimāṇa Pausha, on Tuesday, the 26th November A.D. 1174. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up. It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918 to K. 928.

After three maṅgala-tōkas in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva1 and Vastūśiva2 only are now completely illegible. In line 8 we read the name of Purushaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśakarna's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayakarna. His disciple was Kirtiśiva3 who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasimha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his glorification. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the gōtra of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarna, Gayā, and other tīrthas, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kirtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth, being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him, is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kirtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kirtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages which was named Tākabhara, was situated in the vīkhaya (district) of Navapattā and the other two named Kanḍaravāda and Vadvā in Samudrapāta which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri from Yaśakarna downwards. It may, how-

---

1 I take rathy parvati in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. Parvan also means a saṅkrānti, but in that case the particular saṅkrānti would have been specified.
2 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95.
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 18.
4 This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.
5 I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmāśambhu mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff) in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadeva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāti is also mentioned as living in Benares in the Sāṁhitā inscription of Mahipāla, dated V. 1083. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Purushaśiva who was the guru of Karṇa's son Yaśakarna. But the second akṣara of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like ma. Besides the guru of this Śaiva pontiff was apparently Vimalaśiva, mentioned in verse 8, while the guru and the paramārya of Vāmāśambhu were Sūmāśambhu and Sadbhāvāsambhu respectively. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadeva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic. See A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 182 ff.
6 Śaktiśiva and Kirtiśiva may be identical with Śaktiśambhu and his disciple Kirtiśambhu respectively mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription.
ever, be noted in this connection that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvinda-
candra⁴ mention the Śaiva Achārya Rudrāśiva, not Purushaśiva, as the Rājaγurur of Yaśak-
kapā. Perhaps Yaśākakapā had two Rājaγurūs in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the
guru of Jayasimha, occurs in his Jubbulpore Kātwāli plates also.⁵

The present prasāti was composed by the poet Śaśikarha, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya⁶
gōtra. He composed also the Bherā-Ghūṭ inscription of Alhaṇḍeśi, while his elder brother
Pṛthvīvidhara was the author of the Tēur inscription of Gayakārṇa. The present record was
incised on the stone by Nāmadēva, the son of Mahādhara. His father was the engraver of the
aforementioned stone inscriptions of Gayakārṇa and Alhaṇḍeśi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkahārā may be identical with
Tikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jubbulpore. The rīṣhaya (district) of Navapattalā⁷ in which
it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhōra which lies about
8 miles west of Tikhāri. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipārā, 4 miles south of Jubbulpore.
There are several villages named Kunda or Kundan near Jubbulpore, one of which may
represent the ancient Kandaṛavāda. No place exactly corresponding to Vādōha can, however,
be traced in the Jubbulpore District.

TEXT.⁸

[Metres: Vv. 1, 18, 28, 35, 36, 38, 41, and 44 Śārdūlavāṇītā ; vv. 2 (?) and 6 UPā김바누 ;
vv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-15, 20-22, 21, 27, 29-32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, and 49 Anushūth ; v. 5 Vaiśākṣa ;
vv. 8, and 47 UPaį̄t ; vv. 10 and 46 Indrājaṇyā ; vv. 16 and 26 Aupacchhāndasika ; vv. 17, 25
and 33 UPaį̄t ; v. 19 Viyāṇi ; v. 22 Vasantatilakā ; v. 34 Prabharśiṇi ; v. 39 Mātīṇi ; v. 40
Srādvārā ; v. 50 Āryā.]

1 सिद्ध: [1*] चेत नमः भिवाय || उत्तमचन्द्रलकषसमि(ब्रम्ह)तरतिवचनविद्वैनेनिदितीयेन्||

drīḍh | [क]हितवाचवस्तिः: [कारणपुर्द्रा०]; समयवाजित(सत्येत्र)हित-

| क्रृत्व: [वृहद़] देवीस्तुति: पुष्कन्तायख:

| 2 शमकिरीविविधतदेवीदत्तः: ||[४१*०] ||हयप्रतिष्ठ: शिवतारिखाय ||

| ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ ||

| ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ ||

| ३ यतः पवित्रति तं सुम: ||[४१*०] ||अग्नातिस्य(सि)वेदार्यविजयः ||

| ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ ||

| ९ || ९ || ९ || ९ ||

2 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95. Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in the recently discovered Rewah plates of K. 962,
avove, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.
3 This is also the spelling of the name in the Bherā-Ghūṭ stone inscription of Alhaṇḍeśi, but the Gōtra-
pravartanamukhayakaṇḍaṇaṇa spells it as Maunna.
4 There is a larger village named Naḷgāon in the former Narsinghpur (now Hoshangābād) District, but it
is too far from Jubbulpore, being situated about 45 miles south by west of it. Besides, no place corresponding
to Tēkahārā, Samudraśakas, etc., can be traced in the vicinity of it.
5 From the original stone and inked estampages.
6 Expressed by a symbol. This word is clearly written in the beginning of the unpublished British Museum
plate of Karṇa.
4 खरलिमानभूतयः पु[४९८]
तदवधे षिणप्रस्थयः कसाधि वंशः[४]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
5 शं. पु[२०८]
षिण्य षिणप्रस्थयः कसाधि वंशः[४]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
6 वासस्यिना: केवल्यावधारण: । यस्मिदिनां दिष्ट[६८]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
7 दम्म. । गुणाखो च जनानो च परोपकारिः पर(र)म् पु[२०८]
शासन द — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
8 गुणमहानिमित्र पु[२०८]
प्रातिः परते रतिः शिखि: पथि मति सलाम् । भक्ति- ।
अवेशमभवतस्य समस्य द — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
9 मुख्य शिख: पु[२०८]
यशस्वकर्षनावरहिः प्रादुः(र)भवाभुः[१५८]
धाराराजानिविषु तथा संबिनायी गिरि पशुमद्विभम्भ: पु[२०८]
श्री-गणमित्रेकर्तवतः — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
10 शिख: भक्तिभिः नारूपस्त: प्रान्त्यधर्मिकवाक्यादिहिर्वचय: तत्ततितिवधारे विद्या-
समूहः यथा पु[२०८]
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
1. About 18 akharas are gone here.
2. About 30 akharas are lost here.
11 सुमनोभूषणविव: । गृहे चतुर्वम यथा सहि: कप्तारिविरि भ. [२०२*]
संक्वृतिकप्यलित्यावरूपभुजिुमुक्त। । तथा कौमित्रिविव: शिव[शिव ?] $\swarrow$
$\left\langle \text{भूषण सा:} \right\rangle$[२१२*] [यस्य देव ?] $\swarrow$ --- $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ ---
$\swarrow$ । नवर्षिंशराखुभुजा---

12 ्भुध्विाय सः: [२१२*] न संदृक्त कस्तो: न च चन्द्रचूमिः चक्रे न सारायिक-भूमिः च विषयीनि: । नेतहिः: परपुरोगी तथापि भर्ग्ग: चक्षे यतः: स
चतुर्वसिन्धिविव: श्री[२ सं*] [२१२*] योगोरिदुरुरिज्ज्ञाष्ट्रादर्शविविकान्ति: ।
परपुरुक्त सर्वाभा विवे---

13 काकुकुमैरिव [२४*] हेरे च युपुमोभोनेपि प्रसर्षयुमिमाणानपि । हव-प्रतिकीपि विषायकृतशब्दयुमिः नागे न च चन्द्रिज्ञः: [२५३*] काकुसुलिजः
......... 'यथा' प्रदीपः: ......... । स यथैव तवभवद्रिपाय चार्यः---

14 ख्यो प्रिन्मूजुरिरिवदार्यः: [२५४*] विषायमृकासिद्धिमृचीवायेन्दीयावंज्ञाना: ।
प्रायौरिविव: विषयोति न प्रवतिा परमेश्वरः: [२५५*] वैवां समवयुगितवे-विषयासारायमविवदा[२*] [वैवां] --- $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ [रञ्ज्ञानमभु:] --- $\swarrow$
$\swarrow$ --- $\swarrow$ । वैवां [वा]प्रायस्यविवः: समवाय---

15 चन्द्रावे मूलातमी च प्रामध्वेन महिष्यतातिसिव बद्धा यासरायामापि [२५५*]
कामादियास्मिरी मैैैैव चर्गीषुषु संस्कार िा 
च पद्ममारिती वो(िो)वा
मधुसुधनः: [२५६*] द्विशिडायवर्तसि कुम्भोज्यविविकाकम् । व(िो)भूंजु
यक्ख वितुः[िी]विद्यो(िो)धारय मधुसुधनः: [२५६*] द्विशिडायवर्तसि कुम्भोज्यविविकाकम् । व(िो)भूंजु

16 सौभद्यः: [२५७*] द्विशिडायवर्तसि कुम्भोज्यविविकाकम् यथूः । चर्गीषुषु तन्मालिन
स्वयंते जगायमस् [२५७*] सीवीय वेदात्मदायविविकाय ब्रव कहतः ।
$\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\swarrow$ --- $\swarrow$ समयावनिव देविः [२५७*] प्रभास्मोकास्माण ग्-
यादितिब्रह्मवार्यः---

17 ख्यो प्रिन्मूजुरिरिवदार्यः: श्रीवी चतुर्वसिन्धिने स्मार्थात्मकआविलितम: [२५८*] काकुकुमैरिव: सा [तथा] [शिव(शिव)श्री: कालियमृजुरिरिव-पाल्मो: [यशोह]वितुः[श्वासा] च न ख्यो [तस्मात्यो] वेत्तिः [२५८*] ज्ञा---

1 About 8 aksharas are missing here.
2 About 7 aksharas are gone here.
18 ति: स्वजन्म प्रजाति रतिपतिक्ष्यावलिनायाकानत्विर्याशः। "वातिकं दुर्योगांतिपं जीतानं।" ।

19 विनी म(व)ः आयप्रजायः तो: श्रीवासिविवृथवस्थि तिन्मेनि [गो]कोऽवः।

20 लूतमिरक्ष्यायावः न किम् ॥[२७४]* । यस्मादिहियक्षरज्ञस्वरस्वास्थ्यानार्क(वु)ः

21 स्वकल्पतपिक्ष्यायेवेचादु द्राह समाधिकामि — — — — — — ज्ञयुर्वः।

22 याबाण्य न चमी यः कविपर्य दत्ते स(व)समुहोष्योष्यीः।

23 पूर्वकविधि[ईत] न यवास्तिति सतः । पास तव विद्विति न व(व)इत्वोडौ न

24 सिँद्र उदानसती(सत)पापादिहियवेविन्मः। भूसि: परिविवक्षः न कैमूः बारेंदित्वम् ॥[२७२]*

The *sirn̄pa* is dropped here according to the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

The second root here means 'the breast'.

The [form *adyōtaṇa* can also be correct. In that case the root is *yud* and not *dyu*-—B. C. C.]

Tānti seems to be used here in the sense of 'a sinew'.

*Vikṣaṣ(a)rti, (blooming) seems to be used here in the sense of *vīksat* (shining).

*Read *kvachideväpi.*
25 चालणकर्रम्यं कौन्ते देव[नधेरिम] विभूवाने विस्तार[सवङ्गनाम] ॥४४॥* ॥
चालणकर्षम्यं कौन्ते देव ॥४४॥* ॥
गृहः कौन्तिकर्षवैवैतैर्यं सक्तात्या च ॥४४॥* ॥
विस्तारं कौतिकर्षवैवर्त्त्वात् प्रादानमथुः वासिंशिदेवः ॥ विभूवाने विभूवाने ॥

26 च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥ टेकसमजान्वेला कान्तायगो नवपलावियं ॥।
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥
च यात्रायम्: पर्याणि । घरि ॥ दीयान् ॥४४॥* ॥

27 [सोर]मवासियं । गिरामवर्षकर्षणं ॥ ।
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
गिरामवस्तवर्षिके नामदेवब्रह्मवेशं ॥४५॥* ॥
(V. 15.) He, (though) possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (and) was devoted to Śiva.

(V. 16.) Purushasāiva, the best of men, who was conversant with...was his disciple

(V. 17.) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of Yaśahkarna as that of (Indra), the lord of immortals, through Brihaspati.

(V. 18.) His disciple, Śaktiśiva,......(who augmented) the (two) royal powers of the illustrious king Gayakarna, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean with learning of the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19.) ..........the prowess of the king Gayakarna .......... the hostile king forcibly

(V. 20.) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21.) The disciple of him—a marvellous tree entwined by the creeping plant of noble fame —(was) Kirtiśiva.......

(V. 22.) He caused the prowess of the king Narasimha....

(V. 23) (Unlike Śiva) he had not the earth far his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow. Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (as Śiva did those of the demons). Hence he (was) clearly Kirtiśiva (Śiva in glory).

(V. 24.) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25.) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glance, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion and was devoted to Śiva (even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has a bright disc of the moon on his forehead, is mounted on the bull and is attached to Pārvati), he was (unlike Śiva who is called Ugra and wears serpents) neither dreadful in appearance nor attended by backbiters.

(V. 26.) The great lights..........the Kalachuri family. .................As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27.) In the gōtra of Viśvāmitra which is the friend of the world, how many Brāhmaṇas, adorned with benevolence and other (virtues), have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēśhθhin (God) ?

(V. 28.) Their..........with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner..........Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

1 For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see Mahābhārata, Drōgoparvan, adhyāya 202, vv. 71.78 (Chitrāḍālā Press ed.).
2 There is a play on the word śṛṣṭha meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.
3 Śiva-avatāra is to be interpreted in two ways; (i) Śiva-avatāra meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (ii) Śiva-avatāra meaning 'attached to Pārvati'.
4 Ugra is a name of Śiva.
5 Drūḍhāra (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) a backbiter.
6 Maithri is one of the four bhūvaneśa which Yōgins cultivate,
(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that gōtra Madhusūdana who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the pada and krama texts of the Ṛiks and understood their meaning.

(V. 30.) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men, even as the rise of the star Agastya, the ornament of the southern direction causes the awakening of the gods (from slumber).

(V. 31.) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (his) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32.) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents, he, observing vows, [pleased all people] like the southern breeze.

(V. 33.) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gūkarpa, Gayā and other holy places, he received (initiation in) the Śaiva vow from Kṛtiśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (i.e., Śiva).

(V. 34.) (May) this Vimalāśīva, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(the tree), having come under the shade of which a multitude of Brāhmaṇas does not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35.) In the case of only this (Vimalāśīva) who is solely devoted to exertion are seen (the following), viz., birth in a caste (viz., Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (handsome) form which can turn back the god of love (in discomfiture), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to the politicians (and) blessed silence.

(V. 36.) ‘(The goddess of) speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā’s face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishnu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa.’—This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused ...... in the minds of magnanimous people!

(V. 37.) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(him) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct!

(V. 38.) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas (who approach him) as suppliants, his piety increases in an excellent manner, day and night with the libations of water (poured at the time) of making gifts like a sinew of religion. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas, whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.

(V. 39.) Showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader ...........

The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (viz., Vimalāśīva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies ............

1 The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of Sarad or autumn. [There is also a veiled reference to the sage Agastya who is associated with the propagation of Aryan culture in the south.—Ed.]

2 There is a play on the words daksaka, dvija-pati and rōhini. Daksaka gave only one Rōhini (i.e., the star Alderan) to the moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalāśīva gives hundreds of rōhinis (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star Rōhini is personified as the daughter of Daksaka and the favourite wife of the moon.

3 In this verse also there is a pun on words like dvija-pati, kala, etc.
(V. 40.) Though he is ever looked at with great eagerness by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he nowhere suffers the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed by the king in many worthy affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41.) . . . . . . . (There was) no discriminating action which he did not perform; (there was) no gift which he did not confer; (there was) no deserving person whom he did not honour many times (and there was) no holy place on the earth which he did not sanctify with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42.) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lastening blessings and glory increase like his lustre.

(V. 43.) With what ornaments (supplied by him) does not the earth surpass heaven?—(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas?

(V. 44.) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva—who by his counsels has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes,1 (to whom) the king Jayasimha [bows] becoming very humble through devotion spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river, is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45.) He caused a temple of the moon-crested (Śiva) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kṛitiśiva out of reverences for him.

(V. 46.) To this god named Kṛitiśvara, Jayasimhadeva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (the occasion of) the sun’s eclipse.

(V. 47.) Of these, the village called Tēkahara is situated in the vishaya (district) of Navapattala and two others (viz.,) Kandaravada and Vadhā in (the district of) Samudrapāta.

(V. 48.) The poet Śāśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharaṇidhara who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, born in the family of Maunya, has composed this prākāṣṭi with pleasure.

(V. 49.) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahidhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures, 926.

(V. 50.) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shines in the firmament!

No. 34.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF BRAHMA-TANTRA-SVATANTRA-JIYAR

SAKA 1282.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

Kāṇchipuram in the Chingleput District was an important place of pilgrimage from very early times. Portions of this town and its environs were in the olden-days known according to their religious associations, as the Buddha-Kāṇchi, Jina-Kāṇchi, Śiva-Kāṇchi and Vishnu-Kāṇchi.2 The inscription3 published below is engraved on the north wall of the second prakāṣṭa of the Varadarāja temple at Little Conjeeveram, otherwise called Vishnu-Kāṇchi, which is very sacred to the Vaishnavas of the south.

1 Karavartita means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is Virdhakātan.

2 Buddha-Kāṇchi is referred to in No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934-35 (Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1934-35, para. 56). Jina-Kāṇchi is represented by Tiruppurtikkungū near Conjeeveram; Śiva-Kāṇchi and Vishnu-Kāṇchi are respectively the modern Big and Little Conjeeveram.

3 No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919.
The characters in which the record is engraved are Tamil and Grantha, the latter being employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is Tamil with an admixture of Sanskrit words, and is somewhat illustrative of the type of Vaishnava composition prevalent in this period and locality. The record is very well preserved, and its orthography does not call for any comment.

The record does not quote any king’s name but is simply dated in Śaka 1282 and contains the astronomical details—Vikārin, Mēsha, śu. 1, Friday and Aśvati—which yield the equivalent A.D. 1359, March 29. It states that a certain Vaishnavadāsa who had been given the title of Brahma–tantra–svatantra–jiyar by the god (Hastigiri), was put in charge of a matha evidently at Kāśihipuram in Śaka 1282. This information is of interest for Vaishnava religious history, as it enables us to identify this first pontiff of the matha with the direct disciple of the great Vēdānta–Dēśika, the erudite scholar, keen controversialist and deeply venerated Vaishnava acharya,¹ whose literary and religious activities are said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D.

As mentioned above, the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded, in that it purports to have been issued by the deity himself. In the Tamil records of this temple, the god is called Arulãlappperumal or Tiruvattiyur–ninarruliyar–Paramasvāmin, or ‘the great Lord who was pleased to stand at Tiruvattiyūr’. The village-name Tiruvattiyur having been Sanskritised into Hastigiri,² the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as Hastigiri, by which name he is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent Perumāḷṭāṇ and other Bhattas, the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the abhisheka–māṇḍapa of the temple on the throne named Viravallājan under the canopy called the Arīyavallāp–pandal listening to the chanting of the songs of Śaṭākāpōṇa, was pleased to confer the title of Brahma–tantra–svatantra–jiyar on a certain Vaishnavadāsa and to put him in charge of a matha and its properties, so that he may propagate the tenets of the Rāmānuja–darśanam³ to the Vaishnava laity, and maintain the library which he had collected, probably in the matha premises. A sentence at the end adds that this divine order (tirumugam) was engraved on stone by the temple-accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in this inscription, couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that this convention was adopted by some of the Vaishnava temples in the Tirunelvēli District in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., and in some instances in the South Arcot and Chingleput Districts also. Some Śaiva temples also appear to have sparingly copied this procedure in drafting their documents at this period. In such cases, the occasion when and the place wherefrom the orders⁴ were issued are given at some length. Some instances may be quoted.


¹ Dēśika is believed to have been born in A.D. 1289, Śukla, and to have died in A.D. 1370, Saumya. The present record is of help in confirming the period of his literary activity as the second half of the 14th century A.D.
² The artificial ramp formed by an enclosed mandapa is called the ‘Tirumalari’ or ‘giri’, on top of which the shrine of Varaṇar is located.
³ Compare the verse composed in praise of this Jiyar:

Rāmānuja–bhāvadāsanaikapāsāgatō

4 This is analogous to the instances in which kings are described as having been seated in particular halls of their palaces and on particular seats, while issuing the orders contained in the respective epigraphs.


The reigning king of the time is referred to in these records as nam pīḷai or nam kumāraṇ ‘the god’s son or favourite’, and in response to his formal petition that a particular transaction may be made, the god is described as sanctioning it and issuing a ratificatory order to that effect to the officials concerned. This convention does not, however, appear to have been in vogue for a long time. Ādi-Chandēśvara, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṇāmars, is considered to be the steward-in-chief (māṇḍa-bṛiṭta) of Saiva temples, and the documents relating to them are drafted in his name. Similarly also Vaiṣṇava or Sēnai-mudalir is looked upon as the Manager of Vaishṇava temples. It is one step further to assume that the orders were issued directly by the god himself.1 Such divine mandates are called arulappadu; and in the Śrīraṅgam temple, god Raṅgarāja is even now conventionally considered to look after the affairs of his temple himself and issue the necessary orders through the mouth of his temple-officials.

Before proceeding to examine the contents of this record, a few expressions occurring in it may be explained.

(L. 2). Viraṇallāṇa sīṁhaṇaṇam and Ariyavanallāṇ-pandal are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoyaṣa king Vira-Ballāja III, while the second may have been named after some one having the title ‘he who is as powerful as a lion,’ but whose title it was is not known.

Nam pēṇṉuḷai—viz., Vaiṣṇu’s two consorts, Śrī and Bhūmī.

Saṭṭhakopaṇa-pātu kēlēṇiyka—Saṭṭhakopa is the name of the Vaishṇava saint Nammāḷvār, whose Tirurāṣṭi is considered equal to the Vēdas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for this service in Vaiṣṇu temples are often mentioned in inscriptions.4

(L. 3). Perumāḷṭatān—Perumāḷṭatān or Perumāḷḍaṇa would ordinarily mean ‘a devotee of Perumāḷ (Vaiṣṇu)’; but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent, super-

---

1 In these instances, the records commence with a Sanskrit verse specifying that the orders emanate from the god himself—

(a) [Text not fully legible]

(b) [Text not fully legible]

2 Ballāja III was camping at Kāṇṭhipuruḍa in Bhāvaka (Śaṅkha 1256)—No. 401 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In two other records from the same temple, one of which is dated in Śaṅkha 1283, in the regime of Śaṭṭuva Maṅgu, the god is described as seated in a similar manner while issuing the orders.

3 A liquid measure called ‘Ariyavanallāṇ-nāli’ was current in this temple at this period—(No. 343 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

4 Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, part II, para. 35.
vising the sacred business of the temple (nam ochhur karunam kēkum), in whose presence and that of the Bhattas of the temple, the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name 'Vaishnava-dāsa' occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning 'the servant-devotee of Vaishnavas' rather than as the personal name of the donor in the record; for according to the Guruparamparā-prabhāvar, the original name of Brahma-tantra-svatantara-Jiyar was Pērarulālayan of Viravalli\(^3\) and his dāsyanāma on becoming a saṅgīyāsin was Pērarulāla-Jiyan.

(L. 4) Samārādhyanam adukku vēndum maṭṭukkaḷum—seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the muṭṭha itself and the requirements thereof. It is usual for every muṭṭha to have images of some deities for worship. In this connection, it may be noted that on the eve of the demise of Vēdānta-Dēśika, some images are said to have been bequeathed to his disciple Brahma-tantra-svatantara-Jiyar.\(^4\)

Postakaṅgalum idukku vēndum upakarayaṅgalum—By postakaṅgal (pustaka), manuscript bundles are apparently meant. The upakarayas are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a library—such as probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles, spare sets of caddam leaves for copying work, and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

Rāmānuja-darsānam—is the Visisṭha-dvaita-siddhānta as codified and expounded in his Śrī bhāṣya by the great Vaishnava apostle Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137). It was he who had raised this system to an unassailable eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary style, by the training of a number of able exponents and sīmāhāsaṅādhipatis\(^3\) from among his numerous disciples.

