CONTENTS

1. Two Pala Plates from Belwa. By D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund. 1
2. Kolhapur Inscription of Silahara Bhoja II; Saka 1163. By Motahar G. Dikshit; Sangar. 15
3. Maier Inscription of a Saluki Chief. By M. Venkutasamy, Ootacamund. 18

PLATES

No. 1. Two Pala Plates from Belwa:
(a) Plate of Mahipala I; Regnal Year 5 between pages 6 and 7
(b) Plate of Vigrachapa III; Regnal Year II 19 and 21
(c) Maxier Inscription of a Saluki Chief to face page 23

APPENDIX

Rajaprásasti Inscription of Udaipur. By S. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi and B. Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund. 1

PLATES

Rajaprásasti Inscription of Udaipur:

I A View of the Noschandi Ghat, Rajasamuda to face page 2
II A View of one of the Pavilions, Rajasamuda 8
III Slab III 22
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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CONTENTS

No. 4. Sadasantapu Plates of Kadamba Vijayaditya: Saka 1102. By P. B. Dimar, Octacanund.................. 59

5. Two Sailodhava Grants from Banpur. By D. C. Sinha, Octacanund................................. 62


PLATES

No. 4. Sadasantapu Plates of Kadamba Vijayaditya: Saka 1102.................................................. between pages 30-31

5. Two Sailodhava Grants from Banpur
   A.—Grant of Auyadhara II, Mahayamraja.................. 30-37

5. Two Sailodhava Grants from Banpur
   B.—Grant of Dharmaraja Manubhata.................. 40-41

7. Alagum Inscription of Anantavarman: Regnal Year 62.................................................. on face page 47

8. Bangon Plate of Vigrachapala III: Regnal Year 17.................................................. between pages 54-55

APPENDIX

Rajagangul Inscription of Udaipur. By N. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi, and B. Ch. Chakrava, Octacanund............... 23-41
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bangun Plate of Vignahapula III; Regnal year 17. By D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kalidimi Grant of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I. By K. Venkateswaran, Madras</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Srimangam Inscription of Sadanvarya; Saka 1167. By K. G. Krishnan, Madras</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi. By D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kalidimi Grant of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Inscription of Udaipur</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX

Rajaramnath Inscription of Udaipur. By N. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi and R. Ch. Chhabria, Ootacamund. 41-60

PLATE

Rajaramnath Inscription of Udaipur: IV—Stab XVI 10 face page 58
CONTENTS

No. 10. Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi—By D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund—concl. 89

11. Bayur. Grant of Pallava Narasimhavarman; Year 12—By P. B. Desai, Ootacamund 89

12. Biligarth Plates of Kalachuri Pratapamalla; Year 969—By L. P. Pandeya, Raigarh, and P. B. Desai, Ootacamund 97

13. Siddharwar Inscription of Narasimha IV; Akha Year 19—By D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack 106

14. Sougodola Plates of Rashtrakuta Namaqaja; Saka 617—By M. Venkateswarayya, Ootacamund 109

PLATES

No. 11. Santiragrama Grant of Dandimahadevi between pages 88 and 89

12. Royaru Grant of Pallava Narasimhavarman; Year 12 86 and 97

13. Biligarth Plates of Kalachuri Pratapamalla; Year 969 102 and 103

14. Siddharwar Inscription of Narasimha IV; Akha Year 19 105 and 109

APPENDIX

Bajapenati Inscription of Ulapaney—By N. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi, and B. Ch. Chakravarti, Ootacamund 91-90
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sangaloeida Plates of Rashtrakuta Naravaraja; Saka 616</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mundakheeda Plates of Sminakha Jayasakti; Saka 602</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chaitavara Temple Inscription</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Epigraphical Notes</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nagurunjukonda Image Inscription</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>More Inscriptions at Ablr</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Purbatiya Plates of Vanamalavarnamahva</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sangaloeida Plates of Rashtrakuta Naravaraja; Saka 616</td>
<td>between page 114 and 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mundakheeda Plates of Sminakha Jayasakti; Saka Year 602</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Chaitavara Temple Inscription</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nagurunjukonda Image Inscription</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>More Inscriptions at Ablr</td>
<td>between pages 140 and 141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX

Rajasimhavati Inscription of Udaipur. By K. P. Chakravarti, New Delhi, and B. Ch. Chhabra, New Delhi—concl. 81-90
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Carhatiya Plates of Vanamalavarmadeva. By P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati, and D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Turimella Inscription of Chalukya Vikramaditya I; Year 2. By H. K. Narasinhaowami, Madras.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Puri Plate of Kulasambha. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bhadrak Inscription of Guna; Regnal Year 8. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hinna Berdi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vibhuraja; Year 3. By Moreshwar O. Dikshit, Saugar.</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Two Grants from Daspall. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bilaigurth Plates of Kalachuri Prithvideva; Year 896. By R. R. Desai, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Between pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Carhatiya Plates of Vanamalavarmadeva. By P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati, and D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>154 and 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Turimella Inscription of Chalukya Vikramaditya I; Year 2 and Dimnagudi Inscription of Vikramaditya I.</td>
<td>162 and 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Puri Plate of Kulasambha. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>to face page 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bhadrak Inscription of Guna; Regnal Year 8. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>to face page 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hinna Berdi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vibhuraja; Year 3. By Moreshwar O. Dikshit, Saugar.</td>
<td>between pages 176 and 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ajmer Stone Inscription. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>to face page 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Two Grants from Daspall. By D. C. Sirsar, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>between pages 182 and 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Two Grants from Daspall (I) A. Daspall Plate of Dassamuda; Year 184.</td>
<td>between pages 192 and 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Bilaigurth Plates of Kalachuri Prithvideva; Year 896. By R. R. Desai, Ootacamund.</td>
<td>196 and 197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bilasigat Plates of Kala-churi Prithvikala: Year 990. By P. B. Desai, Ootacamund—concl.</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Two Jain Inscriptions in Tamil. By P. B. Desai, Ootacamund</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Talangere Inscription of Jayasimha. By N. Lakhminarasar Rau, Ootacamund and D. L. Narasimhaiah, Mysore</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Two Plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi from Bandi. By S. C. Dey, Bhubaneswar</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Note on two plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi from Bandi. By Dr. D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Nandarm Plates of Venmani Rajendra-Choda: Saka 1091. By B. V. Krishna Rao, Rajahmundry</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Talangere Inscription of Jayasimha</td>
<td>in face page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Two Plates from Tribhuvanamahadevi from Bandi</td>
<td>between pages 219 and 227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

No. 32. Nandana Plates of Velanami Rajendra Choda, Saka 1091.  
By B. V. Krishna Rao, Rajahmundry—contd.  

Index  

Title page, Contents, List of Plates, and Additions and Corrections  

Page  

247  

249  

1—xii
# CONTENTS

The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTRIBUTOR</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHAUDHURI, P. D., M.A., LL.B., Gauhati, and SIRCAR, D.C., M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 20. Parbaatiya Plates of Vemana'svaramadura</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHHABRA, B.Ch., M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., (Legd.), F.A.S., New Delhi.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10. Chatesvara Temple Inscription</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 17. Epigraphical Notes</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE, S. C., B.A., Bhubaneswar.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 30. Two Plates of Tribhuvanamahadevi from Baul</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESAI, P. B., M.A., Ootacamund.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2. Sadasiragai Plates of Kadashta Vidyadhiya, Saka 1102</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11. Reyunra Gaunt of Pallava Narasimhaacavan, Year 12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12. See under PANDEYA, L. P., Raigarh, and DESAI, P. B., Ootacamund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 19. More Inscriptions at Abhir</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 27. Bilaigur Plates of Kalchuri Pratibhadeva, Year 899</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 28. Two Jaina Inscriptions in Tamil</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIKHIT, M. G., M.A., Ph.D., Raipur.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2. Kolliyar Inscription of Silhara Bhooja II, Saka 1104</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 24. Himn Boedi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vibhiraja, Year 3</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRISHNAN, K. G., M.A., Ootacamund.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9. Sringaram Inscription of Sadasiva, Saka 1467</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRISHNA RAO, B. V., M.A., LL.B., Rajahmundry.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 32. Nandura Plates of Velamasti Rajendra-Choda, Saka 1091</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAKSHMINABAYAN RAO, N., M.A., Ootacamund, and NARASIMHACHAR, D. L., M.A., Mysore.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 29. Talangare Inscription of Jayasimha</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIRASI, V. V., M.A., Nagpur.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 15. Mundakhede Plates of Sondhaka Jayasimha, Saka 602</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARASIMHASWAMI, H. K., B.Sc., Ootacamund.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 18. Nagaryumkonda Image Inscription</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 21. Turimella Inscription of Chalukya Vikramaditya I, Year 2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PANDEYA, L. P., Raigarh, and DESAI, P. B., M.A., Ootacamund.—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 12. Bilaigur Plates of Kalchuri Pratibhadeva, Year 909</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SIRCAR, D. C., M.A., Ph.D., Ootaamund.—

No. 1. Two Plates from Belwa .......................... 1
No. 2. Two Salladhava Grants from Barpeta  .......... 32
No. 7. Bangasor Plate of Vidyadhara III, Regnal Year 17  .......... 48
No. 10. Sangragrama Grant of Dandmahashri  ............ 78
No. 20. See under CHAUDHURI, P. D., M.A., L.I.B., Godal, and SIRCAR, D. C., M.A., Ph.D., Ootaamund  ............... 
No. 22. Puri Plate of Kulasambha ........................ 164
No. 23. Bhadrak Inscription of Gausa, Regnal Year 8 .... 169
No. 25. Ajmer Stone Inscription .......................... 178
No. 26. Two Grants from Despallak  ...................... 183
No. 31. Note on Two Plates of Trilokchandamahabhor from Bauli  .......... 239

SIRCAR, D. C., M.A., Ph.D., Ootaamund, and RATHA SARMA, S., Puri.—

No. 6. Alagum Inscription of Anutavarman, Regnal Year 92  .... 44

SIRCAR, D. C., M.A., Ph.D., Ootaamund, and TRIPATHI, K. B., M.A., Ph.D., Cuttack.—

No. 12. Siddheswar Inscription of Narasingha IV, Anka Year 10 .... 100

VENKATARAMAYYA, M., M.A., Agra.—

No. 2. Meanu Inscription of a Naka Chief .................. 18

VENKATARAMANAYYA, N., M.A., Ph.D., Madras.—

No. 8. Kalkdimi Grant of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I ........... 27

INDEX.—By A. N. Lakhiri, M.A. .......................... 249

APPENDIX.—Rajsprayasti Inscription of Udaipur. By the late Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., and B.Ch. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.I., Ph.D. [Ling.], F.A.S., New Delhi .... 1—90

Title page, Contents, List of Plates and Additions and Corrections .... 1—429
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS ix

Page 93, in. 6.—Add editorial note.—The word sripālavrā means "a ruler". Rājādvīya was the personal name of the executor.

95, f. n. 9.—Add editorial note.—For the correct meaning of the expressions, see The Successors of the Śātavāhanas, p. 196.

99, line 26.—For has read have.

100, line 9.—For Gorakhapur read Gorakhpur.

100, line 28.—For for read to.

101, f. n. 6.—For danda read danda.

112, lines 17 ff.—Add editorial note.—The rule of Gōvinda of the Aihole inscription cannot be assigned to 630-55 A.D. since he is known to have come into conflict with Pulakāśin II about the beginning of the latter's career, i.e. about 610 A.D. Pulakāśin II did not meet Gōvinda in the course of his campaign in the region of the Rēvā and the Vindhayas, but in the area about the northern bank of the Bhimaratulī (Bhimā) much nearer his capital.

113, line 31.—Add editorial note.—There is no proof that Padmanagara was a capital city.

114, text line 8.—Read Kāntah-kāraṇikah-kala.

114, text line 9.—Read rahitah-keṣub-kaśīrāḥ.

114, text line 11.—Read patah-salpa.

115, text line 18.—Add editorial note.—The reading is Fārmanabhaśa.

115, text line 20.—For karmmā[nta][ntā] read karmm”[nta]”

115, text line 20.—Read tachhaha[ch-chh].

115, text line 23.—Add editorial note.—The reading seems to be "ruhā-chchhīvihāralī-s[Bhi]." The name of the locality was therefore Acohchhīvihāralā and not Uchchhī/Chchhīvahalā as assumed by the author. (cf. pp. 110,114).

115, last line.—Read Ju[Yu][dhh]araḥ.

120, text line 12.—For grāmakūṭāsahayuktaka read grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka.

125, line 16.—Read śnau.

129, line 32.—For Meters read Metres.

129, f. n. 9, line 2.—For viyay-avahāḥ read viyay-avahāḥ.

138, lines 3 ff.—Add editorial note.—A purṇa-ghaṭa of this type was discovered in the course of excavations at Kondapur and is now in the Hyderabad Museum. A damaged terracotta female figure from Bhita (near Allahabad) now in the Aṃtoch Museum (Calletta) and a bas-relief on the wall of the Veṅkaṭēśvara temple on the Vaikunthaparām hill in the Guntur District have the lower part fashioned in the same posture.

138, f. n. 5, line 1.—For Ehuvula read Ehuvula.

147, line 4.—Read Krishna.
Page, 147 line 36.—Read Chûdāmaṇi.

151, line 34.—Read Mahāgaṇḍī.

152, line 21.—Read a geographical.

153.—For 135 read 153 in the number of page.

154, text line 25.—For dṛptā read dṛptā.

155, text line 34.—For "bhāscha read "bhāṣcha.

156, l.4, lines 4-5.—Read "ōkṣapāhī".

157, line 38.—Read Vaiṣṇava.

157, f.n.,—Read Purāṇa.

158, line 15.—Read subdueds.

160, line 27.—Read Davidian 5.

160, line 31.—Read ůhuṇa-yāsvānadvayino.

162, line 36.—For Cuddapah read Guntur.

163, lines 18 ff.—Read—covering a considerable area extending in a north-easterly direction over a tract from Tirumella in the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District right up to Kicherkalōja in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District.

163, f. n. 11.—For was omitted read had been omitted.

174, lines 29-30.—Add editorial note.—The palaeography of the record seems to suggest a date in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

176, text line 2.—Add editorial note.—Read "kārava śrīmaṭī.

177, text line 3.—Add editorial note.—Read "rājasaś-prajñayeśa.

177, text line 4.—Add editorial note.—The name Śyāmakī stands for Sanskrit Śyāmalī. She made a gift of 50 golden bars as daksāyī to the donee of the agrahāra granted by Prabhāvatī.

177, text line 6.—Add editorial note.—Read "ādiś(ī)na(by)na(ri)."

177, lines 7-8.—Add editorial note.—The intended reading may be "ārthi-jaṇa-śrīdeva-śrīnaṇḍaś samabhivardhaḥyantyaḥ.

177, text lines 8-9.—Add editorial note.—The reading is canmāṇyata for raukā-śrānyantyā. Āryā Prabhāvatī seems to have granted the agrahāra to a Brāhmaṇa whom Śyāmalī gave 50 golden bars as daksāyī of the said gift. Prabhāvatī may have been Śyāmalī's mother-in-law. There is no reason to identify Viśhukāma and Māga(nu)raja.

177, line 11.—Add editorial note.—Read "çuti(ā)-chāru(ā)-bhaṣa-ut(ū)-śpravāyāh(ā)."

177, line 13.—Read "dāni(kō)[na]."

177, line 16.—Add editorial note.—Read *kāṇaya.

178, line 2.—For Harakēli read Harakēli.

178, line 17.—Read inscription.—Omit bracket before Mr.
Page 178, line 23.—For nd read and.

178, line 29.—For laces read places.

178, line 30.—For inscription read inscription.

178, f. n. 3.—Read Vol. III.

181, text line 11.—Read Hiranyakasipūpōṣa.

186, line 4.—For called read called.

186, line 6.—Read pañchas.

186, line 16.—Omit redundant s before māṇḍala.

186, line 17.—Add full-stop at the end of the line in the place of apostrophe.

186, line 19.—Read sattva.

186, line 20.—Read Śandhi?.

186, line 22.—For description read description.

186, line 22.—For Brāhmada read Brāhmaṇa.

186, line 23.—For epithet read epithet.

186, line 25.—For śātra read śātra (in two places).

186, line 30.—For belived read believed.

186, line 40.—For Ṫūḍaṭja read Ṫūḍaṭjā.

186, f.n.3, line 3.—For *smṛti read *smṛti.

188, text line 16.—For ātuṇajā read ātuṇajā.

188, text line 16.—For smṛtha-saraḥ read smṛtha-saraḥ.

188, text line 21.—For manōhārīnay read manōhārīnāy.

188, text line 22.—For pūshaṭ-krāti read pūshaṭ-krāti.

188, text line 25.—For pṛti read pṛti.

188, text line 27.—Read Jīñāṇḍā.

188, text line 27.—For bhavishyad read bhavishyad.

188, text line 27.—For *tṛ(ṇ-rā)-jaṭurtān read *tṛ(ṇ-rā) jaṭurtān.

188, text line 28.—For *jīvinaḥ read *jīvinaḥ.

188, text line 29.—For vahaya read vishaya.

190, line 41.—For Jaipur read Jaipur.

191, f.n.2, line 13.—For suggests read suggest.

193, f.n. 4.—Read Āshādhasya.

196, line 3.—For which read which.

196, line 11.—For called read called.

196, line 21.—For Sārdūla read Sārdūla.

196, line 22.—For audākrānta read Mandākrānta.

196, f.n 3. For ust read must.
No. 24. Hingni Berdi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vilhuraja, Year 3

25. Ajmer Stone Inscription

26. Two Grants from Daaspalla—Plate I:
   A. Daaspalla Plate of Devananda; Year 184

27. —Plate II:
   B. Daaspalla Plates of Satrubhanja Tribhuvanakalasa, Year 198

28. Bilaigarah Plates of Kalachuri Prithvideva, Year 896

29. Talangere Inscription of Jayasimha

30. Two Plates from Tribhuvanamahadevi from Baul

APPENDIX

Rajaprastati Inscription of Udaipur:

I. A View of the Nauchani Ghat, Rajasamudra

II. A View of one of the Pavilions, Rajasamudra

III. Slab III

IV. Slab XVI

between pages 176 and 177

to face page 180

between pages 188 and 189

between pages 192 and 193

between pages 196 and 197

to face page 208

between pages 210 and 211
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 6, text line 1. — For Śrīmā read Śrīmā.

9, text line 57. — For Śrīmā read Śrīmā.

16, text line 13. — For *jvala read *j[i] *[jvala.

17, text line 33. — For dattaṁ read dattaṁ(tam).

19, line 31. — For i and i read i, i, u and u.

19, line 44. — For for chandra śrīr̥hō read for chandra śrīr̥hō.

23, line 18. — Omit commas after predecessor.

24, line 20. — For re-conquest read conquest.

28, text line 13. — For kritam read kritam(tah).

35, line 28. — For Srikakulam read Ganjam.

37, text line 35. — Read (kāh | ).

41, f.n. 5. — Read yā for yā.

45, line 40. — For churjī read chūrjī.

45, f.n. 2. — Add note — Prasanta is mentioned in an early inscription from Bengal (Select Inscriptions, p. 358). It may be the same as prasanta mentioned in Sarva- nanda’s Amaraśīka-śūla (under verse 89 of Vaiṣṇava-vṛga) as equal to 5 Kāḷīra.


47, line 21. — For Tiruchirappalli read Tiruchirappalli.

47, line 50. — Add at the beginning of the last paragraph — Lines 40-42 of the inscription refer to the king’s request to the people addressed as well as to the

M, line 1. — For parts read of parts.

55, text line 24. — For śrī read śrī.

58, line 8. — For *kūšāṁ read *kūsha[i].

59, f.n. 2. — For Cōla Studies read Studies in Cōla History and Administration.

(vii)
Page 62, f. n. line 3.—Read 10th year (1021 A.C.).

64, line 13.—For D(Tā)jīmādju read Dā(Tā)jīmādu.
64, line 15.—For D(Tā)jīmādju read Dā(Tā)jīmādu.
65, text line 6.—For Dēvakīś read Dēvakīś.
65, text line 8.—For kānanaṁ read kānanaṁ(nam).
65, text line 60.—For sa-dvīpūṁ read sa-dvīpūṁ.
69, text line 85.—Read daṇḍēśām-aśaś-vā śhavāŚ.
69, text line 86.—Read kṣhānam(nam).
70, text line 87.—For vivipie read vivipie.
69, text line 88.—For bhūtāvāhāvāja read bhūtāvāhāvāja.
69, text line 89.—For yā read yā.
70, text line 90.—For Kārvana(apā)ja read Kārvana(apā)ja.
70, text line 90.—For *n-advīkīŚ read *n-advīkīŚ.
70, text line 90.—For hastikēṇa read h[a]ś-tastikēṇa.
70, text line 108.—For Kroviṇḍāpanah-bhāṣ read Kroviṇḍāpanah-bhāṣ.
73, line 10.—For impure read ill.
73, lines 11 and 12.—For purify read cure.
73, f.n.1, line 1.—Omit comma after Baṅgāchārya.
78, f.n.1, line 2.—For engaging read engaging themselves.
78, f. n. 7, line 1.—Read born on the occasion,
74, f. n. 8, line 10.—Omit comma after Vaid.
75, line 38.—For Kīpaldāṣ read Kīpaldāṣ.
75, line 40.—For Mā[p]aldāṣ read Mā[p]aldāṣ.
76, f. n. 4.—For after n read after ū.
81, f. n. 5.—Read year 70 or 80.
84, f.n. 7.—For 820-25 A.C. read 831 A.C.
89, line 24.—For importance read importance.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXIX 1951-1952

No. 1—TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, OOTACUMUND

The village of Belwa lies a few miles to the west of the Hili railway station on the East Bengal Railway, in the eastern fringe of the Dinajpur District, not far from the borders of the Bogra and Rangpur Districts. Some time in 1946, a Santal inhabitant of the village, named Khāpā Sāhādi, discovered two inscribed copper plates while digging the compound of his house with a view to enlarging a fire-place. Mr. Manoranjan Gupta of Calcutta soon secured the plates with the help of Muhammad Basīr Sarkār who is an official at the Zamindar’s Katchery at the village of Kānigāri, not far away from Belwa. Mr. Gupta studied the inscriptions and published both of them in the Vañgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā (Bengali), Vols. LIV, B.S. 1354, pp. 41-56; LVI, B.S. 1356, pp. 60-63, with plates.1 The original plates were also presented to the Museum of the Vañgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. One of the records belongs to king Mahipālā I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, and the other to his grandson Vigrāhapāla III (circa 1055-90 A.C.). As, however, the inscriptions appeared to me to have been neither carefully read nor correctly interpreted, I requested, several times, the authorities of the Parishath to lend me the original plates for a few weeks for examination or to supply me with a set of good impressions of each of the inscriptions. Unfortunately neither of these requests was complied with.2 At last impressions of both the plates were available to me through the kindness of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. I edit the inscriptions from those impressions.

A.—Plate of Mahipālā I: Regnal Year 5

The record is inscribed on a single copper-plate, measuring 13” × 14-6”. The weight has not been recorded. The seal, which closely resembles those attached to other charters of the Pāla rulers, is, as usual, soldered to the upper part of the document. It is the celebrated dharmachakra-nuktra of the Pālas who were Buddhists. It has in the centre a circle with raised rim and beaded border which is surrounded by arabesque work and is surmounted by a chaitya symbol. The upper half of the inner circle of the seal is occupied by the Buddhist ‘Wheel of the Law’ having an umbrella above it and a deer-coucheant on either side. Below the central demarcation line, forming a pedestal for the above, is the legend sṛi-Mahipaladivamsya, the space beneath being covered by arabesque foliage. There are altogether 58 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, 33 lines on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. The incision is deep and clear, and the

1 For an English version of these papers, see Jare, As Soc., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-33.

2 In December 1950, when I happened to be in Calcutta, I was allowed to examine the original plates in the Parishath’s office. My thanks are due to Mr. Gupta and the authorities of the Parishath for this help.

4 DOA
preservation of the plate is fairly satisfactory. Six lines of writing at the top on the obverse and five lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle, owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the only other copper-plate charter of king Mahipâla I so far known to the students of history. This is the Bângârgh plate finally edited by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjî in the pages of this journal, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., with plates. The introductory verses at the beginning of the record, the description of the place of issue, the list of officials and others to whom the royal order was addressed, the list of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee and the imprecatory and beneficatory verses about the end are practically the same in both the charters. Indeed most of these are common to all charters of the Pâla family. It is only the actual grant that is different in the Bângârgh record and the charter under review. The present epigraph, like some other Pâla records, usually indicates superscript by a horizontal short stroke below the top mātrâ of the consonant towards the left, sometimes making the sign almost indistinguishable.

The date of the record, given in one figure in line 49, is the year 5 (of the reign of Mahipâla I), the 26th day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Line 46 speaks of the grant being made by the king on the occasion of a ceremonial bath taken by him in the waters of the Ganges on the day of the vâsâvastikrânti (i.e., vishuṣṭa-vâsâvastikrânti) which indicates the sun’s equinoctial passage into Mâsha on the 1st day of solar Vaisākhâ or into Sinha on the 1st day of solar Kārttika. In the present case, it is possible to think that the grant had been made on the 1st of Vaisākhâ, although the charter was issued a few months later on the 26th of Śrāvaṇa. A ceremonial bath and offering of gifts on the occasion of the vâsâvastikrânti are both enjoined by the Hindu scriptures. The action of the Pâla king, who was a Buddhist, as recorded in the document, no doubt points to the fact, often noted, that there was little difference between the life of a lay follower of Buddhism and that of an ordinary Brahmanical Hindu in the age of the Pâlas at least in Eastern India. As we have elsewhere observed, when the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers were busy in refuting one another’s views, the life of the layman appears to have been marked by absolute religious toleration and the Buddhist laity was gradually nearing absorption into Brahmanical society.

The charter begins with the akṣara ni (an abbreviation of the word niḥbuddha meaning registered) which is also found at the end of line 1 as in the Bângârgh plate of the same king and in many other records. This kind of double endorsement by the king himself and by one of his officials is also known from other records from Bengal such as those of the Sûnas. The first ni is followed by the usual symbol for niḥbuddha and the introductory word smaśā. Next come 12 verses in lines 1-23 forming the introduction of the charter. It is well-known that the fashion of quoting

1 Cf. Brahma Purâna, s.v. svakrânti; Nityam, dasprasyogyanagangāmitiyam vishuktaradrañjalyḥ; chandārāyagparyagprahânapratipilpākṣa pururavasā Adhibhūteśhānand bhâdhrân dhaman tathā jupam; yathā kṣreti prasannāh kim tatra yogadwâkyaṇgaṇau tu!

2 See J.H.Q., Vol. XXIX, p. 225; Ind. Cult., Vol. IX, p. 124; J.R.A.S.B., L, Vol. XVI, p. 104. Most of the grants of the Buddhist Pâla kings were made in favour of Brâhmanya. The Mahâkâli plate (GovindaŚrīkara, pp. 148 ff.) records a grant of king Mahâkâla to a Brahmana as sakâkâna for his devotion of the Mahâkâlī before the Pratiketthâdity Chitrâmatikâdaya; The Bângârgh plate (ibid., pp. 36 ff.) cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 309) of the Pârâsârâyaṇa king Nîrâyapāla speaks of his Śâvite leanings and records a grant made by the king "for the suitable performance of pûjā, halî, kele and sthûra, for the maintenance (i.e., repairs or extensions of the temple) and for other requirements of the divine Siâha-bhâgâva at Krañkapûta, to whom Nîrâyapāla himself has built a sakâr-śrâṇa (possibly a temple with thousand pillars) and whom he has put up there (at Krañkapûta) in order to provide soukhas and seats, medicines for the sick, requisites, etc., to the congregation of Pâlupâla teachers (at Krañkapûta) and in order to enable the Pâlupâlas to bestow blameless enjoyment, consisting of a share fixed by them, on other persons as desired by them."

3 See J.A.B., Vol. III, pp. 64, 70, 88, etc.
verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became prevalent in the Pala house amongst the descendants of Vigrahapāla or Śūrapāla I (c. 850-34 A.C.) who was the cousin's son and successor of Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.C.). The first six verses of our record describe the exploits of Gopāla I (c. 750-70 A.C.) who was the first imperial ruler of the Pala dynasty, his son Dharmapāla (c. 770-610 A.C.), his younger brother and general Vākapāla, his son Jayapāla who was a general of Devapāla, his son Vigrahapāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 804-908 A.C.). These verses are noticed for the first time in the charter of Nārāyaṇapāla and are found quoted in all the later grants of the family. It is as yet unknown whether the first five of these verses were quoted by Nārāyaṇapāla from a charter of his father, as no copper-plate grant of Vigrahapāla I has so far been discovered. We have also as yet no charter of the time of Rājyapāla (c. 908-40 A.C.), son and successor of Nārāyaṇapāla, although the Jāliṇḍara plate of Gopāla II (c. 940-55 A.C.), son and successor of Rājyapāla, was published some time ago in the Bengal journal Bhāratavāsikā (B. S. 1834, part i, pp. 264 ff.). It is therefore no wonder that verses 7-9 of our record dealing with Rājyapāla and Gopāla II are also found in the Jāliṇḍara plate. Verse 10 speaks of Vigrahapāla II (c. 935-55 A.C.), son and successor of Gopāla II, and the following two verses (verses 11-12) of his son and successor, the reigning monarch Mahāpāla I (c. 988-1038 A.C.). Verse 11 says that Mahāpāla I recovered his paternal rāja, which had become anālītikriya-rājapa (lost owing to the occupation by usurpers), after having killed all the enemies in battle by the prowess of his own arms. Our inscription, dated in the king's fifth regnal year, shows that Mahāpāla attained success against the enemies quite early in his reign. The enemies who dispossessed Mahāpāla I of his paternal kingdom are usually identified with the Kāmbājā rulers of northern and south-western Bengal known from the Bānagārh pillar inscription and the Irda plate, although there is a theory challenging the suggestion of Kāmbājā occupation of parts of Bengal in the second half of the tenth century A.C.* Whatever be the truth of the suggestion regarding the recovery of northern and south-western Bengal by Mahāpāla I from the Kāmbājas, we know that the Pāla king very probably reconquered south-east Bengal from the Chandras quite early in his reign. As I have elsewhere shown,4 the Chandras originally ruled over Chandradvīpa, otherwise called Vaṅgālādēśa, in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal; but Śrīchandra, the first imperial ruler of the family, conquered and ruled over wide regions of south-east Bengal in the second half of the tenth century. There was a short eclipse of Chandra power after Śrīchandra apparently owing to the success of Mahāpāla I. This is suggested not only by Mahāpāla's claim referred to above, but also by the Bāgāhārī and Nārāyānagur inscription, dated respectively in his 3rd and 4th regnal years, which speak of Mahāpāla's rule over Samataṭa, i.e., the present Tippera-Noakhali region, although Chandra suzerainty was re-established in eastern and south-eastern Bengal by Gōvindachandra during the life-time of Mahāpāla I himself. Verse 12 of our record says that the war elephants of Mahāpāla I roamed in the eastern countries, then in the valleys of the Malaya mountain range (the modern Travancore hills), next in the Maru country (i.e., the Marwar region in the Rajputana desert in the ancient Western division of India) and ultimately in the valleys of the Himalayas. This has often been taken to indicate aimless wanderings of the Pāla army owing to a great catastrophe that befell the Pāla kingdom. But,
as I have demonstrated elsewhere, it refers to the usual conventional claim of dig-vijaya over the chañcarasti-kabāra covering the whole of India. That the claim has not much history behind it is clear from the fact that the same verse, describing the exploits of Mahipāla’s forces in the present record, has been employed in the Bhāgarh plate of the same king to eulogise the achievements of the army of the king’s father Vīgrahapāla II. Again, the same verse is also found in the Jājilpāra plate of Gopāla II as well as the Āmāgachi and Belvā plates of Vīgrahapāla III (grandson of Mahipāla I) in the description of the exploits of the armies of the reigning monarchs.

Lines 23-27 of the charter introduce the place of issue which was the jaya-śamkhīvāra at the city of Sāhasāgbara. It is interesting to note that the same description is employed in all the Pāla charters, beginning with those of Dharmapāla, although the jaya-śamkhīvāras (probably temporary capitals) themselves were different. This stereotyped description suits only a city on the Bhāgarthī (i.e., the Ganges) and it suggests that the various jaya-śamkhīvāras, some of which cannot be satisfactorily identified, were all situated on the Ganges. This is supported by the fact that most of the grants were made by the Pāla kings after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges.

Lines 27-28 introduce the reigning monarch, who was in good health while making the grant, as the Paramasvapāla (devout Buddhist) Paramāravataramoṣṭhava Mahāśrījādhitiraja Mahipala-deva who mediated on (or was favoured by) the foot of the Mahāśrījādhitiraja Vīgrahapāladeva.

Lines 28-31 give details regarding the gift land which consisted of three localities all situated in the Pūṇḍravardhana bhakti. The first of the three was Āṣina-Kaivaṛṣṭavītī which measured 210 and was attached to the territorial unit called Amukshuddūga within the Pāhita vīti. The expression aṣṭa-sambhādi-śvēchchhima-tul-śakta (i.e., ‘land that pertains to the king’s own self and has its ground not yet alienated’), found in the description of the piece of land, is also known from other Pāla charters. The standard land measure, according to which the area of Āṣina-Kaivaṛṣṭavītī was calculated to have been 210, has not been specified. The Belvā plate of Vīgrahapāla III, edited below, speaks of the land measures udāmaṇa, aṣṭhaśaṇa, dīrga (i.e., dīronḍara) and kula (i.e., kulaśāna) as prevalent in the same locality. Of these, aṣṭhaśaṇas made 1 dīrga, 8 of which were equal to 1 kula. As I have shown elsewhere, about 45 udāmaṇas (otherwise called niṣāna or sannāna) probably made an aṣṭhaśaṇa (originally from 4 to 5 modern Bengal Bighās of land). It is difficult to determine as to which of the four land measures has been regarded as the standard one in the record under discussion, especially in view of the fact that all the four are known to have been the standard land measure in different localities, although the area of each may not have been the same in all places. The high number in the specification of the area suggests that the reference is possibly not to the kula or kulaśāna.

The second piece of the gift land comprised the locality called Nandīśvarāmiti which measured 499 of the standard land measure and was situated in Shattāpāñāvyāvhatra which incorporated Pāhchakāndaka and lay in the Pūṇḍrakī mañḍala. The third plot of the gift land was the locality called Gandāvara to which some village tanks were attached. The area of this plot was 151 of the standard land measure and it was situated in the Pāhchansagari śāhaya.

3 The following jaya-śamkhīvāras are known to have been places of issue of the Pāla charters: Pāhāliputra (near modern Patna), Multagiri (modern Monghyr), Bāhāvart (near modern Gauḍa in the Malwa District), Vāhāparvata (modern Vāhāvār-parvat near Pāhāgarhā in the Bāhālpur District), Vīṣamagara and Sāhasāgara. The name of the place, whence the Āmāgachi plate of Vīgrahapāla III was issued, is doubtful; but to me it appears to be Vīṣamapura.
The list of officials and others associated with the above three pieces of the gift-land is quoted in lines 31-40. This is practically the same in all Pāla records. In this list is included servants like bhātas and bhājas (regular and irregular soldiers, or policemen and poons) of various nationalities such as Gaudā, Mālava, etc. These are for the first time noticed in the Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donors specified in lines 41-44 are also common with other records of the Pāla kings. As in so many other records of the Pālas, the above three villages are said to have been granted in the name of (uddāna) the lord Buddha-bhattāraka for the increase of merit and fame of the king and his parents. The specified land was made a permanent matter-free holding in favour of the Brahmāna Jivadhara-dēvasarman, who belonged to the Hastiśāka pūtra having the Āgirasa, Āmarāsha and Yauvanāśva pravara and was the son of Dhirēśvaradēvasarman and grandson of Vishṇudēvasarman. The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the area for the protection of his grant and his order to the cultivators to offer in due time to the donors all dues including ḍhāga, bhōga, kara and hiraya are couched in the same language as in the other Pāla charters. After giving the date (Samudrā 5 Śrāvansa-dīnā) in line 49, the impressory verse, found not only in the Bāngarī plate of the same king but also in other grants of the Pāla kings, are quoted in lines 50-59. The last two verses of the record mention the dātakṣa (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that Mahīpāladēva made the saṃtrā (minister) Lakṣhashidhara the executor of the charter. The plates are said to have been engraved by the artisan Pushyāditya who was the son of Chandrāditya hailing from the village of Pōshali. The artisans of Pōshali are also known to have engraved some other records of the Pāla kings such as the Bāngarī plate of Mahīpāla I and the Āṃgāchhi plate of Vigrāhapāla III.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the jaya-skandhārāma called Sāhasagandhānagara, which was apparently situated on the Ganges, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The gift villages, viz., Īśāna-Kaivarottavīti (i.e., Īśāna which had been once allotted to the Kaivarattas for their service), Nandavāmīni and Gāṇēśvara cannot also be identified. These three villages

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5 These are: rāja (subordinate king); rājyatā (foudatory chief); rājyeśvara (possibly, noble man); rājāna (minister or executive officer); maṅghaṇa(rāja) (minister for war and peace); maṅghaṇa(jātaka) (accountant); maṅghaṇa(as) (foudatory); maṅghaṇa(pati) (general); maṅghaṇa(pati) (officer in charge of the palace-gate); maṅghaṇa(pati) (not mentioned in our record); maṅghaṇa(pati) (judge); maṅghaṇa(pati) (minister of the rank of a prince of the royal blood); rājāna(upārāja) (vice-roy); dādāpačhā (minor judge); ājñācār (prefect of the palace); dādāpačhā (police officer); dādāpačhā (customs officer); paṇḍava (officer in charge of a police station); dādāpačhā (officer in charge of the royal land); paṇḍava (monarch of the marches); kītāgena (governor of a fort); maṃgara (hegar or saṅgratka); those appointed or commissioned by the above-mentioned; those in charge of elephants, horses, camels, navy and army; those in charge of fowls, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats and sheep; dādāpačhā (police officer); pāda (head of a district); head of a village; tārīpya (chief); hātha (chief) and other servants of such nationalities as Gaudā, Mālava, Khassa, Hūsa, Kullā, Karmākha and Lāha; other unnamed subjects and servants of the king.

6 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.

7 These were: 'up to its boundaries, grass and pasture land' (sa-sthāṇi-rājyakā-pāravīnā); 'with its ground' (sa-sthāna); 'with the space (above the ground) (o-śādhina); 'with its mangos and moōнакa trees', 'with its water and dry land', 'with its pita and salina spots' (o-gutt-bharaha); 'with the tax from temporary tenants' (o-sparāra), although this is omitted in our record; 'with dādāpačhā (dādāpačhā of other records which refer to the fine realised for ten minor offences); 'with things recovered from thieves' (o-chārā-sādharana); 'with exemption from all oppressions'; 'not to be entered by chattas and bhājas (usually interpreted as regular and irregular troops, but may be policemen and poons); 'nothing to be taken (by way of tax, etc.,)'; 'together with all revenues such as bhājas (royal share of the produce), bhōga (periodical supply of fruits, etc.), kara (taxes), kārana (tax to be paid in-kind), etc.', 'according to the maxim of bhāmi-pāla'; 'to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure'. Řhāmīcchākāra-nagpa refers to the custom of allowing a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation to enjoy it without paying rent.
were situated respectively in Amalakshuddungas within the Phaṇita cōṭi (subdivision), in Śatā-paṇḍāyaṭṭha incorporating Pāṇīchakāyāṭṭhaka within the Puruṣarikā maṇḍala (smaller district or its part), and in the Pāṇiśhamgari viśaya (district). Of these, the Pāṇiśhamgari viśaya no doubt had its headquarters at the city of the same name whence the Baigrama plate was issued. We have elsewhere suggested that this city is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and is no other than modern Pāṇiśhabbi in the Bogra District. The bhāṇṭī (province) of Puruṣavardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, originally comprised northern Bengal, although in later times its jurisdiction is known sometimes to have extended over certain parts of south-eastern and southern Bengal. The village of Pāṇiśah, whence the family of the engraver hailed, seems to be the same as the Pāṇiśah pāṭi of the Rājārya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. The village has been identified with modern Pāṇiśhā about 5 miles to the south-east of Mahāstān in the Burdwan District of West Bengal, although little can be said in favour of the identification.

TEXT

[ 1 Metro: Verses 1, 8 Sāgodarā; verses 2, 3, 6 Sārīlātvāṭata; verses 4, 7, 10 Vasantatilakā; verses 5, 9 Arā; verses 9 Indravajrā; verses 11 Mālākā; verses 12 Dālākroṣṭā; verses 3, 17, 20, 21 Amalapāṭh; verses 18 Śālikī; verses 19 Pāṇiśhaba.]

Obverse

1 Ni[s][s] [Sūdhami] Svasti [Maṭṭān-kaṇṭuṇya-ratna-pramudita-hrīdayaḥ] prīyast[ar] ni
2 sandākāmajā samyak-samvyō[mbōḍhī]-vidyā-sarid-amala-ja-
3 la-kāḥāt-ājānā-pāna[ḥ] jitvā yaḥ [kāma*]kāri-prabha-
4 vaṁ-abhihavaṁ śāśvatim-prāpa śānt[ī] sa ārāmā-
5 l-Lō[ll]-Lō[ll]kanāḥ bhajati dasa-vi(k)lo-nya-cha Gopa-
6 lādev[ā] [1*] Lakaṃmu-janna-niketanaṃ sum[a*]lo vāḍhuṁ kaha-
7 7 kṣemā-haraim [pakaḥ-chelhōta-bhayād-upaśhitavatām-ak-āśrayā bhūḥjṛtām |
8 maryādā-paripāṭhan-āike-uṇratāḥ śaury-āla-
9 yō-smād-abhūd-dughti-āmbhōḍhi-vilāsa-hāsi-tanimaś śrī-Dharmamapālo nipaḷa] [2*] Rā-
10 mary-vā eva ghrita-satya-tapasa-tasya-śurupō
11 gunaḥ Saṃmitrōd-udapādi tulya-mahāna Vākāḷa-nām-śrīnāḥ [1*] yah ārīmān-naya-vikram-
12 aśa-vastir-bhrāṭuḥ sthitāḥ śāna-
13 nā sūnyāḥ satra-patikānūḥ akarōd-āk-ātapatra dīṣaḥ [3*] Tasmād-Upāṇḍa-charita[ḷ]-
14 jagatiṃ punāḥ putro va[ta]bhūva vijaya
16 rāja-sukhān[a]n[ā]j[hit ] [2*] śrīnā-śrīvyōgahapala-
17 a-ta[ll]-saṃtur-Ajātāsatru-iva jāțaḥ [1*] śuṣa[ṭṭhu-vanī-ṃ]ṣāḥdāna-vilōpi-vimal-āśi-jala-
18 dhāṭarāḥ [5*] Dīkpāḷaḥ kāhī-panāya da-
19 dhantaḥ dōhe vibhakt[a]n-a[g]u[]*[g]n [srī-nraṇa-]tanayāna(m)bhūva tanayāṃ Nārāyaṇaḥ sa prabhūḥ |

1 Mr. Gupta is inclined to identify Phāṇita with Pāṇiśhabbi or Pāṇiśhabbi on the Kanartaya and Amalakshuddungas with Amalaksha not far from Bobar. He also equates prada in Śaṅkuma-prada with the part-ending of modern names.
3 Ibid., p. 428.
5 From an impression.
6 Ni is a contraction of the word niḥdāka, "registered," "endorsed."
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 The dash is superfluous.
Reverse
TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

14 āḥ-ōpalaṃ nyäy-ōpattam-ālaṅkārāṇa charitaḥ svair-śva dharmam-śasanam(aṃ)|[6*]
  Tōyaśayair-jaladhī-mūla-gabhāra-garbhaśr[rl]-dala(r-dō)valayaś-cha
15 kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kakshaiḥ | vikhyāta-kṛjñitar-abhavat-tanayaḥ-cha tasya śri-Rājyapāla
  iti madhyams-lōka-palāḥ || [7*] Tasmāti-pūrṇa-kaśiti
16 dhūn-nidhir-iwa mahāsaṃ Rāṣṭraṅ-kūṭ-ānvay-āṃdose-Tōpaṭi-āttuṅga-maṇi[rl]-duhitari
  tanayaḥ Bhāgavatāvyāṃ prashītaḥ ||[*] ārīmaṇ-Śōpālaḍāva-śi
17 rataram-avanet-Śa-putayā īv-nīko bhattrā(ṛtt-ā)bhiḥ-vaṅka-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatnau-
  śindhu-chitrā-śrūkāyāḥ ||[8*] Yaḥ svāminatu rāj-gupaśānta-ānūna-
18 [m-ā]śevarā [chā]putay-śrūkāta | utṣāla-maṇtra-prabhoṣkāti-lakshmiḥ prithvīni sapatjun-
  iva śīlayanti ||[9*] Tasmad-va(d-ha)bhūva savitur-vasu
19 kōṭi-varāḥ | kālīna chandara iva Vīgrahapālaḍāvaḥ | nētra-prīyaṃ vimalaṃ kulamāyēna
  yēn-ōditaṃ dalito bhuvā
20 nasya tāpah ||[10*] Hata-sakala-vipalkaḥ saṅgārē vā(hu)nu-dā[r]pa[ṛp]d-anadhiṣkrittaca
  viluptam rājyam-śaśīdyā pitryān(tryan |) nihaṇa-charaya-padma-hūl-
21 bhūjān mūrdhni tasmad-abhavat-avanipālaḥ śri-Mahāpālaḍāvaḥ ||[11*] Dōṣē prāchī
  prachra-panyaś svacchhām-āpila tōyan svairam bhāntvā ta-
22 d-ann Malay-ōpata-kā-śandunāsau | kṛtvā sārṇārī Maruṣaḥ jatāma śkarai-sahra-tulyaḥ
  Prāleśvīdṛē kāṣakam-abhajva yasya sēna-
23 gaj-śīrāḥ ||[12*] Sa khalu Bhāgavati-patha-pravarttamāna-nāṇavidha-nau-vāja-sam-
  pālita-sētu-vah[ba]ndha[niha-śaila]-śikhar-śri-śrī-vibh
24 māt | mnījanīsaya-gana-ganāghan-gaṇṭa-śyāmyamanā-vāsar-lakshmi-cāmravadha-
  (bdha)-santata-jalada-samayā-sandēhāt | udihī-
25 n-ānēka-narapati-prā[hr]jākṛtt-āprāmāya-haya-vāhini-khara-khur-ōtkhāṭa-ḍhūlī-dhāraphic
  digantaratā ||[*] paramesvāra-svē-su-
26 māyā-ōśeṣa-Jamvud(mūb)dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pōḍ[a]la-bhara-namād-avaneḥ śri-Śākṣagaya-
  ja-magara-samāvēl[iṭast] ārīmaṇ-ījayakandhavārā-
27 [tt] paraṃsaṅgaṭṭa mahāraḍādhīraḥ-śri-Vīgrahapālaḍāva pāḍ-anudhyātaḥ paramesvāra-
  paraśvamahṭāraka-mahārājādhi
28 rājaḥ ārīmaṇ-Mahāpālaḍāvaḥ kuśali | śri-Punḍravardhīna-ḥuktaḥ | Phāṣṭa-vīthi-samva-
  (mbs)dha-Śamālakohuddi-jog-āntaphṭi-sva-samvā.
29 vicēhīmana-tal-ōśe-[d]a-ōttara-sā-līva-śrāmaṇaṇa-Ausi[nn]-Kaivartta-vṛtti- | Punḍa-
  rikā-maṇḍal āntalpa-pṛtī-Pachakāṇḍak-ādīhaka
30 Shatāpāpāyichateś navatya-uttara-chathub-sēta-śrāmaṇa-Nandīśvāmini.-| Paṇeḥangarā-
  viśaya-āntaphṭi.- Īkapanāhāsad-uttara-sā-
31 ta-śrāmaṇa-Gaṇeṣvara-samāṭa-grāma-puṣkha(śku)rīplaku | samupagar(a-t-ā)ēsha-rājapu-
  rūghān | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra- | rājāma-
32 tya- | mahāsāndhati-vighriha- | mahākhaṣapālaka- | mahāśasānapta- | mahā-
  [praj]thāra- | dānsādhasādhanī-

* The dāṇḍa is superfluous.
* Originally 1st was engraved.
* Sanskrit has not been observed here.
* Bead sarvadādāt-ā?*
* Better read "chatra." Chatra may be the same as āhuraka (cf. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 94).
33 [ka-] 1 mahādaṇḍa-āṇyaka- 1 mahākumārāmātya- 1 rājasthān-ōparika- 1 dāśāparādhika- 1 chaurūḍharaṇika- 1 dāṇḍika- 1 dāṇḍa- 

Revers

34 pāśi(k)ka- 1 saulika- 1 gaulika-kahētrapa- 1 prāntapāla- 1 kōṭtapā- 
35 la- 1 'āṅgara-kaha- 1 tad-syukta-viniyuktaka- 1 haśti-āśv-ōśhtru- 
36 sau-va(ha)la-vyānpitaka- 1 kṣiṭṭha-vadāvai-ghō-mahāshi-ajē- 
37 vik-āḍhāyaka- 1 duṭapāraṇī-kasāgāmika- 1 'abhitva[rā]- 
38 māga- 1 vinayapati- 1 graṃpatī- 1 tarika- 1 Gāndha- 1 Mālava- 
39 Khaṣa- 1 Hūga- 1 Kulika- 1 Kārṇāṭa- 1 Lāṭa- 1 chāṭha- 1 bhāṭa- 1 sēvā-dōin 1 anyāṃ-sa-mābhā 
40 sinō Vṛāmaṇ-āitarān- 1 mahattam-ōttama-kutumvi(mbi)-purūga-Mōd-Aṇdhra-Chaṇḍāla-par 
41 mādīśati cha 1 viditam-astu bhuvātin- 1 yath-ōpariśiḥkhīṭaḥ 1 tri-grāmāḥ 1 eva-śimā-śīrṣayāti 
42 s-ōśhiniḥ sa-śāma-madhukāḥ 1 sa-jala-śtahalāḥ 1 sa-grutt-ōśhahāḥ 1 sa-dāś-ōpachāraḥ 1 sa 
43 chāṭha-bhāṭa-pravēśāḥ 1 a-kīṣhtit-pragāhāḥ (hīyāḥ) 1 samasta-bhāga-bhūga-kara-hiranya-ādi 
44 na a-chandra-sūka-kahē-sūma-kalāṇ 1 mātā-pitrō-ātmanās-ṣe punya-yaśō-bhūvidhāya 
45 ānigra-Aṃva(mbi)rīsha-Ya(Yau)m(a)va(na)_āsāya-pravaráya 1 Hastidāsa-saṅgartrāya Vishṇudēvav 
46 patrāya 1 trī-Jivadharadēvāsammaneś 1 visu(shu)ṣvatsa-kṛntau vidhivaṭ 1 Gāṃgāyaḥ 
47 tō bhūvaddhāḥ-sa-jīva-arvāt-śvānandayaḥ bhāvihībhō bhūpatiḥ 1 bhūmēr-dāma-phalagaurvē 1 
48 pāsita-bhaya(yāḥ) 1 dānam-udam-anumādyānāpālaniyaḥ 1 pravēsiḥkī ṣe kṣīṭṭhāracatiḥ 1 
50 nyās[a]m(a)maunmañāṇā ṣīkāḥ 1[ 1] Va(Ba)hubhir-vasindha bhūtāḥ rājubhīḥ Sagur-āḍhībhīḥ 1 
51 miṃ yah-pratigrihā(hāḥ) ti yaḥ-ya bhūnīm prayačchhāti 1 ubhī(ḥūṃ) tan punya-karmma- 
52 hātā-sampavāndēḥ(yam) 1 haran-narakam-aṭṭāṅyūti ya(yā)va(d-ō)- 

1 The dāṇḍa is superfluous.
2 The designation rājasthān-ōparika is found as rājasthān-ōparika in most of the Pala records.
3 Sandhī has not been observed here.
4 Read Brahmapatī-dīnāra.
5 Originally purgasthā was engraved.
6 "Gām-khō-yaṃ prāṇam was originally engraved. All the epithets of prāṇam in the singulars in lines 41-43 were later made plural to suit tri-prāṇam by the addition of an āṇitva. But pravēsiḥkī in line 46 swapped the engraver's mistake and was left uncorrected.
7 Read prakāthi aṣukāḥ.
The inscription is written on a single plate which is of the same size as the Belwa plate of Mahipala I, edited above. The seal, which is broken at the top, very closely resembles that of Mahipala's plate. The legend on the seal, attached to the charter under discussion, reads "Sri-Vigrdhapaladivaha.