(L. 5) Nam Rāmānujaṃ-udaiyāram nam somayattil tillāram—Rāmānujaṃ-udaiyar appears to mean the 'followers of Rāmānuja.'\(^4\) The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahma-tantra-svatantara-Jiyar as the pontiff was to receive the acceptance of Rāmānuja’s followers and the Vaishnava laity (somayattil-tillār).

(L. 6) Īvōṇkkku nān mudittapaḍiyum uṭṭaptapaḍiyum pāśīnaṇapadiyum kuṭuttōm—means that the flowers worn by the god, the clothes used by him and the sandal-paste and unguents utilised for his worship were presented to the Jiyar as a mark indicative of the god’s love to the recipient. This expression is found used in some inscriptions\(^5\) and in Vaishnava literature.

As regards Brahma-tantra-svatantara-Jiyar, the donee of the record, some information is available from Vaishnava literature. Among the South Indian religions, it was Vaishnavism alone that had developed the ‘historical sense’ to an appreciable extent, and there are therefore several biographies of the Vaishnava āchāryas available, collated under the names of Vaibhavas and Guruparamparās of varying volume.\(^6\) One such work dealing with the life of the great Vaishnava reformer Vēdānta-Dēśika is the Guruparamparā-prabhāvar in Tamil prose by Tritiya-

---

\(^1\) Guruparamparā-prabhāvar (Tamil, Madras), p. 114; see also f. n. 3 on p. 319.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 138.

\(^3\) There were 74 sīmāhāsaṅādhipatis who were selected. Their names are given in the reply to question No. 24 of the Tirunāsālāṭthrough, Pujanadaiviṭṭakam, p. 39.

\(^4\) The following expression from No. 31 of 1938-39 from Śrīnāgar may be compared—Kodvar kōṇantar nam bhāṭṭakal ... nam Rāmānujaṃ-udaiyār nam pāṭṭār, etc.

\(^5\) Compare No. 567 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

\(^6\) There are many biographies of Dēśika available. The Vēdānta-Dēśika-vaibhava-prakāśikā by Doījaayā-āchārya is in Sanskrit.

\(^7\) Published in Madras in several editions. Dritiya-Brahma-tantra-svatantara-Jiyar, the āchārya of the author of this work is said to have written the Paṇḍārāgpāḍi-Guruparamparā-prabhāvar, which is not extant.
Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar. Shorn of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox hagiography, this work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations later than Dēṣīka, may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather the following details about Brahmatantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the first of that name, who was a disciple of Vēdānta-Dēṣīka:

Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar belonged to the Kauḍīnāya-gōtra and was originally called Viravalli Pērārulājayaṇ. Well-versed in all the ṣāstras, he became an ardent disciple of Dēṣīka and assumed the sāmogīta garb under the name of Pērārulāja-Jiyar. When the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam was looted by the Muhammadians in the first quarter of the 14th century, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar fled along with his ācārya to Satyamaṅgalam (in the Coimbatore District) and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after some years. He was taught the Bhagavad-vishyan (Araṇyirappadi) by Varadācārya alias Nāyiṇārācārya, the son and disciple of Vēdānta-Dēṣīka, in Kali 4440, Bahudhānyā, Āvani, śu. 2, Hasta (= A.D. 1338, August 18). On one occasion, he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam and was honoured by Dēṣīka with the title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra' and 'he who is a master in Brahma-tantra'. That accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the régime of Tirumalai Śrinivasācārya who had been installed by Dēṣīka as the Śrīkāyiru dhowandhāra of the Kāṇṭhipuram temple, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar overcame a Kauḍīnāya pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of 'Paryāya-Bhāṣyakāra'. Some time later under the direction of god Veṅkaṭēśa in a dream, he accepted the Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple, and during his tenure of office there, he installed an image of Vēdānta-Dēṣīka in a maṭha built by him at Tirumala, as well as in a maṅḍapa in the Gāvindrāja temple at Lower Tirupati. He stayed at Tirupati for a long time expounding the Vaishnava philosophy to his disciples Ghatikāsātkam-Am migli, Kidāmbi-Nāyiṇār, Kōmāḍūr-Ačchéśaṇ, Pillaiy-Appai, Pērārulājayaṇ-Appai, Kandāda-Aṇḍājan, Viravalli-Pillai and others. After his demise he was succeeded by Pērārulājaṇ-Appai. Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was the author of two small works—the Divyasūri-stuti and the Āchāryarātaga-ghatārtha.

Though these biographical details may, in the main, be accepted, a few omissions may be noticed. The Gūruparamparā-prabhāram does not contain a reference to the founding of a maṭha at Kāṇṭhipuram and to the installation of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in it as its first pontiff for the propagation of the Rāmānuja-darsanam, as stated in the present record, nor do the Tirupati inscriptions corroborate his Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple. But these points notwithstanding, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of

---

1 The present record conventionally states that god himself gave the title.
2 Gūruparamparā-prabhāram, p. 138. He was the author of a religious work called the Prabhanda-nirvānā.
3 A verse composed by Ghatikāsātkam-Am migli in praise of this Jiyar reads—

पायो बालवातरण छातालाल विघा तीतीय घण्म नम:।
 Indians generally address their seniors as 'ācārya'.

4 The colophon reads—प्राकृतलिङ्गभाषाय विश्वासात् परमप्रस्थतः।

5 The colophon reads—प्राकृतलिङ्गभाषाय परमप्रस्थतः।

6 The colophon reads—प्राकृतलिङ्गभाषाय परमप्रस्थतः।
Vēdānta-Dēśika, because of the fact that the investiture of this unique title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra', herein attributed to the god himself, had been made more than a decade prior to the demise of Dēśika and that this āchārya's name figures in three important ' pontifical lists'.

The maṭha which was thus started at Kāṇchipuram under the pontificate of this Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jīyar in A.D. 1360 grew in importance and appears to have latterly removed its headquarters to Mēlkōte in the Mysore State, where it became popular under the name of the Parakāla-maṭha. There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of this maṭha, and a short sketch of its history has been given in the granth-ōpasānākāra of the Alakāra-maṭhyām, a work on rhetoric composed recently by one of its pontiffs also called Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jīyar.

At about this time in Śaka 1300 there was in the Varadarāja temple at Kāṇchipuram, a minor maṭha called the Vēda-maṭha, which was presided over by a certain Vēdāndrasāgara-śrīpāda and which probably specialised in the teaching of the Vēdas. Another important Vaiṣhāyava maṭha which came into existence in this period was the Āhōbalam-maṭha, whose founder Śrīnīvāsa, son of Kijāmbi Kēśa-āchārya of Tirunārāyanapuram, is, according to orthodox tradition, believed to have assumed the Samnyāsīkrama in Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398) under the name of Ādivaṇ Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar and to have been its first pontiff for a period of sixty years till A.D. 1458.

Vēdānta-Dēśika is stated in the Guruparampara-prabhāram to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Sarvajña-Śiṅgabhūpāla and to have composed the Śrībhūshita-nirī for his delectation. The same chief is said to have honoured Naiyārāchārya, the son and disciple of Dēśika, with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia, when this āchārya went to the northern parts in his religious tours. It follows therefore that Brahma-tantra-svatantra was also a contemporary of this Śiṅga. According to the Velugāṭirī-vanāhārī dealing with the history of the Rēcheria chiefs, there were three chief s of the name of Śiṅga. Of these, Śiṅga III who came to power in A.D. 1425 had the title of Sarvajña. The author of the work on rhetoric called the Rasāyana-sudhākara was a Śiṅga, son of an Annavōta; and he has been identified with Śiṅga II and has been assigned to about A.D. 1380. There was another earlier Śiṅga I who flourished about this time and was killed by a certain Tammala-Bommayya in A.D. 1360. It is no

---

1 In this connection the following orthodox three-fold 'lists' may be noted:
   (a) Mantrārtha-guruparampara—Emberumāṉēr, Kijāmbi-ācheṭān, Kijāmbi Rāmānuja Appullān, Śrīrangaśārār, Appullār, Dēśikaar and Brahma-tantra-svatantar.
   (b) Śrībhūshita-guruparampara—Emberumāṉēr, Tirukkuragappirāṉ-Appullān, Engalvēn, Nādādūr-Appullār, Dēśikaar and Brahma-tantra-svatantar.
   (c) Bhogavēl-vaiṣhaya-guruparampara—Same as in (b), Dēśikaar, Naiyārāchāryar and Brahma-tantra-svatantar.

2 See Paḷanadaiṭakakam, Part II, p. 28.

3 Published in the Mysore Sanskrit Series.


5 Vide Tirupati Dēvathāmāna Report (1930), p. 214, where these traditional dates are questioned and are post-dated by a cycle of sixty years.

6 Guruparampara-prabhāram, pp. 120 and 139. Two other works named the Tatvaṃśidēśa and the Rauhayasandēśa are also stated to have been composed for the same purpose.

7 Dr. N. Venkatarasanyya, Velugāṭirī-vanāhārī, Introduction.

8 Vasantaśārya, brother of the latter Śiṅga III, made a gift of four deṇpālaka images to the Varadaṇjā temple at Kāṇchipuram (No. 683 of 1919) in Śaka 1359.

9 Sīṅgāra-Śrīṇāṭhāmu (Telugu) by Prabhākara Śāṅkṛī, p. 179, to

10 His date has been discussed in Śrīṇāṭhāmu (Telugu) by Prabhākara Śāṅkṛī, p. 179, to
doubt tempting to identify the author of the *Rasāryava-sudhākara*, with the chief who honoured the two āchāryas.¹ As Vēdānta-Dēśika is believed to have passed away in A.D. 1370,² and as Nayinaṅra-chārya had also attained to literary fame before A.D. 1360, their contemporarity has been considered to have been Śiṅga I of A.D. 1360, who lived within the life-time of Dēśika but who is not known to have had the chiefdom of Sarvajña or more appropriately, Śiṅga II who actually began to rule later, but who may have been a young chieftain at the time of Nayinaṅra-chārya's visit administering a portion of the territory in conjunction with his father Anavaṭa, for whom, however, records up to Śaṅka 1307 are found.

The existence of one other Śiṅga at this period may also be noted. In the Śīrāṅgaṃ plates of Mummaḍī-Nāyaka³ dated in Śaṅka 1280, only two years earlier than the date of the present record, it is stated that a village which had been granted by one of the chiefs of Kūrukoṇḍa to a Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the seventh of that name, was transferred to the temple of god Rāṅganaṭha by his mother, on the death of the latter without issue. This grant indicates that the Kūrukoṇḍa chiefs were devout Vaishnavaśas and that a descendant of the famous Bhaṭṭa family of Śīrāṅgaṃ was honoured by one of them. This Mummaḍī-Nāyaka is stated to have had two younger brothers, one of whom was a Śiṅga who was ruling over a portion of his brother's territory with headquarters at Kētipura in the Godavari District. His father was a Kūṇa. But the chief, to whom Dēśika⁴ had dedicated the three works referred to above, is said to have been the son of a Mādhava-Nāyaka. If this is so, he cannot be identified either with the Rēcherī Śiṅga, son of Anavaṭa, or the Kūrukoṇḍa Śiṅga, son of Kūṇa. His identity must therefore remain undetermined for the present.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a collection of manuscripts (or a library) which was kept in the nātha and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep, as envisaged in the expression 'iva tēdiva postakaṇ̄gulaṃ idukku vēdul vayakaran̄gulaṃ'. It is well-known that in the medieval centuries, religious institutions of all denominations, Śāiva, Vaishnava and Jaina, flourished in South India, either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended as seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these nāthas called Māthāḥipati, Mudaliyāra or Jiyaras, on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended, and who, in turn, enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for these services. Then there were also the Ghaṭikāsthānas (i.e. 'establishments for holy and learned men'), and smaller educational institutions of which there were many in the land, which were responsible for the intellectual well-being of the community. The munificent donations made for the

¹ Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has kindly brought to my notice a reference from Mr. M. Doraswamyya's article in the *Tirumalai Śrī-Venkaṭeśvara*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 31 ff., wherein Śingabhupīla, the author, has been assigned to a period before A.D. 1370, on the strength of the fact that the Rasāryava-sudhākara has been quoted from by the Chakrārāma-chandrikā of Viṣveśvara, which latter is referred to in the Alasāroṇamudhānāthi of Bhoganaṭha of about A.D. 1370.

² The Sanskrit verses engraved in the Śīrāṅgaṃ temple eulogising the restoration of the Rāṅganaṭha image by Gopanaṛya, are stated in the Gurusaramparā to have been composed by Dēśika himself. If so he must have passed away soon after this incident.


⁴ *Life and Literary Writings of Dēśika*, by M. K. Tātāchārya, where the following is quoted—

ḥṛdayānāthaṃ nīyamānīḥ teṣām praseswānāḥ bhadra-bhujyaḥ.
maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions; but though no specific references to libraries as such are found in them, it is, however, reasonable to infer that when these mathas, ghatikas and pithas were functioning properly, they must have been maintaining well-stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers as well as the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in mathas and other places in South India, bear ample testimony to the fact that the library was a fairly well-recognised institution of medieval religious and student life. But specific references to libraries as such are, as stated already, rather rare in inscriptions. A record of the Western Chalukya king Trailokyamalla-Ahavamalla dated in Saka 980 (= A.D. 1058) in the Hyderabad State mentions that Davanatha-Trinatha Madhusudana, a general of the king, received from his master among many other endowments, a gift of land for the maintenance of six Curators called Sarvasvati-Bhagavatigajas who were placed in charge of the library attached to the college (tirthikasala) at Nagavagaharama, which had several hundred students on its rolls. Another interesting reference to a Sarvasvati-bhagadara or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph engraved on the east wall of the third prakara in the Raṅganatha temple at Srirangam in the Trichinopoly District. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the utamavallana type, should have been provided with a library as well. The record states that in an auxiliary mandapa which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of the three presiding deities of learning—viz. Hayagriva, Sarvasvati and Vyasa-Bhagavim, by Palapalli Nilakanta-Nayaka. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysala Vira-Ramanatha, in whose 14th year inscription (A.D. 1299) he is mentioned, the library of the Srirangam temple was in existence from the middle of the 13th century A.D.

A pustakabhagadara as an adjunct to the Advaite Śaṅkara-math at Śrīperumal in the Mysore State is mentioned in two epigraphs from Vanṭyāla near Perālu in the South Kanara District, which belong to the early Vijayanagara period. One of them is dated in Saka 1328 in the reign of king Bukka II and registers a gift of land for the maintenance of a certain Purāṇika Kavi-Krishnabhaṭṭa, who was the Curator in charge of this library, while the other dated a few years later in Saka 1354 in the reign of king Dēvarāya II, relates to another gift of land made to the Curator’s son Kavi-Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa, who evidently succeeded his father in his office.

TEXT.

1 Tirumugappadi7 [[*]] Svasti śrī[|][|] Īṭat-sur-śur-ādhiśa-mauli-ratna-prabhāruṇam [*] Śrīmat-Hastigirīṣaya dovadēvasya śāasanam 6[|][|]* Vikārī-sarvadvatsaratru Mēsha-nāyāram pūrva-pakhaṭtu prathamaiyum Veḷḷi-kkilamaiyum
2 peṛga Aṣvati-nāḷi abhisheka-maṇḍapaṭṭu Vira-Vallāḷi-siṇhāsanaṭṭu Aṇiyavallāṇi-pandal-kiṇī nūmum nam pedugulaṇḍu Śaṭakōṇa-pāṭṭu-kkējānīka naṃ vidū nam karum kēktum

---

1 Several inscriptions relate to the provision made for the maintenance of such educational institutions, notable among them being those copied from Eṇḍiyiram in the South Arcot District (No. 353 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), Kavaṇur (An. Reg. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1930, Part II, para. 55), etc.
2 The Inscriptions of Nāgai (Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 8), p. 7.
3 No. 139 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934-35.
4 In this connection it may be mentioned that the Pashchātra-Sankṣṭa (published at Mālkote, Mysore, 1934), one of the three authoritative works of the Pāṇchakāraṇa school, has a chapter entitled ‘Jāna-literātānāma’, giving rules for the formation of a library in a temple. This reference was brought to my notice by Mr. S. Parthasarathi Ayyangar of the Devaṭhānam Library at Srirangam.
5 No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.
6 Nos. 283 and 284 of the same collection for 1936-37.
7 This word is written below ‘Svasti śrī’ in slightly smaller characters.
8 Svasti Śrī and several other Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters.
9 May also be corrected into nam viṣṭu karunam.
3 Perumāḷtāṇam nam bhaṭṭa[r*]kalum solla-kkōṭṭu Brahma-tantra-svatantra-
jīyān† enṛu nam pēr-kuḍutta Vaishṇavādāsaṇukku nām kuḍuttapadi [[*] Ivaṇukku
uṇḍāna maṭhamum maṭhattai nōkkī
4 varum keśētramum saṃārdhanam adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkalum ivan tēdina posta-
kaṅgalum idukku vēṇḍum upakaranāṅgajum nam Rāmānujan-darśanam naḍak-
kaikkāga ivanukku
5 piṭbum ivan niyamittta ivanuddaiya śishyargaḥ paramparaiyā-āga ivaiyirrāi-kaikkōṇḍu
naḍatti-ppōda-kkallilum śenbilum veṭṭikkolladapti
ivanukku nām muḍittapadiyum uḍuttapadiyum pūṇapadiyum kuḍuttōm 8.
Ippadikku-
6 ttiruvāy-malarnd-arulipadikku kōyil-kaṅnakku Pērarulālapriyaṇ eluttu 8. I-ṭtirumugam
eludina Śakābdam ayirattu iru-nūṛṛu enbattu-iranḍ-āvadu 8.

TRANSLATION.

This is according to the sacred order.

Hail! Prosperity!

This is the order of the glorious Lord of Hastigiri, the god of gods, which is red with the brilliance
of the gems in the diadems of the (supplicating) lords of the celestials and of the Asuras:

"In the month of Mēṣha of the (cyclic) year Vikārin, on a Friday with prathamā-lithi
of the first fortnight and Aśvati-nakshatra, while We, in company with Our consorts, were
listening to the songs of Saṭhakōpa, seated on the throne (named) Viravallāṇ under the canopy
(called) Ariyenavallāṇ in the abhishēka-maṇḍapa (of the temple)—

on the representation (made) by Perumāḷtāṇa, who supervises the (sacred) business of
Our temple (nam vēṭu), and by Our Bhattas, We were pleased to assign to a Vaishṇavādāsa
on whom we had bestowed the name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jīyān, the maṭha
which had been set apart for him, the lands belonging thereto, the worship to be conducted
therein and the expenses therefor, the books which he had accumulated and the accessories
required for them (i.e., their maintenance), so that he may propagate Our Rāmānuja-
darśanam, and after him, the disciples selected by him may, in succession, take possession of
these and continue (the work).

We directed that the followers of Rāmānuja (Rāmānujam-uṇṭiyār) and those of our Vaish-
ṇava samayam shall accept him (i.e., his pontificate) and carry on (the work).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper, and We presented him
(in token of Our regard) what had been used (as garlands), what had been worn (as clothes), and what
had been anointed (as unguente) by Us."

As thus graciously commanded (by the god), this is the writing (or signature) of the temple-
accountant Pērarulālapriyaṇ.

The Śaka year in which this sacred order was written (engraved) is One thousand two
hundred and eighty-two.

1 Read -svatantra-Jīyān.
2 Engraved below the line.
No. 35.—KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

BY B. CH. CHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LEGD.), OOTACAMUND.

It was early in the year 1935 that the late Babu Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta, a well-known Jain antiquarian, kindly placed at my disposal a couple of inked estampages of the subjoined inscription for decipherment and publication. He informed me that the inscription appears on a stone pedestal which is in the possession of Babu Bhagwan Das of Silao in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District. This gentleman, I understand, owns a collection of antiquities. He could not tell the exact provenance of the present piece, as the collection had existed in the family from before his time and is apparently not properly enlisted. Considering, however, that Silao is situated between the famous archaeological sites of Nālandā and Rājagriha, it is probable that the find hailed from one of these two places. But, as will be shown below, it is more likely that the piece belonged to Silao itself.

From the estampages supplied by Babu Puran Chand, I could read a considerable part of the epigraph. For its complete decipherment, however, an examination of the original or, at least, a set of better impressions was essential. During the summer of that very year, I had occasion to visit Silao, but unfortunately I then missed Babu Bhagwan Das there. Consequently I had to go disappointed without seeing either his collection or the inscribed pedestal in question.

About two years later, Mr. J. K. Roy, the then Custodian of Nalanda Museum and Monuments, at my request, got a fresh set of impressions prepared, which he kindly sent to me along with his description of the sculptured piece. In December 1939, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna, further obliged me by furnishing me with two photographs of the damaged sculpture and three impressions, on thin paper, of its inscription. The new material enabled me to read the inscription almost entirely.

As may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, the pedestal is elliptical in shape and has, in its centre, a remnant of the kneeling statue, carved in the round, which once surmounted it. The pedestal stands 9" high, and measures 20" at its longest and 14½" at its broadest. The extant portion of the figure shows that it represented a person seated in the attitude that is technically called dhārāsana. The symmetrical lines seen on its right leg suggest folds of the dārā or the lower garment. Further, the pedestal has, at its bottom, a tenon, about 6" long and 4" wide, which shows that the present sculpture was placed on a larger pedestal by the side of some other statue or statues. This is borne out also by the posture of the present image, as judged from its surviving portion. The posture recalls to one's mind certain representations of Garuḍa, Vishnu's vihāra, depicted as offering worship with folded hands or waiting on his master. In the present instance, however, the figure represented, as is disclosed by the inscription, not Garuḍa but Kāśyapa who, as will presently be shown, was a famous disciple of the Buddha. We may thus conclude that the present image, representing Kāśyapa in worshipful attitude, was originally installed next to the statue of his teacher, Gautama Buddha, in a shrine or a sanctuary somewhere near the modern village of Silao.

The pedestal is partitioned into two by an inward curve. The inscription runs along the upper band and consists of three lines, each measuring about 21" in length. It is

---

1 Silao is a railway station on the Bukhtiarpur-Behar Railway section of East Indian Railway.
2 See below p. 331.
slightly weather-worn, especially on the right-hand extremity where a few letters in the first line I have not been able to make out. Again, due to erosion, parts of letters and signs of superscript `ṛṇha` have, at certain places, been rendered obscure. In most cases, however, they can be made out from the moulds on the back of an estampage. The average size of the letters is 3/3.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Kielhorn described this type as “the Magadha variety of the Nāgari alphabet”, while some other scholars more appropriately call it “the Eastern variety of Nāgari”1. The script of the present record bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghośrāwa inscription2 of the time of the Pāla king Dēvapāladēva who reigned from c. A.D. 801 to c. A.D. 840. In view of this consideration, the present inscription, which neither bears a date nor mentions any ruler’s name, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is entirely in verse, all the three stanzas forming but one sentence. The following points are worthy of note in respect of orthography, a consonant followed by a ṛ is very often reduplicated, s is used for ś in yas=cha, l. 2 and gītas=cha, l. 3, and v is used for b in Vauddha, l. 3. The sign of avargha appears twice. Grammatically, the form amit-ardha, l. 1, is wrong. As an adjective of kulē, it ought to be amit-ardhini. Similarly the use of the feminine gender in the word ādi in sāvya saṁhāṭikā-ādir, l. 3, is incorrect. In a compound like the present one, it should ordinarily be treated in the neuter gender. The exact sense of the expression yānti draivādaṁ, l. 2, in the given context is not clear to me, though I have rendered it as ‘one with one another’3. Of lexicographical interest are the terms purasā, l. 2, and saṁhāṭikā, l. 3. The former in all probability is meant to be an equivalent of puraja which is equally of rare occurrence and means ‘gold’. The latter appears here as a synonym of saṁghoṭi or saṁghāṭikā which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and denotes ‘one of the three robes of a monk’ (tri-chīvama)4.