There are 64 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, the obverse containing 29 lines and the reverse 25. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not quite satisfactory. Some of the letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion. Five lines at the top on the obverse of the plate and four lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

Little calls for special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription as they very closely resemble those of the Angaschi plate, the only other copper-plate charter of king Vigrdhapala III so far published. In most cases in our inscription, the left curve of the letter आ does not start from its top but from the middle of its central vertical. The letter श usually resembles in form the conjunct श्ह of श्ह as found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age.

The charter is dated on the 19th day of Bhdra in the year 11 of the king's reign (line 46). Like the Belwa plate of Mahipala I and several other records of the family, the grant under discussion was made by king Vigrdhapala III after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the vashrutu-vastra. It appears therefore, as in the case of Mahipala's record discussed above, that the grant had been made on the 1st day of solar Vaikarha, although the charter was issued a few months later.

As in the grant of Mahipala I edited above, both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of our charter occurs the letter आ which is a contraction of the expression अनाद्ध्या meaning 'registered.' The actual record begins with the अङ्ग symbol and the word अन्न which are followed by fourteen verses (lines 1-22). These verses are also found in the Angaschi plate of the same king. Of these, twelve verses are common with Mahipala's plate edited above. But, as already pointed out, the verses referring to the exploits of the king's elephant force in all the four corners of the chakrameriti-bhaktra (verse 14) is employed in the description of Vigrdhapala III himself instead of that of Mahipala I. Verse 12 of our record speaks of king Nayaipala (c. 1033-35 A.C.), son and successor of Mahipala I, and verse 13 of Nayaipala's son and successor Vigrdhapala III (c. 1055-90 A.C.) who issued the charter under discussion. These verses are not only found

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1 Read अङ्गकेवने.
2 Read अङ्गकेनि [19* आ]।
3 Omit आ for the sake of the metre.
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 266 ए.
5 DGA.
in the Ámgačhi plate of Vigráhápála III, but also in the Manaháli plate of Mahánápála (1144-62 A.C.), a great-great-grandson of Vigráhápála III. As no other copper-plate charter of the successors of Vigráhápála III, in which the verses are expected to have been quoted, has as yet been discovered and as the text of verse 13 of our record could not be satisfactorily read either in the Ámgačhi or in the Manaháli plate, the charter under discussion offers the correct reading of the verse in question for the first time.

The charter was issued from the jaya-sandhávara of Višāpurá, which was also the place of issue of the Bángarh plate of Mahápála I and possibly of the Ámgačhi plate of Vigráhápála III. Its description (lines 22-26) is the same as in other Pála charters including the Belvá plate of Mahápála I, edited above. Lines 26-27 introduces the Paramásangás Paramáavíyárama Paramábhátiyára Máharájádhirája śrimád-Vigráhápáñaládáyá as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the Mahárajádhirája śri-Nayápaládáyá and as enjoying good health at the time of making the grant. The land granted comprised parts (urdhána) of the village called Lóvanikáma which was then recently cultivated and was attached to the Puñcáriká masyála (subdivision) within the Pháñitavíthi viśaya (district) of the Puñcárdadhána bhuñjá. Pháñita was originally the name of a viśála (subdivision); but later Pháñita-víthí came to be the name of a viśaya or district. It is said that Lóvanikáma was partitioned (riju-khyáñiktá) and that one part measuring 1 kula (i.e., kulaśápa) 2 drópas (i.e., drópaśápas) 3 dálápas and 3½ udámañás was left out, while the other measuring 3 kulás 7½ drópas and 11 udámañás was made the subject of the grant.

The list of officials and others associated with the gift land (lines 28-37) and that of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee (lines 38-49) are the same as in other Pála charters including the one edited above. The grant was made in the name of the lord Buddhá-bhátiyára for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents in favour of the Bráhmaṇa Jayáñandádáyá-saráman who belonged to the Bháradvája gátra having the Bháradvája, Lágírasa and Báraspatya pravara and was the son of Śripádáyá, grandson of Hrásikídáyá and great-grandson of Nitrakárredáyá. The words śri prefixed and saráman suffixes only to the name of Jayáñandádáyá appear to suggest that he was living while his ancestors were all dead and that saráman was already regarded as a distinctive Brahmanical name-suffix, although it was not an integral part of the family's cognomen. The donee is said to have been a student of the Pippáláda sákhá and to have been reputed for his scholarship in áshvántár, grammar and logic. He was an inhabitant of Vállágárama, but his family hailed from Válámadárama. His epithet śri-Avánta-ubrahma-máchári literally means that he was a co-student of a Bráhmaṇa named Anánta. It however seems to me that the reference is here not to a co-student of the donee but to his preceptor.

The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the locality and his order to the cultivators to offer the dues payable to the donee in due time come next in lines 44-46. The date (Sambat II Bhágadéśi 19) is also given in line 46. The usual sacrificial and beneficentary verses are quoted in lines 47-53. The two concluding stanzas in lines 53-54 speak of the dákara (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that one Tríśchana was made the executor of the charter by king Vigráhápála. The plates were engraved by the artisan Prthvívidáyá who was a son of Harádvája hailing from the village of Tríñdi.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Višāpurá, whence the grant was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it was apparently situated on the Ganges. The

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* Gaudalakánumáhí, pp. 145 f.
* J.B.A.S.B., L., Vol. XTV, pp. 27-31. For the date of Vigráhápála III, see our paper on the Bángon plate to be published in this journal.
* See our paper on the Bángon plate to be published in this journal.
B.—Plate of Vighrahapala III; Regnal Year II

Obverse
Reverce
Pundravardhana bhakti and the Pundarikā maṇḍala are also mentioned in the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, discussed above. The Pāññita-vīthi viṣaya of our inscription is mentioned in that record as the Pāññita viṣṭhī only. The village of Lōvanikāma and that of Tinnidjī which was the original home of the engraver's family cannot be identified with any amount of precision. The village of Vellāvā, where the dome lived, is no doubt the same as the present Belwā, the findspot of the charter; but the village of Vahlājā, whence the dome's family hailed, cannot be identified.

Text:

[Metres: Verse 11 Mālinī; verse 12 Siśhārini; verse 13 Sārdulavikriṣṭa; verse 14 Mandakrīṣṭa; verses 15, 19, 22, 23 Anuśubhā; verse 20 Śālī; verse 21 Puṣkapārī.]

Obverse

Lines 1–17

18 bhūbhūjum-mārdhīn tasmād-abhavad-avanipālāḥ śri-Mahipaladēvāḥ [11*] Tyajan-dēṣāḥ-sangam śrīśri kṛta-pānīḥ keśitaḥ yājanta viṣaya sarveṣāḥ prase-

19 bham-Uday-adreś-iva raviḥ | hata-dhvānta[1*] niṣigha-prakritir-anurāg-aika-vastali[1*] sutō-

20 rāripōḥ pūjāsu raktāḥ sadā saṅgūrāṃ dhaivalo-dhukāsa-aha Hariṭaḥ kālaḥ kuśa vīrvidvīṁśa-

21 smād-Vigrapahalāḍe-ṇirpātiḥ punyājjanām-ahūt [13*] Dāśī prāchīch prachurṣa-payasi svacchidhām-āpyaś tōyaiḥ avairiḥ bhūntvā tad-anu Mahāy-ōpātyaṅkā-chandānāśe

22 kṛtva śāndra-

23 nāvāḥ na-vāyaḥ kampādita-śrīn-vāyaḥ saṅkara-śrīgṛhā-vibrahma[m] [14*] Sa khalu Bhagratma-patha-pravarttāpyamāna-nā-

24 samāvadhī(udha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāta(hāt) [1 udhiḥ-anēka-mārapati-prabhutpit-

25 ta-digantarātā [1 paramesvara-svā-samāyāt-dāsa-jaṁvag(ubh) dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-

26 jaya-skandhāvārāt [1 paramasaugata mahāraja-dhīḥ(dhī) raja-śri-Nayapaladēvā-pād-anudhyā-

27 ja-arimad-Vigrapahalāḍe[1 ruṣṭa[1 Pundrāvaridhana-bhaktau Phā[gi]tavīthi-śivay-

28 [śaṇḍa-Łt]vanikāma[na] puj-yājanākṣa-sardhā[1 udamāna-trayottam-sapad-ādha ēpa-

29 samva(ubh)dvipa-yūkta-pramāq-amās-varjita-sva-

30 rāja-rājanīyaka-[1 rājaputra-[1 rājamātya-[1 mahāśandhyavighrika-[1 mahā-

1 From an impression.
2 The reading of these lines is practically the same as that of lines 1–20 of the plate of Mahipāla I, edited above.
3 The śānta is unnecessary.
4 The vātra was at first omitted and later made on k.
5 Sandhi has not been observed here.
31 kṣhapaṭālikai-1 mahāśāṃbanta -1 mahāśāṃpati -1 mahāprabhāra -1 dau-
32 bhrābhāsāḥśāñkai[ka]-1 mahāśāṃpāṇyaka -1 mahākṣamaṃśātya -1 rājaśāh-
33 n-ṇāparika-1 dāsāparādhika-1 chanrāddhanāpiṣika-1 dāṇḍika-1 dāṇḍa-
34 pālikai-1 sau(sau)nikai-1 gaulmikai-1 kāhātrapa-1 pāntapi-1 kāṭa(ta)śāla-1 aṅgarakha-1
35 kīśōra-vajāva-gō-mahāsho-1-āvīk-ādhyaśaka-1 dūtpaścānāpiṣika-1 gamūgamakai-1 ābhītvā-
36 Mālava-1 Khaṣā-1 Ḥūṇa-1 Kulika-1 Karṇāṭa-1 Lāṭa-1 cāṭa-1 bhaṭa-1 sevāk-ādīn 1 anīyāma-eh-āśritaśūn 1 rāja-pād-ōpājīvaeh 1 pratīva-
37 ainā Vṝ(brāhman-ōttarōṇ[ī] 1 mahattām-ōttama-koṭamv[ābhi]-[purōga]-Māl-Āndhra-Chau-
dāla-paryāntān 1 yath-ārūmā māṇayati 1 bho[bo]dhiyati 1 samādiśāti
38 cha-1 vidita-maṣtn bhavastē 1 ūth-āpālikhitōt-yām grāmāh 1 sva-simā-[trī]payuṭti-
gōhara-paryāntah sa-talāh s-ōdāsah s-anne-mudukāh 1
39 sa-jala-stalāh 1 sa-dā-āpachaṇāh sa-chaur-śekhamah 1 parihṛt[a]-svaro-pīṇah 1 cāṭa-
bhaṭa-pravēsah 1 kī-nīhit-praṇītyah 1 samaṣṭa-bhāga-
40 bhūga-kara-hirany-ādī-pratyāya-samēṭah 1 bhūmi-çekhitāyōyaṇa-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[eh]-[e}
This inscription, now preserved in the wall of the Hari-Harēśvara shrine in the compound of the famous Mahālakṣīmī temple at Kolhāpur, was first noticed by me in December 1948, when I visited the place for the excavations on the Brahmaṇpur mound, near Kolhāpur. The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have been found while digging the foundation wall of Mr. Panditram’s house in close vicinity of the temple several years ago and later built into the outer wall of the above-named shrine for the sake of preserving it. I edited the inscription some years back in Marāthī in my book Select Inscriptions from Mahārāṣṭra, pp. 78-80. I re-edit it here in English for the sake of a wider circle of scholars. The text of the record presented here is based on the inked estampage which I owe to the courtesy of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, has been kind enough to make several useful suggestions in preparing the article.

The inscribed area of the stone slab is about 4½ feet in length and 2½ feet broad. At its top, figures of the sun, the moon, a maṅgala kalaka, a milking cow with a calf, and a sword are carved in high relief and are now worshipped daily by the visitors to the shrine. There are 39 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. Some parts of the record, however, are damaged and worn out, probably on account of the constant watering of the stone resorted to by its worshippers. A few letters at the ends of lines have also been damaged while fixing the slab in its present position.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, of which lines 1-17 and 34-39 are in verse. The rest is in prose as also the concluding sentence in line 39. The characters are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet current in the 12th century A.C. and do not call for any remarks.

As regards orthography, the following deserve mention. Kaha is used for kha in line 5. S is substituted for s occasionally; e.g., dūṣ in line 2, guḍa in line 6, etc. The word Nāykyā is spelt as Nāyata in line 23. The rules of sandhi are often disregarded. The style of the inscription is in general agreement with another inscription from Kolhāpur published in this journal previously.

The inscription is dated Saka 1104, Subhakrit-samvatsara, Pushya śuddha 4, Uttarāśaya-sūkrānti. The date which is expressed in words only in lines 20-21 corresponds regularly to 1st December 1182 A.C.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Bhōja II, the Śilāhara ruler of Kolhāpur, who is stated to have obtained a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣīmī and is styled Mahānāgalaśākramaṇi. It was issued from his residence at Valavāda. The object of it is to record several donations by

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1 Read viśopyā [[21*] iti.
2 Published by the Bhārata Itiḥās Samāśdha Mahāsāla, Poona, in 1947.
the king to the religious establishment (matha) founded by Lokaña Náyaka, a Sahavási Bráhmaṇa, in the premises of the Mahiśákaha temple, for carrying on the worship of the god Umá-Mahábhára, a form of Amritëvára (Śiva), for maintaining the granary of the matha, for keeping it in good repair, for feeding the Bráhmaṇas, and for similar other purposes.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishnu. Then comes the genealogy of the Śilahára dynasty which commences with the Vidyādharī Jumātavāhana, its mythical founder, and is brought down to Bhoja II. Most of the verses containing this description are identical with those occurring in the Káśi plates of the same ruler, dated Šaka 1116, except verses 6, 13 and 14 which are new in the present inscription. Unfortunately these verses are too much damaged to yield any coherent sense. Verse 6, devoted to the praise of Bhoja I, son of Márasiśvara, contains the names Góvinda and Kónaṣa. As gathered from the Kollápur plates of Gangaraditya, these persons appear to be some petty chiefs defeated by Bhoja I. Verses 13 and 14 seem to contain the praise of Bhoja II and do not appear to be important historically.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that this is an early dated inscription of the Śilahára ruler Bhoja II. An earlier inscription of this ruler, dated Šaka 1101, is said to have been found near Kottírtha, a sacred tank in the precincts of Kollápur; and Major Graham in his Statistical Account of the Principality of Kollápur, pp. 382 ff., gives a kind of a facsimile of this inscription, but its original cannot be traced now.

The matha founded by Lokaña Náyaka, referred to in the present inscription, is already known from the town-hall inscription of Bhoja II, dated Šaka 1112. Its mention here carries the date of its existence further back to Šaka 1104. It is interesting to observe that the residents of the matha are practically the same as are mentioned in the town-hall inscription, except Janardana Bhaja who appears to have succeeded Lakshmidhara.

The Sahavási Bráhmaṇas, mentioned in these and other inscriptions, claim to have arrived in the south from Ahichhtahra and Káshmir. They seem to have been a fairly well settled community in the Deccan and Karṣñagáj as can be gathered from the references to them in several medieval inscriptions of this period. Even now Kollápur retains a large population of this class of Bráhmaṇas who are engaged mostly in trading and banking activities.

The following geographical names occur in the present inscription: Tagarapura (line 18), Valaváda (line 19), Kollápur (line 21), Panatúra-gólla (line 26) and Selyaváda (line 26). Of these the first three are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śilaháras of Kollápur. Tagarapura is modern Tar in the Hyderabad State; Valaváda which was the seat of the permanent residence (sthira śibira) of the Śilaháras is taken to be identical with the site of modern Rádhánaagari near Kollápur; and Kollápur is undoubtedly modern Kollápur. Panatúra, which appears to be the name of a tract (gólla), may be identified with the village Panutrá, 14 miles S. W. W. of Kollápur, situated on the bank of the river Dhúmpí. Selyaváda is probably modern Shlojí, about 7½ miles further S. W. of Panutrá, on the bank of the same river. The change from Panatúra to Panutrá appears to be natural as suggested by the change from Ajirage to Ājana. Panatúra would thus have some form like Panutára and this is exactly the form in which the name occurs in certain

2 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 178-92; the plates were earlier edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marathi), Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.
5 Both these villages can be traced on the 1 inch soil Survey Sheets, old Nos. 206 and 240 published by the Survey of India in 1892.
old Marathi documents of the 17th-18th century. The expression gollā can be equated with Kannada koḷla which means a valley or low land. The Paṇatāra gollā would therefore correspond to the valley formed by the river Dhāmāi, bounded on the east by the Bhūgāvatī river and on the west by the Kumbhā river, as seen on the maps. There are several mountainous tracts in this region which appear to have been mentioned in the Tājāla copper plates² of Śilāhāra Gajaśrīditya, as forming the boundary of this Paṇatāra gollā. This gollā again seems to have been mentioned in the Bāmani inscription³ of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya, where it is read as ‘ṇavāka’-gegolā⁴ wherein the village of Madaḷīra was situated. The doubtful nature of the reading can be seen from the dots and the square brackets enclosing it. So it is possible to restore the reading as [Paṇatāra]gegollā and Madalūra may be identified with Mando, which is about 3 miles west of Paṇutrā.

My thanks are due also to Sri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for his useful suggestions in connection with this paper.

TEXT⁴

[ Meteas; Vv. 1-3, 10, 15, 18-20 Anuṣṭubh; vv. 4, 5, 9, 12 Śārdulavikrīdita; vv. 7, 8, 14 Upajāti; v. 13 Mālīni; v. 17 Sālīni; vv. 6, 11, 16 Vasuṇatuḥaka.]

1 [[[[[V]]]]] स्वति श्री || जयलय[विस्तल विद्दोल्का धर्मोः]भिताक्लेव्व(अऽ)1 तभुवनः वृषः II[[[II]]]

2 श्रीवी(ती)द्विधयादि पूव्व नां[भ(ता) जीवृतवह: || परारे श्री]वित्त चेन गर्वाद्य निवेदित्व(समु) [[[II]]] श्रीहाराःवर्बः

3 श्रीवी ¹ तनरेवरस्मृत्यः(तमु) (I) तद्ये जतियोऽराजाजन्ति भूमुःच्छु(च्छु)–

4 विद्वानामा नुः ¹ पुरुसस्य ‘च चंद्रशास्त्रस्यापि सुरुः’गृहः किल ।

5 तोत (तत्त)दोगो गोकोवो भूमि[भृणमातिवयः श्रीमानस्यहो नुः] [[[[II]]]]

6 भोजेन्द्रमन्यति: खेरेरेश्चापर्यातः राज्यविविधम् पृथुः”यशा लक्षिष्टुः किल ।

7 [वांत्या] (स्त्र(वा)स्वात्रो कक्षि...यकुतिः...मृत्युः मृत्वि विनिः...[[[III]]]
8. तस्यानुजाते विदिताः अनायो बलादेशविधि तिपस्यादेव। श्रीकामिनीं विनायकाः दिक्षान्तानं। प्रथमः तत्।
9. ताहः॥[१११।] तस्यानुजः धर्मं गर्भे धरित्वा दर्शात्॥ धर्ममथिलाचलान्वयम्।
10. प्रथमः॥[११२।] दीनाधिकारिद्रूः किंवकलाविज्ञाननाविविषः। धर्मश्रिवाणशरणयः॥[१०]।
11. कुण्डाज्ञतेन भूमिमृयङ्गतोमुखः। स(श)्च। स्वामंमतितव्रवीण्ड्रयः।
12. तत्त्वज्ञानवच्चलान्विता दण्डितीयश्च किंवकलाविज्ञाननाविवः। धर्मश्रिवाणशरणयः॥[११२।]।
13. प्रत्याविविविभवतः किंवकलाविज्ञाननाविवः। धर्मश्रिवाणशरणयः॥[११२।]
14. य पु(निः) वमायन हरियवधानाय वेनः॥ विनायकेऽः। स(श)तः। प्रविष्ठिक तस्य
15. य स्व वल(कु) मुनाः।[१२२।] जगति विजयसुतवेयः। विजयवंशाः।
16. क्रो वर्णस्तुतिः भूपतिसम्भवः॥[१२२।] रामो यथा।।。
17. या॥ द्वेष वेनायति भोजराजेऽ।[१२२।] वासिः समविविधतप्
18. भर्ग भर्गान्तिक्षार शरणामवतिक्षार कविवर्हणीत्वर। विशापः क्रिममहलिखि
19. पुर्वरावीकरो(र) इत्यसमस्ताराजावलिविराजजः॥ श्रीममहादेशवरो(र) श्री

1 Reading restored from other inscriptions.
2 Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.
3 Read वैशिष्ट्यमङ्गलाविधिः, so in other inscriptions.
20. क्याकिनोदेन राज्य कुञ्जन (१) शाम[णुपकालार]रायण शायू न्यूरो (२) तत्त्वाधिकरण-सहस्रते निर्मलनेतृ बस्निमात्रामुख्य (३)
21. [रोमांलगुणमुख्य (४)] न्यूरो(५) भी[ण] (६) [रजसिरीश्वरमणवर्जन निज़ [राज्या]भविष्यवे मात्र लापटिक]रामांकलिक (७) ने-
22. गायनपायन नैर्ष्ट्रिक जनायकन मद्यमदार्वमुख्य- मादेशवर्जन गा (८) ह्ये-मोजनार्व व [कारिणिय]-
23. मधुसूद कर्मभारत गडे [८] महत्त्वान्तर नै[रित]विर (१०) निश्चित भागी दादशंसंप्रमाण गुणहेमें तन्मधुमिर (११)
24. वार्तालकलानु [र] नागदेवहु (१२) [कर्तारप्रभु] (१३) कर्तवेत्ता वासिक्यवैशाल्यबोध (१४) [अमृतो] (१५) प्राणवेद (१६) पुरुषों: दक्षिणार्द:-
25. [श्री:प्रान्त] धर्ममहुकुर्य कर्क (१७) पुजा वर् (१८) के बृज पुनर्वाटककर्म मात्र (१९) [देवस्य] गुणाचा (२०) गाम [सोज] [२१] ला:-
26. भू अ प्रायोगिनि यात्रतस्यज्ञेयब्रह्मोमावामसामान्तमुरु (२२) तरकिपरामे. .. शास्त्रिक स्व च चुटु (२३) ना:-
27. क्षेत्र तन्मधुमिर (२४) एंडरनण (२५) लाजुप्रामाण्यतर दादशंसंप्रमाण गुणहेमें एकत्रिक गुंधों (२६) सामसंस्थित [ण] ना:-
28. राज्यस्त वर्जन (२७) मान्य (२८) सब्ज (२९) शापव (३०) यागरिहर राजकीयानामाजसार्व श्रीप्रस्तावक (३२) [महाय] (३३) देवस्य [प्रचंप] ना:-
29. चार्णाय नमस्तुक्कृति जीवाणार्त [महीरव (३४)] ह्ये-मोजनार्व च एक्शनाद:-
30. [म] (३५) देन पर्वतवायुधिक (३६) नवसाहकार कर्मे (३७) [दादन] (३८) तवक अन्य श्रीमहसामितीण निवेदन च.. निल्लिन (३९) ना:-
31. नवसाह अन्य दादनहासामवीन निवेदन च अस्थवास्त सतह तापमार्ग सापस्वयं उद (४३) ना:-
32. देवस्य प्रायोगिनि महत्त्वान्तर्वस्य पुरुषों मे [व] लाप्यावस्था ४ (४४) तेव लोक-माणावकर श्रीमंतमानमान:-
33. स्यक्षेपावाणिजीरार अर्वाचनमुख (४५) [सामान्य] [धार्मिक वात्स्यन (४) मुहरी] श्रीमान्यकर्माते शिवर दस (५०) नाहीः

1 Reading restored from the town hall inscription.
2 The letter ziba indicates the end of the topic.
3 DGA
No. 3—MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

(1 Plate)

M. Venkataramaya, Gootacamund

This inscription was copied in the year 1930-31 by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, at the village of Maser, Basoda Pargana, District Bhilai. The record is fragmentary and its concluding portion is not traceable. The existing portions of the inscription are contained in two broken pieces of a mutilated stone discovered amidst the ruins of a fallen house of a Brahmana in the village of Maser. The only other ancient relics found in the locality were a few broken sculptures and carved stone fragments lying near what looked like the basement of a small shrine. From a perusal of the summary of the contents of the inscription published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, for the year 1930-31, I realised the importance of the record for the history of Central India and the Deccan in the 10th century A.D. At my request the Government Epigraphist for India secured two stamphages of the inscription which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph must have been engraved on a large slab which later broke into several pieces. Of them, only two have been found, the rest are not forthcoming. The first of the extant fragments, which forms the beginning of the record, contains, as it were, the opening lines, measures 3' 6" by 11" and bears portions of 10 lines of writing engraved on it. The other piece which is a continuation of the first one and has been put together with the first measures 2' 3" by 1' 11" and contains portions of 12 lines of writing. Both the pieces have suffered considerable damage. Since the ends and beginnings of lines do not follow in sequence, considerable portions of the full inscribed
stone towards the right side of the existing fragments are missing. On their left side, however, there has been only a slight damage and a little mutilation of the stone extending to a space covering one or two aksaras and affecting about five to six lines. In respect of the second fragment which is smaller than the first, still larger portions of the inscribed slab towards its right are missing. Though the impression of the second piece shows some uniform blank space at the end of each line, suggesting thereby that the lines do not continue further, yet it becomes clear from the study of the text of the record, which is metrically composed, that the lines must have continued on to the same extent of space as they do on the first piece of which the second is only a continuation. Evidently the second fragment was touched by some human agency and dressed with a view to its utilisation in some construction. However, it is fortunate that it is possible to judge the extent of the loss on the right sides of the two fragments. The record being in verse, the number of aksaras forming the metrical portions of the missing text can be counted. It would appear that about eight to ten aksaras in each line up to line 10 are found wanting in respect of the first fragment and about thirty-six to thirty-eight letters from line 11 onwards in the case of the second piece. In addition to these losses, some more aksaras are effaced owing to the damage sustained by the extant pieces. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, the present record embodies much historical information, although its elucidation is rendered difficult owing to the incomplete and disjointed text that is available for study.