As regards contents, the inscription is virtually a label to the image which once surmounted the pedestal, giving in a compendious form a laudatory account of the deity represented. The deity or the deified personage, as is disclosed by the inscription, was Kāśyapa.

This Kāśyapa is no other than the Buddha’s favourite disciple Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa who is reputed to have convened the First Buddhist Council5 at Rājagriha three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Master. Even during the Buddha’s lifetime Kāśyapa had become a foremost Arhat. It is perhaps on account of his playing such a prominent part in preserving and expounding the Lord’s teachings that he has been accorded such an exalted rank as to be deified. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography he has been confused with a previous Bōda, called Kāśyapa. There he figures as the sixth Mānushi-Buddha of the group of seven.6 There is hardly any Buddhist treatise wherein some

---

1 Compare, for instance, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar’s remarks in Monographs of the Varendra Research Society No. 1 (Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva), p. 2.
4 See below p 334, o. 1.
5 Children, Dictionary of the Pali Language, under the word saṁghāṭi.
6 Jean Przyluski, Le Concile de Rājagriha, pp. 8, 30, etc.; R. C. Majumdar Buddhist Councils in Buddhistic Studies edited by B. C. Law, pp. 26 ff.
7 A. S. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism p. 15; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 10.
account of Kāśyapa may not be met with. We have, however, certain references in literature, which are of great value to us inasmuch as they not only bear out the information imparted by our inscription but also supplement it. It will, therefore, be interesting to cite them here.

The events narrated in the inscription evidently follow the order of their sequence. It may further be observed that each of the nine attributive clauses refers to one distinct happening connected with Kāśyapa’s life. To sum up the whole, Kāśyapa (1) occupied the position of Sūrapati for seven times successively in some of his former births, (2) was born on this earth in a wealthy family, (3)1 i, (4) renounced the world, forsaking his wife Kāpilēyā, (5) showed sympathy with the wretched, so much so that it excited the admiration of the gods, (6) worshipped the Lord with intense piety, (7) received the Lord’s robe at the time of the latter’s nirvāṇa, (8) expounded the Law2 and finally (9) attained nirvāṇa on the mount Gurupāda.

In literature, it is the later Pāli works like various Athākathās that furnish us with a somewhat detailed narrative of Kāśyapa’s3 early life, which may be summarised as follows: “His boyhood’s name was Pippali Māṇavaka”. He was born to a wealthy Brahmaṇa of the Kapila gōtra at the village of Mahātīththa (Mahātīrtha) in Magadhā. From the very beginning he was averse to worldly life. He would look after his parents so long as they lived and afterwards turn a monk. But when he came of age, his parents exhorted him to marry. He refused to do so. However, when his mother persistently remonstrated with him on this point, he devised means by which, he thought, he would have his way and, at the same time, would not incur his mother’s displeasure. He got an image of a young lady of supernatural beauty fashioned of pure gold, bedecked with glittering jewels and daintily clad in red. He presented the image to his mother, declaring that if she were to have a bride of that form, he would fain go in for wedlock. He had fancied that neither would such a paragon of beauty be forthcoming, nor would he marry. Thus, however, did not dishearten his mother. She rather imagined that her son was very fortunate and that he must have done meritorious deeds in his former births, not alone but in company with a lady of golden hue (supāra-varṇā). She, therefore, at once called in a council of eight Brahmaṇas, handed over the gold idol to them and charged them with the duty of finding out a damsel of the requisite beauty to be the bride of her son. The Brahmaṇas mounted the idol on a chariot and set out on their mission. They travelled far and wide until at last they reached the city of Sāgala4 in the Madra ḍēša, where they found a girl who in grace and charm far excelled the gold image, not to speak of resembling

1 Owing to the portion left unread here, it is not clear what event was described in this sentence.
2 This obviously advertises to the occasion of the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rājagrīka, convened and presided over by Kāśyapa.
3 It will be clear from Dr. G. P. Malalasekera’s Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names that the Buddhist literature knows of numerous personages bearing the name Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa. A fairly exhaustive description of the Kāśyapa of our record is given in that work under Mahā Kāśyapa Thera (Vol. II, pp. 476-483), which winds up with the remark that “Mahā Kāśyapa was so called to distinguish him from other Kassapas, and also because he was possessed of great virtues”.
4 Sāgala or Śikala has been identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. See Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 689 f.; N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 173 f.; B. C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 53 f. The country of the Madras lay between the Ravi and the Chinab; see N. L. Dey, op. cit. p. 116.
it. She was Bhadrā Kāpīlāyāni, daughter of an equally well-to-do Brāhmaṇa of the Kanśika gōtra. She shared the propensities of Pippali Māṇavakā, like him not caring for connubial felicity. Finally, however, their marriage was settled in spite of them. They married, but did not lead a married life. An opportunity offered itself and they forsook each other, renounced all and turned ascetics.

"Pippali Māṇavakā, with a single robe on and a bowl in hand, left home in quest of the Buddha. He saw the Lord seated under a bodhi tree called Bahuputrkā somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā. It was there that he received his ordination (upasamipadā) from the Lord. Later on Pippali Māṇavakā, now Kāśyapa, presented his silken saṅghārīṣ to the Master and accepted with alacrity from the latter his coarse and threadbare robe in exchange. So ardent was Kāśyapa's faith that he attained the position of an Arhat only a week after his ordination." 

Āśvaghōṣha has also left us a brief sketch of Kāśyapa. Therein Kāśyapa is said to be Rāj-ādi-gēh-ākhyā-ādēśī which compound Cowell translates as 'an inhabitant of Rājagēha'. We have just learnt from the Aṭṭhakathās that Kāśyapa hailed from a village called Mahāśāṭṭhā in Magadhā. In the light of this information we may explain the above expression more precisely as 'an inhabitant of the country named Rājagēha'. We know that Rājagriha was then the capital of Magadhā. And in the present instance the country is denoted simply by the name of its capital, which practice has not been uncommon. In this way Āśvaghōṣha's statement on the point of Kāśyapa's native land is not at variance with the information contained in the Aṭṭhakathās. Again, according to Āśvaghōṣha's description, Kāśyapa had performed six years' hard penance before he met the Master.

Āśvaghōṣha does not allude to Kāśyapa's marriage with Bhadrā Kāpīlāyāni, which event is, however, confirmed by references in certain stories of the Buddha's former births. Thus in the Asāntamanta Jātaka, the Lord identifies the characters of that story in the following manner: "Kāpīlāni was the mother of those days, Mahā-Kassapa was the father, Ānanda the pupil, and I myself the teacher". Similarly in the Hathipāla Jātaka, the chaplain was Kassapa and his wife was Bhuddakāpīlāni. Again, in the Śama Jātaka, the father was Kassapa and the mother Bhaddakāpīlāni.

---

1 The name Kāpīlāyāni (or Kāpīla or Kāpīḷāya as we shall have it later) is apparently derived from Kāpila, which, as we know from the Aṣṭadharma (P. T. S. edition, p. 583, verse 57), was Bhadrā's father's name. The same source gives her mother's name as Suchimati. A detailed account of her also is found in Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names under Bhadda Kāpīlānī Therti (Vol. II, pp. 354-56).
2 This summary is extracted from an account of Kāśyapa-cūṇhagī, which is given by Mahāpāḍitā Tripatīkāchārya Rāhula Sīkhiṣṭyayana in his Buddhacarita (Hindi), pp. 41 ff., and which in its turn is based upon the following works: Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā 30; Saṁyuta-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, 15, 1, 11; Aṣṭuttara-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā 1. 1. 4.
3 E. B. Cowell's edition of Āśvaghōṣha's Buddhacarita, XVII, 12:
4 Compare such cases as Avanti and Kāṭchi.
5 V. Faull's edition of The Jātaka, No. 61.
It may at once be recognised that Kāpilaśī and Bhaddakāyapīṇī of the Jātakas and the Altakathās, and Kāpilęgī of the present inscription are but variants of one and the same name and refer likewise to one and the same person, namely Kāśyapa’s wife.

It may parenthetically be pointed out that according to the Altakathās it was, as noted above, somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā that Kāśyapa’s first meeting with the Lord took place. That position almost corresponds to the modern village of Silao. May we then suppose that the statue of Kāśyapa was set up there in order to sanctify the spot and thereby to commemorate the first meeting? In that case, the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal under discussion, as has already been hinted, must be Silao.

Now if we compare the above descriptions with the account given in our inscription, we shall find that most of the details do agree. There are, however, certain points which it has not been possible for me to corroborate by literary references. In the first place, Kāśyapa is stated to have acted as Indra for seven terms on end. He must have attained such a distinction as a reward for highly meritorious deeds on his part; but I have not been able to find any mention of this fact in literature. We are told that Gautama Buddha himself was Sakra in twenty of his antecedent births, that there is a Sakra in every chakravāla and that the office of Sakra, which is in fact the sovereignty of the Tavatīmika angels, is held only for a limited period by the same individual. It is said of Kāśyapa that ‘he bestowed his favours only on the poor’, which sentiment is echoed in dīnānādā-nimitta-mana-ab of our inscription, l. 2.

We further learn from the inscription that the Buddha, while entering nirvāṇa, gave away his saṅghāṭī and other things to Kāśyapa. I could not find this event related in any of the Buddhist canonical works. All that we know in this connection is this, as we have noticed above, that the Lord and Kāśyapa exchanged their saṅghāṭis shortly after their first meeting. However, the information from the Chinese sources in this regard is in perfect agreement with the account of our inscription. According to that, Tahtāgata, on the point of attaining nirvāṇa, addressed Kāśyapa and said inter alia: “The golden-tissued Koshāya robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitreya when he has completed the condition of Buddha.”

Finally we come to the nirvāṇa of Kāśyapa himself, which is stated to have taken place on the mountain Gurupāda. Here, too, the Chinese record is in full concord. In the Divyāvadānamalā, the name of the mountain is given as Gurupāda, while elsewhere it is also called Kukkuṭapāda. The identification of this hill has long been a subject of keen controversy among such eminent scholars as Cunningham, Beal and Stein until at last the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought the issue to a successful close by offering a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Cunningham contended that three bare and rugged hills in the vicinity of Kurikhar, 16 miles to the east of Gayā, represent the Kukkuṭapādagiri, taking the name Kurikhar to be a contraction of Kukkura-vihāra or Kukkuṭapāda-vihāra and at the same time, presuming a connection between this last and the Kukkuṭapāda-giri. Beal had his objections to this identification, for, to him

1 See R. C. Chakravarti, Dictionary of the Pali Language under the word SAKKA (Sakra), p. 119.
3 S. Beal, Si-Yu-Ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, 143. The Tibetan version records that Mahākāśyapa ‘changed the garments which enshrouded the Blessed one for others from his store’. W. W. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 144.
6 Beal, op. cit. p. 142; Beal, Travels of Fa-Hian and Sung-Yen, p. 132; H. Kern, Mewan of Indian Buddhism, p. 89; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 191.
the location did not agree with the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Moreover, he has emphatically pointed out that the Kukkuṭārāma or Kukkuṭa-vihāra must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭāpāda-giri. Stein had occasion to visit this part of the country in the winter of 1899, and, with a view to arriving at a definite opinion regarding the identification, he made a thorough survey. After a close examination he came to the conclusion that the Kukkuṭāpāda-giri or Gurūpāda-giri is represented by the Sōbhnāth hill, a part of the Maher hill, in the district of Gayā. Stein’s identification met Beal’s objections to some extent, but was not totally convincing. Finally Banerji investigated the matter further, and conclusively proved that the modern representative of the Gurūpāda-giri is to be found in the Gurūpā hill in the district of Gayā. This identification is warranted not only by the name Gurūpā being phonetically a corrupt form of the Gurūpāda itself, but also because it satisfies all other considerations, as detailed by the author. Nevertheless, some scholars even now, knowingly or unknowingly, adhere to Cunningham’s discarded identification of the Kukkuṭāpāda mountain with Kurkihar.

Judging from the description of the pedestal as well as from the nature of the inscription on it, the statue of Kāśyapa in question must have been of considerable artistic merit, typifying the art of the Pāla period. It is greatly to be regretted that the major portion of the statue itself is not forthcoming. It would have been a unique specimen inasmuch as the known sculptural representations of Kāśyapa are few. In fact, so far as I know, we do not have a single entire piece of this kind. At Bishanpur in the Gayā district, Beglar noticed one image of Kāśyapa. “On a small bas-relief”, so runs his description, “representing a figure seated cross-legged in Buddha fashion is inscribed Ye Dharmān Rāṣṭra Maha Kāśyapa (sic); this statue is clearly therefore one, of the venerable president of the first synod, and is the only one I have seen or heard of, of one of Buddha’s disciples.” The present whereabouts of this statue are not known. Even in 1899, when Stein visited Bishanpur, he found it missing, for he writes: “I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of Mahākāśyapa.” It may in passing be pointed out that plastic representations even of the Kāśyapa Buddha, who, as has been shown above, is sometimes mixed up with the Mahā-Kāśyapa, are equally rare. The Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra has recently acquired an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha, carved in the round, standing on an inscribed pedestal; but the upper half of it is missing. It belongs to the Kushāṇa period. The preserved part, from the girdle downwards, shows it wearing a dhoti, a māghalā and a scarf.

---

2 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 88.
4 With regard to the identification of the Gurūpāda-giri, the reader is also referred to Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 526 ff. and pp. 720 f.; and to N. L. Dey’s Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, under Gurūpā-giri, Kukkuṭāpāda-giri, Gurūpā-Hill, Kurkihar and Sōbhnāth Hill.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 90.
8 The image is fully described and the inscription is edited by Mr. V. S. Agrawala in the Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, December 1937, pp. 38-39 with Plates; and in the Annual Report on the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, for the year ending 31st March 1938, pp. 2, 6, 9, with Plate.
Kasyapa Image Inscription from Silao.

Left side.

Right side.

Scale about one-half.
Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, informs us of the existence of an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha enthroned in a vihāra to the north-west of the Boddhi tree at Boddh-Gayā. “It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light.” There is presumably a reference to this representation of Kāśyapa in the Boddh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāma, wherein homage is paid, in the beginning, first to Śākyamakhandhu (i.e. Gautama Buddha) and then to Mahā-Kāśyapa, assuming that Hiuen Tsiang, too, meant ‘an image of Mahā-Kāśyapa’ when he said ‘an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha’. Among the ruins at Boddh-Gayā, Cunningham has identified the remains of the aforesaid vihāra, while the image is not to be found at all.

There are, however, a good few sculptures which represent the group of seven or eight Mortal Buddhas, wherein the Kāśyapa Buddha figures as the sixth. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta we have a stone pillar from Bharhut, depicting his distinguishing bōdhi tree, which is nayagātha (Ficus Indica).

Here I may gratefully record that to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti I owe some useful references and suggestions, especially with regard to the identity of Kāśyapa.

TEXT:

[Metres: v. I.2 Mandākūnā; v. 3.1oucbhubb.]

1 सिद्धम् ॥[1*] निर्भिक्षेत्रे सुपरितमस्मात बालन् पुरा य: प्रासं मद्धिम् समसति कुले जवा तनामितवः ॥ ॥

2 पुरस्वप्यो गृपपिजवं विनध ॥[110] द्वीनाथनमतमस्मी यवत् नवामिधवा यान्ति हैंवं भगवतिः जिने यसव(च) भक्ता नतोभव्यः ॥ नवीभगतादृधि च सुगत: ख्रे-

3 वास्नानितबादीया यवत् बो(श्रे)प्रवचनविदा वैन गीतस्व(च) धर्मे: ॥[110] निर्वत: समविचित्र देवस मव(व)वामव य: । गुरुपारे गिरी रच्ये: सूत्रयमासति कायम्: ॥[110]
TRANSLATION.

Success!

(V.1) Who had formerly remained the Lord of Gods for seven terms without intermission; who attained birth in a highly noble and immensely prosperous family of mortals; who, being possessed of unbounded speed, ............ the brilliance of gold; who turned a recluse, forsaking (his wife) Kāpilēyā of golden form;

(V.2) Other deities in paying reverence to whom—his heart going out to the distress- ed and the desolate—vie with one another1; and who revered Lord Jīna (the Buddha) with devotion; and further, on whom Sugata (the Buddha), while entering nīrāga, bestowed his saṅkhārikā and the rest; and who, being an exponent of the Buddhist doctrines, expounded the Law;

(V.3) Who, after having assumed his (human) form solely for the sake of (delivering the mortal) beings, entered nīrāga on the charming hill of Gurupāda; the very same Kāśyapa shines forth here.

No. 36.—A BRONZE IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM NALANDA.

By A. Guosh, M.A., Patna.

The following inscription is engraved on the back of a bronze image of Balarāma, excavated in 1917-18 out of the northern verandah of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā. The image is now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number S. 1-442.

The characters of the inscription belong to the eastern variety and may be ascribed to the ninth century A.D.; they have much similarity with those of the Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāla.2 In fact, the inscription may well belong to the reign of the Pāla king Dēvapāla (c. A.D. 815-854), who is mentioned in the text of the inscription. As is common in the inscriptions of this age, the medial ṝ is written both as a superscript oblique line and as a short stroke attached to the left limb of the respective letter. The medial ṝ is denoted by a combination of both these signs. There are some obvious grammatical and orthographical mistakes in the inscription.

The inscription records the dedication of the image at Nālandā in the Dēvapāladēva-kutta, or ‘the mart of Dēvapāladēva’, by Nisīṅgha(ś)kā, the wife (?) of Śāujjāka. There is epigraphic evidence of the existence of other kutās at Nālandā; for example, the inscription on a stone image of Avalokiteśvara, now housed in the modern Śūrya temple at Barājāon near the excavated site of Nālandā, contains a reference to a tula-kutta, the meaning of which is not clear.

1 This rendering may now be accepted as exact. After I had prepared this essay, I chance to read a passage, in a similar context, in Mahā Kassapa’s account given by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera in his Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (Vol. II, p. 481), which has confirmed the above explanation. The passage in question reads: ‘Owing to his great saintliness, even the gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa.”

2 Above, Vol. XVII, p. 316.

3 The inscription, which is still unpublished, seems to read as follows:—śrilaham (expressed by a symbol) śrī-Nālandātalakata dē[la]*ṭharmō yam Śuddhamākē śrī(r). Va-patēnāḥ
The inscription shows that a "haṭṭa was founded at Nalanda by Dévapāla, or, at any rate, was named after him. The connexions of Dévapāla with Nalanda are attested to by other inscriptions as well. Thus, the Nalanda copper-plate referred to above records the munificence of that king in favour of Nalanda at the request of the mahārāja Bālaputradēva of Suvarṇapūra (Sumatra). Further, the Ghosřīwān inscription acquaints us with the fact that Dévapāla appointed a monk named Virādeva to look after Nalanda.

Another word in the inscription worthy of notice is Malapōrasya, occurring at the beginning of the second line; neither its meaning nor its proper position in the syntax is clear. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar word Malapōrasya occurs in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze image found at Kurkhaḷ (District Gajā), also belonging to the reign of Dévapāla. It is tempting no doubt to regard the word as an incorrect derivative of Mallapura, and to take it to mean 'a resident of Mallapura'. But this meaning is hardly possible in the Kurkhaḷ inscription, though it may suit the present record.

**TEXT.**

1 Siddham† śrī-Nalandaśa śrī-Dēvapāladēva-haṭṭe
2 Malapōrasya Śūjīkāsaśa vadā(ḍhūḥ)-Nisīgha(l)-
3 kāya dēva-dharmaśa pratipādītaḥ ॥

---

**No. 37.**—A NOTE ON THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KING VISVESVARA.

**By M. Somasekharā Sarma, Waltair**

In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 164 ff., the Dharmaśiva temple inscription at Pańchadhārala was ably edited by Dr. J. Nobel of the Berlin University. This inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Visvēśvara, who ruled the territory around Pańchadhārala in the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Vinnekoḍa Peddana was his court-poet. He dedicated his Kāryālaṅkāra-chāḍāmāṇī, a poetical work on rhetoric in Telugu, to his patron. Both the date of king Visvēśvara and the date of composition of the Kāryālaṅkāra-chāḍāmāṇī had not been known definitely, so far. The inscription under discussion settles these dates satisfactorily.

The inscription records the construction of a maṇḍapa in the Dharmaśiva temple at Pańchadhārāpurī in Śaka 1329 (Śakādēśa Nava-Bhānu-Bāma-Śāri-saṅkhyaśa) or A.D. 1407,

† Maitra, Gaudālikhāmālī, p. 45.

This image, along with the other antiquities found at Kurkhar, is now in the Patna Museum. The full meaning of the inscription is not clear, but the relevant portion may be quoted here:—śrī-Dēvapāladēva-rājaś samvat 19 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . malla-chhandaśakam Malapōrasya pratipādītab.

† Malapura or Mallapura is given in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, Vol. V, pp. 602-3, as a place-name.

Cf. Malla, the name of a well-known tribe.

† Expressed by a symbol.

† Is the word to be corrected to Śuṣṭyajīkāsa? [The reading seems to be Śuṣṭyajīkāsa.—B C C.]

† Read Nisīgha(l)-kāya dēva-dharmaśa pratipādītaḥ.
by king Viśvēvara. As has been pointed out by the editor, there is a covert allusion to the date of a battle fought by Viśvēvara in the text of the inscription, in the verse quoted below:

Gati-bāhu-sakti-bhū-mitūn-api gāṇayat-Sarvasiddhi(ddhi)-patha-bhagam ||
sati Chitrabhānu-sākshiṃ Dharanīvarāhād-ādā(dhā)vad-Andhra(dhra)-balam ||

Dr. Nobel discloses the pun contained in the verse and brings to light the historical fact, namely, that king Viśvēvara defeated the Andhra army, near Sarvasiddhi, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, represented by the Śaka year gati (5), bāhu (2), sakti (3), and bhū (1), i.e., 1325.

An exact Telugu rendering of the above verse is found in canto vii of the Telugu work Kāvya-śāhūrā-chudāmaṇī, without, in any way, spoiling the sīlēsha. It is as follows:

Chatur-upāya-bāhu-sakti-kshamāvali bāraviḍḍicī Chitrabhānu sākshiṃ bāre Sarvasiddhi-padam-ḍī Dharanīvarāhamunakun-ḍī Rācha-kadupu ||

For the expressions gati and bhū in the Sanskrit verse the words chatur-upāya and kshamā were used respectively in Telugu. These are the only differences that could be found between the Sanskrit verse and the corresponding Telugu verse. The occurrence in Kāvya-śāhūrā-chudāmaṇī, of a faithful rendering of the verse occurring in the inscription, leads us to surmise that the composer of the Paṇchadhārāla inscription might be Vinnakōṭa Peddana. He would not have incorporated in his work the exact Telugu version of the Sanskrit verse, if he were not the composer of the inscription as well. Hence, it may be concluded that the author of the Paṇchadhārāla inscription could be no other than Peddana, the court-poet of king Viśvēvara.

The editor of the inscription deserves great praise for discovering the real import of the verse wān many Telugu pandits and Sanskrit scholars who printed and edited the Kāvya-śāhūrā-chudāmaṇī were not able to disclose this fact, just because their outlook was more literary than historical. When, however, the verse in the Kāvya-śāhūrā-chudāmaṇī and the corresponding verse of the Paṇchadhārāla inscription are closely examined, we find that there is a small discrepancy in the date of the battle. arrived at by the editor of the inscription. He has taken gati to represent the numeral ‘five’. But, that its value is ‘four’, is now ascertained by the Telugu verse, wherein the term chatur-upāya denoting the number ‘four’ was expressly used in the place of gati of the Sanskrit verse. Hence, the date given by Dr. Nobel should be corrected to Śaka 1324.

Sanākhyaśāhūrāmaprakāśikā written by the erudite scholar, Kanuparti Venkatārāma Śri Vidyānandana, assigns the value ‘four’ to the term gati and enumerates four gatis, namely Tīkṣa-gati, Manuṣhya-gati, Jantu-gati and Naraka-gati.