Altogether we have portions of twenty-one lines of the inscription. Of these the last three are completely damaged, only a few letters here and there being visible. Except for the obeisance to god Śambhu with which the record opens, the entire inscription to the extent now available is in verse. As many as twenty-five verses composed in different metres can be counted. They are, however, not numbered in the inscription. The first four of them are introductory, in invocation of the mother divine and her consort, lord Śiva. Verse 5 traces the origin of the Śulki venom and introduces one Bhāradvāja, an early ancestor of the family. Verses 6 to 10 speak of king Narasiṁha born of the same family and they embody an elaborate description of his conquests. His son Gupūdhya, famous as Kēsaṁi, is then introduced in verse 11. Verses 12 to 15 evidently contain a description of this chief and his achievements.

The characters belong to the Nāgari alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. The size of the letters varies from 6 to 7 of an inch in height. Mediāl diphthongs and mediāl vowels (except i and i) are indicated by both śr̥-mātrās and pr̥sh̥tha-mātrās. Mediāl i and i are indicated by pr̥sh̥tha-mātrās alone. The consonant p is written in two forms: phala, line 1; phalā, line 7, and phalāya, line 18. Similarly ḍ has two forms; the ḍ in vidānāt(kh)i in line 8 and in evānākha in line 19 may be compared with the ḍ in Vīṣṇu in line 5, madhavā in line 6, and pushpādavāmaṇa in line 7.

The language is Sanskrit and except for a few words in the beginning, the rest of the record is in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The consonant following a r is mostly doubled. B is indicated throughout by the sign for v. Š is used in place of s in certain cases: e.g., svargapādānā, line 1; śrech-śreya, line 6; śr̥s̥vāmoś, line 11. Gh is used for h in śr̥s̥vāmoś, line 11. The śr̥s̥va-sandhi is not observed in cases like śr̥vā moś, line 5; go śdādi, line 13. There is one instance of the use of jihotāvān in āvah-kuśita, line 6, where the sign for it resembles ḍ. The anusvāra has been used mostly for class nasāla. The anuvāra is conspicuous by its absence. There are practically no scribal errors. What may be counted as one such seems to be in respect of the word chanda-śr̥vaḥ for chanda śr̥ivaḥ in line 2. Otherwise the record is composed in faultless Sanskrit.

1 Line 10 of the text is divided between the two fragments, the first containing only the upper parts of some few letters towards the end.
2 This may also be read as Vīṣṇu.
After the obesience to god Śambhu in the words namah Śaṅkārāvā, there follow four satguru-ślokas, the first of which is in praise of Devi, the divine mother, who pervades the animate and the inanimate. The second, parts of which are not quite clear, seems to contain a prayer for the destruction of sins by Śiva who is described as the bee around the lotus face of Gauri. The third stanza is also an invocation of Śiva whose glance, though cool and refreshing for Gauri, acted as the very blazing fire for cupid. The fourth verse invokes the aid of Śiva's consort, Pārvati, for the destruction of all avils through her eyeblows which were knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavi (i.e., Gaṅgā).

Then begins the historical portion of the record. It is stated that a certain hero, adorned by the grānti-tīra, Baṭāvīṭa by name, emanating from a drop of water that fell out of the hand of Dūtā (Brahmā) adored the Sūlkiṃvāsā and was a veritable death to hostile kings. In the family of Sūlka of the lunar race there arose king Narasinha. He was the lord of Viśa-dvādaśa and had his permanent abode at his Kalāyana, called Gōkhaṭṭī-Chāṇakī in the vicinity of Sīhāpura. At the command of Krishnārāja he defeated the enemies in battle, and as if entering a sacrificial maṇḍapa he entered the arena of battle and performed a sacrifice in the form of a great war; and in the sacrificial fire of his rage he offered as ghee the blood of the elephants, slain by him, out of the ladle of his sword; and in such a sacrifice he initiated into widowhood the (women of his enemy). Then his prowess and generosity are described in the succeeding verses. Then a certain Gunāḍhyā described as Kesārin is introduced as son (of Narasinha). At the command of Krishnārāja he conquered the king of Lāta (Lāṭā) and a Kachchhāvāhā.

Verse 15 seems to refer to the founding of a city called Arkavāna which was purified by Lakṣmati and which was, as it were, the birth-place of piety and noble conduct. Verses 16 to 18 contain important allusions to a number of kings with reference to whom some facts are stated, the nature of which it is impossible to make out. Thus Vārpati is stated to have done some act and the same verse refers to a Tantrīdāhira in the nominative case. Mūjā and Chāchchha are mentioned further on in the genitive case. The hero (Kesārin) is then stated to have met the Hūnas, sent by Lōṭikya, in battle at Patṭanaka and to have destroyed a large army consisting of horses, elephants, and infantry. Then follows a description of the plight of enemy women who resolved to put themselves to death. In the battles fought by the hero (Kesārin) even the skulls of the fallen enemies were not traceable. There is some allusion to Krishṇa who destroyed the pride of Duśāsana and Saṭhīs (v. 21). The facts stated further on are important. The hero (Kesārin) is eulogized as one who kept women's company only for the sake of progeny and as one spending his life for the sake of his master (v. 22). There is again a reference to a Hūna ruler in verse 24, and in the next verse, which is the last extant, the hero is described as a lion to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and as the foremost of the servants of Hara.

Thus the record embodies the eulogy of a family of Sūlki (i.e., Chālukya) chiefs starting from Baṭāvīṭa and mentioning Narasinha and his son Kesārin.

While editing the Barghaon temple inscription of Śahara in this journal some years ago, Professor Miraśī assigned to king Krishnārāja of the present record the date c. 900 a.c. and thought that he might be identical with a certain Krishṇa-ūrīpa whose minister Vācṣapati of

1 This may also be read as Viśa-dvādaśa.
2 Possibly there is a pun on the word maṇḍapa, referring to the fort of Māuḍu which is also called Maṇḍapa or Maṇḍava in some records. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 40-7.
the Kaundinya gōtra defeated; according to a fragmentary inscription at Bihār, the lord of Chālukya, killed a Śabara chief called Sīthasa and restored the chiefs of Rāja-mandala and Rūpapāli to their dominions. Professor Mirashi further assumed that king Krishṇa of the above reference was identical with the Chauḍāla prince Krishṇapada, son of Yaḍava, mentioned in the Daudha inscriptions. It is quite possible that Krishṇaraja, the overlord of Narasimha and of Kēsara, of the inscription under study, and Krishṇaraja of the fragmentary Bihār inscription are identical inasmuch as both fought a common foe; viz., the Chālukya and as both lived about the same period, i.e., the middle of the 10th century A.D. But there is a greater possibility of Krishṇaraja of the present inscription being identical with the Rājārākṣita king, Krishṇa III (933-967 A.D.). This depends upon the identification of Narasimha, the lord of Vida-dvādaśa, who was the commander of Krishṇaraja's troops.

Now as for the identification of the chiefs, Narasimha and his son Kēsara, attention may be drawn to a Chālukya family whose origin is traced likewise from Bhatradvāja and which figures in the Bihārī Chālukya inscription. The account given there is as follows. There was a sage Bhatradvāja (Drūga) whose conduct ruined the wonder of the three worlds. Now, in the water, of which he had taken up a handful (chulaka) in order to curse Rudpāli for the insult offered by him, there arose a man from whom proceeded the clan of the Chālukyas and in that powerful family was born Avanivarman who had as his father Sadhavan and grandfather

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P. R. A. S. I., W. C., 1913-14, p. 60. F. E. Hall (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume XXXI (1882)), page 111, footnote (note) writes:

At Bihār, within the fort, I recently found a fragmentary inscription built into the outer wall of a modern house, and looking upon one of the streets of the town. Subjected is all that remains of a record of which perhaps a full half is missing.

1. *suraṃsatyaṁ svaradvaram
danvādīrśārā
dvan-dvāra
dva*
2. *vaṁśaṁ triśravatāya nivatitā janatāṁ kabhāβhāya
cyavajitām āryaṁ*
3. *śūnyaṁ vastra dhārākṣita traceśam āryaṁ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram jñānaḥ pradeśam krishṇarajāṃ*
4. *ḍivām vaṁśaṁ viśvāntā uṣadharāṁ bhūtradān ca
drūgaṁ
dvārākṣita mahārājāṃ *
5. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *
6. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *
7. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *
8. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *
9. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *
10. *kāṭhākhaṁ tāraṇā jñānaḥ
tvāṁśaṁ stōtaram pradeśam *

In the Salgoti pillar inscription (A) of Krishṇa III, dated Saka 967 (945 A. D.), mention is made of one Nārāyaṇa alias Gaṇōkka, who is described as belonging to the Kaundinya gōtra and as the chief minister and sendhāvāgīna of this Bhatradvāja king. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60, 62-3. Kaundinya-Vaḥṣapati, who in the Bihār inscription is described as Gaṇōkka (i.e., son or descendant of Gaṇōkka) is in all likelihood the son of Nārāyaṇa alias Gaṇōkka of the Salgoti inscription. This would favor the identification of Krishṇaraja of the Bihār inscription with Bhatradvāja Krishṇa III.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the epithet claimed by Vaḥṣapati find some corroboration from other sources. According to an account about Parasara by Yāsaka II found in the Nāravaṇaśastarikā this prince is credited with the conquest of a certain chief of Rūpapāli. (Canto XI, v. 89; History of the Parasara Dynasty, p. 42). Perhaps it was this chief of Rūpapāli, called Rūpaśaya, mentioned in the Bihār inscription, that was restored to his kingdom by Vaḥṣapati, the minister of Krishṇa III. In regard to the Sabara prince, Simha, killed by Vaḥṣapati, no satisfactory identification seems possible at present. However, attention may be drawn to the fact that W. George Maslin, II, the sculptor of Krishṇa III is credited with a victory over Naraga, a Sabara chief, in an inscription at Savarā-Belagola (above, Vol. V, p. 171), text lines 21, 24 and 36, which also mentions the northern campaigns of this Gaṇōkka prince. Prof. Miśra (above, Vol. XXV, p. 290), however, identifies the illustrious Sabara of the Bageshwar temple inscription with Sabara Simha of the Bihār inscription.

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Suhavaranman. The illustrious Nöhalä was born of Avanivarman and she became the beloved of the Kalachuri prince Kéyûravazha, i.e., Yuvarjásávati. Queen Nöhalä is stated to have endowed a temple of Śiva with the villages of Viṣá, Pöpi, Kalihapátsaka and others. It will be seen that although the story of their origin differs in some particulars from that relating to Narasimha given in the present record, this much seems certain that both the families were of the same stock and were perhaps even lineally connected.² Narasimha was a subordinate of a K Andréjaluja who fought against the Kalacchuri and the only K Andréjaluja of this period, who could answer to this description was K Andréjaluja III (933-967 A.C.) of the Ráștrakúṭa family.³ Narasimha of our record seems to be a later descendant or a collateral member of the same family since his area of authority was in the same region around Bihári over which the Chálukya family of Nöhalä exercised sway. Viṣá-vádásaka which was the seat of Narasimha seems to be identical with the area around Bihári itself since Viṣá may be identified with Viṣá which was one of the villages granted by Nöhalä to the temple of Śiva at Bihári, as stated in the Bihári Chédí inscription referred to above. Though I am unable to identify Viṣá, the donated village, with any place near Bihári, some of the other villages which the princesses granted along with Viṣá are however identifiable. Thus Pöpi and Kalihapátsaka, two of the gift-villages, are represented by the modern Pomí and Khilwara which are to the north-west and north-east of Bihári respectively. Viṣá must be another village in the same locality.⁴ The exact relationship of Narasimha with the Chálukya family to which Nöhalä belonged can only be decided by further research.⁵

Now, returning to facts stated in the present Mañer inscription, it has to be ascertained under what circumstances Narasimha had to encounter the Kalacchuri under the orders of K Andréjaluja. It has been assumed above that K Andréjaluja was K Andréjaluja III who claims in his Karchá plate⁶ a victory over the Kalachuri Sahasravijya, who was the younger relative of his father and his wife. K Andréjaluja III achieved this victory as Yuvarjái, i.e., sometime between c. 934 and 939 A.C. It was evidently in this campaign of K Andréjaluja III that Narasimha took part and obtained the victory over the Kalachuri as described in the present record. As Prof. Mirashi⁷ and Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ have shown, the Kalachuri adversary of K Andréjaluja III may be identified with Yuvarjái I (c. 914-945 A.C.) who, being a member of the family of Sahasravijya, i.e., Kárta Víjya, was referred to as

¹ I later found that Prof. Mirashi had already arrived at this conclusion; see Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XXVI, pp. 8-9.
² Although the text of our record at this point is mutilated, there seems to be no doubt that the Kalachuri is referred to as the adversary and not as a friend. This would be apparent from the context which refers to the rásikalvá-dásaka given to the chálukya-Kálakúta dhamuka, etc.
³ Ráștrakúṭa K Andréjaluja II was a friend and ally of the Kalachuri king Kkókala. It was K Andréjaluja III who fought the Kalachuri as stated in his Karchá plate (above, Vol. IV, p. 270). The Chandéla king K Andréjaluja with whom K Andréjaluja of our record has been sought to be identified by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 250) is not known to have fought the Chálukya, though his father Yávarjánman defeated a Chédí king.
⁴ If the alternate reading Viṣá-vádásaka for Viṣá-vádásaka is preferred, Viṣá may perhaps stand for Bihári itself.
⁵ I was at first inclined to refer Narasimha and his son Kárta of the Mañer inscription to the Chálukya family of Vamsalwada, the well-known Ráștrakúṭa feudatories, and identify these two princes with their members of that family, Narasimha and Kárta. This does not appear likely since the latter belonged to the earlier and were rulers of a much wider territory, i.e., the Saptapalaka which they were ruling from their capital Lavbalapᶠ, i.e., Vamsalwada in the Hyderabad State. The soul Narasimha of our record was of the former and a small potentate ruling Viṣá-vádásaka, a region which lies in the Madhya Pradesh, a far cry from Saptapalaka which was situated in the Hyderabad State (d.L.J., Vol. XVIII, p. 67). Further, none of the genealogical accounts of the Vamsalwada Chálukya family is there an admission to Bihári or to the Chédí story. It seems, therefore, best to view these families as altogether unrelated.
⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 279.
Sahasrājuna in the Karhūj plates. The Bihārī inscription of the rulers of Chāḷāṅga expressly refers to the conflict between Yuvarāja I surnamed Kāyūravarna and the Kānātaka, who, in this period, could only be the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves or perhaps their Chāḷāṅga vassals, the chiefs of Vēmula-raja. Hence the present Māser inscription affords further confirmation to the conflict that took place between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kālachuris in the time of Krishna III and Yuvarājadeva I, to which the records of both the dynasties bear testimony. The exact causes for the conflict between the two powers, who were even matrimonially connected, are not clearly known. One fact, however, needs elucidation here. How was it that Narasimha of the Sulkī family whose area of authority was Vījaya in the Kālachuri kingdom fought as a general under Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III? There is nothing improbable in this. Although Yuvarājadeva I and Krishna III were adversaries, prior to their advent into the political arena, there were matrimonial relations between the families in the days of their predecessors, Kālachuri Kṛṣṇa and Muhāraṭa, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna II and Amoghavarsha III, as is well-known. It may also be recalled that Amoghavarsha III, father of Krishna III, was the son-in-law of Yuvarājadeva I. We have said that the Chāḷāṅga family to which Nāthā, the queen of Yuvarājadeva I belonged, was of the same stock with which Narasimha of our record was connected. It may be supposed that during the early days of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the two families, the Kālachuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Narasimha or his predecessor, sought service under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, retaining all the time his feudom, the Vījaya-dvāratī in the Kālachuri kingdom.

Of Kesari, the son of Narasimha, our inscription says that he conquered the king of Lāta and a Kachchhājvāḥa at the instance of Kṛṣṇa-raja, i.e., Krishna III. As to when these events could have taken place, two views are possible.

The Kachchhājvāḥa spoken of here was evidently a scion of the Kachchhāparghītā family of Gujarati. The Lāta country alluded to here may be taken to correspond roughly to the central and southern Gujarati. This region was included in the principality of Kṛṣṇapata, i.e., modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad District. In the time of Kṛṣṇa III the province was recovered by him from a collateral Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and remained within the empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malhāred. From the Kāpāyana grant of Krishna II dated Śaka 832 (910 A.C.), we know that Prachanda of the Brahmanvāki family had gained the principality of Kṛṣṇapata by the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akula-vārsha and was ruling at Harshapura (Harosala). During the reign of Indra III there seems to have been some trouble in the area as we are told that his feudatory, Narasimha II of Vēmula-raja, fought the Lātas. But the region continued to be under Rāṣṭrakūṭa control since the Bagumra (Nauɔ̄t) plates of Indra III (both sets), dated Śaka 836 (914 A.C.), and the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV, dated Śaka 852 (930 A.C.) record gifts made by them in Lāta-dēśa. Subsequent to this date direct evidence of Rāṣṭrakūṭa hold over the region is met with in the time of Paramāra Harsa-Siyakha II whose Harosala grants of V. 8. 1005, i.e. 949 A.C., issued by him as a feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III and recording his gifts in Kṛṣṇapata, indicate that the region was under his sway. In all these grants Siyuha II is stated to have made the gifts when he was returning

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2 It may be pointed out that Jina in the Malhar State of Malhāra Pradesh where an inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was found (above, Vol. XIX, p. 287) is not far from Bihārī near which Narasimha of the present inscription held a feud.
4 Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Their Times, p. 56.
from his expedition against Yogaraja, who was more than the Chavva king of Anhilvadapatan
and whom scholars have identified with Avanivarman II, the great-grandson of Bahukadavala.
Bahukadavala was a feudatory of the Gujara-Pratihara. Avanivarman II Yogaraja who
continued to be a Gujara feudatory, was holding Surat and parts of Gujarati from his capital
Anhilvada. He seems to have encroached upon Lata and it was evidently to dislodge him
from the area that Siyaka II marched against him and drove him back. Owing to his occupation
of part or whole of Lata for a while, Yogaraja Avanivarman II might have acquired the title of
Lata; and if this was the person that is referred to as Lata in the present inscription as
having been the adversary of Kesari, Kesari must have joined Siyaka II in this expedition,
as both were acting on behalf of their Rashtrakuta overlord Krishna III. If so, these events have
to be placed sometime about 948-949 A.C., before the issue of the Harsola grants. The Kachchh
prince who was ruling at Gwalior at this date was Lakshmanaraja, the father of Vajrada,man of the Sambhun inscription, who being a Pratihara feudatory, like Yogaraja, might have been
allied with him in his attack on Lata, and was likewise defeated by Siyaka II and Kesari.
If what has been stated above as the possible trend of events in which Kesari of the present
inscription encountered the Lata and the Kachchh prince is correct, it has to be supposed that
the events represent an attempt made by the Pratihara ruler, who on this date was Mahendrapala
II, to attack the Rashtrakuta empire in the region of Lata which, however, failed to bring any
success. On the other hand, the defeat sustained by the Gujara feudatories seems to have paved
the way for the Paramara reconquest of Malwa. For, evidence of Pratihara control over the
region is available only up to 948 A.C. The absence of their records in Malwa territory after
this date and the evidence afforded by the Harsola grant of the Paramaras dated V.S. 1005 (949
A.C.) would show clearly that their hold on it was lost, the Paramaras having established themselves firmly over the area by 949 A.C.

The events detailed above which have been placed round about 949 A.C. would, however,
make it impossible for Krishna III to have been present in person to direct the campaign, for
on this date he was in the south fighting the Cholas. Consequently, the reference made to him
in the present inscription for the second time in the locative case as Krishna may be construed to
indicate his absence from the northern campaigns at this date which were fought by Siyaka II
and Kesari on his behalf.

Or, in the alternative, Kesari's conflict with the Lata and the Kachchhprince might have
taken place much later in the reign of Krishna III as shown below.

Now, it is well known that Krishna III effected a second invasion of North India
sometime after 944 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jura, near Jabalpur, Madhya
Pradesh, in the territory of the Kalachuri. It is known that in this expedition he was ably assisted
by his Gaanga feudatory Mirastra who, in commemoration of the victory secured by him in the
north assumed the title of the "lord of the Gujara." The expedition seems to have been
necessary to the growing challenge to his authority over his possessions in Bundelkhand, Malwa.
and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by the Chandelli ruler, Yaśovarman (c. 900 A.C.). The Khajurāho inscription (II)¹ of his son Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśovarman captured the fort of Kālaṅjara. This fort had been held in his possession by Kaśyapa III from about 935 A.C. Yaśovarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālavā which must have been then under the rule of Paramāra Siyaka II. The Khajurāho inscription (II) testifies to this event for it states that Yaśovarman was the very death to the Mālavās (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālavā early in his reign as he is stated in the same Khajurāho inscription (v. 45) to have acquired the territory as far as Bhāsvat on the river of Mālavā, i.e., Bhilsā on the Vēravatī (Betwa) in Gwalior. Besides the Chandelli ruler, the Chēḍi king Lakshmanarāja (c. 945-70 A.C.) setting naught the authority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king over Mālavā and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Śrīmānaka-Pāṭan in Saūrāchātra, Kāthiawar.² Not long after the date of these happenings the Lāṭa country seems to have slipped from Rāṣṭrakūṭa hold since it is found that Bārrapa, the Chālukya chief, evidently taking advantage of the Chēḍi king’s raid across the country, assumed the title of the king of Lāṭa some time about 960-1 A.C.³ All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kujjūr plates of Mārāsimha II of 963 A.C. that Kaśyapa III set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the Aśvapati.⁴ The Aśvapati was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king to whom the title of Aśvapati has to be applied at this period.⁵ The distinguishing appellation, King of the Gūrjara, by which Mārāsimha II is stated to have become known by conquering the northern region for Kaśyapa III would support our surmise that the Aśvapati against whom Kaśyapa III directed his campaign was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler.⁶ As we have seen, the Fura inscription affords some evidence for the conduct of this expedition. Under the above circumstances, Kēsarīn, the founder with the Lāṭāśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place during this campaign, the Lāṭāśa being perhaps Chālukya Bārrapa, and the Kachchhavāha being Lakshmanarāja, both of whom were Pratihāra feudatories.