The value given to gati even in epigraphical literature is four as is evidenced by an inscription from Simhachalam, Vizagapatam District. The date of this inscription is given in the Telugu portion as Śaka-varshaḥ-bulu 1294 and in the Sanskrit portion as ‘Śākābdē gati-randhra-Bhānu-gaṇitē’ etc. Another inscription in Telugu from Yenamadala (Guntur District) which gives the date in chronogram ‘guḍa-bāṇa-gati-chandra’ in verse and in figures in prose, equates gati with four. Thus, we find that gati represents four.

The existence in the Kāvya-śāhūrā-chudāmaṇī of the Telugu version of the verse mentioned above proves, beyond doubt, that this work had been composed after Śaka 1324, the date of the battle referred to therein.

* S. 1. 1., Vol. VI, No. 742.
* S. 1 1., Vol. IV, No. 936,
INDEX

By

H. K. Narasimhaswami, B.Sc.

[The figures refer to pages; a. after a figure to footnotes and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: — ca. = capital; ch. = chief; Chron. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; dt. = district; div. = division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; Hist. = Historical; k. = king; l. = locality; l. m. = linear measure or land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = officer or officials; pr. = prince; q. = queen; rel. = religious; r. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; t. d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tn. = town; tj. = taluq; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work.]

A

a, initialware, 282
Abdur Razak, Persian envoy, 189, 190
Abhinavaswadatamala, uk., 174, 184
Abhinamara, name of a throne, 253a
Abhinas or Abhira, tribe, 203
Abhira, dy., 293
Abhona plates of Shantarakshita, 228a
Abhayastara-siddhi, 30
Achala, vi., 51f.
Acharya-jiya s. a. Acharya, 35
Acharya, teacher, 32
Acharya, off., 40
Acharya-vat-arajha, Vaishnavite, uk., 322

and a.

Achankitirukkai, vi., 71, 118, 129, 131
Achankitirukkai Tirumalirunjolai, Malangudi, vi., 192
Achankitirukkai-Milaganur alias Rijendra-
Janagallur, vi., 110, 113, 123, 124
Achankitirukkai-Kuvalaiyedhi, vi., 112, 124
Achankitirukkai-Tirumalirunjolai-Malangudi,
vi., 113, 124
Achchupram, vi., 304, 307, 309
Achchuvayal, vi., 136
Achchuvaya plates of Indravarman (year
37), 194, 195, 196, 283a.
Adaga, vi., 200, 208, 211, 213, 222, 224
Adalaiyur-nadu, co., 86, 99
Adivanci, vi., 94
Adangarimangalam, vi., 94
Adanur, vi., 95
Adivarjendra, Chola, 75, 248, 250, 252, 253
Adikristi, off., 253, 254, 255
Adh-Changalavara, Sahaja devotee, 320
Adivaram, off., 98, 99, 98, 99, 109, 111, 124
Aditya, sun, 176
Aditya 1, Chola, 98, 95a.

Aditya-Bhatta, donee, 39
Adityabhattachar, donee, 216
Aditya II, Karikala, Chola, 35, 36 and n.
Adityamurti, god, s. a. Siva, 179
Adityan Sondapiran-Bhattan, m., 109
Adityan Bhaskara-Bhattan, m., 102, 113, 124
Adityavarman, Sinda ch., 165, 166, 167, 169
Adityavarman, Chola, 260
Aditya, vi., 89, 101, 108, 123, 122, 111
Ach Jeyar, m., 102, 113, 125
Achpar, vi., 147, 158, 172
Achpar copper-plate of Narasimhabha-
deva, 147, 148
Achpar copper-plate of Darjayabha-
deva, 148, 172
Achpar Pargana, dt., 158
Adi-Varaha, god, the boar-incarnation of
Vasnu, 239, 241
Adin-Sathukopa-Jayar, Vasivatu postif,
s. a. Srinivasa, 92
Adrisuthilha, girt, s. a. Siva, 292
Atukkiliippuvam, gift for offerings, 134
Adumbar, vi., 924
Adivi, vi., 928
Agalanga, vi., 233, 235, 238
Agata, s. a., 11, 317
Agas, star, s. a. the Canopus, 317 s. a. a.
ajuru, 74
Agni, rite, 200 and 215
Agnivesh, donee, 232, 247
Agnitirtha, thirtha, 15
Agrasayamahayana or Vajrayana, school of
Buddhism, 34
Ahamahara, 77, 288
Ahankara, author, 181a.
Ahavamalla, W. Chulikya, 244a, 262
Ahavamalla (Similevara I), W. Chulikya, 218, 218
Ahavamalla (Similevara II), W. Chulikya, 238
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaṣamallaṇa-Valabha, Chāsa, tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaṣamallana-sammanāśana, kātra, tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aihche, at., vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākāśāka, son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhāṭaka, Śrīśinganātha, Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnaṅga-Kāthaka-yājñīvar, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhāra-bala-maṭha, rel. institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhāra-balanāhikāyana, s. a. Śrīsiṅgahāpuraya, Telugu ud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahoja inscription,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭa-Āṭabī, Hāṭ. Chauri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airavata, śhriha, Inūri's maṇḍapam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayapadeva, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ājātaśatru, epic hero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ājyavindha, Mahākumāra, Kālēchurī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āj mapa, offic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ājūd, elder sister,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅkūr, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satkāntākāntākāntā, offic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅkāmbikā, f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagumudaiya, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagumurumaiya, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagappanmāl, sānchayana ir, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagappanmāl, Pilaiga, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagpuri, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyadēva, Bhaṭṭa, alias Pālarvāyana, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānīyaka, Bhaṭṭa, alias Pālarvāyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammadēvā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya, Brahmādhikārya, ch., s.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya, offic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya sānānūliṛ, vi., s.a. Āyyākuṭi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya sānānūliṛ, vi., s.a. Vēḷūr,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānpūrīya sānānūliṛ, offic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānīyalla, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānīyalla, Vilupparaiyan, m., s.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayan Varagunadēvan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānīyalla, Rhetorical ud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alagiyānīyalla, śhriha ud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥ phpunān-dūnūmīya, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alātēr, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala-ad-din, Sultan of Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alḥadēvā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āḷḷāra, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al. r. r., author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all. ānā, poet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāda-Bhaṭṭa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allālanātha, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāḥibād pillar inscription of Samudragupta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allānathadeva, god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāsakti, śhriha, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allavanātha, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allīgūṭa, pond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allīgūṭa, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpīhābets—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grahīta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiranthi and Tamil mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannarese and Telugu, archaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarī and Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taśā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu, ancient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu-Kaunjuva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vattuttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alīṭa-pāminja, a field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭrā Upiḥyāyāra, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭvār Śivavīra, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anūvāt, śhriha, Myrobalan, tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmara or Anāmalā, Yēvōk k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarnāḷur, vi., s.a. Ākūtli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrashbukā ṣhriha, Pādya, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrāṭī (or ṣhākki) ṣhriha, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amara, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrāṭī-a, śhritīlītikā, lexic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarpīra, s. a. Amara, (the city of godā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrāṭī, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrāṭī Bāllīvi's sculpture inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrēvāra, god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amūta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amīta, s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambevā, Kāyastha ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambevā, (s. a. Ambesamāpā, Kāyastha ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambādeva (II), Kāyastha ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambādeva, offic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambakattān-embal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambalattādi-chaturvēdīmangalam, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambār-Nāṭha, god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambār-Nāṭha temple inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambēsamādram, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambētōtha, līṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambeyāppalikā, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambēyādeva, Kāyastha ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambē-Avangaṇa, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambegaon, vi. a, Ambē-Avangaṇa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambē inscription,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīra, tree,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amma, k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amma (1), E. Chālukya k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amma II, E. Chālukya k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arāmā, uncle,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammanā, Yādava k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṃmeyapallikā, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghavarsha, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amrāraji, d. a.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjai-Kāṭṭūr, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankukudi, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annivāraya, &amp;c.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anakadēvi (Anakadēvi, Bhāja p.),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantāl, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antānda, (the Buddha),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antānda, Boddhaśa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annapurna, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantabhātta, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantapuruṣa, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ananta-Saktivarman, K. Gugka k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantaśayin, god,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantavarman, Mahābhir, feud, d.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantavarman, Kalūgka k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana-Vēma, Reddi k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana-Vēta, Reddi k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anubhī plates of Sundara Chōla,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anubhī-sūtra, t. a.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antākāryā, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antānti, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antānūr-Sūpāmbār, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anirūs, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anura, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anura-mahābharatana, Trilokya Ṛk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurā-samad-dhinnacara, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurā-patha, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuv, t.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvanajakku, t.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anēka-Akāruddiya-rajagot-śopa-samara-vimāna-labhā-vijayu, ep.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anārakamalakalum, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjukutakara-Vikrama Atthakathā, Buddhāśa, ud.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anukukka, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranerī, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśamaya, god,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arījkūṭtai, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anukuti alavas Amanallār, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anusvāra, a, en,blam on seal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna, Reddi k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anna-baili, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annārāma, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annās or annar, elder brother,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annayā, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annayikāra, ch.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annama Reddi, Reddi pr., τ. a. Anna,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annanāmbi, Reddi p.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annarāya, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annavāsa, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annavēlam, τ., s. a. Druvajālam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annāvēmālam, τ., s. a. Druvaśīlam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annivēlam, τ., s. a. Kōdū,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annivēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēla, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēla, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēla, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurāja-pata, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antēśa, a, Buddhāśa, s. p. τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anūrājā-sāhāri plates of Karka II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annayēmati, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anu, prasve,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurājā-pata, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, represented ornamentally,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. used in place of the nasal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. used for the class nasal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. substituted by the class nasal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. used in place of nasal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. represented by the guttural n.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. use of guttural nasal in place of,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. used in place of final m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. added before final n.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. n. used for—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuvēlam, τ.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Appan Ārumuliyelam, m., s. a. Śemhāsān-Vilūya-
<p>| pataian, | 101, 112, 128 |
| Appan Śārayēvam, m., | 101, 112, 128 |
| Appar, Śiva sant, | 94 and n. |
| appāi-vār, great-grand-father, | 38 |
| Appārāya, m., | 141, 142, 144 |
| Appārāya, m., | 325 n. |
| Appārāya, m., | 169 |
| Arūra (Tajikā), | 227 |
| Arūrakulam, τ., | 104, 108, 127 |
| Arūrakulam, τ., Arayaśirjam, τ., | 71, 12, 124 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Aruśıkalam, vi.</th>
<th>.</th>
<th>.</th>
<th>99, 111, 124</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Arulikapperumal, god,</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arulmo-li-Rājendrarāman alias Jananatha</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>254, 264, 266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣupparanyan, off.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arçuppaḍa, a divine mandate</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>104, 108, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arvarai-Pudukkulam, vi.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āryaśāṅkarta, co.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asabhā (Rishabhā), name</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asatamanta Jātaka, Buddha’s birth story</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. S. B. plate of Vināyakapāla,</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>52 f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>askhamangalam objects,</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>243 and 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārīgadh seals of the Mahākārī</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśrama, order of life</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṣvaghoṣa, author</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>330 and 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣvamāda, horse sacrifice</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>22, 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭapati, tit.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭapati-gajapati-narapatī rājuraśikhipati,</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit. of Kalachuri Trailokyamalla,</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣvatavatūr, vi.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśvinīdā year</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atabh, min.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahūtī, rī.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atri, myth. ancestor of the Pāṇḍyas</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atri, sva.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>107, 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṭṭhakathā, Pāli sva.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>329, 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attirāla, vi.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭṭur, vr.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aupaśya, ad speech</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhirākṣa-asūrī</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aupaśraka, denoted by a sign</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>8, 328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avasākṣiṣa, f. character in Mānismādaka</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avasākṣēṭvara, a form of Buddha</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avasājātāraya, tit. of Pālaṭići</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avasāśāmula laṭayāl, Pāṇḍya q.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>108, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avasāraṇāraya-chaṭṭuṭvedināmgalam, vi.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anavipākagama-chaṭṭuṭvedināmgalam, vi.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āruṇākṣa, kṣetra, sā.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>183, 185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aśvapati, f. Buddhist teacher</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārya-bhāsa, m.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārya-bhāṣa, father</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, not distinguished from a</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>147, 309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b and v, indicated by separate signs</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, denoted by the sign for v</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>279, 282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b, sign of—, as an independent letter</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bābhagisvārī, vr.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badakhmedi Copper-plates of Indravarman</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badarikā-vāsaka, l.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>26, 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Bāgadage, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Bāgalkūt, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Bagumā, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 n.</td>
<td>Bagumā grant of Nikumbhballa-aski Sēndraka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Bānūr plates.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>Bānusahāya, ep.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Bahupatruka, bothi tree under which the Bud- dha was seated.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Bala, Biksu—Buddhist monk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167 n.</td>
<td>Balagāmye inscription of the time of Vinayā- ditya.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231, 254, 238</td>
<td>Baladēvā, myth. hero.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279, 291, 298</td>
<td>Baladhikrīṣṭa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Balarama, myth. hero.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Bālāputradēva, k. of Suvarnadēva.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 and n. 145</td>
<td>Bālāsarasvatī, court poet and composer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Bālāsana, Sultan of Delhi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228, 230</td>
<td>Balligrama, ri., s.s. Belgaum-Taralha.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 198, 294</td>
<td>Balli, rite.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Balla ra, king of kings.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ballāla or Vira-Ballāla II, Hreyīsta k.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202, 209, 220</td>
<td>Ballṣar, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148, 153 n.</td>
<td>Bānāhi, author.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Banvāi, kingdom.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Banvāsi-twelve-thousand, dī.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, 41</td>
<td>Bardāravijaya, off.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Bappā-bhùṭṭāraka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, 46, 47</td>
<td>Barābar-Nāgārjuni cary inscriptions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>Baradakāra, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Barani, Mahānandadeva historian.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207, 208 n.</td>
<td>Barson, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278, 334</td>
<td>Bārīpadī, tn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 153, 138</td>
<td>Baroda plates of Suvarnavasahra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Barśarambha, Telugu ek.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174, 194 and n.</td>
<td>Basab seal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198 n.</td>
<td>Bastar state.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Battan alavī Pasuparṣajaināsajīkāvya, off.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112, 124</td>
<td>Bavdhā, viḍāra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Bavula, off.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Bavula plakṣas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Bellary, dī.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Benares, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310 n.</td>
<td>Bengal Asiatic Society Plates of Gāvinda.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chandrā, r.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Bennur grant.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300, 301</td>
<td>Berwade, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Ḡa, identical with Ḡ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 and n.</td>
<td>Bhārā Pillar Edict of Abōka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Bhadanta or Bhadamūya, ep. of s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Buddhist monk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>Bhadrā, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Bhadrā Kāpilāyula, f., Buddhist ascetic.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, 52</td>
<td>Bhadrēśvarakara, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Bhagatrā, myth. k.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257, 294</td>
<td>Bhagatrāthi, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Bhagadēvī or Bhagamūya, et. of s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Buddhist ascetic, poutifical list.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>Bhāilaaśvāmin, god.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Bhairavamati, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202, 203 and n., 209, 220</td>
<td>Bhāmbhāgiri, hill.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203 and n.</td>
<td>Bhāmbhāgiri, ri., identified with Bhāmbhā- giri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Bhāmēra, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Bhāndāk, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 26</td>
<td>Bhāndāk plates of Kṛishna-rāja.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207, 208 n.</td>
<td>Bhāndāk inscription of Nanadēva.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Bhajārā, ri.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 n.</td>
<td>Bhānāplās plates.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Bhaṣaja, dy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195, 196, 198</td>
<td>Bhaṅguneptaprajā, s.v.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 f.</td>
<td>Bhaṅmāsakti, Sēndraka ch.,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167 and n.</td>
<td>Bhaṅnusūrī, m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208, 212, 223</td>
<td>Bharata, epic hero.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257, 291</td>
<td>Bhaṭāra, epic.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231, 234, 237</td>
<td>Bharataśvāmin, scribe.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227, 233, 235</td>
<td>Bhārati, goddess.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Bhārgava, s.a. Parasurāma, myth, hero.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271, 277</td>
<td>Bharukachchha (Bhoočha), k.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Bhāskara, sun god.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Bhāskarakhatta, author.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Bhāskarabhāmata, m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216, 217</td>
<td>Bhāskarāchārīya, author.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221 n.</td>
<td>Bhāskaraśekhētra, l., s.a. Hampi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183, 190, 194</td>
<td>Bhāskarāya, m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 134</td>
<td>Bhatta.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>bhatta-grāma.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158 n., 199</td>
<td>Bhāṭṭāra, m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Bhāṭṭāra, s.v.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152, 162</td>
<td>Bhāvāvatā, god, s.a. Sīvā.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>Bhāvabhuṭṭi, author.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Bhāvavātī, teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83, 184</td>
<td>Bhāvavātī, teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133, 184, 185</td>
<td>Bhāvavāṭī, teacher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days, lunar: —</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bright fortnight: —</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st,</td>
<td>319, 325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd,</td>
<td>322</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd,</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th,</td>
<td>250 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th, δασαμι</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th,</td>
<td>125, 201, 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th,</td>
<td>7, 81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th, τραγόδιας</td>
<td>26, 30, 31, 81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th, χατυρδας</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th, (fullmoon), 44, 46, 47, 54, 60, 188, 193, 289, 291, 304</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark fortnight: —</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th,</td>
<td>81, 82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th,</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th, καμακαπτι-τίτλος</td>
<td>66, 107, 121, 296</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th,</td>
<td>171, 184, 185</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amanasa (new moon), 138, 143, 146, 165, 170, 271, 277</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Days of the week: —</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday,</td>
<td>36 n., 66, 81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday,</td>
<td>81, 115, 188, 189, 193</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday,</td>
<td>54 and n., 60 and n., 82, 137, 138, 143, 146, 271, 277, 278, 310</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday,</td>
<td>81, 138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday,</td>
<td>81, 200 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday,</td>
<td>54, 81, 302, 313, 325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday,</td>
<td>81, 82, 125, 188, 189, 201, 211, 222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkivāra,</td>
<td>67, 107, 121</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravivāra,</td>
<td>3 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śanivāra,</td>
<td>114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sura-guru-divasa,</td>
<td>139 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saumayavāra,</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōmahāra,</td>
<td>2, 26, 23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayāmukha, ch.,</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayāmukhamāngalam, vi.,</td>
<td>75, 76, 77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayanālai Uyyavandān, m., s. a. Chediyārāyan,</td>
<td>101, 112, 124</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dayāntil Arīyān olas Arundavaś Viṣṇuparaiyaṇ, m., | 116, 127 |

Dayāntil Mānavīran, m., | 116, 127 |

Dhāvahā, m., | 173 |

Deśayya, commentator, | 184 |

Dējala(kōṭṭai, vi., | 70 |

Dēkambhātta, m., | 216 |

Delang, vi., s. a. Ollanga, | 173 |

Dēnāmbikā, Vījayaṅaṅga q., | 188, 193 |

Dēnāngulam, vi., | 196 |

Dēsāsthā, sect, | 229 |

Dēkkattam olas Vīkramasālajurum (Vikrama-māngalam), vi., | 97 |

Dēkkayandappatātam (Sundara), vi., s. a. Sundarāṣṭrajurum, | 95 |

Dēravahā, name, | 32 n. |
Dharmātmaja, myth. k. 143, 146
Dharmāravas, god. 17
Dharmottaraya, Buddhist sect. 33
Dharāpāndra, serpent k. 166
Dharāntara, poet. 315, 318
Dharapīṭha, vi. 139
Dhārasena IV, k. of Valabhī. 292
Dharmasiri, Buddhist name. 32 n.
Dhāravaghaūra, kamlet. 200, 212, 215, 222, 224
Dhārāwār, dī. 166
Dhavala-pāṭha plates. 283
Dhūṭada grant of the Chālukya Jayasimha-varman. 228
Dhṛṣṭasaṅga, ci. 6
Dhūvahatta, ci. s. a. modern Dhurūti. 5
Dhūvāṭa, ci. 3
Dhūvya, Rāṣṭrapāla k. 28
Dhūlī, tu. 164
Dhūlīya plates of Karkarāja. 270
Dhūmrākṣa, god. 17
Dhūmṛśvara or Dhūmrākṣa, god. 11
Dhureti, vi. 1
Dvā (?!mūvahattha, m. 215
Dīganāgī (Dīnagā), Buddhist nun. 32 n.
Dīghbāhii, Bhānī, k. 149, 150, 151, 152
Dīghiyā, Aguhōṭi, m. 55, 61
Dīpa Nikīya, Buddhist uk. 285 and n.
Dīlka, myth. k. 257
Dīlka-Dubaul plate of Mahēndrapāla. 52
Dīpaṃkara, uk. 31, 32
Dīrghaśaṃkal, uk. 331
Dīrghaśaṃkali-sūti, Vaishnava hymns. 322 and n.
Dīotchaya, m. 278
Dōjjā, Rējī, k. 140
Dōjjāśāhārya, author. 321 n.
Dohād stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha). 207 n.
dog, rākṣa of god Khandāja. 229
Drākshārāma, l. 245 n.
drama, coin. 3 n., 62
Dṛṣṭivīśa, myth. k. of the Nāgas. 163, 169
Dṛṣṭa, teacher. 54, 57
drum, auspicious object. 243 n.
Drujjavaram grant of Anā-Vēma. 140
Drujjavaram aitās Anna-Vēnapurā, uk. 140
Durgāghāvāna, vi. 218, 225
Dṛuhōṇa, s. a. Brahma. 271
Dāde, family name. 201
Durgāya-upāsanī, m. 55
Durgā, goddess. 235
Durgā or Durgasimha, commentator. 211, 222
and n.
Durgabhata, off. 296
Durgakahādīn or Durgakahādika, Bhājapu-
tra —, done. 240

E

ē, 25
ē, medial. 334
Eastern Ganga, dy. 240
Eclipsees: —

lunar 54, 60
solar 35, 37, 137, 138, 143, 146, 165, 170, 271, 278, 310

Edirililēppārayan-emul, vi. 105, 110, 123
Ekkanta, god, s. a. Gajāsī. 192
Ekkatū-saṃśāvatāmāl, m. 75
Elamachili (Yellama-chili), uk. 239
Elamachili-Kalāndedēa, co. 239
Elupēra, ci. s. a. modern Ellōrā. 25, 26, 29 and n. 30
Ela-śrēśthī, m. 237
Elanāhāṇā, vi. 297
elephant-god, auspicious object. 243 n.
Elhadēva, m. 212, 223
Elōhōdēbe, m. 217
Elliot Collection of Telugu Inscriptions, ms. uk. 138, 139 n.
Ellōrā, ci. s. a. ancient Ellupēra. 25, 29
Ellōra plates of Dantidurgā. 25
Ellōre Frākrit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvarman. 42,
43, 44 and n.
eļu-kadal, i.e. The seven oceans. 107, 123
eļu-polī, i.e. The seven gardens. 107, 122
Embal āitās Kaliyugaratamallā, vi. 92
Embrumāṇār, Vaishnava pontiff. 323 n.
Engalēyān, Vaishnava pontiff. 323 n.
Enāṅgālūr, vi. 92, 93
Enara, hill. 55, 62 and n.
Esattū, vi. 106, 110, 123
Esıttu-Vellāri, vi. 89 and n.
es-pirī, i.e. The eight mountains. 107, 122
Eśāyiram, vi. 323 n.
Eru: —