The facts stated further on in the last part of the present record are important insufficient as a number of contemporary rulers are introduced. Thus mention is made of Vākpati and a Vāntrādhipa and of some action relating to Muṇja and Chāchēra. The Hūnas despatched by Lōukya are stated to have been defeated at Paṭṭaṇaka.

Among the contemporaries (of Kēsarīn) figure Vākpati Muṇja and Chāchēra, both Paramāra chiefs. Muṇja was the well-known Vākpati II Muṇja whose known dates range from 974 to 995 A.C. Chāchēra was the Paramāra prince of Naddēla, who is mentioned in verse 28 of the Panahera inscription of his descendant Jayasimha,⁷ and whose date falls in this period (c. 950-75

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 105-3.
A.C.). Verse 29 of this inscription tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khaṭṭiga at Kharhīṭa on the bank of the Ravi in the cause of Siyaka and went to heaven. Evidently, the same exploit is attributed to the Paramārā prince Kaṅkadeva of the same Nanadā family in the Artbār inscription of Chānumālāraja, verse 19 of which relates that Kaṅkadeva overthrew the army of the king of Karpāta in battle on the bank of the Narmadā and in fighting on the side of Śrī Harsha of Mālava died a hero’s death. It has been assumed by some writers that Kaṅkadeva is identical with Chahecha and that it was this prince who fought against Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga on behalf of Paramārā Siyaka II. It would seem that the facts narrated above with reference to several contemporary princes, including the fight at Kharhīṭa, were incidents of one and the same campaign, viz., the one undertaken by Khoṭṭiga against the Pratīkhara and other princes of the north, viz., the Chhā, the Chandella and lastly the Paramārā who was his erstwhile feudatory. Kāsarī too may be supposed to have taken part in the expedition as can be deduced from the present Māser inscription. These events pertain to the reign of Khoṭṭiga and must have taken place before 972-3 A.C. As Māser where the present eulogistic inscription is found lies north-east of Kharhīṭa (modern Kharhat) on the Narmadā, it may be supposed that Khoṭṭiga was not halted at the Narmadā as a result of this battle but was able to proceed further north victoriously.

Now, the Māser inscription, recounting as it does the exploits of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa subordinate, must have been set up before Khoṭṭiga’s reign came to an end, i.e., before 972-3 A.C., as after this date the chances of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa subordinate setting up an inscription so far north would be very remote, the area having once come under the rule of the Paramāras by this date.

The mention of Muniya (Munivoṇa) in this record, assigned as it has been done to a date before 972-3 A.C., would lead to the conclusion that he had already become king in succession to Siyaka II by that date. Since, neither the latest date of Siyaka II nor the date of accession of Muniya is definitely known yet, it is not unlikely that Muniya ascended the Paramārā throne before 972 A.C., though the earliest date known of his is 974 A.C. It is usually believed that the Mālava king who plundered Mānaphuka in 972 A.C. was Siyaka II Harsha on the evidence of a reference found in the Pārśvalokeśhā. But as surmised by Fleet the Mālava king might have been Vākpati Muniya himself.

Another incident of this campaign mentioned in the present inscription is the fight against the Hūṇa sent by Lōdikya which took place at Patañaka. If Patañaka is identical with Anahilavāla-Pāṭān which at this date was ruled by Chālukya Vālāraja, it may be supposed that the armies (of Kāsarī) marched against this Chālukya chief and his Hūṇa vassals. I am unable to identify Lōdikya who despatched the Hūṇa.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Gōlahaṭṭa-Chāṇakī near Elāpura may be identified with Gōla and Chāṇegaon near Ełorta, i.e., Elāpura, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State. Vīja, as stated already, may be identified with Vīja near Bilhārī. Or, both Viṭā and Viṭā may stand for Bilhārī itself. I am unable to locate Patañaka where the Hūṇa were encountered. Whether it stands for Anahilavāla-Pāṭān or Sāmānātha-Pāṭān cannot be determined until more definite data are available. I am also unable to locate Arkavāna.

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2 History of the Paramārā Dynasty, p. 328.
3 Ibid., p. 329.
4 See above, p. 22, n. 4.
१. ओँ म्

२. क्रियाव्यक्ति निहारा-पत्राही सकलम-स्त्रावण-प्रकरणता 

३. पते दीधभावि वहि 

४. मैरेर चहरकोति नामु सर्वगुणरूपानि 

५. [वाङ्] ताराधिब्रह्म शुक्ल-सुन्तन्त्र-हिन्दि-विप्रधान 

६. पूजा विद्याकोति चक्राघर-बहस-साप चिरा 

७. दहि गायस्य दानायम्-समयाय देवतावरुहि 

८. श्रीधरेविश्वस्था-विद्याकोति दस्यायु यशो निर्माणकर्म 

९. क्रिष्णं लोकसमस्यानां 

१०. मु-उमापति-वेवायुयाय दानाधरम [१२, [*]] केशव सूढ़णि
11  

12 puṇya-vinay-ōdyama-janma-bhūmiṃ Padmā-pada-prasenchim-Arkkavan-ābhīdhānam ||

13 tiṣṭhāvadāṃ śrimad-Vākpatinā kṛitam avaka-vā[ba]śa tantrādhipo yah sudhīḥ ||

14 hayē [ku]mbāgra-prasit-āmalān na vaṁma[va]yā[padya kāṁscheid-dhaṭhāṅ || [ 17 || *]


16 yasya-āri-pramāda-jaṇo dhīha-matir-mmrtuyum prati prasthitah || [19 || *]

17 t[ṛ]gha-vvipavā-Jishv-arcchit-āṅghri-brayā yō Duḥṣaṅga[sa-na-][Śalya-]darpa-dalana-

18 na chayā kṣātraṇa satra-kṣāraya saṁśtaṇāya sa-yōskha-vāh-paar-ahāh kōpō va[ba]la-khāṇiṭ-

19 yatra-āri-cv[a]jañānā | kallāla sva tōyāṇān sahasā pralayanā gataḥ || [23 || *]

APPENDIX

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

(N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI, AND B. CH. CHHARMA, OOTACAMUND)

This abnormally long inscription appears on twenty-five stone slabs, each measuring more or less 3' high by 24' broad. Twenty-four of them are fixed in a row at short intervals into the wall of the Nauchauki ghāt at the Rājasamudra, while one is found inside a marble pavilion. Rājasamudra, popularly known as Rāj Samand, is an artificial lake which lies to the north of Kankali, a railway station on the Mavli-Phulad-Marwar Junction branch of the Udaipur State Railway, and is about 40 miles north-north-east of the city of Udaipur. The lake is a fine sheet of water, extending over three miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It is formed by a dam built at its south-western extremity. It is mainly fed by the water of the Gomati, but is also abundantly augmented by the rain-water draining into it from the surrounding hills.¹

The inscription comprises a mahākāvyya, entitled Rājaprasasti, consisting of twenty-four cantos. Twenty-four of the slabs contain each a canto, while the inscription on the twenty-fifth consists merely of invocations to various deities, and as such does not form an integral part of the poem proper. This invocatory section occupies the foremost position, though it was composed last of all, as is evidenced by its eleventh stanza wherein the poet invokes blessings for Rājasimha's son Jayasimha as well as for the latter's children. The poet informs us that he composed the prasasti by the order of Rājasimha, but that it was engraved on the stone slabs at the instance of his son and successor Jayasimha².

Although several instances are known of such lengthy records engraved on stone, yet the present one is perhaps the longest so far discovered. This remarkable poem has not yet been edited entirely² or properly³, though its contents have occasionally been noticed by some scholars.⁴ The work is important more as a narrative of events than anything else. It does not conform to many of the conventional characteristics of a mahākāvyya, still it exhibits very little real poetic merit.

The script employed is Nāgarī, almost of the type prevalent at present. The language is Sanskrit throughout, except that here and there some phrases or sentences in the local dialect

¹ For a detailed description of the ghāt as well as of its surroundings see Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's Rājputana-
² Canto I, Verse 10.
³ Canto V, Verse 51.
⁴ Two cantos, the second and the third, have been edited in the Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, Bhamnagar, pp. 145–154; but the text presented there is found inaccurate at several places.
⁵ Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, has undertaken to edit it. His work was to appear in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. We have seen a part of it in print and found that his treatment of the record is not strictly scientific. Besides, his readings are not correct throughout.
are met with. It is, however, noteworthy that the poet not only presents certain Muslim names and titles in their Sanskritized forms, but also treats a few vernacular and even Persian terms as Sanskrit words like "āra" in the sense of "a see", "latt" for "a kick" and "salīna" meaning "salute" respectively in verse 16 of the Canto III and in verses 41 and 48 of the Canto IV. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities may be noticed: (1) an asvadā is used for a class nasal as well as for a final in almost invariably; (2) a consonant after r is very rarely doubled as in mūrdhā (Śab I, 1, 37); (3) usually a single chā is written where a chāḥ is required, such cases as cīhācchāhā (Canto III, 1, 1) being exceptional; (4) the sign of anugraha is seldom used (Canto II, 1, 18); (5) in many cases s is employed instead of k. (6) Sometimes sh stands for kh. There are certain other peculiarities, such as the spelling of the name Bharata as Bharatha, which betrays the poet's place of origin being South India.

The author of the poem is a Télangā or Telugu Bāhāma, Ṛpachhōḍa, by name, born of the Kāṭhōḍa family. From the description of his parentage given towards the end of several cantos, we extract the following pedigrees:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhāskara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mādhava (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmachandra (J)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvāvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshminātha (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmachandra (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhava (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maithūśūdāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛpachhōḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshminātha (III)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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The poet Ṛpachhōḍa also mentions his mother's name as Vēṣi, daughter of a Gōsāmīn whose proper name is not given but who presumably belonged to the Vallabhā sampradāya. It may be pointed out that Vallabhāchārya, the founder of this sect, had also hailed from the Télugu country. His second son Viṣṭhālanātha was the first to assume the title of Gōsī or Gōsāmīn which was later held by all the śāhārya of the sect. These Vaiṣṇavas had their centres at various places in North India, but the one with which the maternal grandfather of the poet Ṛpachhōḍa was connected was probably that of Nāthadhāva, about 30 miles north of Udaipur. We are further informed in verses 9 and 16 of Canto I that the poet composed the prasasti while teaching a younger brother of his, named Lakshminātha, who seems to have had

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1 A certain Indian weight, roughly equal to 2 lbs.
2 For metrical requirements, the chā in the name Ṛpachhōḍa has in most places to be read without the reduplication.
3 This Lakshminātha (II) is, in fact, not at all mentioned in the Raṣṭaśūrīs, but we know of his existence from the Jagannāṭhārāya temple inscription at Udaipur, of which he is the composer, and in which he gives his genealogy perfectly agreeing with the one given here (see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 85, verse 48).
4 He is known from slab I, 1, 40; slab XXV, y. 16.
5 Raṣṭaśūrīs (Hindi), Vol. I, pp. 338 ff. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaṃśuvāman, Śaivas, etc., pp. 76 ff.
Rajaprasasti Inscription of Udaipur
I—A View of the Nauchaudi Ghat, Rajasamudra

(From a photograph)
another elder brother called Bharata, and that he commenced the composition on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the Vikrama year 1718 in compliance with the orders of Mahārāja Rājasimha who is stated to have at the same time ordered the construction of the Rājasamudra lake as well, while halting at the village of Dhōdhūla. The week-day on that date was Budha, as can be ascertained from verse 11 of the Canto IX, where the same date is repeated. It thus regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st January A.D. 1662, taking the month to be pūrṇimānta.

It took full fourteen years to complete the work of excavating the lake and constructing the dam and the ghāṭ; for, we are informed that the inauguration ceremony of the Rājasamudra took place on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the Vikrama Sāvat 1732, which regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 20th January A.D. 1676.

The names of the masons who are responsible for the engraving of the present inscription as also perhaps for the construction work are given in the bhāṣā portions occurring towards the end of some slabs. They are: Gajadhara Mukaṇḍa, Gajadhara Kalyāṇa's son Urajaya, Gajadhara Sukhadēva, Gajadhara Kēso (Kēśava), Sundara, Lālā, etc.

The pivotal theme of the poem is the Rājasamudra. It records the digging of the lake as well as the building of the dam and the ghāṭ in a very elaborate manner. Besides, it abounds in incidental details upon which it is needless to expatiate here. Since the text will be found simple enough to be self-explanatory, no comments are deemed necessary in this introduction. And a verbatim translation of the whole poem would unnecessarily increase the bulk of the article which is already exceeding usual limits. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by giving an abstract of the contents at the end of the text, adding notes on the historical portions. It may, however, be observed here that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic or traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable. The inaccuracies will be pointed out at their proper places.

The text has been prepared from the inked estampages taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934. The present article was ready as early as 1940, but its publication has been delayed due to the suspension of the printing of the journal for some years during and after the World War II.

TEXT

Slab I : Invocation

[Mātrēs: vv. 1-14 Śikharat; vv. 15-21, 24-30 Snaḍhārā; v. 23 Upajāti; v. 23 Bhujanapragyaṭa.]

I II 3 नम: लोकप्रेमादः उपरोहोंतं सेतु मुक्तिहितानि मतिनिधि मुख्यम यद्वन्द्वं परमिवयत्कृत्य हिंदुः समां कामं कर्मं अनकः

The poem was also intended to be a text book for the poet's own children, Lakshmīmātha and the rest see Slab XXV, v. 16.

Possibly it is the same Dhōdhūla nilā as is mentioned further on in verse 5 of the Canto IX, where it is enumerated as the first of the sixteen villages whose area was included in the lake.

This date as well as that of the commencement of the work is given at several places in the poem, but of such instances whose week-days are also mentioned one may be seen in ii. 41-44 of Slab IX.

The term gajadhara is equivalent to śrīrādhā meaning 'mason', literally 'holder of the yardstick' (gajāraṇ gurūrāya).

More or less the same list is found towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII, IX and XXV.

From ink impressions.
2 तनपालामनगवसुतिप्राण: कामं कस्यन्तर राम: इततम्: ॥१॥ सिलातोरसनालोक्य(क्रम)-
लकिलिङ्: कश्चिपिराविलुतालसेः

3 यस्यनमाः विभिन्त:। यु: केलोरो(सारं)धृतम् इति: नुक्कृशित्रितुसेविताः! सु: (सं)ः
स्वतिदधिकविखेतिमित्वः। ॥२॥ पुर: रायोद्वत्स(क्रम)प्रवश्यः

4 संस्कृतस्तरम्(वे)रेतुः नवेदृष्टं तदागम्य दातव्याः। प्रतियथाप्याद ततः
विवरणमं भगवते प्रभावहि विनिर्विचारैं अव तिरक्त्वामात्रे यथा ॥

5 ॥३॥ वरामेश्वरस्वती चुःसुक्तेणानम् कामवर्ती महकारोत्स्वरं सहुलमज्जोडितं विवृत्ता
प्रसीद्यां स्वायं समतलांगुली

6 दिन्यायतमाः सुलक्षणां विद्याशिलितसुतुमनीहाः सत्सं ॥३॥ भूपि: केनास्तकृतिकारिन्हि-
सत्सं उपेन्द्रे। वुःः

7 वित्ते: न्यूनति सुचिकाँ क्षणकां। वरामेश्वरकांपवकराः स्वाभु(स्वाभु)समातेः यें
भीयते यो मुखाशि स मरम्भसान्ताः ॥४॥

8 यवेद्या भास(स्म)स्वत्तिकहस्तम्नानकाव्यकुर्ब्बनाः वासी यो मुखाशित्यध्यानं बाहि।
वदिनां
वैवामृतसिद्धान्तार्थावृतिकृताः न-

9 रसेयांस्ते [४: शुचिशिल्पे वाणीपुताः ॥३॥ यु: भागी तदा स्त्रिया (म)सति वासालो
मिलातिरितैरुद्धोतां मनित्तलसत्वस्यान्तिऽः। खेते बातेः

10 सेवारा रमावित्यकाणस्तो(को)हकारः स्वारकः सत्ता। महत मुकुलेनी पुपुक्के भावः ॥४॥
दारात्सा: वरोसा(वरोसा) सलित्तपाली होममुख: क एव डा[सो]-

11 हुः(वृ) लघुकिलितानासुरकः। हुरसः हुरसः पुत्रसतलीमाहोनमवश्वहिंसेः अप्फ
वपति चरणीयो मुदीमिर् ॥५॥ कपे-।

12 समेतोनकालविरुद्धपुपुक्के(वृ) पुपुक्के विनविनि धारण: कन्याकितसङ्ककारिः। गृहात-
रीक्षातिरस्तिदधिकम्ब्रव: श कलाः

13 पुपुक्के व्यख्याताविश्वमुक्तासरस्यमुद्धिन:। ॥६॥ गुराय: सिद्धि श सति व(म)हुः
विवधानस्त्रासिद्धीलोके या सतामुखाः

14 हुः व विमाते। पुपुक्के विश्वमुक्ति चान्दिकाः समृद्धि भस्तानो सति
हरसिद्धिः भव: नन: ॥७॥ हिवे राष्ट्र-

¹ The form nga is evidently derived from the word तालिका which is a Pātaele equivalent of तालिका.
² The sign of विप्रयां appears above the line: apparently it was first omitted and supplied later on.
15 स्त्रान्ता वार्तिः समस्ती अयकरी दस्तारुः रां(रां)स्त्र सराया वार्तिः वस्त्राध्यक्षमध्यपत्य प्रकाशी: स्पः स्मः समत तुर्भरावप्यायः । ।
16 स्म सम सुतनीरावप्यायः । ।
17 हि रचयः मुखे: निष्परः मेंः स्नेहः कर्ममयी तः निष्पञ: । ।
18 स्मः समः समद्वायः मनुः मन्तहः सः (मः) सल्कः (कः) सुमार्फः । ।
19 सरोत्सरस्वासद्वः (वः) समातः महः बेरितविः मुतः बेरितविः । ।
20 वेनरावः (वः) सुमुखितः (वः) कुडः क्षणः ।
21 रितः बारः सुखः रूपः | रंगः केशः स्त्रिः स्त्रिः शा (शा) समतः रससः: निष्परः शा (शा) सुकृतः कर्ममयी: पायु: गोतः गणः: ।
22 शः । । ।
23 शः । ।
24 वि (वि) जनोः मुखेंः सुकृतः कविन्दरः: (हृ) पदः विन्दः विन्दः मन्तः अस्तः अस्तः अस्तः अस्तः ।
25 कित इति मुखे: निष्पञ: । ।
26 । ।

3 The syllable रि is inscribed above the line.
4 The sign of स्वरः appears above the line apparently it was first omitted and was supplied later on.
5 Read ग्यास्प, व्यास्प, ग्यास्प, ग्यास्प, as otherwise the line would be short of one syllable.
6 The words लक्ष्मीश्वरी and देवकीलक्ष्मी qualify the amara, etc., i.e., demum, etc., of लक्ष्मी as well as of द्रवाकिः.

4 DGA
27. आज्ञः रक्तालीसगति (वै) नित्यानिधित्वातिविभाज्यात्कुलाकुकुर्म: निधि समुपर्ण(पु) चंपः प्रचंपः सुकंपः गलापुष्पः

28. मित्र जने: लत्तिनिष्ठ: श्रावनकालान्त: मोरिनि(सौ) तो महर्षिदिवसतालं गणेशः

29. लालक्ष श्लोकान्त: कोझूरुआधुनिकतहसाधारणवर्णसंगितः। नन्मु, नन्मु, नरमिनि द्रवमि द्रविनि नरमि नरमि मुरिनि मुरिनि मुरिनि मुरिनि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि नरमि
40 स्वाणितमणिपुरृ जयगोपुरवेश साहसे जीमानो स्वजयं गणिस साहु गुणो हैंत सर्वप्राणाशि (मिसे)॥३॥ विधामस्थलयना मुरोद्ध लघुमागमनकरा वे भेरोईङ्गुरु।

41 ता: कालोत्तेजङ्गलेर्वेशमणयु वधुनार्तिकं चंद्रधान्वकं बंकलाका।। हेतुमाणितस्तावतवत्ति नृत्यमाणितस्ताववयु गुरुमाने मायेस तूजित पुजत हनिहर हरं इति।

42 ज्ञे विधि जे विषंतु॥ २४॥ जिनं छार्य शाक चम्पकलर्ण कुर्च नम स्मृताभमापनहि रक्षते तीर्थयिनी (त्री) तिरंज्ज्ञाणमिन्म वजळ व्यापयः तः रचेन[६]। वासे बालिम्यात्।

43 स्वः रথमव बनवासानं (वत) लं हरिणा शशी तः बो।[५]। विष्णु व स्वतं रक्षणो विक्षीमु शालिट सोवातु॥ २६॥ शालेवमेव पवित्रमाणकुजप्रबंधितम[वृङ्ग-]

44 [जु] मालेपकता कि जे वासे: प्रवालेश्वर्मिवर्धवर्ध (व) रेवस्नेप्पन्नेवस्य शेनानं (वण्ण) [वाण्ण] विकत कि हरिहरवमलवलिन्या सल्कुमुना रक्षितमेव (व) रेवा।

45 — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२०१॥] ... ... ... ...

Slab II; Canto I

[Mettes: vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 Mali; v. 3 Prithvi; 5, 14, 15, 17-29 Anushṭabh; vv. 8, 11, 12, 13, Vamantailaka; vv. 9, 10, 20, 31, Śūrdūlaśīkāniḍa; v. 16 Śālini.]

चित्रोऽद्वितीयः

1 वा नमः आयोगेयः नमः॥ मुनिनिपुष्पस्वरूपे भोजेन संप्रवालु परमेभ्येवस्यात्य जलास- जलात्। समुज्जीव दुर्लभलाया एकलाधिनः।

2 कृटे विभृत हृष स्वर्देषी राजसिद्धसन्न्यायः॥ १॥ मुहुर्तकरिण्यहोरोक्तिगते त्रयौः कुपरिय स्वर्देषी कालिः।

3 भागंगिष्यासः (वण्ण):॥१॥ प्रतिकृतिपदानामित्रिवत्रशचमितमित:॥ १॥ कलमु तव राजसिद्ध- लालकसिंहः॥ २॥

4 शतमित्तमुसंहसंहरायां सादुः सर्व।[५] चुरुर्मधरो मुखा वित्त चतुर्गोवित्तमः॥ १॥

[५] मयू-मोना निन्मान।

[१] विञ्झीय न होगे नि तथापि कियो विमहान।

[२] ऐसा च तत्त्वम हृत प्रकाशक।

[३] विशदेन्त न हृत मोन्नति।
6. पांवा(वा) निवासकालिन्या यां(वा)लिखितमात्रा किलोकाला। "(1) गुप्तपत्र सहित तथा
पुनरुपयोगीयैंया कृत्य तथा युगोत्तरसंबंधित किलोकाला।
7. का राजांशिंग। यह(1) वि(वि)ति हिन्दुधर्म कथा। यों कोणी(श्लोक) मूलतः(विति) उप- 
पत्रामें। (1) बुधमयकालाति (तो) स्वरूपमाता गुप्त प्रवाह.
8. भा. (1) बहुतसंस्करण्या भाषा मनोजः। कनिष्ठ सं(स)दात्सा मूर्त्वम् राजाः
मुनिसप्त ला मा लिझने विन।
9. भारती सन्तिस्वरूपदुःशुद्ध तत्त्वस्य मंगलं मंगलाया। (1) प्रतिनिधिपुण्याः मा
सिद्धास्ता विम्।
10. बोधस्य नाटक प्रतिनिधि प्रमाणाय। (1) वद्यासतकर्माणि गुप्तरेखा- विना
मण्डल सा मा निराकारः भुवः
11. ते राजासी (1) वै: कौक द्वितीयेरस्मेवसा। (1) द्राक्षा
स्वरूपमाता गुप्तपत्रामें।
12. कवि इह मा मयुमेवरीमात्रांतरस्ते प्रविष्टमित्रा। (1) इति(विति) संख्याधा।
स्वरूपमाता गुप्तपत्रामें।
13. देवता जनको ओजः कौको कुले तेलकः कवितात: द्वितीयेरो बंधी च गोर्माण्यिा। (1)
बुधव राजसम्राट्षोऽन्नको
14. आला विशेषस्य महो तौ राजस्व रघुवीपः एव अहाः (ता)दं लक्षणः विशिष्टाय। (1) पूर्वे
सततश्चैह शते समाना(सो)क्ष्यमा
15. कविकाव्याः काले श्लायनपरां तपवति। [सहस्रात्मो वाणो। (1) श्रीशुद्धावासमिः
श्रीसमः सहस्रात्रां स तपवत।
16. या प्रारंभ रघुवर्र्तिः एव विश्वास्तव विवाहात्मा। (1) अन्नव त्वक्यमाणि वेलि न
या(वा)लको या कृद्यांपेक्षयम्
17. एव गणमूर्तिः। शान्त त्वद गुप्तदृश्योपविषयः कवितालयव मा भाष्प्रिययांव
कप्पमात्। (1) निश्चितः चेक्काद्यते।

1. The syllable sth is engraved above the line.
2. Perhaps the intended reading is -मविकालाः.
3. This sārdha is not necessary.
4. The letter sa is inscribed above the line.
18 लिखनेपूर्वे कालहीरयन्त्री वचन वाक्यप्रारंभ कब्र ॥(१) ॥ मातुः पुरुस्तल्क तदा लिखनेपूर्वे मनासन कालिनित्रत नूप कदम्यति।

19 साहिने ॥१३॥ युध जनावनत्रेवं कवाल्पि पुरुषालोकस्म तथा नतुनापूर मुख-दितरस्य ॥(१) ॥ तावुक्रुपयो अयति वापण।

20 तपस्य बयो भौराकालसुपपुरेरणि तत्क्षण तदु ॥१३॥ रायपर्यं भारेतिति क्रियात्मिनित्रिन नूपज्ञान योगः। यथा राजा।

21 सत्त्रितां स्वादम्यार्थगंधारणम् ॥२२॥ यक्ष्यादिज्ञेश्वरसे राजाकुमरम् तोमडे ॥ भौराकाल-साधितां सुक्रियते राजजिः।

22 हे विराजले ॥२३॥ नामायुःसूत्रमामुः स्वात्मार्थगंधारसे स्वायत्वाभारतके ॥ देवायुःसूत्रमामुः साधितां भुठः ॥

23 वे राजा भविष्यवाची ॥२४॥ स्वायत्वार्थगंधारसे वा (वा) वायुसूत्रमामुः ॥ संस्कृत्वित्रि राजा वर्तिणापकरिषारः।

24 ॥२६॥ भौराकालसत्यान्तम् कर्मणे संस्कृततः ॥ भौराकालप्रावित्रिसे वैषम्यस्वतिः ॥२७॥ भव देवलस्मात्र वन(व)दलामयो वायुस्वतिः ॥(१) ॥ भौराकालसत्याः योगः।

25 वप्प्स्यान्तः ॥(१) ॥ बयेन(व)धाम्याः यक्ष्यादिज्ञेश्वरसे स्वायत्वार्थगंधारितेः ॥२८॥ भव देवलस्मात्र वन(व)दलामयो वायुस्वतिः ॥(१) ॥

26 वन वायुत सुभरति तमुखं गु ॥(१)॥ २०[२०] ॥ यस्मातीत यस्मातीत वियोगस्ते संकरस्य ब [२०] ॥ पूर्ववेदनम् सत्य(व)हितकर्ये राजा भविष्यवाची ॥२९॥

27 भरतार्थस्य इति ज्ञानान्तः ब [२०] तीनो तहतश्च नववर्गः मुनुः। राज्य सह इति गण: स्वायत्वार्थस्वतिः ॥२३॥ यस्मातीत वन(व)हितकर्ये राजा भविष्यवाची ॥

28 नेपाण व सिरावर्गेः ब [२०] दुर्गवोर्वर्गान्तः ॥२३॥ दुर्गवोर्वर्गान्तः ॥२३॥ हरितव इति नामवन वै संगमाते नववर्गः। तवरायं तिव वैवे ब [२०] ॥

29 त: स्वायत्वार्थस्वतिः ॥२४॥ इति यस्मातीत यस्मातीत विषयान्तः बिषयः ॥(१) ॥ इत्यथे वायुस्वतिः ॥२५॥ वायुस्वतिः भि तिभल्करेऽवर्गः ॥

30 म में विस्तारस्त्रितः राजस्वेव: ॥ (व) वायुपर्यं नववर्गान्तः ॥(२४) ज्ञानान्तः ॥२६॥

* The correct form is रिक्न्या।
* Better read गुलामो।
* Sandhi has not been observed here.
* This sandha is not necessary.
* Both सिरावर्ग and the सिरावर्ग are above the line.
* While composing this verse the poet obviously had in mind Kālidāsa's Kṣa vṛṣa-prakāra-samsāk kṣru-chalipa-visthāya satiḥ | titrārodayasthānam mohāduṇāyogāṃ sāparnam | (Rāyaṇasundara, 1, 2).
Slab III; Canto II

[Matters: v.1 Manikākrītī; vv.2-38 Anuśūkha.]

1. श्रीमालीसागर: नाम: [ए] गुप्तान्युक्तवर्णिकिः अंकाकुलिणि: संग्रह करकमलयः: पृष्ठिततिविवरणस्य [ए]

2. मध्ये नीति वतवन्यः विविधाः वस्त्रम् इति गः ब्राह्मणोऽर्थिः तेनु गाब्धेऽन्नेपि:

3. सर्व विश्वेष इति तन्नारायणः स्तिथिः: हृ(हि)रन्धुप्रीती तसाहि: इति पदयोऽर्थमः

4. रीरि: कपालप्रथा तु प्रदृष्टिवर्गः (स्वः) स्तव्यांसोभविन्यायः स: [ए]

5. तथेऽपि पृथ्वी: [ए] कहुल्ल्याद्वित्तीयः सस्वयोनास्ति: पुं: [ए] तत्रोषि: विचित्रवर्णस्य

6. तु [ए] यथानन्दः वायुस्तो इति हुश्योऽर्थमः यात्र: [ए] सतः: श्रीयनायांसमुद्रुः

1 Read "шим" as in 1.35 of Slab IV.
2 Danda unnecessary.
3 Yeap is above the line.
7. इति नित्यसम्य वा तत: ॥५॥ ब(श्र)हृष्टाय: कुलार्योगी मैत्रिकलम् वा तत: ॥१॥

8. मृगरामिः ॥१॥ दक्षस्वयम् तत: प्रकुलेरोगी वा मुत: ॥१॥ नस्तुशुद्धिस्विति योऽध्वनिनः

9. हर्षदेवस्माध्याणसम्यम् निःस्य (श्र)चन्द्रुपसम्: ॥१॥ सत्यदेवस्माध्याणसम्यम् नामांतरं तत: ॥१॥

10. तत: वा हर्षितसम्: ॥१॥ ब्रजसम्य सुन्दराभिमानिवो भक्तिको वा ॥१॥ १२॥ तस्मावः कः (श्र)कुलेरोगी तत्तुष: सपर: स व ॥१॥

11. नक्षत्रीय वुद्वाय वु पाथ तस्मानवस्मुः ॥१॥ १३॥ अन्ध्र(च्छ)ा द्विदाहस्वरूपसम्य: सामगर्भार्य: ॥ सामगर्भार्य:-

12. लवं(लाख)ः हु कृिस्यांसम् [म]ः राजसः ॥१॥ २॥ लत्तोमायाशिनिद्वषाशमस्वस्माभोषाति भविष्यति: ॥

लत: [श्र] सस्तति [श्र] सं: सिद्धिविद्याः।

13. तस्मां: ॥१॥ २॥ ब्रजस्वरूपसम्य वाल जन्नुपोषस्तु तस्मां: ॥ लवंकम् सुस्वरूपसम्य तस्मांख्यस्तुः ॥१॥ २॥ मधवकं छ तस्मां:-

14. वनपालस्य हृषितसम्य वादयनक: ॥१॥ नस्तुःकृुसि सम्यक्ष्यात एवविषाण्यत: ॥१॥ २॥ वातो विश्वसातः

15. मेघांतुःक्रमसम्य महकः ॥१॥ वेदबाहुल्यिनिनित्यस्वमयपथर्युपुरः इवाद: ॥१॥ २॥ वातो विश्वसातः

16. हवामो: स्नातस्वम् ॥१॥ ओरां(र्य) वनरः ॥ केक्षयं भरयो(ती) रामभल्यसम् ॥१॥ २॥ सुमन्तयो तस्माद्यस्य समुत्सरिः:

17. ति दा(र्य) नत: ॥१॥ श्रीसदिपाय वुद्वाय वु माति वहवेदित कुतार्यमुनि ॥१॥ २॥ कुमुः

18. सो नत: ॥१॥ नमस्य संबरक्षोष कर्मस्या तस्मांतु: ॥१॥ २॥ देवातोक्तस्वलितमः

पारिवारोष: तस्मां: ॥१॥ २॥ वस(श्र)सूरस्त्रसम्य विविध: पुनस्तप्रमुतोर्वाय

19. नस्सतय: व्यस्तस्मात्स्वमानस्ततोषात्मकः ॥१॥ २॥ स(श्र)सूरस्त्रसम्य विविध: पुनस्तप्रमुतोर्वाय

॥१॥ हिमस्यताः-

* The letter ए is engraved above the line.

* The figure १४ between two sets of dandas appear above the line. The first pair of dandas is thus in excess.

* The figure १४ between two sets of dandas appear above the line. The first pair of dandas is thus in excess.

* Here instead of Damardha the Puranas give Samudra which appears to be in excess.

* The syllable ए appears above the line.

* A space for one or two letters is left blank between श्र and श्र.
20 भ: पृष्ठेशः महाबलिविच्छिन्ने नभुवि प्रस्तती भक्ति रति: प्रस्तती भक्ति
21 स्मार्नमिति प्रमोदन्ति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
22 स्मार्नमिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
23 व्र: (भ) हृद (ह) ततो महाभाष्यमहाभाष्य श्रवणश्रवणीय श्रवणश्रवणीय श्रवणश्रवणीय
24 व्र: प्रतिक्षेपमेष्टश्वरमभुजस्वरम व विवाकालय ययो जयो वाहिनीधितिः प्रस्तती 
25 स्म: प्रेमनिति भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति
26 व्र: प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
27 हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
28 व्र: प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
29 हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
30 हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
31 हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
32 हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति हि प्रेमनिति
Appendix | RAJAPRASASTI INSRIPTION OF UDAlPUR

33 लिति IIIIII त्वाःकोवामपकलामृकाः राजाभिषमवः IIII वायियाः शुः एल्लात्या महात्माः IIIIII ना-

34 सा विजयभूषारा राजाम्मा समुपेशी श्री (1) गोरा संवेदिता स्वातः वंभविशालः लतः (2)

IIIIII वादास्विकायोः 1 हित्याः सङ्गः ॥

35 संयत IIIIII पुरां (वच) महासले कुर्णिः सत्याः त (तत) वि राजस्रामग्रा गुहरतः

(�हुः) राज्यराजसीयोः कीपो ॥ संयः

36 त IIIIII शुः (वच) महासले तुकल (शुकल)वचः १२ लिखे (वो) राजसरमुग्र

प्रतिवा (श्ता) कीपो गाजः मुक्त मंगः गाजः वक्यामः-

37 श्री सुत उरजः गाजः कुष (लक)वेक गाजः केनरो ॥ श्रु (वच)वर ॥ सतः ॥

सोमपुराः [श]ति ॥ कुसारा धुर्हम ॥ राजस्रामवाचः [व]च ॥ [!!]

Slab IV; Canto III

[Metres : vv. 1, 35, 36 सुरदुष्क्रियविषा ; vv. 2-12, 24-27, 32-34 अमुखीभि ; vv. 13, 14, 16-20, 22, 23, 30 उपायिः ; vv. 15, 19, 31 इद्रावेजाः ; v. 21 इद्रावमाहि ; v. 28 उपायिः of इद्रावमाहि and वसुसत्साहविः]

1 || वरेन्द्रशाय नमः || उल्लोमबुधुसतातः (वच)पुरोहितः (वच)द (वच)द (वच)द (वच)द (वच)द द्रवांत्रं -

प्रयोगितीयंविलविस्तारं सर्वातः श्री (वच) -

2 || त्र (1) गोपाले: कलकत्व गोपतनमालेन निजग्रामवाप्पाग्रहोनीसतामकोः संतो जस्ती -

हुः ॥ IIII ततो हितः

3 अपभूमिः प्रत्याख्यतोमलुः IIII लिताभियोगी युजोमूर्दस्तोः वा मुनः IIIIII

युक्तावाचयात्तात्तासुधुः

4 अविद्यकल्पः IIIIII सोमवारस्तस्तोः युजः धिताभियोगः नासमः IIIIII केताबाबियः

एतस्मात्ताप्प्रत्याख्यत: वाचसः

5 श: I भोगाभियोगः पुरोमूर्दस्तविद्यतोऽवर्तमानः IIIII वाचाभियः: कालभोजाभियोगमात्रायत: युजः IIII

प्रहावियः वहः

6 विश्रामवाचतः विद्यतः IIIII प्रहावियतः सङ्गः श्रुति IIIIIIहिताभियाहुतः ॥ सतः मृतः

तेः पृथि स्वेदः वाचप्रसाधः

1 By this are meant the two stanzas, Nos. 30 and 31, of Slab II, Canto I.
2 सोमपुरः means 'arkhipit'.
3 The name should end in द्विस्तम्य rather than द्विस्तम्य in accordance with the information contained in verse 37
d of Slab III; Canto II and verse 8 of the present one.
4 DGA
7 तु १६० म मुहूर्त न(ं)अदिन नोरी डीवारी सुरुअम युराजसुनक । मंद कालोत वाणिजरि
पियानक्ता (या) स्वारूपक्ता । ११३१ हरीरे-
8 तरामि: युद्धमत्सं: कंसोमोधासः । सत सिन्धुद्भागवस्तस्यसतात: प्रा(ं) सावत: । ११३१
भागमुने लिखने-
9 कविशिष्टान्तरी । चमल वाणीयोत्साह साध्वी वराहोत्साह कहो तत: । ११३१ विनाभावमिति
स्वायत्तमहस्तरथशंकुः
10 र । माता (ं)सतात्त्व: संस्कारि: । स्वायत्त्वं । वाणीपरिकारान्त । एकमात्र
शालाको गाते । ११३१ एकापनके-
11 लिखने ॥ वापरे अगानलकके । ११३१ सप्तासिंहसे भाषाय: स संस्काराय(ं) स्वायत्तमह
एकारं शालाको गाते । ११३१ एकापनके-
12 नागाजुक्त: नागे विराजी नरेशे: श्रावणपशु धन: । (व)लेन वेणेन बोजनेन
सीमो रघु भीमानो
13 आपोत्तर: । ११३० वाणीप्रथम(ं) शायवंतमहस्तरथशंकुः कविः । (व) भी निमित्त
किते पोदोऽर्जनकर
14 माण विषय वसाना: । ११३२ माणः एकानने जुना यदव हरीतनामे सुपृष्ठ तेन
बल डाणा: कटके व हेंस वेणा
15 शालाकारान्त नाती । ११३२ यावनान्त क्षमाकारान्त: प्रथा(ं)खिचे: णवरी: इत्यादि
भाषा वेगमय
16 भर म चतुरारपिनालिति(ं)धरोधि वचार । ११३२ एक्षुभाराथ्रिहिंि सहस्रं बोध्यमित्वा
वाक्ये विनिमयू । भुप
17 जनस्तुल्यप्रकाशं स वातावरणस्य: प्रवृत्त नामः । ११३२ तत: स निर्देश स नवे
तु मोरीदा तोयमायू
18 महुराजसमान सुहृद्विचित्रविवित्वकृः यज्ञेन सरस्य नुप्रवक्तासि । ११३३ रावणाति
पुष्पिन्तरवेदयस्यमयाः

¹ Compare verses 20 and 21 of Canto 3 above.
² Read सेल्ब as being prefixed to the word शुद्धा. So, sat, habit, subject, etc., will be found used as mere
explosives very commonly in this poem.
³ Sambhū has not been observed here.
⁴ The correct sambhū would be सिद्धास्य, but सिद्धास्य, has been retained for the sake of the metre.
19 तवतवाहिनिमण्यांपुल्लोऽदृश्या। तत्र रावणवं पत्रस्मि कवानामः ! राज परां राजा
125। ततः वर्णानामः। ।
20 चराकोशाधिक व्यक्तिगतम वर्णानामाः। प्राचीनपौराण्यक विनियमाः तियालिन्यः। शविस्तुरां
नामाः। 126। ततः ।
21 तत्ततो वर्णानावत्त्तर्ल्टयावत्त्रेष्यावत्तभावततः। चारावाणिदम् च कृतिकिंगस्तकरुपः चाः
22 सीत्रिम्बमांकमः। 127। ततो नुपरोणो नरपतिविभवस्वर्यालोहस्त्रोहेतः । ब्रह्मणराः ।
23 जोमनवस्य कर्मविविधम्। सुतोध्यायोऽ भावसिद्धि । 128। योगुः(नो)वस्तिहारेः। स बंसराजः।
सुतोध्य सुनोऽ श्रवः ।
24 योग्राजः।। स बंसराजमुनिविक्षितस्यो य रावणोऽसिद्धः। 129। ततः। समरसिद्धाः। पृथ्वीराणः।
25 यव ् नुपरोणेः।। (1) पृथ्वीराणः। परिवर्षकां परिशिस्तिभवेऽः। 130। ग्रंथिष्ठिकेः धारिते।
नामावलोकन संग्रहः ।
26 यके नुपरोणोऽकरः। महानामसंस्कृतः। 131। विद्वीरराः। वोहानवाच्यास्य सहाय्यकः।
27 सुदिम्बसहसाः।(प्र) स्वकीरणो सहितो रे।। 132। विका(बुझ) ग्रंथिष्ठिकेः। ब्राह्मणविविधः।
सुप्रद्विविधः। (1) भावधारास्याः।
28 केला। पुद्दोप्रकोरः। विलेलः।। 133। तर्कमात्स्योरुपाक्षराकाः। प्रोक्ताः। वहियानिरोत्तरः।
इसे। कर्मविविधः।
29 माहाराजलीलायाः। बुधरासे तु पुरे नुपे बनी।। 134। कर्मविविध वालस्यो रोच्यो। कविष्टे।
श्रीराणः। कर्मनुपालोकः।
30 वायुगन या धातुकुनिकया गत्वा संखोंवेरे मोक्षस्य स मित्रा।। 135। सारात्तिकेः
निवालयाः। लभ्येऽविविधः। (ब) यव ् विविधः। राजाविविधः।
31 व नुपरोणे।। भुवोक स चारे बड़ी तदर्पणेः राजाशिवाय ।विहीराः।। 136। भव्याक्षिणाः
का(श्रचु) कुणपाल्लोकाभारिकः।
32 छ(छ) राजाशिवायः।। शेषिष्ठकृतः। (ब) वल्कराभायः।। चो ततो राजाः।। 137। ततो (ब) या
शेषिष्ठकृतः। शाहा(गो) वाह्यी(नौ) कः।
33 पूर्व सीतोषयन्ते बायसाक्षीश्च्याः। स्युः।। 138। राजाभविज्ञानेः। राजस्वायोविकल्पः। (ब) सी
वंशार्ग्येऽविविधः।

1 This word is spelt here both ways राधा and राधा.
34  ति राजविष्ठिनि कुप्पः निमि । राजातिरतीपुरुषोऽध्यायमरणः। विपत्तिविविधतेन कीरी राजविष्ठिनि। कवि ।

35  निमि । चालीसांकालस्य गायसविहीनवितारामविभाटं। सत्तायेकं (व) एकं। कठीविकालजी लक्यविभाषातः।

36  तेलोपेय तु रामवण इति ता कृत्योरथ वा मायेः। पुज्योपमस्य नवन्रस्य इमेः। व (व) हृदयेन्द्रियमः। निमि । बनसः।

37  श्रीमठदूर्दश्य जनको बेनी च गा (शो) स्यांविवाहमात्रस्या राज्योऽइष्टवान्ता वा इत्यवरिष्टाः। काल्य साध्वारः।

38  कलिस्तुमुनि महाराज वह साधु न्यो इति काल्योऽइष्टवान्ता वा इति। भौलेश्वरानीयकोटोऽकः।

39  श्रीपरमप्रज्ञासमकुशलन्त्रदुर्विवाहवरिष्टेऽरुप्रसीत्यं वा (व) हृदयां तृतीयः। सवः। सं । 1322 यद्रो माये दि राजसमुन्द्रिता। निमि।

Slab V : Canto IV

[Megava : v. 1 Malini ; vv. 2-25 Amsah Jatn.]

1  ति लीलीनाथस्य नमः। कलिस्तुमुनि नीलोत्तेश्वरकित्ती कविरित्ति चूकरत्ता वेतमां यद नीषः। निविष्टि आनंदेन।

2  तः (व) च तिरिक्तु मृदोमण्यं कपूरमारावति (व) संस्कारः। समातः। 15। तत्पर गुणो धर्मात्मः। राज्यात्मः। जसुन्नयः। 1 तत्पर गुणो भौलेश्वरानीयकोटोऽकः। निमि।

3  लोकमुन्नारः। सूतराय दुःसिन्भसः। निमि। 121। पृथ्वीवलः। सूतकाय गुणो भूपालसिकः। 1 तत्पर गुणो भौलेश्वरानीयकोटोऽकः। निमि।

4  तः। 13। महाराजस्य (के तब) श्रीमधुकायनारायणः। तृतीयः। महाराजस्य चारात्मः। पिनाटी चित्तवर्तुः। 16। तत्क्षणांत्रायणः। निमि।

5  श्रीकुलकुलकृष्णे। कवि राजसमुन्द्रिता वेतमां यद नीषः। सवः। श्रीमण्यः। प्रमुणः। प्रत्येकः। निमि।

6  वः। एक उच्चिष्टोगित्ति राज्य यथा तत्तोर्वः। 16। सप्तकः। सुषा। पिपुः। संघे गीते (तत्पर) तत्तुः। कवि । राज्य हृदयो बानीनेहारः। महः।

* This stanza is superfluous.
APPENDIX
RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OFUDAIPUR

7 संगमवर्धकः।।११।। विशुद्रे विष्णुसहित श्रौतस्मिन स्कारिको वृत्तः।।
म प्राचीनाः सुमसूच एकलिखयम गदया।।

8 मृति अन्नुपवासेन ज्ञामां स्मायमातां सतः।। श्रमविन्दुवतो लार्क(वा) लघवे भोकलस्तः।।
१६।। चालुराधारायवः।।

9 स्मायमातां गदया II(1) भागेलावम तदांथ तस्माना नागाहवेकरोतू।। १०।।
विहारवेष वस्तिकानामपुरो गदयास्युः।। प्रा।।

10 कालसमाकर्षकेनकालिनग्रोपथमूत।। ११।। इत्याचे इटरकाचारम शोभोरव गदया।।
लिङ्ग एकोदर्ण पात्यालुम गरे श्रमात्योविक।।

11 सतः।। २।। स श्रूकषकर्मपुरुषे मोक्षितस्यम गदयालुम।। वर्तितम रस गरे गरे
प्रस्तुतार्थ निवयमूत।। १२।। श्रूकषक्षेग्रुणो भुगो।।

12 भूमिभण्डालमेवहुः।। सोङ्गोङ्ग गदालीकृत(पुय)।। १५।। रायमलोप रायमहुः।। १४।।
शंधासिहि-लंगीतुः।। स हिर्मकिमतेर्चः।। युक्ती वा(वा)वर्त।।

13 विश्वदेशो काले पुरुषविक ॥१५॥ शराव वीणियलवलयम(वर्ह)॥२॥ पर्यक्षम्यतः।।
स्वदेशसीमामयं रत्नसिहिष्य रायमहुः।। १६।। तद्वक्ताः विकम्य।।

14 विश्वोऽ भूपोत्साहथ(थ) सवरः।। रामाः उदयसिहिष्य स विश्वव(व)दसागरः।। १७॥
तापदपुरे चक चक तरामस्यविकर्मिण [१] भ्रूमण्ट शरस।।

15 धर्मसुप्राप्ताण्याः भूः।। १८।। भूतहासीत्वामवहासीत्वां गुलाभिकृत्य।।
विकुलदेव विमबथय राजेभं जैसले रग्य।।२७॥ पार सीसम।।

16 विश्वदेश विश्वदेशो महासतः।। तापक्षेरण भट्टमहर्ष इवावरकासकः।। २०॥
प्रतापसिहिष्य नुषः।। काल(वा)वाहेन माः।।

17 भिन्नः।। मन्त्रसिहिष्य सतस्य स्वीकारनस्व पृथ्वीविवः।। १२।।
प्रक्ष्यक्रम्यः।। पांख्य श्रमसिहिष्य गसः।।
गुहीत्तव नव(व)सः प्राचे वर्षं।।

18 प्रभृतिः समानः।। १२।।
लोहसिम्ह(पुस्थ)दो रोलाङ्गान्यः।। भूमिश्चारणः।। २४।।
क्षेत्रः।।

19 प्रतापसिहिष्यः।। भ्रूपार्पणः।। मुखः।। कूटः शकुंकलवियः मुगुष्ठनिग्रहणमः।। २४।।
रामा-प्रतापसिहिष्य भूमिसिहिष्य

* This danda is superfluous.
* The syllable त्यः is engraved below the line.
* Sandhi has not been observed here.
* Bhūjī has apparently been used here in the sense of food.
20 हरि. । ठाँचे हुँ मुहोचाल पकवाली परतापति । ॥२५॥ समस्म धर्मेश्वर अस्करिश्वर । । मानसिखस्व मंगल- ।
21 गद्धी(स्व) बुळ्याबुळ्य स्नेहोऽवस्तु ॥२६॥ नीतिलब्धज्ञानकार वान पदवालिब्रह्मी तता । प्रतापिक्षिपी वपुळोळ(स्व) मेकरम नियंत्रयो ।
22 ॥२७॥ ततो ही मुगणी जीरो मानसिखस्व बेगति ॥१(१) प्रारंभी अस्करिश्वरिपि गृहोऽवस्तु । पशुभय(व)सः ॥२८॥ मानसिखस्व मु- ।
23 गद्धी प्रत्यार्यं संगति । चक्रको श्रीनग्नेन अस्करिश्वरि सी सम्बन्धि ॥२६॥ निहलादी तिथिकारीति शकत[सिख] सहोऽवशी ।
24 रामायणकर शस्त्रसिध्वंशाद्व(व) स्त्रायुक्तवलसम ॥३०॥ शक्तिकर द्वापालसारवक संगति । प्रतापिक्षिपी वि(व) सती मंवे हे- ।
25 जूनायकम् ॥३१॥ संस्थायं कुङ्कुम भेण्यथिमार्गः प्रति नियंत्रयो । प्रमेयस्व: शान्तानन- ।
26 मुखनिवासस्वलोप्य प्रेमयात्मा सा: वुँ: । शान्तानन्याहुरत साक्षात्सात सेवनसम्पि ॥३३॥ तत: केशुभुजापरं- ।
27 मा विलीनतिरूपकत् । पुनर्राजति सुऩे का सुऩे नायकम् ॥३८॥(६) संस्थायं (व) सुऩे स्थिरं कृष्ण का प्रतापिक् । प्रतापिक्षिपी- ।
28 हृ चकुरारा(र) दीर्घासमवेलूः गतः ||१[१] ॥३६[१] || विलीनिति(विलीनिति) प्रतापिक्षिपी धृष्ट्रे शक्तिवालों केशुभुजापरं । मुखारायण शक्तिवाल(व) महत्वात् ॥१[१] ॥३५[१] ॥
29 विलीनिति प्रकृति स्थिरेण स्वेतेण श्रीहरिभास्याभस्तु । सौंतिकन्यवाच्चे(क्र)बं गजाही पिन्तहारकः । ॥१[१] ॥३०[१] ॥ प्रति[प्रतिस्व]हरे रथेषो ।
30 रणे रावणविकम: । शान्तवेगः । कुङ्कुम(स्व) कुङ्कुम(सं) निर्माण । ॥३०॥ पाल कुङ्कुम बुळोकरोऽवस्तु कर्मिण: । प्रयासस्व: स्वक्तिन ।
31 माधुरीसेरियालिभं ॥३५॥ स्त: कुङ्कुम संहिरस्वगमङ्गमावक तम्बादितयु । प्रमेयस्व अस्करिश्वरकरुः तु कुङ्कुम न विनिन्तु- ।
32 स: ॥३०॥ सत: प्रतापिक्षिपी श्लोक(व्य) सत: प्रति ॥ ॥ कुङ्कुम वज्रणस्विति अस्करिश्वरहवे ॥३१॥ वर्णीयः स्त: प्रेमावः ।

1 The word pull appears below the line.
Slab VI ; Canto V.

[Metres : vv. 1-32, 34-50 Anuahjukha ; v. 33 Vasantalaksa ; vv. 51, 52 Sārdālavekṣita.]