Chēdi. 4
Gāngā. 153, 195, 196, 282
Gupta. 60, 62
Harsha. 163
Hijri. 207, 208
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Kalachuri</th>
<th>2, 9, 223, 229, 310</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>34, 336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saka</td>
<td>24, 26, 62, 51 n., 60, 137, 143, 148, 155, 165 and n., 167, 170, 188, 190, 291, 211, 228, 229, 241, 263, 265, 289, 291, 304, 302, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erumburage (Yelburga), r.</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fran Periyân, m., s. a. Pândiyan Pallavasâiyan,</td>
<td>103, 113, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erraya-prega, poet, s. a. Errâ-prega,</td>
<td>138, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Errasyâra, m.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erôpâta-bhatta, m.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erihchâvûdaîyîr, god</td>
<td>35, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eruva-Mallidêva, ch.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eruva-Manumilidêva, Telugâ-Chôla ch.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Êrî-mudaf, off.</td>
<td>39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evvi or Vêl-Evvi, Vêl ch.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eyilî, r.</td>
<td>105, 166, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eyür-kôttam, t.d.</td>
<td>253, 263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fa-Hien, Chinese traveller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faridpur plates of Dharmâditya</td>
<td>51 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faridpur plates of Gopachandara</td>
<td>51 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firishta, Muhammadan historian</td>
<td>207, 208 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fish, pair of —, Pûnda emblem</td>
<td>122, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fish, pair of —, auspicious symbol</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fish, emblem on seal</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fly-whisk (châmara), emblem on seal</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fly-whisk, auspicious object</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flag, auspicious object</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>g, with and without loop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaâ, f. Buddhâst nun</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaâ (Gaôôî), name</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôdhaara, author</td>
<td>184 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôlâm, r.</td>
<td>302 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôlôbhêta, donci</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôpati or Gaôôpatîn, a householder</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôô-Laksâmî, goddess</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôpati, r.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaôôvâdäi (s. a. Bezwada), r.</td>
<td>307, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândîvîn, ep. of Arjuna</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândîvîn, m.</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândhâbara, m.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândhâbara, com.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândhâbarbhatta, m.</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândhâkarûrî, m.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gândhâvarî, k.</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneg, Thâkûr —, m.</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneg-gârî, m.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gâne, republic</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđa, ep.</td>
<td>148, 154, 155, 158, 157, 160, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđa-dânângîka or Gâneđa-dânâpûla,</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđapati, Kûkârîyî, k.</td>
<td>202 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđapati, god</td>
<td>2, 40, 41, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđapatîhâta, donci</td>
<td>216, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđarîditya, Chôla k.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđarîditya-chaturvâdimangalam, r.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđaragauda, ep.</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđapendâra, Kûnâmchara r.</td>
<td>271, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđhadhrayn, rel. teacher</td>
<td>183, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđrûvâti, r., s. c. Kandârâvâji</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđa, god</td>
<td>53, 55, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđ, emblem of —</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđ, r.</td>
<td>200, 218, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđ, r., identical with Gôôdârî</td>
<td>208 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđa, dy.</td>
<td>195, 268, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđikopûdâ-Chôla, Chôla k.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđikopûdî, r.</td>
<td>307, 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđikopûdîsalapuram, ca.</td>
<td>254, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđhadhrâmîsta, m.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđâmala-kula-pratisîkhî, E. Gâneđa ep.</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđa-mangalam-âna Nigarîshôla-mangalam, t.d.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđapädi, ca.</td>
<td>247, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđpurî (Gâneđikopûdîsalapuram), ca.</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđvâram, r.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđvâti, ca.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđgâyâ-Sâhîpi, Kâyastha ch.</td>
<td>271, 272 and n., 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđgâyâ-Sâhîni, s. a. Gâneđgâyâ Sâhîti, Kâyastha ch.</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđjâm plates of Dharmarâja</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđjâm plates of Prithîvitvarma</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gantapara, r.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđjakatî-mangala, dâ.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâneđjakatî-mangala, dâ.</td>
<td>47, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geldria, Dutch fort</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garrah plates</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garuđa, emblem on seal</td>
<td>25, 33, 199 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garuđa, father</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garuđa, râhuva of Vînhau</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gau, gau, s. a. grâma</td>
<td>222 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaujô, ca.</td>
<td>50, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gauôl-khamîlî, wâ.</td>
<td>335 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gaurî, Vijâyâinarâî q.</td>
<td>188, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gautama Buddhâ</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gautami (Gôôdârî), rî.</td>
<td>29 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gautami, rî.</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gautami-mûkâmînya, wâ.</td>
<td>29 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâyî, thîkî</td>
<td>310, 313, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gâyî plate of Samudragupta</td>
<td>60, 51 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayakara, Kalachuri k., 310, 312, 316</td>
<td>Kārya, 142, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāyatrībhatta, m., 217</td>
<td>Kāpi, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanī, s. a. Penugouda, l, 188, 190, 193</td>
<td>Kapila, 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaḍḍīkāta, ca. and kill-boat, 272, 276</td>
<td>Kāśyapa, 135, 136, 141, 142, 144.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaḍḍīkāta, god, te. of —, 8, 15</td>
<td>200, 215, 217, 289, 291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaḍḍīkātasam-Āmūl, Vaiśnava disciple, 322</td>
<td>Kāśyapa-kānya, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and n.</td>
<td>Kāśyapa-Madhayandina, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaṭotkacha, Gupta k., 82</td>
<td>Kaṇḍinya, 141, 144, 165, 170, 201, 217, 279</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghayuvanta, s. a. Vappuvanna, 54 n.</td>
<td>and n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gñōśaśā inscription of the time of Dvāra-</td>
<td>Kanika, 5, 61, 142, 144, 163, 200, 216, 330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāladeva, 328</td>
<td>Lōkāksha, 55, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gṛhāśāvara, god, s. a. Gṛhāśāvara, 29 and n.</td>
<td>Lōhitā, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gṛhāśāvara, measure, 226</td>
<td>Maśīrīya, 142, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gritūtā, name, 32 n.</td>
<td>Mānava, 21, 22, 230, 234, 236, 290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīra, 29</td>
<td>Mautigala, 44, 46, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōa with Satyārāya Dhruvarāja, 207</td>
<td>Maunya or Mauna, 311 and n., 315, 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōdāvari plates of Prithviśūla, 196, n., 282, 283</td>
<td>Naihḍrava, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōdāvari, ri, 11, 199, 208, 285</td>
<td>Pitūmāraha, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goggrurā, oṣākāra k., 54, 57</td>
<td>Rathīrāja, 143, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōhan Thādi, ni, 209</td>
<td>Śaṇḍyla, 55, 61, 142, 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkak plates of Dejja-Mahārajā, 282</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa, 138, 141, 144, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkapavān, god, 197</td>
<td>Upamanyu, 55, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkāra, tirtha, 310, 313, 317</td>
<td>Vaidhyasvā, 201, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōkalavina, hamlet, 200, 209, 212, 215, 222, 224</td>
<td>Vasīkha, 142, 144, 163, 200, 212, 216, 217, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōllana, Thakur —, m. 3, 6</td>
<td>Vatas, 3, 6, 55, 61, 148.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōmata, Thākura Sri, dōnes, 173</td>
<td>156 and n., 201, 217, 240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōmma, k., 54, 57</td>
<td>Vishnuvardhana, 142, 144, 201, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōnka-bedij, ch, 276</td>
<td>Vishnuvardha, 200, 216, 282, 287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōpachandra, Gupta k., 51 n.</td>
<td>Vishnuvardha-Āṅgirasa, 201, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōpāla-bhatta, m., 142, 144, 217</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra, 21, 24, 201, 216, 310, 313, 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōpānipati, k. of cowherds, 211, 222</td>
<td>Gōparāshtra, t. d., 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōparāshtra, t. d., 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234</td>
<td>Gōparvārasanibhakadamba, uk, 311 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōpavāmin, off, 50</td>
<td>Gōvinda III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k., 54, n., 167, 267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōndapuri, dm, 158</td>
<td>Gōrundabhatta, m., 215, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotamī, Buddhist name, 32 n.</td>
<td>Gōvindachandira, Gāhādeva k., 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōtras —</td>
<td>Gōvindanāyaka, dōnes, 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāsanta, 201, 216</td>
<td>Gōvindan Tirunlakaptha-Bhāṭṭan, m, 100, 112, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭrēya, 55, 61, 201, 217, 242, 253, 263, 265</td>
<td>Gōvindanāyaka k., 102, 113, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṭrēya, First —, 201 and n., 216, 217</td>
<td>Gōvindarāja or Gōvinda, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k., 27, 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhārāvāja, 30, 55, 61, 135, 136, 141, 144, 209, 215, 217, 218</td>
<td>Gōvindarāja, god, 322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhārava, 55, 61, 142, 144</td>
<td>Gōvisara, dōnes, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapala, 184, 185</td>
<td>Grāmakaṭa, 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dābhīya, 292</td>
<td>grāmamakhtaraṭāṣākāri, off, 294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvarāta, 210, 217</td>
<td>grāmamapati, off, 59 and n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gārgya, 142, 144, 201, 217</td>
<td>grikapati or grikapati, a householder, 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama, 142, 144, 201, 217</td>
<td>Gōjillavālu, vi, 137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harīta, 140, 141, 142, 144, 201, 216, 217, 218</td>
<td>Gōhēśvara-tirtha, tirtha, 26, 29, 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāmadagni, 55, 61</td>
<td>Gūpānidi-Armūlōjiyār alīs Mīnavan-Mūrenda-vēḻār, off, 253, 254, 264, 266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāmadagni-Vatasa, 200, 208, 216, 217</td>
<td>Guvapa, Kālīṅga k, 284 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarāt, Southern —, co, 167</td>
<td>Gvinia-Kōḷira, vi, 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustain, vī, 48</td>
<td>Guvaranam, Kālīṅga k, 284 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gupta, k.,</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guriṇḍiḷa-Gaṇḍhīpa, ch.,</td>
<td>271, 277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūrjara, co.,</td>
<td>203, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūrjara, co., k. of —,</td>
<td>210, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurumakōṭa, vi.,</td>
<td>140, 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurupāḍa or Gurupāḍaka or Gurupāḍa-giri, mo.,</td>
<td>329, 332, 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurupāḍera or Probbhäuser, Faisalā</td>
<td>321 and n., 322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biographical uk.,</td>
<td>and n., 323 and n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttii, vi., s. a. Gooyti,</td>
<td>190, 249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttii, l. (battlefield),</td>
<td>251, 252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttirājya, da.,</td>
<td>189, 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haibayas or Kalachuris of Raipur, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halo, l.m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halayudha, author,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halayudha-slāti, uk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halayudha-slāti, ut.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Häsi granth of Harivarman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalmāmanu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansa-tirtha, tirtha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hara, g. o. Siva,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harṣāḥ inscription,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari (Vishnu), g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbhāṭa, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haribhara I, Vijayanagara k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haribhara II, Vijayanagara k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haribhara, g.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harikīndigalav, vi., s. a. Hariki Nimgaon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haripīla, Thakkura —, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harīśchandra, family of kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harīśchandra, myth. k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariti, sager,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivināsā, uk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivinnāsu, Telugu uk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivarman, Naukhari k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harīyan, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harki Nimgaon, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harshachandra, uk.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harsha or Harshadēva or Harshavardhana, k. of Kannauj, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harshagupta, Pundara —,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastigiri, vi., s. a. Tiruvattiyur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastigiriṣa, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastinikā, stream,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastilā, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haṭṭavarman-Mahārāja, Śālākāyana k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haṭṭavarman, Veṅgāyaka, ŚālākāyanaK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haṭṭavarman, B. Ganga k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Häṭṭhāmmapā inscription of Khāravela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i, initial —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, used for e.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, medial long,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i, medial, in Grantha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iba Khurdab, author,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaiyārūr, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idakkāttur, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idakkudī-nīdu, d.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idangal-Niyanār, Śiva deco.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idangal-Niyanār Purasam, family uk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idukkūrā, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikshvāku, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikshvāku, myth. k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilā, myth. k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilai-Kalambangalam (Sannavaram), vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilaiyāṭakudi, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilam, co., s. a. Ceylon,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilavārukkudi, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilavāykkudi, vi., ancient name of Ambāsamudram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilalaiyār, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilā plates of Dāddā II-Prakāntarāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilapura, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilavimangalam, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iluppattapu, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immadi-Praudha-Dēvendra (Mallikārjuna), Vijayanagara k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiraśamāśicchālī, vi., s. a. Iručchāra, 101, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indor-khara copper plate of the time of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra, g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra I or Indrārāja, Rādzakās k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimha (II), E. Chālukya k., 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimhavarman, W. Chālukya k., 228, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayavarman, Brikatphaliyana k., 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jejāri, vi., 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jh, rare form of —, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhājīja, Śākūrī k., 54, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jīsmeśṭyāya, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jijjīka, vi., 282, 283, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīmāstakētā, myth. k., 53, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīmātadāvāhana, myth. hero, 33, 39, 209, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jina, s. a. the Buddha, 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jina-Kīñcī, l., 318 and a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jīnēdrāmangalam, vi., s. a. Kuruvūlīmudī, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jirjīngi plates of the Gāṇga year 39, 196a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jirjīngi, vi., 281, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jirnanagāra, vi., 106a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jītāmītā (Jītamītrā), Budhist name, 32a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jītyā, vi., 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jītyā off., 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jītyānīrīya, m., 142, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĵ., 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēnāsambandha, saint, 93, 94a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēlī, tar., 297, 301, 307, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēgāvābhāttā, m., 215, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēgāvārvā, vi., 205a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jēshupā rāgāna, dt., 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōz (Jōz), tit., 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Jubbulpore Kotwal plates of Jayasimha-
  dēva, 4, 311 |
| Jujhavaram, vi., s. a. Drujjavaram, 140 |
| Junnār, vi., s. a. Junninagara, 164a, 165, 166 and n., 169 |
| Junayd, gen., 27 |
| Juttāya, ch., 276 |
| Jyōtirlinga, 29, 179, 183 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāchīla, vi., 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāchupatha (Kāchupatha, Kāchupatha !), 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kālam, tar., 132, 133, 134, 135, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadamb, dy., 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamboya, m., 71, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamboya, vi., s. a. Malayaravāyankottai, 69, 98, 114, 117, 125, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamboya, sec., 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāndandai, community (!), 39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālan-Ettiku ucheha, l., 104, 105, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādam, co., s. a. Kedda, 245, 251 and a., 263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādamalai, l., 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādavār, family, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādavārāya, ch. s. a. Köpperudingadāva II, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādi, name, 12 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kādugukku, vi., 65, 105, 110, 123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kādungu, Pādga k., 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadugumangalam, vi., 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāduvetti, l., 104, 105, 114, 104, 122, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaitavanallur, vi., s. a. Kailan, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailāsa, te., at Ellīrā, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailāsan, m., 217, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailāvar or Viruvāli, dt., 273, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālakākūva, k., 289, 211, 283, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākala (Kākalakā), k. of Vīrā ā, 212, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākambhātta, donner, 217, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākandī, l., 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākāchā, dt., 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākheri, vi., 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākuli, vi., 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kākustha, myth. k., 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālābhra, dy., 22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālacore or Hāthiyas of Baipar, dy., 9, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālāka, vi., 226, 229, 230, 242, 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālāyānēri, vi., probably s. a. Kālava, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālam, measure of capacity, 49, 41, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālamūri, va., 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālājāvarākāputi, tit., 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālaju, vi., s. a. Kailavanallur, 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālavarṇādu, div., 71, 120, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālahati, m., 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālī, age of era, 106, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālādāva, donner, 215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Kāluvarāvan, ūa, s. a. Sivakavam Annapya-
  manāłan, 69, 72, 58, 94, 111, 124 |
<p>| Kalinga, co., 239, 244, 245 and s., 248, 249, 261, 262, 269 and |
| 256, 257, 260 |
| Kaling-ādhikārya, kiyādī, 197 |
| Kalinganagāra, co., 196, 197, 198 |
| Kalingapatam, vi., 196 |
| Kālipā, vi., 17 |
| Kālvishnavardhāna, E. Chālukya k., 191 |
| Kālījyamangalam, vi., s. a. Mērkudi, 105, 110, 112 |
| Kāliyāndāl, vi., 114 |
| Kāliyāyan Vegunakkūta-Bhatta, m., 100, 112, 124 |
| Kālgyga, 90 |
| Kāliyāvarānanallur, vi., s. a. Kālam |
| Kallada, kūri, vi., 84 |
| Kallaga, m., 97 |
| Kallikkudī alias Puravuvaranallur, vi., 70a, 95, 97, 101, 112, 115, 224, 126 |
| Kallīvāna, vi., 227, 230, 233, 235 |
| Kaluvapādi or Kaluvapādu, vi., 104, 145 |
| Kālvan, vi., s. a. Kāllivāna, 230 |
| Kalvāyī, m., 86 |
| Kalvāyī, Kēsavan, m., 100, 112, 124 |
| Kalvāyīmangalam, vi., 104, 109, 122 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kāmpañur, vi., sur. Manābharaṇasāpādi.
Kāmpañur, vi., 70, 87, 88, 96, 106, 110, 117.
Kānñikudī, vi., 110, 1123.
Kāntēru, vi., 117.
Kāntēru Plates of Sālankīyana Vījaya-Skanda-varman.
Kāntēru plates of Nandivarman.
kānṭhikā, necklet, emblem of heir-apparenosity.
kānṭhikā Bēta, E. Chālukya k., 187.
kānnumallapāndi, vi., 145.
kānnumerta, vi., 140.
kānṣāda kār or kānṣāda kārthaka, gift of a girl.
kānṣāda kār or kānṣāda kārthaka, gift of a girl.
kānṣādākṣara, co, s, a, Kanañju, 2, 207, 211, 222.
kāṇṭhikādhipati, ti., of Gahadavāla rulers.
kāṇṭhikādhipati, ti., assumed by Chandella Trailokya-malla.
kāṇṭhikāmūtra, 3.
kāṇṭhikāmūtra, l., 36, 244.
kāpardi, i., Śilākara ch., 54, 56, 229.
kāpardi (II), Śilākara ch., 54 n.
kāpājīgama, l., 33.
kāpūla, vāpa, 257.
kāpūla, m-, 330 n.
kāpūla, Kāpūlai, Kāpūlaiyani or Kāpūlaiyana f., 329, 330 and a. kāpūlai vāshiti, 201, 214.
kāpāḷi, vi., s, a, Ulagalandavājanilūr, 89, 94 and a., 99, 111, 123.
kāpāḷurūdhaiyan Śrīraṇi Tiruvirudaiyan alias Pottappiecholūr, off., 111, 123.
kāpāḷurūdhaiyan Uyyavandaiyappan alias Mānābharaṇa Māvendavēlūr, off., 111, 124.
kara, dy., 147.
karaṇikālā, l., 249, 251.
karaṇi-kāpurāṇa, 3.
karaṇīyakāla, d., 123.
karaṇīyavān-kalpāna, d., 166.
karaṇīyavān-kalpāna, d., 166.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
karaṇīya kāpurāṇa, d., 123.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kārka I, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.,</td>
<td>26, 27, 28, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārka II, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.,</td>
<td>25, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārkarājī, t. d.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārkarājī, Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārulkum or Kārulkum, rī.</td>
<td>105, 109, 114, 123, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārurstickhi or Kālururchehi, rī.</td>
<td>104, 108, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārpa, epa herra</td>
<td>57, 209, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārpa, Mahārāja——, Gūjārā k.</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārpa, Kalonchuri k.</td>
<td>310 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapakaliti, rī.</td>
<td>70, 97, 117, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karṣuṇa-vāpī, well.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārtikī, god.</td>
<td>22, 223, 224, 226, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāra, cesī ar artana.</td>
<td>212, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārumūkum or Kārunukulam, rī.</td>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunūkam-Koṇa, m.</td>
<td>109, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārumānkkam Ulagamundīn-Bhattan, 103, 113, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunākara-Āchār ya, sw. of Ṣaṅkara-Kāḍādi, en.</td>
<td>254, 265, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunākara-deva Purpanamudaiyān, m.</td>
<td>99, 121, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāruṣeṣh ca kāruṣeṣhpam</td>
<td>110, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunugudi-nādu, t. d.</td>
<td>89, 90, 113, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunugulam, vī.</td>
<td>70, 110, 118, 123, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārunugulattār, vī.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karuṇikkudidādu, dī.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karuṇikkūṭi, rī.</td>
<td>99, 111, 121, 123, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karuvii, vī.</td>
<td>92 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśā, rī.</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśā, s. a. Benares</td>
<td>17, 207 a, 214, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśā-Viśvanātha, god, kāśā, coin</td>
<td>131, 134, 135, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṣyapa, sage</td>
<td>213, 255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṣyapa, an incarnation of the Buddha</td>
<td>328, 333 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṣyapa or Mahā-Kāṣyapa, disciple of the Buddha</td>
<td>327, 329 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṣyapa Buddha</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭāha, l.</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭaka (Cutack), ca.</td>
<td>298, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭantra-sātras, grammatical uk.</td>
<td>222 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭāsūtṝyāgara, uk.</td>
<td>222 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭa, l.</td>
<td>299, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭārāmangalam, vī.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭākkallār, vī.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭākallām, vī.</td>
<td>106, 111, 118, 123, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭākukulā, vī.</td>
<td>99, 111, 121, 123, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattinakkannu Iraṇān, m., swr. of Vikrama-pāṇḍya Māvēndalējan</td>
<td>39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kattivāyā, m.</td>
<td>94 a and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭtunallū-Ṭrūśchihari, vī.</td>
<td>101 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṭṭūr, vī. s. a. Catur of Nūniz</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēlū, tree</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmāraṇkhanda, a chapter of Pāmadhāraṇa</td>
<td>11a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārdumadvākṣāsena, dramatic uk.</td>
<td>278 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānasihāka, jewell</td>
<td>231, 234, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kānti, author of Arthasāstra</td>
<td>11a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvika, rī.</td>
<td>325 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvika, sāge</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvērī, rī.</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvērīvallavanallur, rī. s. a. Śrīpālaiyār</td>
<td>99, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvī plates of Jayabhata IV</td>
<td>292 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīvināḷīr, rī.</td>
<td>65, 71, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīranjanā, m.</td>
<td>174, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīrā, rī.</td>
<td>33 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīpārā, m.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīrāja, kāratakkāḷamāni, Televa uk. on rhetoric.</td>
<td>339, 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīra, kēlā, rī.</td>
<td>233, 264, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīra, l.</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīra, family.</td>
<td>271, 272, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīratā, rī.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīra, te.</td>
<td>8, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāvīra, kēḷēṇa</td>
<td>193, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷī, rī.</td>
<td>131, 133, 134, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷī-sandākkālar, s. a. Śrītrīṣṭa-Bṛhamma</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūr, s. a. Kēḷūr, rī</td>
<td>154, 155, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūra, rī.</td>
<td>158, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūra, vēṣṭhā, dī.</td>
<td>158, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūra, dy.</td>
<td>22, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūra, ca., k. of</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷūr, vēṣṭhā-valanădu, t. d.</td>
<td>89, 95, 96 and n. 99, 111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷīsā, m.</td>
<td>55, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷīsā, rī.</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēḷīsā, min.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesari Copper-plate of Śrītrubhaṇaḍēka,</td>
<td>161, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava, feud, ch.</td>
<td>204 and n. 274, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava, donee.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava-chāryā, m.</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava-dahā, donee.</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesavan Kaṭārajānan alias Brahma-Palavaya-rāyan, m.</td>
<td>165, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesavan Nārāyan, m.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava or Kesāvāpāḍhyāya, m.</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesāvapuri, rī. s. a. Kesāpurī.</td>
<td>202, 208, 218, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesava Vēṣṭhā, author and follower of Mahārubhaka cult.</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesō (Kēḷi-sā) bhatta, m.</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēṭumāla, myth. k.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēṭuvāra, l.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē, kē, with and withoutloop</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē, used for sh</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē, used for sh</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadāpiḍāika, tit.</td>
<td>27, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khairā grant of YaśAKarṇa.</td>
<td>281 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khairāhā inscription of Dhanga.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khālā-bīkā, cesī at the threshing floor.</td>
<td>281 and r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khālilī, Stone inscription</td>
<td>7, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāllikota, ds.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khapdadhull plate of Kanyakubja, 148, 150, 155</td>
<td>Krtivarman, W. Chalukya k., 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khambath, co., 164</td>
<td>Krtivarman I, W. Chalukya k., 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandoth, dt., 164</td>
<td>Krtivarman II, W. Chalukya k., 28, 270 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandjikota, vi, and hill-fort, s.a. Ghatunlikota. 278</td>
<td>Krtivvaliyamallur, vi, s.a. Kfl. Nettur, 89, 99, 111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khapdonda, god, 229</td>
<td>Kirugakkottai, vi., 89, 104, 108, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khrod inscription of Irubulal and lassadewa, 208</td>
<td>Kt-Churav, vi., s.a. Udaiyikanam, 104, 105, 114, 122, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodip</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodyavvahatta, donca, 216</td>
<td>Kt-Pasanal, vi., s.a. Dinapuramandalur, 76a, 86, 90, 104, 111, 112, 114, 115, 124, 125, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheta or Khej, in, 207</td>
<td>Kt-Sel, vi., 100, 117, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheta, co, lord of, 207</td>
<td>Kt-Sembidi-nada, vi., 89, 102 and n. 113, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoda, t.d., 207</td>
<td>Kodaiputtinallur, vi., 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoda, hamlet, 204, 211, 213</td>
<td>Kodupallama, sur. of Chidla Anityavarman, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodumpan, v., s.a. Khodungara, 29</td>
<td>Kodungularma-chaturveda-lakshagala, vi., 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khohungara-sihaya, dt., 48</td>
<td>Kodunngal, vi., 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khohungara, vi., 48</td>
<td>Kodumthavu (Kodumthi), vi., 95 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khohungara, co., s.a. modern Kheding, 147, 151, 153, 154, 156</td>
<td>Kodungan, vi., 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuyinga-mayilala, dt., 156</td>
<td>Kothara, vi., 133, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khudiavvava, gen., 160</td>
<td>Kokangolu, vi., s.a. Kalahaka, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khvaajha Hati, Mahavav gen.,</td>
<td>Kokkisala, Kalichari of Taprav, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khapt, dt., 156</td>
<td>Kokkili or Kokkivarma-Maharaja, E. Chalukya k., 191, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodambha-Nekhan, Vashthara, postif., 322a</td>
<td>Kokkisala, Vashthara sv. te., 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodamth-Nayamr, Vashthara sv. te., 322</td>
<td>Kottimagalam, vi., 117, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodambha Ramamou Appall, Vashthara postif.,</td>
<td>Kodalydu, Inscription of the Bhanjarika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodambha Ramamou Appall, Vashthara postif.,</td>
<td>Kottupa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodambha Ramamou Appall, Vashthara postif.,</td>
<td>Klosa, Koliapura or Kuvalapura, vi., s.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudikehata, vi.,</td>
<td>Kolavar, vi., s.a. dt., 11, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisle-Kudumilur, vi., s.a. Maduradayanallur, 98</td>
<td>Kolappura, vi., 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilsl-Tiruttuvur-Nullam, dt.,</td>
<td>Koliver plates,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killa-Malikudi, vi.,</td>
<td>Kuvvaanur, vi., 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killa-palalai, vi., 100 n.</td>
<td>Komppadi, vecheru, Vashthara disciple, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikunjikupa, dt., 39, 41, 96</td>
<td>Komppa, vi., 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikunjika, t.d., 91, 92, 98, 99, 111, 124, 125, 130</td>
<td>Kommati-Vema, Radzi k., 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kkemutir, vi., 39 n.</td>
<td>Komppas, vi., 95 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kfl-Nettur, vi., s.a. Ktilvivaisyanallur, 89, 99, 111, 123</td>
<td>Kandai, l., 248 n., 249, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinnik, vi., 165, 168, 170</td>
<td>Koopalam, plates of Jayavarman, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kkip, t., 168</td>
<td>Koopalamaduva, vi., s.a. Koopalamaduva- paisam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kj-Sib, t.,</td>
<td>Koopamadiyudu, vi., 137, 246 n., 248, 305, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kj-Sembornari, vi., 49</td>
<td>Koppeleoda plates of Dharmashika, 268, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kj-Sembornayu, t.d., 98</td>
<td>Ko-Somanthongdy, th., 69, 131, 134, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killa-Tamayu, vi., 95</td>
<td>Kongana, Vrakshana-mandalam, co., 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kj-Velvayur, vi., 105, 110, 123</td>
<td>Kongala, co., 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kranur, vi., 95, 104</td>
<td>Kongu, dt., 86, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kt-murudjamayankottai, vi., 121, 130</td>
<td>Kongu, co., 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira gab-nab, t.d., 69, 70, 89, 102, 103, 104, 106, 113, 119, 122, 124, 125, 137, 121</td>
<td>Konguvarajakkal, Tamil uk., 229 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krtivvalivamba, relat. preceptor,</td>
<td>Kongapa, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krtivvala, relat. preceptor,</td>
<td>309, 310, and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krtivvala, god,</td>
<td>309, 218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kumārdēvi, Guptā q., 52
Kumāragupta I, Guptā k., 51 n., 52
Kumāra-kabihihṛit, s. a. Kumāra Pratīpa-
rudra, Kākāṭīya k., 271, 276 n., 278 and add.
Kumāramangalam, vi., 95
Kumārapavitrachaturvēdimāngalam, vi., 97
Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja, Kākāṭīya k., 276
Kumāra-Vishnu, Pāllava k., 45
Kumbhakonāṁ, tn., 300
Kumbhīl plate of Vijayāsimha, 206, 281 n.
Kūna, Kūrukonda ch., 324
Kunda or Kundan, vi., 311
Kundadēvi-vichaturvēdimāngalam, vi., 97
Kundadēvi, m., 173
Kupnēli, vi., 104, 109, 114, 122, 125
Kurpātūr, vi., 96, 98
Kurpiyūr or Kurpiśūlnādu, dt., 95
Kunala, co., 166, 261, 262
Kupālā, ce., 299 n.
Kupperī, 253, 262, 266
Kūram plates, 77
Kūram, vi., s. a. Vidyāvinīchaturvēdi-
mangalam, 77
Kurama, l., 33
Kurasāgi, q., 33
Kurara, l., 33
Kurarakara, l., 33
Kurangalam, vi., 303, 307, 309
Kērum, 97
Kurtti-dēsa, co., 140
Kuruchhāttī, vi., 106, 111, 123
Kuruchchi, vi., 303, 306, 309
Kurukṣētra, ṛthi, 16
Kurumbārtāru, ṛthi, 253, 262, 266
Kurunapragāṇu, vi., 200, 212, 215, 222, 224
kusagā, measure of capacity, 40, 41
Kurupāra, vi., s. a. Kared alias Kurvade, 48
Kuruvadēmidī alias Jinnēndrāmaṅgalam, vi., 94
Kuruvittura, vi., 85
kuḷasav, potter, 40, 42
Kūshāna, dy., 33
Kushtā, holy place, 207
kusunarakkan-ādhyaksha, off., 213, 223
Kūtala-saṃgama, see Kūdāla-saṃgama, 262
Kuvaḷahāvī, vi., 70, 71
Kuvaḷaiyāḷipagu, vi., 118, 128
Kuvaḷaiyām, vi., 254, 255, 256
Kuvaliṣā-ṛṅdru, dh., 254, 255, 256
Kuvalāgunta, vi., s. a. Kōla, 49
Kuvalādevā, myōk k., 256
Kuvalayāṅkanallūr, vi., s. a. Mērūr, 39, 40, 41