1) श्रीगणेश्वरे नमः। रामेऽरामार्ध्वाध्वनिककरोड़काच्च (अर्य)तःततः पुरा। मानविश्वय संसारसे भागलपाहुङ्गीन। रे॥

2 सेरिमसुल्लतनस्य ध्वनि प्रीतिकेय विकरमः। जग्गौरोरस्थानते लोमेश्वराय युक्तस्य। रे॥

3 भजन्ये रन्या ततः। चतुर्भुजोंतत्त्वत्स्य दशः स्वामन्दिरार्के जलमालासः। अंतायामा याए॥

4 लघुंसंग (मी) चक्रेण बंकुटः। पुराव वार्षिकासु विरोधन मल्लांकु चंद्रेयाना। रोमेयाना।

5 मे ततो नामगीणेश्वरे खुड़ों मिलनः स्थापत्।। गोपेयाये समाजसः॥

1) This is redundant.
2) सेरिम has not been observed here.
3) The name Sūryak, being of foreign origin, is used here sarhačkītka.
4) There is a sacred-olt & strike over me.
5) The correct form is निविस्थापः.
6 रंभोणि समालः। द्यापीरस्तः साध्यं तू सहनेहि मिलतित ततः। रान्ति
भगवश्चरोपसावरह्सः। पारमः।
7 साति विवधेष बहे राज्यं उञ्चालितः। सतोमानामध्यश्रमः। गुरवे मंगवापने।
रान्ति भगवश्चरोपसावरह्सः सहस्रोपमें वही दुः.
8 दह। रान्ति भगवश्चरोपसावरह्सः। सतोमानामध्यश्रमः। गुरवे मंगवापने।
रान्ति भगवश्चरोपसावरह्सः सहस्रोपमें वही दुः।
9 प्राम द्वमुः तू बिजः। यथेरामालाबेदीसिद्धार्थं वरिष्ठं। रान्ति।
धेयेन सिद्धांसि बहे शास्त्रिति व(व) वलाः। पञ्चायतम(वेमते)।
10 स्वस्तः। भागवतंपरकाम। [[125]] भागवतंपरकाम। पुष्पं
विकृतः। गान्ति व्याप्तित्वा निजाणति। [123] दुः।
11 हृदीरे बिच वाते संग भाँतिरहृतः। रामः (स्थः) गिर्दरवर्ष बहे सोमासनोः
विहिषः। [124] पुष्पम। [18] जाते बोधङ्करते श्रद्धार्थः।
12 बोधङ्करे। भागवतंपरकाम। [वितीमृत्यु] में।
नारसिङ्गपुरम। [125] नारसिङ्गपुरम। रामः
राज्यं गान्ति जानि। [125] नारसिङ्गपुरम।
13 नारसिङ्गम। [व(व) तो महः। [126] जाते बोधङ्करते धेयेन(री) यथविभेदः।
रामः गान्ति जानि। [125] नारसिङ्गपुरम।
14 हास्यं संस्कार। [व(व) घरानं। [121] गृहः पुरश्चर्यं गान्ति। रामः
पञ्चायतम। पाण्डित लघुविन्यतमः। वायस्क।
15 कों। बुध्यां द्वुगुरपुरे इति लोकीरस्ति ततः। [126] नारसिङ्गपुरम। वायस्कः।
रामः गान्ति जानि। [125] नारसिङ्गपुरम।
16 ज्ञानं नस्यवतम। [व(व) घरानम्। [121] पुरातनं गान्ति। रामः
पञ्चायतम। पाण्डित लघुविन्यतमः। वायस्क।
17 नारसिङ्गम। [व(व) घरानं। [121] पुरातनं गान्ति। रामः
पञ्चायतम। पाण्डित लघुविन्यतमः। वायस्क।
18 महःपुरः। [123] पुरातनं गान्ति। नक्षत्रियंतिविश्वेन। नुष्टः।
महामनोहव्यवस्था। यथावति। [124] गान्ति।

1 Sondhi is not observed here.
2 This is to insert above the line.
3 This stanza is unnecessary.
4 The abbreviation of pā is appears over the following letter.
This set of copper plates was secured by me for study in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnatak parts in February 1932. It was in the possession of Mr. H. V. Nair, Clerk of the Court, Civil Judge's Court, Karwar. Mr. Nair's family headquarters are at Sadassivagad, about four miles from Karwar, and these plates were lying there as an heirloom. Details as to how and when this family came to possess them are not known. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The writing is found on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The rims are raised to protect the inscription which is, however, worn out in many places. The plates measure 8" in length, 6" in breadth and 1/8th inch in thickness. The ring which is 2" in diameter passes through a circular hole, 3/8th inch in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick circular seal having a rim. The seal, which is 2½" in diameter, contains on the sunken surface the figures of a rampant lion with upturned tail and a dagger in front of it. At the top are the figures of a swastika and the sun, followed by the legend Sri-Vishnudasa of Nagari characters, and then the crescent. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 tolas and the whole set weighs 380 tolas.

The characters are Nagari of the twelfth century, being normal for the period. The letter श is at the commencement is written like त. medial ख is generally denoted by a side नत्र. Exceptions to this are the letters ल in line 1 and म of line 44, where a slanting stroke is placed at the top of त and म to denote the length. In regard to orthography, the consonant following a ēpha, as a rule, is not doubled. We do, however, note a few instances of doubling also, e.g., नक्तिन in line 4, Vijayadraka in line 31 and suvarna in line 35. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse, except in lines 39-46 describing the particulars of the gift. The composition is defective in some places.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Siva. After narrating the origin of the Kadamba family, in the usual manner, from the mythical hero Trilochana Kadamba who was born from the sweat of Siva, it gives a succinct genealogical account of the Kadambas of Goa. The account stops with Shivachitta Pemadi and his younger brother Vijayarka or Vijayaditya II, the sons of Jayakosin II from the Chakuka princess Mallala Mahadevi. The inscription represents Vijayaditya as the ruling monarch. Its object is to record a gift of land by the king to the goddess Arya Bhagavati. Though not explicitly stated, it appears from the description of his family and the context that the beneficiary of the gift was a Brahmana of the Bharadvaja gstra, named Govinda, who was well-versed in the science of astronomy. The donor's family is described for four generations. The gift property was situated within the boundaries of the village Aruviga included in the tract of Marnasa Suphalu.

The record bears the date which is expressed in words thus: Saka 1102, Vikram, Kartika su. 12, Sunday. The Saka year was current and the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, October 14, 1179 A.C.
The importance of the epigraph lies in its being unique. Inscriptions mentioning the joint rule of the two brothers, Śīvachitta Permādi and Vijayāditya II, and also those that refer to the rule of the former only who was the elder of the two, have been discovered. But no inscription referring to Vijayāditya as an independent ruler, has come to light so far. No doubt the second part of the Hale inscription contains a reference to the regnal year possibly of Vijayāditya; but it is clear from the earlier portion that his brother Permādi was ruling at the time. Hence the present happens to be the first and the only inscription so far discovered, attributing independent rule to Vijayāditya, dissociated from his brother. The reason for this appears to be that Permādi was no longer living by this time. According to the Hale inscription, Vijayāditya was a devotee of the god Vīshnu and bore the epithet Vīshuvīchita. But it is revealed from the seal of the present plates that he preferred to describe himself as Vīshuvadāsa, i.e., 'an humble servant of Lord Vīshnu.'

The inscription contains two place-names. One is the region called Māruvaṭṭugadala or Māruvaṭṭugadala, and the other the village Aravige situated therein. It is interesting to note that Māruvaṭṭugadala is a purely Kannada expression made up of the words māru, pāṭṭu or māṭṭu and gadaḷu. It means 'the coastal region adjoining the sea.' I am, however, unable to identify this tract. Aravige appears to be identical with the present day Arage, a village about 4 miles to the south-east of Karwar, on the road to Ankola. The village Arage contains a shrine dedicated to a female deity named Durgā. This deity probably represents the goddess Āryā Bhagavati of the epigraph.

**TEXT**

[Metres: Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13 Sārālavanakṣerita; vvs. 3, 7 Upajāti; vv. 4, 8, 9, 14-18 Anuvāthakā; vv. 11 Mandākrānta; v. 12 Vasantaśilakā.]

**First Plate**

1. [ etc. ] niya[...]
2. [ etc. ] niya[...]
3. [ etc. ] niya[...]
4. [ etc. ] niya[...]
5. [ etc. ] niya[...]
6. [ etc. ] niya[...]
7. [ etc. ] niya[...]
8. [ etc. ] niya[...]

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5 Compare Kadamba Kula, p. 301.
6 From the original plates and impressions.
7 In this and a few more instances that follow, the final s is changed to nnavinna.
0. पुरारेःः [२८१] व्यवसित्वात्प्रा लक्षसम्

10. स.: प्नावित्तजगति [१३] ततः कदववतः ततः प्राप्ता लोकोन्युगित्तोनोऽरः

Second Plate: First Side

11. बलोतनकर्द्वा (बा) लवण चतुर्मीजसवन् रसम् [१५] तस्यताः नक्

12. देव (ब) वंशविनिमत्वारु (बृ) धी [स्वेत] पास प्राकारे धरणानानि [रिविकृत]

13. लोकार्यो श्रीपते: तद्भविज्ञमिखितने कृल्लया - - - -

14. धर्म्मा (दूभ) मूर्मिविविवाहिताशयायम्: [२०] श्रीपतेवः श्रीमन् [१५] नतस्मात्यकैपि-

15. मृणाति रमोध्वातिविभाषणः श्रीरामगुणक्षणं [विक्रम] -

16. ताकांवतदिव्यादनः: पराध्विनिवितिरोपितज्ञय[स्त्री] भ-

17. यज्ञो श्रीमित्वकृमिकादः (डा) पूजितं ओ ओ - - - - - -

18. लो: [१६] परस्य संगरंगमणु चालुख्योपाध्याय[डी] ओ - - [१]

19. निवंकते विरचनक्षमे रवीषे लक्षे भरो - ओ ओ - - -

20. स्वातः [१३] ततः समन्त श्रीमान्यविवाहिते [तिन] -

21. ति यज्ञाकृतिकायत्वः परमेश्वर: [१६] ततो जगत्यो ज[स्वे ज] -

22. यज्ञसम्महीपति: केनायेत [रुण] - - - - - - -

Second Plate: Second Side

23. शी: [२८] चालुख्यान्यमोरितकतिकः सीताज्ञ कृमि - - - - - -

24. [लु] जगताः भ्रम: कुलमुहू पेमहितमुहू मुहू [लुमा] - - - -

25. मूर्तमहादेवी जगमवेदा दातीक्रेशको [स्त्रेसस्त्रिकृ] भ-

26. ल्या (क्ष) कृतार्थीभवत: [१०] तस्मादस्यासजनिविविवाहिते श्रीरामदेवे-

27. धो शैवमुर्गिवशतसंन्यशस्त्रगुप्तसंस्थशा: - - - - - - -

28. महत्महापुरविष: कल्याणं मर्मस्त्रां विश्वव्यस्तां - - -

29. पतिनां [२१] तस्बस्तु: मकरमागममभूमि: श्रीसंपदौ प-

30. दयावरुपाभिव्यक्ताः: वासवसं (त) भंवितसं (त) सिन्यभिषे-

31. मौरिमातितिकस्रितमविवाहप्रेम [२०] विरू [वेदं (च)]

32. चक्राटिन्युपूर्वो श्रीमूर्तामातिवे श्रीरामिनिविवाहिते विज-

33. गौमायित्रकमघनवेदे: नदीवानिकहस्तकावलिते लो-
No. 5—TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Cuttack

In May 1949, I received for examination from Mr. K. C. Pângirâhi, Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two sets of copper plates belonging to the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kânâkâ. I prepared transcripts of the inscriptions from the original plates which were in the usual course returned to Mr. Pângirâhi. It was understood that he would contribute a paper on the above inscriptions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In December 1950, I met Mr. Pângirâhi at Nagpur where

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1 The language of this passage is faulty.

2 The record is complete except for the last few aksharas which are indiscernible. In this line there is reference to the person who drafted the document. The name of the poet, who bore the epithet jñânavâmarânti, cannot be deciphered fully.
we assembled in connection with the thirteenth session of the Indian History Congress. He then informed me that it was not possible for him, owing to his pre-occupations, to take up the editing of the inscriptions. He requested me to publish them. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness shown to me in this connection.

The plates are now the property of the H.E. School at Bānpur which is a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the south-western part of the Puri District of Orissa. Mr. Pāṇigraha received them on a temporary loan for examination from the Headmaster of the Bānpur H. E. School. Nothing is known as to the circumstances that brought the plates into the possession of the above institution.

A Grant of Ayaśīkhita II Madhyamarāja

This inscription was published by Pandit Satyānārāyaṇa Rājugurū with plates in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. II, part i, pp. 59 ff. But his treatment of the subject is rather perfunctory.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 6-6 inches by 3-9 inches. The plates are held together by a ring to which the seal is soldered. The ring was found cut open when the set reached me. The seal contains, in counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a couchant bull, facing proper right, and the legend ārya-Madhyamarāja dēśarāja below it. The first and third plates are engraved only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. The first plate is damaged at the top right corner, and a few lines of writing are partly obliterated. The plate weighs 64 tolas, while the ring with the seal weighs 38 tolas.

The inscription is an incomplete charter of the Šailodhava king Ayaśīkhita II Madhyamarāja who seems to have flourished about the second half of the seventh century A.C. (circa 663-65 A.C.). The writing on the reverse of the second plate ends with a verse describing the achievements of king Madhyamarāja. There is only half a line of writing on the reverse of the third plate, which was meant for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to Kāśgūla-mandala, to whom the royal order regarding the grant was intended to be addressed.

These letters should have properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the king, desirous of making a grant, as utsaṅga. It is possible to think that this mistake committed by the engraver was the reason why the set was abandoned, at least for the time being. It is well known that plates were often kept ready in the record offices of ancient Indian rulers with the introductory portion of the grant inscribed and a blank for the necessary grant portion to be filled later as occasions arose.

In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Prakrit plates (issued in the 26th year of the king’s reign), the only other record of Šailodhava Madhyamarāja so far known, and hardly anything calls for special mention. With the exception of the incomplete prose passage at the end, just referred to, the siddhaṃ symbol, the word sastri and the reference to the place of issue, the entire record is written in verse. There are altogether twenty verses, no less than eighteen of which are already known from the Prakrit plates. The remaining two verses are also not new as they, like many others of both

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3 The 13th regnal year of his father, who ruled at least up to his 50th year, fell sometime after 619 A.C. He himself ruled at least up to his 28th regnal year. See below.

4 Cf. the Kāṭāpur plate of Śrīchandra, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-82; Chittagong plate of Kāśīśvara, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff., etc.

5 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284-7. The date given in words in line 45 must have been given in figures in line 54. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing in this part of the plate is unsatisfactory and the figures cannot be deciphered from the published facsimile.
the Parikud and the present charter, have been quoted from the records of Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II Śrīvāsa, father of Ayāsābhita II Madhyamarāja. The earliest inscription of the Sālōbhahva family is the Ganjam plates1 issued by Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II (circa 610-65 A.C.) in the Gupta year 500 (619 A.C.) when he was a feudatory of the Gauda king Saśākha. The other charters of this Sālōbhahva king, so far discovered, were issued without any reference to his overlord apparently after the defeat of the Gauda king, either Saśākha himself or his successor, by king Harshavardhana of Kanaj, allied with king Bāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, sometime before 638 A.C.2 Of the charters issued by the Sālōbhahva king during this period of his independent rule, the Khurda plates,3 the introduction of which is couched in prose as in the Ganjam plates, appear to be the earliest. The Khurda plates as well as the Buguda plates,4 the latter having an introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II, are not dated. Most of these verses are quoted not only in the later dated charters of the same king (the Puri plates6—regnal year 13, doubtfully read as 23 by Basak—and the Cuttack Museum plates6—regnal year 30), but also in all later records of the family. Later Sālōbhahva kings developed the habit of quoting the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessors and of adding a few stanzas composed about themselves by their own court poets. This custom can also be traced in many other royal families of ancient India, such as the imperial Gaṇgas of Orissa and the Pulas of Bengal and Bihar.

It will be seen from what has been said above that all the twenty verses quoted in the inscription under discussion are already known from the published records of the Sālōbhahvas. Nevertheless, the present inscription is of considerable importance, as it helps us in correcting the faulty text of the Parikud plates.

The first verse, which is found at the beginning of the later charters of Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II as well as of all the grants of his successors, is an adoration to Sambhu (Śiva). Verse 2, which is the same as the second verse of the Parikud plates, introduces a king named Mādhavendra. Thereafter we have the history of the Sālōbhahva family from the very beginning. This style of the introduction, which is found also in the Aihoś inscription,1 would suggest that this Mādhavendra (i.e., Mādhava-varman or Mādhava-varman) was another name of the reigning monarch, Ayāsābhita II Madhyamarāja. It should, however, be pointed out that the same verse is also found in the Buguda plates of Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II as well as in the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhitā who was the grandson of Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II and the son of Ayāsābhita II Madhyamarāja. It therefore seems that all the above three Sālōbhahva kings bore Mādhava-varman as a secondary name. Or better the verse in question referring to Sainyabhitā Mādhava-varman II is out of place and carelessly quoted in the records of Ayāsābhita II Madhya-

2 About 643 A.C. Harshavarman led an expedition against Kṛṅgoda in Orissa probably on behalf of the Gauda king whom he then considered his subordinate ally. Saśākha's death and the discomfiture of the Gauda king took place sometime before 638 A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tzang travelled in East India. See History of Bengal, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 77 ff. Harsha's victory over the Gauda king seems also to have preceded his encounter with Pulakesin II, which took place, according to the Aihoś inscription, sometime before 638 A.C.
5 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127 f.
7 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. This present begins with an adoration to Śiva, then introduces the reigning monarch Śiṭhikāya (Pulakesin II), and finally begins the history of the Chālikya family from its earliest illustrious member.
maraja and his son Dharmaraja Manabhita. Verse 3, omitted in the Parihu plates but found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabha Madhavarman II, introduces Mount Mahesvara which is intimately associated in literature with the Kalinga country. Verses 4-5 mentioning Pulinda as famous among the people of Kalinga and as a devotee of Lord Svarakh (Siva) and the following five verses (verses 6-10) speaking of the eponymous Sailodbhava, his kula or descendant Aranabhita, his son Sainyabha (Madhavarman I), his descendant (possibly a adopted son) Ayaoshhita, and his son Sainyabha (Madhavarman II), are found in most of the later records of the family. Verse II, which is omitted in the Parihu plates but is found in the versified introduction of the records of Sainyabha Madhavarman II, refers to the achievements of King Sainyabha Madhavarman II. Verse 12 speaks of the same king as Srinivasa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Asvamayana. The horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated by the Sailodbhava king, before the issue of the Puri plates of his thirteenth regnal year, to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauja yoke. Verses 13-20 describe the reigning monarch Ayaoshhita II Madhyamanrajja and are all of them found in the Parihu plates and some of them also in the later records of the family. The text of the verses common only to the present charter and the Parihu plates is corrupt in both the records, although the text offered by the record under discussion is better and has helped in restoring the reading intended by the author. Verse 15 describes the king as a royal ascetic. The next verse (verse 16) compares him with the god Sambhu and says that he had discourses with departed saints coming from heaven at his call. Verse 17 says that the king, who was as fair as the moon owing to his fame pervading the earth, received that king. Verse 18 says how the jewel of Kongoja (i.e., the king) became an equal of the son of Pythai (i.e., Aruna) by piercing from a distance, at a time four boards, each covered with two shields, with arrows discharged from two bows simultaneously by his two hands. Verse 19 describes how the king could run with two stout persons on his shoulders in emulation of the monkey hero Hanumat, famous in the story of the Ramayana.

Of the names of geographical interest, the inscription mentions Mount Mahesvara, Kalinga, Kongoja and Kongoja-maṇḍala. The Mahesvara is no doubt represented by the present Mahendragiri peak in the Srikakulam District. Kalinga, in a narrow sense, was the country around it. Kongoja was the name of both the kingdom and the capital of the Sailodbhavas. It was apparently regarded as a part of the Kalinga country. The city of Kongoja stood on the river Salma which is the modern Silya, running past Bāppur, the findspot of our record. The heart of the Kongoja country, i.e., the dominions of the Sailodbhavas, thus lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa.

1 The mention of Mahesvara in the Parihu and Nirmi plates was not explained by the scholars who edited those inscriptions. Pandit Rājaguru is apparently unaware of the fact that the verse in question is found in the records of three successive rulers of the Sailodbhava family and not only in the charter under discussion.

2 Cf. Sinha's Sotheby's, pp. 400-1; New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI, p. 83. Note also that the epic hero Nala, son of Virasa, is described in the Nalaśāstra, Y. 124, as Virasa-saśa-dīpika. There is, however, difference of opinion among scholars as to the genealogy of the Sailodbhavas. For the son represented as a descendant of the father, see also the Bājavarasīga VIII, 1083 (Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 512), the Assam plates of Yallahadiva, line 16 (above, Vol. V, p. 184), etc.