L
l, two forms of— 226
l, northern form 282
jā interchange with ls 243

Laghu-Kapardī, Śīlākārā k., 54, 56
Lakhāhayāryā, m., 141, 144
Lakshmanai, epic hero 7, 8, 10, 18, 257
Lakshmanāsaṭhī, Sīna k., 174
Lakshmi, goddess 193, 209, 220, 221 n.
Lakshmīthara or Lakshmīdēva, Abhara k., 203, 206
Lakshmīhardabhatta, donee, 215, 217
Lakshmī-tirtha, ēṛthi, 16
Lakshmi-Nārāyanā Bhaṭija, Bhaṭija k., 154 n.
Lakshmipura, vi., sur. of Bommehālu, 188, 193
Lakṣumādevī, Vijayāgarā gaṇa, 188, 190, 192
Lamps, pair of,—auspicious symbol, 243 n.
Languages:
Kannada, 241 n.
Prākṛti, 45 n.
Sanskrit, k, l, 8, 25, 45, 63, 66, 137, 147, 161,
165, 183, 187, 188, 195, 199, 226, 241, 271, 279,
282, 309, 328
Sanskrit prose, 44
Tamil, 66, 241 and n., 297, 319
Telugu, 137, 241 n., 271
Lāṇji, vi., 10
Lāṇkā, s. a. Ceylon, 32
Lāshīp (Lakshmanabhatta, donee, 215
Lakṣaḥmī (Lakshmī)dēva, donee, 215
Lāṭa, Lāṭadēsa, co., 55, 61, 167, 228, 229
Layaṅgiri, hill, 165, 168, 170
Leiden Plates of Rājaraja I, 36, 107
Leiden Plates of Kulottunga Chōla, 242 and n.
Lēkumāra, vi., 44, 46, 47
Lēpāka or Lēbāka, vi., 274 n.
Lēchchhavi, cītā, 52
Ltāśhkarī, biographical uk., 200 n. 205 and n.
Līlōcā, uk., 221 n.
lings with serpent, emblem on seal, 43
lion, emblem on seal, 43
lion, emblem of the Harishchandra family, 228
lion, golden—, Śīna emblem, 166
Lēkimūr, vi., 45

M
m, with and without loop, 165
m, final, substituted by anusvāra, 195
m, final, 282
mā, m., 41, 108, 110, 123
Māybar, co., 207, 208
Māṣa, Rāḍī k., 140
Māṣhayāryā, m., 141, 142, 144
Māṣhīvōtka, donee, 188, 193
Māṭa, ch., 139
Māḍakkuḷakkiḷ Madurai, l., 40 n.
Māḍakkuḷakkiḷkōdimāngalam, l., 40 n.
Māḍakkuḷakkiḷ, dh., 97, 98, 108, 122
Māḍakkulam, l. d., 70, 89
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māmil, ca.</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhima, ca.</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhima-gotra, ve.</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīmottari (Махимотари), l.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīnābarabha, author and follower of the</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīnābaraha cult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīnāvarman, E. Gopala k.</td>
<td>240 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīvarā, m.</td>
<td>10, 20 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārakabhatto, dones</td>
<td>215, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārikā, dn.</td>
<td>226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māraitā, k.</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māritnand, 'brother in law'</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmita, 'crown', emblem of royalty</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālakimīnāyana or Alagānt, m. s. a. Viyasa-</td>
<td>99, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vichēndradas,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālak-ratnapāla, i. d.</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālakoḍu, co.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālāyājīn Śūrā man Śivājatārājya, off.</td>
<td>103, 113, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālāngudī, ri.</td>
<td>70 n. 89, 90, 113, 119, 124, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālakābhā, ri.</td>
<td>137, 140, 143, 146, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālālimārcaram, dramatic ve.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavā, co. k. of—</td>
<td>210, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavavārya, m.</td>
<td>69, 99, 111, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavavārya, n. of royal seat</td>
<td>70, 108, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavavāryakrama, m.</td>
<td>92, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavavārya, k.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālavavārya, k.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālayadīvi, ri.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālayārayānokotta, ri. s. d. Kajamangalūri</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālayāsī, ch.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālāpattanam, off.</td>
<td>69, 99, 106, 111, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālā Kātur, Mahāmudrānātha gen.</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālāyāpōṇḍi grant of Annarāja II</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālāpūram inscription</td>
<td>310 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālkhed, ca.</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālud, l.</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālla, Reddi k.</td>
<td>135, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māllappura or Māllāpur, ri.</td>
<td>355 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māllār plait of Māllāragupta</td>
<td>266 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māllavaram, ri.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māllavāyya, m.</td>
<td>142, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māllēvābhatta, m.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālikkārjuna, Viyasa-</td>
<td>139 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiyasa-Devendra,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālikkārjuna, ch.</td>
<td>274, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālikkārjanadēva, god</td>
<td>301, 307, 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālānuma, m.</td>
<td>139 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālānāthayāṅgāru, dones</td>
<td>271, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālu nāṭa, m.</td>
<td>138 n. 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālū-kaṇha, fowd, ch.</td>
<td>365, 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārā, co.</td>
<td>203, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārāyā, ri.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmarēnaya, m.</td>
<td>141, 142, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangi-Yuvarāja, K. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangi-Yuvarāja, K. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangi, s. a. Munnai, Śīlākāra k.</td>
<td>55, 54 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānirādevabhatta, m.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mān, man-servant</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharam, Prādyu pr.</td>
<td>39 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharama-chaturvēdīmangalam alias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīsadalā, ri.</td>
<td>70, 89, 102, 113, 119, 124, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharama-śivājattārājya, god</td>
<td>119, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharama-Mśūrēvēdīlēr, m. s. a. Vyasa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanānā Potumān</td>
<td>99, 111, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharamā-raṇapālā, ri. s. a. Kayamārā</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūbharamā-Sēndumān, m.</td>
<td>40, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānapālā, ri.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānapālākkaṇḍa, l. d.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānūmahurā, ri. s. a. Mānasrāmāburi</td>
<td>101 n. 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānasa, Saṅkhuṣapara k.</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānakumākājī alias Kulūgangāśāpattimān,</td>
<td>80, 92, 93 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maṇavaravā, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānasrāmaburi, ri. s. a. Mānāmahārā</td>
<td>70 and n. 100, 105, 109, 112, 114, 123, 124, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānasrāmavālam, ri.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma chaṇḍa, ri. s. a. Manchehar</td>
<td>289, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇehulāgrāma, ri.</td>
<td>291 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍārāja, dt.</td>
<td>53, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍhājārakula, m.</td>
<td>108, 110, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍūvālpitā, off.</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍula, t.</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍūvālpitā-bhāmāra, Kāyathā tāt.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarāi Rāmi, alias Pālāvarāyar, m.</td>
<td>71, 112, 124, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānāhātā, ri.</td>
<td>174, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānāhātā, myth. k.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānāgaḷā grant of Simhāvarman</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānāgyākkarā, Chālā or Pratī or Pāndya</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṅgapalā or Maṅgai, contract for chatur-</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēdīmangalam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgala, t.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgalāraja, W. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgalārāja, W. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṅgāḷi grant of Simhāvarman</td>
<td>43 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māngi II, E. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṅglākhoram,</td>
<td>164 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṅglākhoram,</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṅgakorakhoram, kēka,</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṁgālam, ri.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṁgālam inscription</td>
<td>247, 248 and n. 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma jākkudā, ri.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇājlār, ri.</td>
<td>105, 110, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānnapāṇḍagūpāla, Telugu-Chālā ch.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇna Janapāla, Telugu-Chālā ch.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇnēru, ri. s. a. Suprayogā</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇnaiyākottai, ri.</td>
<td>101 n. 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Mannärköyll inscription of Jatāvārman Sundara-&lt;br&gt;chōla Pāṇḍya, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Manōratha, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manōratha, myth. Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mantrārtha-guruparamparā, Vaiśnava pustificā&lt;br&gt;list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mantri, 'minister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manu, law-giver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māyākāśāke, tāz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mānyaśaṅkāṣā, ca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāraja ēra or Kaivāra, t. ā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyamangalā, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra-Jātaka, Pāṇḍya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, vi., s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra-Jātaka, Pāṇḍya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, Pāṇḍya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, vi., s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māyāra, ēra, s. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metres—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anushṭubh, 5, 6 n. 12 n. 13 n. 14 n. 15 n. 16 n. 17 n. 18 n. 20 n. 24 55 142 155 168 171 n. 175 185 191 n. 192 197 n. 198 n. 199 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Årya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åryātē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandákānta,</td>
<td>175, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhāṣī,</td>
<td>209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prīthvī,</td>
<td>13 n., 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prāptādīrō</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathāḍda,</td>
<td>13 n., 16 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śālī</td>
<td>12 n., 15 n., 55, 171 n., 192, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādālīvīrvīlā</td>
<td>12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 17 n., 18 n., 19 n., 20 n., 55, 142, 175, 191 n., 209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śikharī,</td>
<td>13 n., 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sragdhāra,</td>
<td>15 n., 18 n., 55, 192, 209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svāgatā</td>
<td>16 n., 170 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upājī</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upājī,</td>
<td>13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 16 n., 17 n., 18 n., 19 n., 142, 169 n., 209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upendravajrā,</td>
<td>12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vamsāsātha or Vamsāsāthavala,</td>
<td>55, 170 n., 209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasantañīlāki,</td>
<td>12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 16 n., 19 n., 55, 142, 158, 209, 311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viyogī,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māyā, off.</td>
<td>103, 106, 113, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēyā, vi.</td>
<td>39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīlāgānēri, s. a. Rājendranaillar, 70 and no. 71, 89, 97, 101, 102, 112, 113, 117, 124, 127, 131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milālī-kārmā, t. d., s. a. Gyaśvinīdā-vāsanādu, 89, 90, 91 and n., 92 and n., 93 and n., 94, 98, 111, 121, 123, 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milāśāmangalam, rī.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīmāṃsa</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīmāṃsāsāra, u. k.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīna or fish, emblem of the Pandya,</td>
<td>107, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīnva-Mūvendavējī, off., s. r. of Guna-nādu-Aruṇmoliyār,</td>
<td>253, 254, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numērī,</td>
<td>110, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirror, aspicious object</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mītra, family name</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīkākura, u. k.</td>
<td>288 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kītāśu, f., Buddhist nun</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kśitaravarmā, K. Gāngu k.,</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mītravādī, rī, 89, 104, 108, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīvena, s. a. Mīvēra (Mīvēra), family</td>
<td>172, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīkākunjuda, tirtha</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōlēyan-ambari, l.</td>
<td>104, 109, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monghyr grant of Dévapāla</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon, myth. ancestor of Pandya</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura, prākrit form of mārga</td>
<td>154 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarī, l.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monyā, clan, prākrit form of Manīya</td>
<td>154 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mollakollūru, rī, s. a. Sāvapura</td>
<td>271, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō-lo-po-mo, s. a. Mahāvarman, k.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō-tō-do (Mathūrā), rī</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōtha, Muhammadan—</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōtha, lunar—</td>
<td>4 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōuna or Mōvēyāja,</td>
<td>20, 30, 31, 139 n., 292, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōuna or Mōvēyāja,</td>
<td>20, 30, 31, 139 n., 292, 299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhādrapada,</td>
<td>54, 60, 201, 211, 214, 222, 224, 271, 277, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra,</td>
<td>165, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājñabhī,</td>
<td>2, 195, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika,</td>
<td>7, 174, 184, 185, 188, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgha,</td>
<td>52, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaśīrṣh,</td>
<td>200 n., 227, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalgun,</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauṣha,</td>
<td>81, 137, 143, 146, 304, 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha,</td>
<td>21, 24, 44, 46, 47, 295, 287, 289, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon, Solar—</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādi,</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āvani,</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanu,</td>
<td>36 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbha,</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgaṇa,</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesha,</td>
<td>319, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithuna,</td>
<td>35, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhyāshta, rī,</td>
<td>226, 229, 230, 232, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mśīrāma, t.,</td>
<td>54 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mśīrāma-ratri, u. k.,</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mśīrāma, myth.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muchukunda, myth. k.,</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdākkā, rī,</td>
<td>245, 246 and r., 247 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263, 265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdāliyar, off.</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdāliyar, off., 'treasury accountant',</td>
<td>132, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdittalakonda-Pallavaraiyan, off., s. a. Pōru</td>
<td>103, 113, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aravanatāyān Vīlāy,</td>
<td>103, 113, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdikondapāṇḍiyapuram, rī,</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūdrahastā, off.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūkhalingam, vi.</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūkkali, l.</td>
<td>264, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūktāvāra, god.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlā, f., Buddhist nun</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlakura-bhūjaka, u. k.,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlaparishad, assembl.,</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūla-sangha, Jain sect.,</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlasanāna,</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlahasthānam-arjähī, god,</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulikāniñu, du.</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muljā-nādu, t. d.,</td>
<td>40, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multā plates of Nambāruja, Yuddhasūra, 25, 28, 270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthāna, co.,</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnāmā-Xāyaka, Kōwakondā ch.,</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānālātu, rī, s. a. Vetteiyār,</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūmmūr, vi.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>53, 54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>58, 59, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>92, 93 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>242, 263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūnajāsthānam-Vāraekarār, ch.,</td>
<td>165, 166, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muñja, Sinda ā.,  165, 166, 168</td>
<td>Nakshatras:—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muñjera, vi.  229</td>
<td>Aśvati,  319, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munnāravan-Sendan, m.,  40, 41</td>
<td>Hasta,  201, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mupōli Stone inscription,  204, 206 n.</td>
<td>Jyāshthā,  81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murārāti, god, t. a. Vahuni,  193</td>
<td>Kārttikeya,  82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murwarā, te.,  278</td>
<td>Mūgasirsha,  81, 82, 259 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutaka or mātaka, a measure,  235 and n.</td>
<td>Mālava,  81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttan Alavān alās Sundara-paṇḍiyar-Mārā, y. m.,  121, 130</td>
<td>Rōhini,  81, 82, 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttār alās Uyyakonda-Alaṇaḷavāl, ri.,  94</td>
<td>Sārabhīṣajai,  81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttanārayottai, ri.,  70, 71, 108, 111, 123, 131, 134, 136</td>
<td>Svātī or Śodī,  66, 81, 82, 107, 111, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutāṟṟuṇ-kūṟṟam, t. d.,  89, 91 and n.,  93, 94, 95, 99, 111, 124</td>
<td>Tiruvānottam,  302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūvavatikottai, ri.,  70, 114, 135</td>
<td>Uttara-Dūdramdā,  81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūvavāykil, te.,  70, 114, 135</td>
<td>Uttara-Thalagund,  271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālāndā, vi.,  50, 53 n., 327, 334</td>
<td>Nālandā seals of the Muktāris,  268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālandā plate of the Samudra-gupta,  50, 52</td>
<td>Nālandā Copper plate of Dīvaṇās,  334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālāṇdā Copper plate of Dhamapālāvār,  328 n.</td>
<td>Nālāṇi, motto, d. of a throne,  320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāl, measure of capacity,  39, 40, 41</td>
<td>Nālāṇi, i., vy.,  94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakārubhīram, v., d. of a throne,  320</td>
<td>Nālārubhīram, vi., t. a. Vira-śingadevar,  93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāru,  67, 97, 107, 111, 122</td>
<td>Nāmā hyūla, L.,  183, 184, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naidu, teacher,  3, 4, 6</td>
<td>Nāmānāvāyana, m., t. a. Śrī-navāyana,  329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naduvircheli, L.,  110, 123</td>
<td>Nāmānumanāvāsana, m., t. a.,  271, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naduvikōttai, L.,  104, 108, 122</td>
<td>Nānā, J., Buddhāśram,  81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naduvirkūṟu, t. d.,  91, 92, 98, 99, 111, 121, 123, 130</td>
<td>Nānā, vy.,  154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgā, ri.,  324</td>
<td>Nānādāri, ri.,  273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgādevabhātta, donze,  216, 217</td>
<td>Nānāvāvārampan or tirunāvārampan appendage, la di g fit for flower garden,  133, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgādevā-Jāyī, m.,  217</td>
<td>Nanda-Prabha-panjara-varman, E. Glanțe k.,  281 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgādevan Rāman, m., t. a. Rājānārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Nandapura (Nandalur), co.,  274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūvēndavēlān,  101, 113, 124</td>
<td>Nandi, bull,  316 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāhastin, pr. of the Chhinda family,  167</td>
<td>Nandikotkūr, ri.,  247 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgālayya, writer,  54, 63</td>
<td>Nandipurā, dr., t. a. Nambol,  292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgānāthabhattā, m.,  215</td>
<td>Nandinagara, L.,  31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgānāyaka, m.,  216</td>
<td>Nandivaram, Śrīkāṇṭhāyana k.,  42, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāpoorva, m.,  217</td>
<td>Nandivaranam II, do,  44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarakhanḍa, dā,  167</td>
<td>Nandivaranam Pallavamalla, Pallava k.,  73 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarapati, off.,  89</td>
<td>Nandivaranam III, do,  75 n, 242 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgārjuna, Śīkāhāra k.,  54, 58</td>
<td>Nandod, ri.,  292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgārjunikōṇḍa, L., 198 n.</td>
<td>Naṅgan Alagan, m.,  100, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, fort,  305, 306</td>
<td>Nannadēva or Nannādhiśāja, Pāṇḍava k.,  267 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvarāhana, W. Chālukya pr.,  228</td>
<td>Nanna Gōvāvalōka or Nannaṛaja, Rāhūra, kāja k.,  27, 28, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvarāhita, m.,  217</td>
<td>Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, Rāhūrabrāha k.,  25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāvāsī-agāra-hāra, ri.,  325</td>
<td>Narahari-bhūtta, m.,  112, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayákhéra, vi.,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayinárkhárya, rel. preceptor, s. a. Varadá-chárya</td>
<td>322, 323 n., 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nédiúmara or Nédiúthá-póivénroinangásin-Nédiúmara,</td>
<td>64, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pándya k.,</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nédusíéliyán, Pándya k.,</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nélváyál, vi.,</td>
<td>93, 110, 115, 123, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nélvélí, vi., probably s. a. Néméléí</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néra, see Enara</td>
<td>62 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerisíjikkudí, vi.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neríjkkudí, vi.</td>
<td>70, 111, 118, 123, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neríjkkudí, vi.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neruvúr, vi.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néswári plates of Góvinda III</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétiúr, vi.</td>
<td>70, 99 n., 114, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néyvanší, vi.</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níbbání, vi., s. a. Nívíníva, Nívíníva, Níbípá or Nívípá</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívála, Sándrákátt, vi.</td>
<td>167 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívumáhálládkátk, Sándráká, k., 26 n., 30 n., 167 n.</td>
<td>270, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nílakáshí, vi.</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nílakásí, vi., s. a. Síva</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nílakásíthárya, m.,</td>
<td>142, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nílakásíthárya, m.,</td>
<td>297, 301, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nílakáshí, vi.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímára, vi.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímá, vi.</td>
<td>197, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímíva, vi.</td>
<td>48 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímíva, vi., s. a. Nívíníva</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímíva, vi.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nímíva, vi.</td>
<td>55, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírambáiýúr, vi.</td>
<td>70, 116, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níravádyá, tit.</td>
<td>21 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níravádyá-Pápítta, dónne, sur. of Udáyadéva</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níravádyá-Puyavallába, com.</td>
<td>21, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírmadívíýúr, vi.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírpalá, vi.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírpan plates</td>
<td>228, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkta, vi., Nírúkta, vi.</td>
<td>75 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.,</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.,</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.,</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.,</td>
<td>334, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.</td>
<td>189, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nírúkthákásháya, vi.,</td>
<td>289, 291, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívíní, vi.</td>
<td>47, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívíní grant of Dhamarásíjadeva</td>
<td>27, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níyamam (Némam), vi.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níyálká, off.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Níyálká, off.</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívyámsapúrávaamó or Ahíbalamłókásyamó,</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nívyámsapúrávaamó or Ahíbalamłókásyamó,</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nułambədaśarayar, m., s. a., Pullena Mādevan,</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nułambūr, vi.,</td>
<td>102, 113, 118, 124, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerical sign or symbol for:—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,</td>
<td>147, 157, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 6,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,</td>
<td>30, 44, 147, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,</td>
<td>44, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,</td>
<td>195, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90,</td>
<td>147, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,</td>
<td>147, 153 n., 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals expressed by chronogram:—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0, gağana,</td>
<td>137, 143, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, tarka,</td>
<td>139 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, śaila,</td>
<td>139 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, vārdhi,</td>
<td>139 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, ibka,</td>
<td>137, 143, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, dyuṣmāni</td>
<td>139 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, sūrya,</td>
<td>137, 143, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numiz, historian,</td>
<td>190, 298, 299 and n., 300, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūṭilaladugu, vi.,</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyāya-bhāṣyka, uk.,</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyāyakandali, commentary,</td>
<td>184 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O, medial,</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obeerāja, ch.,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oṣ lādi, co.,</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oṣṭa-viṣayka, dt.,</td>
<td>138 and n., 159, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oṣkūr, vi.,</td>
<td>92 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ouī-ṣutta, off.</td>
<td>39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ośalīyur allās Madurai, vi.,</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ośalīyur-kūrum, dt.,</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ośalīyurñāmgalam (Ośalīyurñāmgalam), vi.,</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oḷḷīṅga, s. a. Dēḷāṅg, vi.,</td>
<td>172, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0m, used as a syllable</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0m, marked by symbol,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0malagiy-an-ṇbal, L.,</td>
<td>104, 108, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omgoḍu grant of Sīnhavarman,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omgoḍu grant of Vaiṣṇava-Skaṇḍavarman II,</td>
<td>43, 44, 45, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omkāra, keṭakāra,</td>
<td>183, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oṛiss, co., s. a. Utkala,</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omkkoravanēti, vi.,</td>
<td>104, 109, 114, 122, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oṛya, co.,</td>
<td>298, 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọṣ,</td>
<td>124, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>137, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachchanī-Taṇḍuṅga grant of Ana-Vēma,</td>
<td>102, 113, 118, 124, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷalakaṅkaṅ, vi.,</td>
<td>103, 109, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷāṭkaraṇā, vi.,</td>
<td>191 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷaṅka, vi.,</td>
<td>153, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷayam,</td>
<td>64 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛkṛta, old form of pṛttva (ton)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷimāgupta, mahārāja,</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷimānibhūtta, m.,</td>
<td>213, 216 and n., 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷimāpārāṇa, uk.,</td>
<td>11 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷāṇgenēti, vi.,</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷāṇur-kārum, t. d.,</td>
<td>86 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷavasil-ṇbal, L.,</td>
<td>109, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭābāchchhīṃvā, uk.,</td>
<td>185 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭhan plates of Rāmacandra,</td>
<td>10, 199, 201, 202, 203, 208 n., 223 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷaiyur, vi.,</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷakālu, vi.,</td>
<td>104, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷamaṇḍaladattalūr, vi., s. a. Māṇḍūr</td>
<td>323 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷacacya, co., s. a. Pulicat,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷidhavu, banner,</td>
<td>22, 23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷipurahlī, hāmlet,</td>
<td>200, 211, 215, 222, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paḷippattakāta, vi.,</td>
<td>220, 227, 229, 232, 234, 235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Paḷiyānaiśi Sūrayēvaṇa, m., s. a. Pāmādhūra-]
<p>| kilvan, | 101, 112, 124 |
| Paḷiuritići Sōmaṇāṭha, Telugu poet, | 174, 184 |
| Palla-Āḍhambaka, t. d., | 225, 227, 229, 231, 232, 234 |
| Pallaṅgamgala, vi., | 75, 108, 122 |
| Pallaṅgamgala, m., s. a. Pammaṅ Adiyār-kūlaapperūmān, | 103, 113, 125 |
| Pallaṅgamgala, m., s. a. Pammaṅ Adiyār-kūlaapperūmān, | 75 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, ch., | 85 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 71, 112, 124 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 112, 124 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 242, 263, 280 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 297 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 70, 111, 122, 132 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 207 n. |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 46 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 38 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 211, 222 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 231 n. |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 207 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 285 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 303, 304 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 178 |
| Pallaṅgavāya, m., s. a. Mandaḷi Raṇaṃ, | 103, 112, 125 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>24, 23, 26 and n. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307, 308</td>
<td>307, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 27</td>
<td>26, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228, 229, 269 n.</td>
<td>228, 229, 269 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64, 56</td>
<td>64, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399, 300</td>
<td>399, 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241, 254, 263, 265</td>
<td>241, 254, 263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140, 145</td>
<td>140, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249 n.</td>
<td>249 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101, 109, 120, 119, 122, 123</td>
<td>101, 109, 120, 119, 122, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113, 114, 124, 129</td>
<td>113, 114, 124, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, 41</td>
<td>39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264, 265</td>
<td>264, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264, 265</td>
<td>264, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 n.</td>
<td>94 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254 n.</td>
<td>254 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupappalarai-nādu, dr.</td>
<td>60, 71, 80, 97, 99, 101, 106, 110, 111, 112, 123, 124, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupappalalnādu-kilavan, m., s. a. Puttūr-kilavan Bātan,</td>
<td>101, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purārā, Got, s. a. Siva,</td>
<td>57, 143, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puravārukāthi, off.</td>
<td>163, 172, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purasa or purasta, 'gold';</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puravarā, vi,</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puravarai-chaturvedīmangalam, vi, s. a. Kiliān-kāttur,</td>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puravarai-kankāni, off.</td>
<td>111, 121, 123, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puravavarnallur, vi, s. a. Kallikkudī, 101, 112, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purava,</td>
<td>67, 72, 111, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri (Hasināpurī ?), kṣeṭra,</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri, vi,</td>
<td>54, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri, vi,</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri of Jagannatha, tu,</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri-Kōnmaksa, co,</td>
<td>226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 234, 236, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrkal, vi,</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purle plates of Indravarman,</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārma-kumāha, auspicious object,</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūravarman, k.,</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrūrna-nālga (?), vi,</td>
<td>50, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parabha, priest,</td>
<td>59, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrulkulam or Puttukulam, vi,</td>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvāravas, myth. k,</td>
<td>66, 67, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahai Nāyaka, min, s. a. Puruvahottama, 200,</td>
<td>212, 214, 223, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahāsiva, rel. preceptor, 310 and n,</td>
<td>311, 312, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahottama sūtras Puruvahai Nāyaka, min,</td>
<td>200, 204,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahottambhatta, donee,</td>
<td>216, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahottamadeva, donee,</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruvahottamapuri, vi,</td>
<td>199, 200, 208, 218, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrva-Trikūta, t. d.</td>
<td>229, 231, 232, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purṣa (Pushyā), name,</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpakātū, myth. k,</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpanava, l,</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushpavanavēvara, god,</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastaka-hiṣākara, library,</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putṭemal, vi, probably s. a. Puttendal, 104, 109, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puttūr, vi,</td>
<td>89, 97, 99, 111, 116, 123, 124, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puttūr-kilavan-Bātan, m. s. a. Pupappalarai-nādu-kilavan,</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puvianallur, vi,</td>
<td>70, 106, 111, 118, 128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r, subscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, used for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, used before hard consonants and i, ch and k,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, doubling of consonants after —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājaśāya, n. of an audience hall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājājñāma, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājākṣhāna-cittailūr, rī, s. a. Puliangudi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eṣṇi-karma, Chōla tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsmita, Pāṭiṇḍa k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsmita, sur. of Indravarman, Gaṅga k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimha, Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimha-kulakīrī, t. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimhakulkārī, tī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimhakūlam, t. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimhāya, Chōla tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājāsimhāya-cūturaśūna-mangalam, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajatadaka, tank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rajatadakāhilīpati, tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajāyā, f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendram, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendra III, Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendra-Chōla, Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendra-Chōla, Chōla I, Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrā-Chōla, E. Chātuka k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrā-Chōla II, E. Chātuka k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrādeva, Chōla k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāmanīlūr, rī., s. a. Mālāgānēri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāṣṭinganīlūr, rī., s. a. Achehānkkāṭirūkkai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāṣṭinganīlūr, rī., s. a. Achehānkkāṭirūkkai, 110, 113, 123, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāṣṭinganīlukālī, t. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāṣṭinganīlukālī, Chāvaiyārajan, n. of a throne,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājendrāṣṭingapūram, rī., s. a. Viṅgūkkī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājēṣuṇyī-Palapartī, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājyari, princess, sister of Hachavardhana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākasa-Qangarasa, Ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rākṣasa, a form of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāktapura, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākṣameda, t. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma or Rāmāchandra, god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma, myth, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma or Rāmabhūpa, Yādvā k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāchandra, Humāyūn pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāchandra or Rāmādeva, Yādvā k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmādeva Rāja, k. of Dēsapīrī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmādevabhatta, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāgāyī, tiṅka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāgiri, rī., s. a. Rāṃtēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma-nārāyaṇa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmana-Paramātma Bhātan, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmanugadānam, uk. vī, vī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmānuja,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāpsītha, k. of Benares,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāpsīthā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmpakṣa, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāma-Pīṇayavallabha, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāsa, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaṭhīrtha or Rāmaṭṭhīlākā L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmatīrtham plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmatīrthikā-Eṣṭīvy-four, dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāryana, epic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāyana, Telugu uk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāvārya, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmbhāgiri, L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmēvarambhatta, ālayaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmēvarambhatta, ālayaka, god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmaṇiyasavallabha, m. n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmēṭk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāpēbhāṣā or Rāpēbhāṣājadhāva, Bhāṣā k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 150, 157, 158, 159 and n., 181, 183, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāpāadhava, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇaka, tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇakāmarina, tit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇakāmarina, Pindara k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇagāra, god, s. a. Rānagāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇakāma, tit., probably of a Pāṇṭā k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṇasīngamangalam, rī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rānagāna, god at Śrīrajan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rānagāna, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāśāla, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāśinavacuddhākara, rhetorical uk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāsānura chehirmai, dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāśī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansa (Kanja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karkatuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrāśākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāśtrakūta, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāśtrakūta of Berar, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṣṭarāṭakārī, Mahārāṭakārī, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāṣṭrapati, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jaijaliśe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katni, name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnākāra, n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnakāmaśāstra, Mahārāṭhāva uk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattapāla, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattapālikon-lakṣamāṇa-dhām, t. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattapālikon-lakṣa-vajrakāla, du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattapālikon-seven-and-a-half lakk. co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawai, rā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravikulāśikā, Chōla uk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raviśārman, done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravivarman-chaturvedinamgala, vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāyutt-Kēsa, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāyabahāra, Buṣa jā k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāyā-Nārāyaṇa, Yāhara ti., Dvāraśākhavaramallā, Kāyana ti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāyāvāchakamu, Teliyak vu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reddi-Vēma, Reddi k., s. a. Prālaya Vēma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remḍēru, sur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēpha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēphā, doubling of consonants after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēphā, doubling of consonants before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvā, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvāsāsā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēvāsāsā, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah plates of Kumārapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah plates of Harīrāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah plate of Salakshanavarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah inscription of Mahavasimbha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah plates of Mahārāṇa Harihajdeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewah plates of K. 963, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri., sign for, ri. initial, ri used for ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 147, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudhāpur plates of Prabhāratī goti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūbhikēsavā(Hrishikēsā)Bhatta, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritupārṇa, myth. k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūḍāpūdi, en.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rūlini, (s. e. the star Aldebaran) wife of the Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cēvindrachandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra, god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra, lord of the Andhras, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra, Kākakīya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrāmahādevi, Kākakīya q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrasvāra, rel. preceptor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudrasvināmin, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukminī, goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāpadērābhatta, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sāhara, family</td>
<td>69, 71, 72, 74, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabhāhoshha, vi.</td>
<td>295 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādava-Māgan, Pändya k.</td>
<td>35, 34 n. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāduraṇ Sātran, m.</td>
<td>101, 112, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmanāt(Sāmanā)patēra, off.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādhvāsambhu, rel. preceptor</td>
<td>310 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādhu, vi., s. a. Sādhu</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādhu, vi., s. a. Sādhu</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāhāvān, m.</td>
<td>329 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākalbhāvāvārya, Chāla ti.</td>
<td>245, 262, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākalbhāvāvārya, Chāla ti.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>148, 156 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>55, 61, 165, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>55, 61, 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>184, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>290, 217, 282, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>221 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>310 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>310 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>2 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>333 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>329 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>24, 169, 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>94, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>44, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>203, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>320 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>227, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākhās.</td>
<td>31, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>1 Vol. XXV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśāman a, off.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśamantaripati</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śamadhabhavanidaya, tit.</td>
<td>22, 23, 187, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śalibrīh, god.</td>
<td>136, 174, 176, 182 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁbhāka, Śūdra ascetic</td>
<td>11, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śamudīvīrahinī, off.</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śanghāpālītā, Buddhist name</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁkhaṭīka, saṁghāṣī or saṁghāṭīka, Buddhist term meaning a robe</td>
<td>323 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāṅkarāchārya, rel. teacher</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāṅkhaśūdā, myth. serpent</td>
<td>53, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁmudāyam, off.</td>
<td>99, 106, 111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śāṅmadgupta, Gupta k.</td>
<td>44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 238, 239, 284 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śamudra-dāru, myth. k.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śamudrapāta, dt.</td>
<td>310, 311 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁvalalabha, dones</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁvalalā, m.</td>
<td>208, 213, 216, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁvala Nāyaka, off.</td>
<td>212, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁvari gau, vi.</td>
<td>218, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁvīna, vi.</td>
<td>55, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁghata-Nīkaṇha Atthakatā, Buddhist wk.</td>
<td>330 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śāṅchi Inscription of Chandrāgupta II</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁsagāra, s.a. Saṁsādīvīrahinī, off.</td>
<td>172, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandhi, observance of,</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do., rules for →, not observed,</td>
<td>2, 25, 66, 200, 282, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do., mistakes in</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṁsādīvīrahinī or saṁsādīvīrahikā or saṁsādī- *vīrahinī, off.</td>
<td>2, 5, 163, 282, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁjan plates of Amoghavarna,</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgama, dy.</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgama, Vijayanagara k.</td>
<td>188, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgama or Saṁgamēvāra, l.</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgama, lord of →</td>
<td>211, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgama-mangalam, s.a. Saṁkara-mangalam, vi.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgamēr plates of Bhillama II</td>
<td>54 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgaṇ-eṃba, l.</td>
<td>105, 108, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁgaperayān-embal, vi.</td>
<td>104, 105, 114, 122, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁghāmisrā, Maurya princess, daughter of *Aśoka</td>
<td>31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṅgūrāmāsinā-Pallavaraiyan, off.</td>
<td>101, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūriyan Varanavarūvan,</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkana-pallī, vi.</td>
<td>140, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkana, god.</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkana, Bhaṭṭa, Kavi, m.</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara-deva or śaṁkara-naga, Yādava k.</td>
<td>207, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara-nāga, Rāebhaktivākṣa k.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara-nāga, Kalachurī k.</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara-mangalam, vi.</td>
<td>135, 140, 145, 123, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara-mathā,</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkaraṇa (Śaṁkaraṇa), Kalachurī k.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkaraṇāyaṇa, god.</td>
<td>279, 286, 281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkaraṇāyaṇa, alias Karṇākara-Āchārīyan, eng.</td>
<td>254, 285, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkaraṇāyaṇapram, vi., s. a. Saṁkana-pallī,</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkara, auspicious object</td>
<td>243 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkheṭa plate of Śaṁtilla</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkṣīrṇānaprakāśikā, wk.</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁkṛta or Saṁkramaṇaḥ—</td>
<td>301, 306, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makara-saṅkranti</td>
<td>158, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁkṛta-saṅkranti</td>
<td>292, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkranti</td>
<td>263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṅnavaram, vi.</td>
<td>306, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṅnichchāni alias Uttarāmālā-Śaṅjī, f.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁtalaṅga, vi.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁtanu, epic hero</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁtī Śiva, teacher</td>
<td>3, 4, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁtī, Mātrī, Seven Mothers, goddesses</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁbhāpurā Kings</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁrama, vi.</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁpadraka, vi.</td>
<td>158, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁragabhatta, dones</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁragāmaṇya, m.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁragapāṇibhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁragapāṇidēva, m.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śaṁrapāṭapam alias Viṣṇumālā-ājāmparunderu, vi.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati, goddes</td>
<td>5, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāpadāra, library</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>141, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsūlavarman, Maukhari feud. ch.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, dones</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati, č.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati inscription of Mahāpāla</td>
<td>310 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati, dones</td>
<td>16, 207, 209, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsūlavarman, grammar. an.</td>
<td>208, 213, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati, dones</td>
<td>228 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati, č.</td>
<td>323, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, dones</td>
<td>211, 222 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa</td>
<td>53, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, comp., s. a. Chandra- *bhāṣaṇa-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>254, 264, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, poet</td>
<td>311, 315, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>132, 133, 135, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>319, 320, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 161, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>102, 113, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṁsravati-bhāṭa, m.</td>
<td>102, 113, 124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sivallava, Alagiyamana, alias Kāli-garāya, off. 69, 99, 111, 124
Sivallava-Pallava, off. 69, 99, 111
Sivakalyāya, alias Bhāttan. 103, 113, 125
Sivallava Pāryāmudāya, alias Māra-gūrattuvēḷan, off. 102, 113, 124
Simamahāna-stūra, uk. 183
Siva-Māndhāttravām, Kāda-ka-ba, k. 47
Sivanasadām, uk. 299 n.
Sīppāda-khāra, it. 254
Sīvapura, it. 217, 277
Sīvapuri, it. 277
Sīvaputri, s. a. Sāhalātandāya, it. 96
Siyāvēra, done. 44, 46, 47
Sivaskanda, Pallava, 45, 48, 284 n.
Sivagaiyāṅkulī, it. 104, 109, 122
Sīya, Paramā k. 166
Sīyā-ki, uk. 34, 322
Skanda. god. 221, 229, 3.3, 317
Skandagupta, Gupta k. 51
Skāndhāvarā, it. 62
Smitā, it. 75
Smitāchandra, uk. 288 n.
Smitātha, uk. 203, 206 n., 208 n.
Sōbhanāth, hill. 332
Sōḍhālaya-opādyāyā, m. 55, 61
Sōjanē, humālot. 200, 211, 215, 222, 224
Sōjanē-mālīgai, name of a place. 253 n.
Sōjamaṇḍalam or Sōjādu, co. 89, 99, 99, 111, 123, 253. 253, 264, 265, 305
Sōjamandalastakam, uk. 89, 90
Sōjamārtanda-chaturvedimangalam, it. 75, 96
Sōjan-raiy-kōjja, tit. of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. 35, 37, 38, 40
Sōlan-Silambān, alias Virachōla-Lankeśvara-dēva, ch. 83
Sōlapīṇḍiyaparam, uk. 93
Sōlapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāda, t. d. y. 69, 89, 99, 111, 124
Sōla-Pāṇḍyā Māvendāvaḷa, off. 73
Sōlaiyēri, it. s. a. Sōlai-kōrī. 104, 198, 122
Sōma or Sōmaēvāra, Silāhāra, k. 205
Sōmaśadāyiyār, Hāyaqalū, q. 89 n.
Sōmaṇāthā-bhattra, done. 217
Sōmaṇāthā-mahādī, m. 217
Sōmānārī, L. 106, 110, 111, 123
Sōmaśambha, ret. preceptor. 310 n.
Sōmāntār, vi. 70, 109, 110, 116, 123, 126
Sōmavamsa, lunar race. 209, 230
Sōmaya-bhāttra, m. 142, 144
Sōmēsvara, god. 54, 58
Sōmēsvara, Hāyaqalū, k. 89 n.
Sōmēsvara, Silāhāra, k. 221 n.
Sōmēsvara I, V. Čākujaka y. 184
Sōmēsvara II, Čākujaka y. 245, 246
Sōmēsvaradēva-maṭha, monastery, 183, 184, 185
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sūmērava Upādhyāya, m.,</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūmīdeva, ch.,</td>
<td>274, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śroundum-bal, l.</td>
<td>110, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūpārā, l.</td>
<td>168 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobh grant of Vinayasūtiya,</td>
<td>250 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrivat, v.</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrūnas, v.</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Śrūtrīya-Kramavāntōn, r.</td>
<td>101, 113, 117, 124, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī-Śrāvan Nātān, m.</td>
<td>103, 113, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīprāṇa, l.</td>
<td>188 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīprāṇa, Kramavāntana, dona,</td>
<td>242, 263, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīpūjaka, m.</td>
<td>344, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrāmanerā, Buddhist pupil,</td>
<td>34, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śrāmanerī, f. Buddhist pupil,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvasti, v.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīśāla, mercaut,</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī, goddess, consort of Viśrūni,</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrahyo, Viśrūni philological wn.</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrahyo-grupa, upaniṣada, Viśrūni</td>
<td>pontifical list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrūṇa, m.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrūṇa, t. d.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, author,</td>
<td>184 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, utt. m.</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu japa list</td>
<td>323 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, v.</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇa, legend on,</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, v.</td>
<td>175, 185, 214, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇa,</td>
<td>51, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, n.</td>
<td>39, 40, 41, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, Aghora-vācaka, viṣṇu,</td>
<td>100, 112, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu,</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu,</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, viṣṇu, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, off.</td>
<td>138 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>135 n., 323 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>268, 269, 264 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>105, 109, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>297, 291, 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>212, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>117, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīvīrāna, s. a. Śrīvīrāna, Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>105, 110, 123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Svāmichandra, k. of the family of Harischandra, 226.

Svāmichandra, k. of the family of Harischandra, 226.

Svāmichandra, k. of the family of Harischandra, 226.

Svāmichandra, k. of the family of Harischandra, 226.

Svāmichandra, k. of the family of Harischandra, 226.
<p>| INDEX |
|--------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Tapaṇḍīrī (Tapāṇḍīrī), mo., 10 and n., 11, 14, 15 | 34 |
| Tārā, Buddhist goddess, | 21 n. |
| Tārāvada, vi., | 198 n. |
| Tārāvada, off. | 208 |
| Tārākā-rūṇātā, Vākh., hist. chron., | 207 n. |
| Tātaśaṅkha, vi., | 204, 205 |
| Tatākaragupta, author, | 34 and n. |
| Tathāgata, s.a. the Buddha, | 331 |
| Tattatajāta, vi., | 105, 110, 123 |
| Taśaṅkha, vi., | 2 n. |
| Taiaśaṅkha, vi., | 233 n. |
| Taurapaka, vi., s.a. Toran, | 292 |
| Tāyān-Pādi-śaṅkha, vi., | 106, 111, 123 |
| τέτα, 'date', | 81 |
| Tējāvarman, k. of the Hariśchandra family, 225, 227, 233, 235, 237, 238 |
| Tēkabhara, vi., | 310, 311 and n., 315 |
| Tekkali, Zaminndari, | 194 |
| Tekkali plates, | 283 |
| Tēl, vi., | 48 |
| Telēngāpa, Telugu co., | 301 |
| Tēkkēl-āhāra, dt., | 21 n. |
| Tēnāra, vi., | 96 |
| Tēnārapurī, vi., | 96 |
| Ten-Kalavali-nādu, t. d., | 98 |
| Ten-Kallaga-nādu, dt., | 97 |
| Ten-kāra, vi., | 83 |
| Ten-Kēttār, vi., | 95 |
| Ten-Kōṣa, dt., | 95 |
| Ten-nā i.e. Pāṇḍya, 64 n. 245, 263, 265 |
| Ten-nāvan Tāmilvēl, m., | 39 n. |
| Ten-Parāṃbavā, t. d., | 91 |
| Ten-veri, vi., | 94 |
| Tētrālam, Tamīj hymns, | 91 |
| Tēvūr, vi., | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tēwar inscription of Gayakarna th, | 311 |
| Th, | 279 |
| Thākura, vi., | 4, 5 |
| Thākura Harpāla, m., | 2 |
| Thākura Mahāpravara, vi., | 268 |
| Thānā plates of Rāmacandra, | 201, 221 n. |
| therā, Buddhist term, | 33 |
| Thera Bhādanta Buddhakīta, monk, | 33 |
| Thera Cētiya-bāndaka Bhādanta Buddhī, monk, | 33 |
| Thētopāka Aśvakathā, Buddhist uk., | 330 n. |
| Theravāda, school of Buddhism, | 32 |
| Thēpārama, | 32 |
| Thīgumdi plates of the time of Vikramaditya VI, | 166, 188 |
| tiger, emblem on seal, | 42, 43, 241 |
| tiger, emblem of the Chēras, | 121 |
| tiger, Chēka emblem, | 242 and n. |
| Tīkkhāri, vi., | 311 |
| Tilapudraka, co., | 156, 157 |
| Tilavali inscription, | 202 n. |
| Tillāsītāna, vi., | 39 n. |
| Tillāyi, vi., | 297, 303 |
| Tillāyāvittāma, vi., | 304 |
| Timarāja, ch., | 300 |
| Timmāpanuru plates of Vaiṣhṇuvadhanas, | 239 |
| Tippaṇīya, m., | 142, 144 |
| Tirappu-Paniyanēri, vi., | 105 |
| Tirappu-Śrīdāna-śāndal, vi., probably s. a. | 105 |
| Sundan-śāndal, | 283 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 297, 304 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 283 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 297, 304 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 302, 303, 309 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 302, 303, 309 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 297, 302, 303 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 164 n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 89 n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 64 n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 297, 302, 303 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 303, 307, 309 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 64 n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 85 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 96 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 100 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 112, 124 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 96 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 307, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 63 n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 322 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 306, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 297, 303, 306, 309 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 113, 118, 124, 129 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 304, 307, 308 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 40 and n. 42 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 98 and n. |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 78 |
| Tirirūhūna plates, | 248, 250, 254 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tūravē, vi., s. a. Torveh,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōsāla, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailōkyamallādēva, Chandēla k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailōkyamalla, W. Chākukya k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailōkyamalledhāramalā, W. Chākukya k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailōkayasa, name of a ruby,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trailōkayavarman, Chandēla k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirasī Ta-pallava,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiwiridya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiō (yoga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trībhūvanamahāvoratīra, tit.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trībhūvāna Mahāvīra, Kāra q.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trībhūvanādēva, tit.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trībhūvanādēva, legend on seal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trī-chiva, Buddhist term meaning the robes of a monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīkaliṇa, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīkāla-gādhi-palati, tit.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīkūta, dn.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilūngī, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilūngī grant,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīlōchanaḥchārya, court poet,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīnētra, god, s. a. Siya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpiṭaka (Trepitikā or Pīṭṭaka), Buddhist text,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpurāntaka, Kāyaṭha ch., s. a. Tripūrā,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpurāntaka, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpurāntaka-kēhētra, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpurāntaka inscription of Ambādeva,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīpurāsīdēva, Kāyaṭha ch.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripūrī, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīsamāpāda, vi. (?),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīsiṭ-vaiy-ādhi-pati, tit.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīvāra or Trīvānagaras, co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīvāra or Tīvāra, k. of Southern Kōnata,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīvāya, family name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīvikrama, Bhāttaputra——dowry,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīvikramabhatta, donee,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīyambaka, Vijayanagar pr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīyambakamalagam, vi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīyamgiri-autā, goddess, s. a. Pārvatī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trūlaiyānālī,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbāvan, l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūndira, co.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūngā, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūngabhādrā, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūnaliūr, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūrūga-sādhaniska, off.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turumā, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turumā-nādu, dt.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuttikkuḷaṭ, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuttiyūr, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyāgavalli, vi.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u, used for s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, medial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, medial, sign for——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udaga, ci.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udākulam, vi., s. a. Kīti-Chūrai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udāya, s. a. Chēra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udachandramalagam, vi.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayādeva-Pandita, donee, s. a. Niravadya-Pandita,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayādīka-Śrī-Kārīmāra-Bhātta, m.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayagiri, fort,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayana, Pāṇḍava k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udayāg Nambī Poṇṇambalakkuṭtakais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virāsingadēvar, off.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Udayān Varagunadēvan, m., s. a. Ajagiya-pandī-
| ya-Vīlupparaiyan, | 101, 112, 124 |
| Udayīyamperūr, v., s., s. Udaga, | 250 |
| Udayiyārdugūr, l., | 36 |
| Udayiyārkūvī, vi., | 303 |
| Udayīyār Tiruncuvelī-Udayīyār, god, | 76 |
| Udayēndiram plate of Prithivipati II, | 37 n., 77 |
| Uddari, vi., | 202 |
| Uddari stone inscription, | 203 |
| Udumbandai, l., | 104, 109, 122 |
| Udra, co., s. a. Orissa, | 286 |
| Uddandā-Khān, feud. ch., | 306, 308 |
| Ukhunda plate of Prithivibhiṣaṇa, | 149 |
| Ulagandalaiyāllirū, vi., s. a. Kappalūr, | 94, 99, 111, 123, 124 |
| Ulagamuludaiyāl, Chāja q., | 247, 283, 295 |
| Ulagapai, vi., | 104, 109, 122 |
| Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār, Pāṇḍya ep., | 88 |
| Ulakkuṇodi, vi., | 97 |
| Ulavapāḍū, vi., | 48 |
| Umā, f., | 310, 313, 317 |
| Umāvana, forest, | 29 n. |
| Umāvarman, E. Gaṇapak, | 283, 284 |
| Ummattūr, co., | 299 n. |
| Uṇḍavilli, l., | 301, 307, 308 |
| Uṇḍāiygar or Uṇḍāyi-sabhaiygar, managing body of a temple, | 138 |
| upadhāmiya, use of—— | 60 |
| upadhāmiya, sign for—— | 226 |
| Upajīkiyā, 'preceptress', | 32 |
| Upamanyu, myth. hero, | 317 |
| Upāsaka, | 31, 53, 54 |
| Upasampadā, a Buddhist ordination, | 32, 330 |
| Upāsikā, f. disciple, | 31, 33, 34 |
| Upāsākā-vihāra, | 52 |
| Upēndra Bhaṭṭa, poet, | 154 n. |
| Ûr, | 76 |
| Uppattū-kūrgam (Vaḍa-kōṇādu), dt., | 93, 94 |
| Uriyappi, l., | 105, 110, 122 |
Urul plates of Hastivarman (year 80), 195, 196 and n.
Urti, vi., 154
Urti or Uranthi-thakura, d.t., 147, 153, 154, 157, 161, 162, 163
Urupalli, vi., s. a., Ulavapadu, 48
Urupalli grant of Sinnavaran, 43 n., 45
Urupalli grant of Yuva-Maharaja Vishnu-gopavaran, 44, 48
Uedaikurukai, l., 264, 265
Ubedavatâ, donar, 188
Utkala s.a. Orissa, co., 103, 244 n., 261, 288
Uttama-Chôla, Chôla k., 35, 38 n., 242 n.
Uttamapôdiyanalur, vi., s. a. Mâlai-kôdumalur or Kodumalur, 98
Uttamadili, Chôla pr., 38
Uttamadili-chaturvedamangalam, vi., 38 n.
Uttama-vâykkâ, channel, 38 n.
Uttamadîla-chaturvedamangalam, vi., 74
Uttamadîlapuram, vi., s. a. Kornayar, 95
Uttamottama, a class or type of temple, 325
Uttarakôsala, l., 207
Uttaramalur, vi., 78
Uttaramalur inscriptions, 73
Uttaramalur-Nâgâi, f., s.a. Sânchíchânsi, 78
Uttarapatha, 22, 23
Uvishekar, 40
Uvaniyamangalam, vi., 104, 109, 122
Uyyakkochedâlanallur, vi., s.a. Mootâr, 94
Uyyanirâdi Periyâvân, m., 102, 113, 124
Uyyâg-Sûriyâp-ëmbal, vi., 105, 109, 122
Uyyavanvând Panâvan, m., s.a. Mânâkharana-Mûvendavâlar, 99

V
v, used for Ë, 1, 8, 165, 282, 328
v not distinguished from Ë, 147, 309
v and Ë indicated by separate signs, 195
vâ, changed into Ë, 200
Vâchâspatî (Brahmâ), god, 2
Vâchâspatî, m., 279 and n.
Vâdâ-kadama, s.a. vâdâ-kadam, 133, 134
Vâda-Kâlavai-nâdu, t. d., 98
Vâda-Kônâdu, dt., s. a. Urrâtkurâram, 95
Vâdakuruâlai, l., 264, 265
Vâda-Pâmbârâ-nâdu, t. d., s. a. Mâl-kâru, 92, 93
Vâda Sîruvâyil-nâdu, dt., 95
Vâjavallî plates of Aparâjita, 44 n.
Vaddâkâdâmas, m., 160
Vâdîvâhana, l., 33
Vâdhâra plates of Buddhâra, 228 n.
Vâdôha, vi., 310, 311, 315

Vâghaure, vi., s. a. Vâghur, 200, 208, 211, 215, 222, 224
Vâghumata, l., 33
Vâgãs, god, 175
Vâhâdha, m., 2, 5
Vaihâvan, Vaihâvan biographical âk., 321
Vaijai, rî, s. e. Srîvallabhappârâru, 64, 71, 114, 125
Vaijai, vi., 304, 305, 308
Vaijayanâth, l., 45, 167
Vaiyudanallur, vi., 92
Vâyirâgaram, vi., s. a. Vairâgar, Vajra or Vajrâgadha, 206
Vajrâgadha, 78
Vâsîhâsika, 321
Vaiorâvism, religion, 294
Vâtânâdva, ride, 154, 156
Vâtânap, rî, 154, 156
Vâvva...-y-vishaya, t. d., 50, 52
Vâjimêdhâ-târthâ, târtha, 16
Vâjjeâ, Śîlâhâra k., 54 and n., 57
Vâjjeâva, Śîlâhâra k., 55
Vâjjeâdâva, Śîlâhâra k., 54, 57, 58, 63
Vajra or Vajrâgadha, vi., s. a. Vairâgar, 206
and n.
Vaiyâkara, ci., 206
Vaiyâka, co., 211, 222
Vajrayâna or Agranaya Mahâyâna, school of Buddhism, 34
Vajrâyâna, t., 6
Vâlabh, lord of—, 292
Vâlabhâ, t., 28, 28, 29 and n.
Vâlâbha-Vâlâbha, ep. of Chôla Vittâkânâda, 244, 262
Vâlâbharas, 29 n.
Vâlabhârya, m., 141, 142, 144
Vâlabhôkta, m., 188, 193
Vâlâm, vi., 304
Vâlûr or Vâlûrupatâna, co., 272, 274 n.
Vâmâdâva (Vishnu), god, 2
Vâmâdâva, Kalachârâ k., 310 n.
Vâmâdâva-pâd-adâvâdyâta, t., 5
Vâmârâ, rel. preceptor, 310 n.
Vâma-âhu, m., 142, 144
Vâmanâhârya, m., 216
Vâma-âmabhu, rel. preceptor, 310 n.
Vânga, co., 261
Vâmsâdharâ, rî, 106, 288
Vâpanagapâyârayan, m., 119, 126
Vânamalâdunâ, vi., 22
Vânapâla, co., 92
Vânganâgar, vi., 104
Vânâyû, vi., 104, 108, 122
Vânârû, stream, 104, 146
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>Vratahūla-Lakāśvarādeva, ch., s. a. Sōlaṇ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silāmbāṇ,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      |                                           | 83
|      | Vratadva, moon                           | 335
|      | Vragsāgapparayan-ēmbal, l.               | 104, 108, 122
|      | Vraiyāchchhila, vi.                      | 95
|      | Vraiyaviṣakālāllīr, vi., sur. of Śeṅgulam | 88
|      | Vratsamukamāngalam, vi., s. a., Sūrivatud | 70
|      |                                           | 102, 113, 119, 124, 129
|      | Vratākāraṇ, name of a royal seat         | 319
|      | Vratākēśari, Pāṇḍya pr.                 | 250
|      | Vratākēśuṇī, supplier of firewood       | 40, 42
|      | Vratāmaṭakku-rosthrmai, dt.              | 302
|      | Vratamāpuru, vi.                        | 293 n
|      | Vratānārāyana-kuṇakālī Pulitunurūr, vi.  | 40 n
|      | Vratānāṭiyānāllīr, vi., s. a., Nallirukkai | 98
|      | Vratāṇāṭiyāṅkōl, l. m.                   | 109, 123
|      | Vratāṇāṭiyāpapparayan-ēmbal, l.         | 104, 109, 122
|      | Vra-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k.                   | 83, 85, 86
|      | Vra-Pāṇḍya, Sōlaṇ-rālai-kondā—Pāṇḍya k. | 36, 38 and n, 37, 38 and n, 39, 40
|      | Vra-Pāṇḍya-dva, Pāṇḍya k.              | 320
|      | Vra-Pāṇḍya-nālai-kondā, tī. of Chōkā k. | 35
|      | Vratārājendrādeva, Chōkā k.             | 78, 241, 242 n
|      |                                           | 244, 245, 262
|      | Vratārājendra-Brahmādevirāja, s. a. Chandra- |
|      |   Ākāraṇa-bhāṣaṇa-Bhāṭṭa              | 254
|      | Vra-Rāmaṇātha, Hoymāna k.              | 325
|      | Vratāravirman-Tiruvaṇi, Vatsūdā k.      | 94
|      | Vraśāvīva, cult                        | 174
|      | Vraśāma, myth. k.                      | 259
|      | Vraśāngēva, m. s. a. Udāiyan Nambi     | Ponnambal-kōttān, 99, 112, 124
|      | Vratāōla-Valāṇādyu, dn.                | 254, 264, 266
|      | Vratārāvalabha-Brahmādevirāja, sur. of  |
|      |   Tūnadvaya-Pāpanāṣa, offic.            | 253, 264, 266
|      | Vrāṭrā, dy.                            | 108, 122
|      | Vrāṇāḷīyan, name of a throne           | 319, 320, 325
|      | Vratavali, vi.                          | 321
|      | Vratavali-Pillai, Vaiṣṇava discipline   | 322
|      | Vrēvāramudāiyār, god                    | 84
|      | Vrīti, god                              | 285
|      | Vrīrā, vi.                              | 48
|      | Vrīkūḍi, vi.                            | 304, 307, 309
|      | Vṛppar, vi, s. a., Vipparla            | 49
|      | Vṛṭādhābhūṣana, figure of speech,       | 318 n
|      | Vṛṭāpīkā, Vijñānabhairava k.            | 190
|      | Vīśāyālaya-chaturvediāntali, vi.        | 75
|      | Vīśākhavarman, Kalinga k.              | 294 and n
|      | Vīṭaladēva, Vāghēla k. of Aṣhikūdā    | 203, 204
|      | Vīṭalūr, vi.                            | 95
|      | visarga changed to sh                 | 8
|      | visarga, used for denoting punctuation | 66, 131
|      | Vīśnunāmīśādhi, legend on seal         | 242 n
|      | Vīśahapati, offic.                      | 30, 59, 294
|      | Vīśu, god                               | 137, 188, 231, 234, 237
| PAGE | Vīśhupbhātta, donēs                      | 215, 217
|      | Vīśhuvadatta, m.                        | 163
|      | Vīśhugopārvaman, Pālava k.              | 44
|      | Vīśhunārā, te.                          | 48
|      | Vīśhunārā, Kāṁchā, l.                   | 318 and n
|      | Vīśhunakūndin, dy.                      | 269 n
|      | Vīśhunamāchī, m.                        | 215
|      | Vīśhuparāṇāma, Telgu wroc.              | 140 and n
|      | Vīśhurvājā or Vīśhuvardhana (III), E. Chā-  |
|      |   īkyā k.                               | 191
|      | Vīśhuvardhana, E. Chāīkūya k.          | 239, 248
|      | Vīśhuvardhana (I), E. Chāīkūya k.      | 191
|      | Vīśhuvardhana (II), E. Chāīkūya k.     | 191, 282
|      | Vīśhuvardhana, Hoymāna k.              | 202
|      | Vīśhuvardhana Vijayākāyī, E. Chāīkūya k.| 49
|      |                                           | 252 n
|      | Vīśhuvarman, ch.                        | 48
|      | Vīshvaksena or Sēnai-mudaliyār, Vaiṣṇava  |
|      |   devotee                                | 320
|      | Vīşayaŷa, m.                            | 140, 144
|      | visūd, l. m.                            | 6 n
|      | Vīśvānathabhāṭṭa, m.                    | 216
|      | Vīśvāsir, creator of the universe,      | 107, 121
|      | Vīśvābhū, an incarnation of the Buddha  | 333 n
|      | Vīśvēvāra, E. Chāīkūya k.               | 335
|      | Vīśvēvāra, m.                           | 3
|      | Vīśvēvāra, composer                    | 8
|      | Vīśvēvāra, author                      | 324 n
|      | Vīśvēvāra-bhatta, m.                   | 142, 144
|      | Vīśvēvāra-bhatta, donēs                | 217
|      | Vīśpārti, vi, s. a. Vipparla           | 49
|      | Vīṭṭabandha                            | 3, 6
|      | Vīṭṭhapāya, m.                         | 54, 59
|      | Vīṭṭpurārū, vi.                        | 92 n
|      | Vīṣavaṇī, myth. k.                     | 255
|      | Vīṣevāra, teacher                      | 183, 185
|      | Vīṇabhābhōga, t. d.                    | 282, 286, 287
|      | Vṛtakhaṇḍa, wroc.                      | 10, 202 and n, 203, 275
|      | Vṛi-Bṛhath-Sārāi, vi.                  | 147, 156
|      | Vṛiṣahadbhava, god, s. a., Śiva,        | 185
|      | Vṛitāri, s. a. Indra                   | 57
|      | vrīti                                  | 73, 74, 77, 200 and n
|      | Vṛyārakāstu                             | 259
|      | Vṛyākaṇa, grammar                       | 78
|      | Vṛyākāya, "exception",                 | 72
|      | Vṛyāhāyankāra, Chōkā k.                | 244, 260
|      | Vṛyaṇa Bhagavān, god of learning        | 325

W

Wāghār, vi, s. a., Vāghaure                        | 201

Warangal ca.                                    | 301
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y, bipartite,</td>
<td>50, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, symbol resembling—, used to denote ppa,</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādava or Yadu, myth. k.,</td>
<td>8, 9, 188, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādava, descendants of Yadu,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādava, descendants of Dévaru, dy.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādavas of Dévaru, later—</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñā Dikṣīta, m.</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāśarman, m.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñaveśavēkha Dharmaśāstra, sk.</td>
<td>288 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāśvarman, Mañjhāri ch.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāśvarmanabhatta, doner,</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñā, Kāpātrakā, engraver,</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāshadatta, engr.</td>
<td>159 n., 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajñāshi, name,</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasunū, emblem of—</td>
<td>22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādakārma, Kajāchāri k.,</td>
<td>310 and n, 311, 312, 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādāvarman, Chandella k.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādāvāhāra, monastery,</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yādakārma,</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādakārma, Mahāyāna, Vijayalakṣiṇa til.</td>
<td>305, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādakārma. ci.</td>
<td>289 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of the cycle:—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biserudāh̄a,</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāvika (Bhāva),</td>
<td>329 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrābhra,</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvāra,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śava,</td>
<td>301, 304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krōdha,</td>
<td>165, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramādi,</td>
<td>273 n., 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramādhatu,</td>
<td>273 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadhāra,</td>
<td>201, 211, 214, 222, 224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saumya, 241, 244, 263, 265, 319 n.
Sukha, 319 n.
Vikāra, 319, 325
Vikram, 302
Vikrita, 271, 277, 278
Vīrubhīna, 60
Yuva, 188, 193

Year (of Gāṇa era):—
28, 195
80, 196 n.
87, 194, 195, 198
91, 194, 195

Year of unspecified era:—
39, 282, 286, 287
288, 151
293, 147, 151
461, 227

Year, regnal:—
7th, 241, 244, 263, 265
10th, 132, 289, 291
11th year and 108th day, 131, 134, 136
11th opposite the 13th, 108, 122, 123
13th year and 4300th day, 108, 122
25th, 107, 121

Yogas:—
Vythāga, 201
Yogādevabhatta, m., 216
Yogībhatta, m., 215
Yogī-Mallavāram, ci. 244
Yudhishṭhira, epic hero, 57, 155, 160, 231, 234, 236, 291

Yumrāja, ‘crown prince’, 139, 148, 188
Yuddhaharula, til. of W. Chākṣuṭa Mānālarṣa, 27
Yuddhamalla II, E. Chākṣuṭa k., 239
Yuddhānces, til. 24