3 I do not agree with Pandit Rājaguru who thinks that aśeṣu-khaṇḍada, used in the description of king Ayaoshhita II Madhyamanrajja, has to be regarded as one of his names. He further thinks that Mahesvara issued his Ganjam grant in the Gupta year 309 (613-20 A.D.) when he was holding the office of Mahānrai under his father Sainkha aśi Madhyamanrajja. The suggestion is, however, against known facts of history and without any evidence in support of it.
1 Siddham* Svaśi [i*] vijaya-Kosgoda-vāsakāt [i*] Indōr-iddhunata-mṛtiḥāla-ta[n*]tubhir-iva
2 śliśhāla karu[h*] kōmalai [i] r-vvaa(r-baj)ddh-āśīr-arua[h*] sphunat-paṇa(pi)-mapēr-dūgiba-
[h](gdha)-padbhāo-sāv(sō-sēs)bhīh [i*]
3 Pārayaṭa[h*] sa-kaha-grahā-vyatikara-vyāvṛtti-vā(ks)ndhā-ātathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-pluti-
bhīmā-haśma-kau[j]īkā[h*] Śambhā-
4 jā[r-jat]h[1*] pāṭu[nta] vaḥ [1*] Śrīmān-u-czechair-nabhastō gurve-amara-patō[h*] kahōhā-
jādī-ya[h*] kha[māy] gaṃbhi-
5 ras-tōyārāśer-atha divā-skarakād-bhāvad-ālōka-kāṛī | hādī sarvvasya ch-sulās-tri-bhuvana-
bhu.
7 Prāchī-ambhōndīhi-ruecha(ddh)-sānta(nu)r-aṭau[h*] puṣhpā*-drum-āśī-ṛvṛ(ṛv)caḥ syandaṃ-
ni[ndhan]-niḥjara-vāri-
8 dārīta-darī-śāṇa[−a]−sčalaha-[n]i[−]jana[ḥ] || svānā-ttastā-pataṭtī-valgu-śrūtānā-āpū-
9 ri-āntar-guna(gun)raḥ *tīṃ[a[n*]]-Mura[r[−e]]-i[v-ojgataḥ ku]sa-giriḥ khyātō Mahendrā[h*] kahita(h[1au]) || [3*]
10 Prānau[Prāhau]r-mah-ābhā-kara-pṛva-śeśa(hā)ru-vā(bh)hu[h*] kriau-kāma-saṅchaya-
vibhāda-vāsā-sahhā [i*]
12 Šen-śetthau guṇa-āpi satvav(ttvva)-mahātā n-śaḥsam bhuv. maṇḍalāḥ 1 saktō ya[h*] paripāḷāṇya jaga-
13 tāḥ kō nāma se syād-itī | pratyaśaḥ-bhav uttājaśe bhagavān(yā)-śrādhīta[h*] śāvatas-tach-chittā-
14 nu[nu]gūpa[m*] vidhiśtu(tu)r-adśād-vāṁchhaṁ svayambhōḥmbhōḥr-spīḥ[1] 8a śāśa-
(ka)kal-ōdēḥē désāpy-ū-
15 lōkya dhī(dhī)matā | parikālapita-sa-vanāa(d-ranśāḥ) prabhuh Śūśābhāvah[1*] kṛitaḥ || 6*]
Śūśābhāvasya kuṇa-
16 jō-rucchhāhita āśid-ṛ-āsakrita-kat[k]kriṭta-bhīyō[1*] līvāhāi-añganānāṁ(aṁ) jyōtanā-
pravō(ḥ)bha-samayā śvādiḥ-ū-
17 va śa[idham]-akampīḥ nayaṇa-prakāśma-jaḷeṇaḥ chandraḥ || [7*]  

* From the original plates and their impressions.
* Expressed by a symbol.
* The Sansā is superfluous.
* The Prakrit and Kāśā plates have amala-patāh.
* Originally aśi was engraved in place of āśi. This verse is found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhav-
vārman II.
* The Cuttack Museum plates read pāṣeṇa.
* The Cuttack Museum plates read pāla.
* Ja was originally inscribed in place of da.
* The rest of the line is blank.
TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR
A.—Grant of Ayasobhita II Madhyamarakaja

[Images of two inscriptions with text and numbers]
TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR

Second Plate: First Side

18. Tasya-shhavadya-vivaha(bh)da-pala-samasya-samuh shri-Sainyabhita iti bhumi-pitar-gata-

19. tatyaa yam prayojanika-kata-naga-vahat-vighahata-lavaha(bh)da-prasada-vijaydyenah mwrmad-dharm-

20. tir[i] (tir) [II 8*] Tasya- api vyahitha[vahith]-tana yatharthaa-namah jatya-yusshibha iti saktibah [I]* Yena(na) praruru-vu-

21. dharm-pi shhahis-charitr[i] mrit(titrai-mrit)kada[k]hah kala[k]hah [h]* khal-darpanasyah[van] [II]* Jatasya(ne=n) tasya na(na)nayah-

22. sar-krist samastaa-smantati-mayana-sharpa[pa]-dah-pundita [I]* shri-Sainyabhita iti bhumi-

23. pitar-mahabhsha-kumbha-sthali-dalana-durlah[li]-dah[si]-dehah [II 10*] Jatena yena kumari-

24. sata-sva-gottra-umulite(takah) dinakri-eva mahodayena(na) sanskhaya-mandala-ruchale-

25. gata[had] parmash-casa-aah dhvah graha-gaap aha yasya diptah[piy] [I 11*] Kalyan-bhag-

26. tiritabhir-maahit-kasah-paaptvaatair-unmita yogah[ma] kath-ajpi preta-

27. yam-ahhimata kirti(r[i]i)-mah(ajh)raasa(na)ram [yam]-yajnah-tair-asvah[hadh]-prabh[hit]abhir-

28. lamahitaa-tripitavah(itv)[n]rvit(vv)[n]ur-dah[di]pper-atitha-rahayak-printum shrim-

29. Tasya-ottahitah-sahit-sah [mah-mah]ru-d[a]jana-mahad-bhadva-nishah-ha-taja [I 12*] jat[had] tata-

30. rapatir-Ayasahhibhutadevas-tanu[n]a[h] [m]ataugam-yoh-titaugam(augam) va(ha)ha-mah-

31. krit[i=h]* praasahsah(vh)ddah[ddh] kharatya-sa-khina[na] punar-api dayat[a] yatnaha sa-

32. rup[o]s nondham-saharath-tanu sthitul nilay [kochhih-h-cladha(ha)(cladha)(h)] saharakirnaya(ha)-(ya-jvah-

33. l-sakal-prakshah[hadh] kochi-ha-sakkasa-stah[aj]-mahal[koh] kochi=ja-patte-dhairya(yoh) [I]* nand[relm]ha-

Second Plate: Second Side

34. dhuraha-tapanti mumaay diya-ahp(ahh)ahtacla sahka-vah parva [11*] Kachchih-ohhaila-guh-sohru-

35. m-kal-pagah[n] aney yoga-phal-amva[van]hah-bahkha-mayasah [h]* kochhih-nirarshah [k*] kochhih-

36. yoga-yu[m]ah vihaya vasati[hn] dhuryanvi diyahshah padana [h] chitrastro Madhyamatadav-

guca-duhi-

1 Read griva pavake for the sake of the metre.
2 The dasa is superfluous.
3 Other records of the family may be read.
4 For the expressions (1) dayat, (2) yathashah and (3) ma prasahhah, some other records of the family have
(1) sahah, tapanti or tapanti; (2) yah bhavah or samatuh and (3) mprashahhah respectively.
5 Some records of the family need shahnah.
6 The rule of maha has been ignored here apparently for the sake of the metre.
38 EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

51 asmin(aṇīn) Kōṅgāḍa-mañḍalā mahāsāmanta-ārī

B. Grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhitā

This is a set of three plates, each measuring 6-35 inches by 3-5 inches, held together by a ring with seal. The seal contains the emblems of the crescent above, the couchant bull facing proper right in the middle, and an expanded lotus below. Between the bull and the lotus there is the legend reading ārī-Dharmarājādēnasya. The first plate is written on one side only, whereas the other two plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing on the reverse of the third plate is considerably damaged as portions of the metal on this side have peeled off. The three plates together weigh 61 tolas, while the weight of the ring and the seal is 26 tolas.

* In the Parikūḍa plates of the same king, Bumrīji reads: pātanā[h]aṁ=maṇḍalā(kī) pradām-aṇīn(aṇīn)-kārī-padam-amara-jama[kī].
* In the Parikūḍa plates, Bumrīji reads: āraṁmā[vanā]ḥ=kārī-padam-amara-jama[kī].
* In the Parikūḍa plates, Bumrīji reads: saṁsadā[vanā]ḥ=kārī-padam-amara-jama[kī].
* The present record helps us in correcting the reading of the Parikūḍa plates.
* The dustsā is superfluous.
* The rule of saṁsadā has been ignored here for the sake of the metre.
* In the Parikūḍa plates, Bumrīji reads: kōṭhas yē japati. The medial i of ī is joined with a horizontal stop stroke (here superfluous) at the right of the letter ī as in the last line of the Sumanḍala plates and in some other records. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85, n. 5.
* The record abruptly ends here. This line containing the beginning of the list of officials to whom the royal order regarding a grant would have to be issued should have been properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the reigning monarch.
The charter belongs to king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta of the Śailodbhava family of Kōngōda in modern Orissa and closely resembles the other charters1 of the same king in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The date of the charter under discussion is uncertain. After the word [Sām]just, only the figure 1 can be traced, the writing of the following portion being damaged in the plate. It is therefore doubtful whether the date is year 1 or any other regnal year between 10 and 19. The Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta seems to have flourished about the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth (circa 690-730 A.C.).2

The draft of the present charter closely follows that of the Konḍeddā grant issued by king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta in his thirtieth regnal year. The eighteen verses forming the introduction of our charter as well as the lengthy prose passage introducing the king as kusāli (lines 1-40) are the same as the corresponding part of the Konḍeddā grant (lines 1-47), with slight changes (including minor mistakes) in the text and the names of the places whence the charters were issued. Verses 1-11 of the record dealing with the predecessors of the reigning monarch are merely a selection from the introductory stanzas found in the records (cf. the Bānpur plates edited above) of his father Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamanāra. Verses 12-18 describe the achievements of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta himself. It is well known that only one of these verses (verse 15) gives a valuable historical information. It seems to say how Dharmarāja had an elder brother named Madhava (i.e., Madhavavarman probably named after his grandfather) who began to bear ill will against his younger brother as soon as he ascended the throne, how Dharmarāja defeated this Madhava at the battle of Phāsikā, how Madhava thereupon took shelter under a king named Tivara, and how both Madhava and Tivara were defeated by Dharmarāja in a battle fought at the foot of the Vināyas. This Tivara may have been a later member of the Pāṇḍuvamsa of South Kōnāla.3 Verse 16 discloses the king's secondary name Mānabhīta.

The prose passage following the introductory verses in our inscription refers to the place whence the charter was issued. The name of the place is doubtful but may be Aṣṭāda or Sīlī.4 The king is here described as a devout worshipper of Mahāvīra (Śiva) and as devoted to his parents. Another interesting passage says that he was the son's son (i.e., grandson) of one who took an aśvānraha bath after the Aśvāmēdha sacrifice (aśvāmēdha-āshvānraha-puṇaunceṣṭaṇyaghaḥ) apparently referring to the performance of the horse sacrifice by his grandfather Sainyabhīta Madhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, already discussed above in connection with the Bānpur plates of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamanāra, father of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.5

The passage recording the grant in the inscription under review is defective. The engraver had at first omitted a lengthy passage mentioning the donor, the gift land and the actual donor and later squeezed only the important words and names from the omitted passage in the limited space. The defective description says that the real donor of the grant was the queen Kalyāṇadēvi (or Śīkālaya)6 and that her grant was endorsed by the king. The gift land consisted of 3 meausures styled ṭemāpi in a locality called Suvaramalōrūḍi situated in the Thōraṇa viśaya and

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1 The Konḍeddā grant of the 30th regnal year (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), the Śivā grant possibly of the 9th regnal year (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) and the Puri plates of a doubtful date (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.). Bhandarkar's reading of the dates of the Puri and Konḍeddā plates is wrong (see list, Nos. 3040-41; Successors of the Śīrōsahāras, p. 401).
2 He ruled at least up to his 30th regnal year.
3 This Tivara cannot be identified with Mahāśiva Tivara of the Pāṇḍuvarma as the latter flourished in the sixth century (circa 560-60 A.C.; see I. H. Q., Vol. XIX, p. 144). Dharmarāja's rule (covering not less than 30 years according to the Konḍeddā grant) can hardly be placed earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century because, as indicated above, his grandfather performed the Aśvāmēdha before his 15th regnal year falling sometime after 619 A.C. and ruled for at least 50 years (cf. the date of the Cuttack Museum plates) and his father ruled for at least 26 years (cf. the date of the Puri plates).
4 The Purūkṣa plates suggest that Madhyamanāra took part in the performance of his father's horse-sacrifice.
24 tiśṭāpas at the village of Madhuvaṇṭaka attached to the Rājāla site, probably forming a part of the same estāla. The donor was a Jain śīlu-monk called śīla-śīlā (possibly one who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth; cf. śīla-cīrāma) Prabhuddhaḥchāndra who was the disciple of the arka-dharmakāra (the most venerable teacher) Nāḍakāndra. The grant seems to have been actually made in favour of a deity or religious establishment in the residence of Prabhuddhaḥchāndra. This is suggested by the expression bhād-sītra-cūrṇa-pranavātariṇa. But the record seems to say that Prabhuddhaḥchāndra alone would have to enjoy the grant till his death. The gift was thus temporary. Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāna-devī (or Śīlakalī/yā) and the king Dhammarāja, although the epithet rājā seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet dhāmaṇa, used before the word rājā may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabhuddhaḥchāndra's residence. In case it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or a step-mother of the king. The word tiśṭāpa (also written tiśṭāpa or tiśṭāpa) is found in many records in the sense of a land measure. It is clear that the engraver omitted a large number of words from the passage detailing the grant in the original draft of the document.

The dātaka or executor of the charter was the Paścikha-cūrṇapāraṇa-vrata-tāla-liṅgam-bhūtāḥ Sāmanā. Apparently the same person is mentioned in the Puri plates of Dhammarāja as the Bhūtāṁjñāḥ Sāmanā who wrote that document. Of the official designations attributed to Sāmanā in our record, paścikha-cūrṇapāraṇa is the same as paścik-bhūtāṁjñā-pārapāra of the Guṇa-gahā plate and may indicate "the chief Superintendent of five administrative offices." Vasānāsī, found in records like the Kansa plate of Lokesvarāna, possibly means a privy cōcil oror. The designation Bābāyina seems to have included an insēdār. The plates were engraved by Aṭīva-dēvā, who appears to be aśīra kāla, i.e., a goldsmith. The document was kāla, i.e., polished and registered with a seal, by the pātāla (literally, keeper of the boxes, i.e., those containing documents) named Rākṣastāmaṇaka who is also known from the Puri plates of Dhammarāja.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the Thūruṇa-sīhāya is also known from other records, although its definite location is doubtful. The king's sīsaka or residence whence the charter was issued cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the villages of Suvārṇāmāḷīṇḍi and Madhuvaṇṭaka as well as the sīsaka or subdivision called Rājāla.

**TEXT**

[Motifs: verses 1, 3, 11, 14, 18 Śāntākavikaśā; verses 2, 5, 6, 13, 12, 22 Vasānāsī; verses 4, 15, 16, 19-21 Amuṣtaḥ; verse 7 Indraṣṭrapāṇa; verses 9, 10, 15 Śrīvānatāṇ; verse 17 Nārāyaṇa; verse 26 Paścikha-cūrṇapāraṇa.

**First Plate**

1 Sūrānuma Ṛg-ārtuḥ-rāddha-niśā-cānita-tamālañcārānśa śīlāyāḥ kuraśāḥ kōmaḥsāḥ niśātha-vrāmaṇaḥ śūnaḥ

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2. Select Inscriptions, p. 329.
4. The same designation is also found in the bōnas dhāmaṇa (Dhammarājan, Līt., Nos. 1470, 1497, etc.) and Ṭvārākāla (ibid., No. 1496). These appear to be engravings of Thūruṇa and Kāntaka asapati's "goldsmith." See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 129 (Puri plates of Mādhavarāman II), J. D. O. K., Vol. XXVIII, p. 288 (Thūruṇa plates of Mādhavarāman II), etc.
5. From the original plates and their impressions.
6. Expressed by a symbol. [As for mālā, with evamya, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 140, n. 2.—Ed.]
7. Read "Śīla-cīrāma."
2 rat-pani-mahā-vāgīsita-vāhaka-nimbānāḥ || [*] Pārvatavāya[ḥ] || sa-kaccha-graha-vratikāra-
vyāvijñāta-vaham-alaha-dāthā || Gaṅgā-  
3 muṣ(mahu)-pluti-bhumā-bhuma-maṇḍūka|| Shambhūr-jaṭāh-paṇu(mta) vaḥ || [*] Prakāsī-
(Praśūna-mahābhā-kara-pāvara-chārū-vābāhu)|| kriṣna-āmāna.  
4 saṃchā(h[a]r)ya[*]-vibhāga-viśāla(la)-vakhā[[h]] || rajjha-kumāla-dal-ayata-kōchā-anṭal-aḥ khyā-
tah Kalėṅga-janataḥ  
5 Pulimālānāḥ[ḥ] || [2/*] Tena-āntahājanthaḥ guṇin-putra(ṇi) satva(vāra)-mānaḥ n-sēṭhau bhuv-
vīr-maṇḍalāḥ || saktō yaḥ parī(pāla[n]a)-  
6 ya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād-ītī || pratyādāhitā-viḥhur-bhaha(uh-ūta)vēna bha[ga]vān-a-
āśādhitā[ḥ] || sāvataḥ tu[na]s-tāch-śiśit-ānu-  
7 guṇād vihīsan(tau)r-adisād-vānēhām svasa(ya)mabhō(mbhō)-apī || [3/*] Sa aṅk-śakal-
āśāhūḥ dētas [t]ēy-śākya[kya] dhīma-  
8 tā[/*] pari(pa)[r]kālpita-sad-vāṇa[d-vaṃsaḥ] prabhūḥ Salōdhabha[vaḥ] kṛtāḥ || [1/*] Salōdha-
vasya kula[jā]-raṇahitaḥ vai(y) dhāma-  
9 n-śas[ak]kṛti-kṛttā[(b)-]bhāyā[ḥ][u[*]] dvishad-aṅganānānaḥ(nāmA) || jyōtenāya-pravā[ḥ]-dha-saṃayē-
sva-dhyānaiva sārdhaṃ-śaṅkā[(k)-]mānī[į]  
10 nayana-pakṣama-jālaḥu chandra[h][į] || [5/*] Tasyā-śivavasa-viva(ha)[u]dha-pālā-saṃsaya 
śūnāḥ rī-Śaṅkava[ṭ]ita.  
11 n bhūmipatig(a-ga)riyān || [*] yaṃ prṛpya n-aika-lata-nāgā-gaṭhā-vihaṭṭā-lavdhā(bodha)-
pratīpa-vyayāh marma(maj)nu[de]-  
12 dhār(i)rītrī || [6/*] Tasya-āpi vaṃśa[(vaṃśa)]-tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jītō-[yaḥbhī(h)]lāma iti kaḥbh-
śāya[ḥ][/*] yēma-yna-

Second Plate: First Side  
13 ru(rī)[k]hō-pi śabdhis-śarīryaḥ urjit(aṣṭ-g)[pi]ah[taḥ] kala[n]kaḥ kali-harpayasya || [7/*] jītō-
tha [tasya tamaya]a-sukri[į]  
14 tī samasta-nimanta(ni)-niyama-sādha(pa)[p][a]-panḍarika[ḥ][/*] || rī Śaṅkava[ṭ]ita [tī bhūma]-
patīr-śaṅkā[h]-
15 bhun-kumbhasthi-halama-durītal-śi-dhūrah || [3/*] Kāla[yāir-]-bhūtadhātrīpatībhīr-upacita-
āṇekā-pa-  
16 pāvata-rāja-rā jyēbhī-kathā-āpi pralaya-vihaṃsāt kārtī-mū(m)alair(a)-ajāt(a))||eram || 
yaḥma-(n)arśa-vānṛmādha-  
17 prabhīdhṛs-thībhr-amarā lambhiṣṭā tīṇ(tīṃ)prītim-arvīn-huśri(dhṛis)prīti-pakṣa-bhaya-
krīti-patunā śrīnivāsa[ṇ]a  
18 yēna || [9/*] Tasya-dhākāḥ-ākṣiḥ-āri(ḥ)ṃ-samamudrā-iva jānīt bhūvad-mahānāṃ[ah- 
āna]rāja[ḥ] || śrōtā mānī dayā-  
19 lur-suṣpati-āyaśūbildāvaya-taṃūja[h][/*] || māntaṃga[ḥ]-yē-śitānāṃ va(ba)hala-māda-muc不动产- 
20 tō-chāru-vaṭrāp-pra(v[a]-pra)ja[ca]dhān va(ba)�dhya-ākṣatayā-a-khinaḥ pumā-āpi [da]ya[ḥ] 
yatnāthāṃ sampragalbhaḥ || [10/*] Kōchī.  

1 Read prbhāṃ-bhāḥ. An erasure sign is noticed above ace.  
2 The datā is superfluous.  
3 An erasure subscript I can be traced beneath āmu.  
4 Go had been at first omitted and was later engraved above the line in a small form.  
5 Read jyēkā, omitting g.  
6 The engraver had begun to inscribe too close to rest, but gave up to leave some space between the two akāras.  
7 See above, p. 37, note 4.
21 ścchñi(ch-chhñi)ga-uh-ōdarññu niratā dhōm-āvali-pāyinaḥ, anyē vōyu-phal-amv-
(mīn)-bhājaha-niratā[h] kēchñi[chhun]-tī[n-mi]-nēj-
22 kārakā[h] | itthān yōga-jūsha vīhāya vaśatī(hi)ñi) dhīyāyata(ya)nti divyāin(ya)ṣma-padañ
chitrāñ(h) Madhyamanājātē-
23 guñ[a]-dhp-ṛṣyē-ṛpi tatt-prāpta-vān | [11*] Tasyāḥbhavat-sa balka-ṣastra-śāṭhēa-vēdi śṛ-
Dharmmahārāja
24 iti sūnur-adhi[l]a śastraḥ | yasyātāminmala-yāṣaḥ parivarrdhāmāma[ī]* pādau Harē-

Second Plate ; Second Side
25 rēva na māyitaṃ-a tri(tri)-lōkyāh [12*] Nirācārayai[h] prayatnāṇa guṇaśa parivīratah |
[1*] vāmakhyād-ī-
26 reḥrā vyā-saiva sārva-śāhāir-śvavajjitaḥ [13*] Kālē hanti ripa(pū)n-ma(n-ma)ḥarā
śatā-vyāpā-la-altih-ō(ky)maṣṭāh[λ]n[α] 27 kālē dharmanā-śvācchānāya ma(ma)nātō vṛ(βa)ḥmaṇya-madhyē sthitāḥ Krauñchārē-iva
yasya cēchñitām-alaṁ lokā(kaññi)
28 samālōkyāt || [14*] Rājyānla-altih-ai(kv)ma darppād-ai[*]gaṇa-tayō Mādhatō
jyōbthā-bhāvāt(oh) dēśāṁ(βa)śāmī-amū-
29 pālī[ν]-kṛṣṭhīa-va(vi)shama-maṭīr-śvavgrāhī Phāsikāyām ||(vām |) yuddha-kāḥbhāṣa bhagūn
nipatā-tvarāvam-asau sanātīta-
30 s-Tvār-α(α)-khyāha paścāt-tēn-āpi sąrīdhau punar-āpi vijuto Vindhyā-pādālaṁ jīrupa-
[h] || [15*] Śrīvērya śrīr-yau-
31 vanām rājyaṃ-ēk-alamā mada-kāraññha(kam | ) sarva[rh]| śrī-Mānabhitasya nirvī-
kāram-āpṇatīr[λ]t(om) || [16*] Tārāgā-
32 khet-ābhidhāta-vadalam-dharaṇī-talajah jaya-gaja-karṇah(ṃ)ga-chāmara-vidhūnamna-śiv-
phiritām(om) | su-bha-
33 ta-phara-prasarpaya-nirūdhā-kakū(ku)d-gaganaḥ va(ha)la-rajā eva yasya jayati dvī-
śatātū[λ] dēvāja(s) omjī[ṃ] || [17*] Š-
34 rākṣa prasāhāau ghuṭā gaja-gaṇārā-sāvaya-pa(pā)dākāiḥ jīkair(ji)tvānyām(āy)ma-
av(a)-bājā-sāmī śripa-parāṃ-ṣatiyā
35 dīśiti-rñhara[λ](h)vaṃ ||) yuddhē bhūma-pa[raκ]**kramēga vijitā nirvīt-padaṃ prāpītyā[λ] ċ
dīśiyante bhavan-āṅgaṃ praśi-dīpā-
36 prātaḥ praṇām-ārthāh[λ] [[18*] Vijay-Āsīl[da]*-vāsakāḥ śrī-Sailōdbhava-kula-tūla-mahāma-

Third Plate ; First Side
37 kha-vājapīyāsāvāmēdāvavahṛṭīha-tama(snā)ma(na)n-śvavartīta-sūnīs-tanayō va(ha)-
hu-vivīhā-‘matā-‘yārapa-vāra-
38 turaga-ma(pa)dati-ṣastra-ṣaṁjñapāta-sāṅkulō(la)-va(ha)hv-āhava-śvinhata-śatru-śākṣa-
vikram-‘krānta-sakula-bhū-

1 See above, p. 37, note 5.
2 The rule of saṃdhi has been neglected here for the sake of the metre.
3 The reading of this defective passage is slightly different in different records of the king. The emendations suggested by scholars do not appear to be satisfactory.
4 The second yudha of the stanza (kālē, ... ), which had been omitted through inadvertence, was later inserted about the end of the record in lines 34-53.
5 The reading may be vijaya-‘Sīl*'. The last abodes of the name may also be dv, de or du.
6 Read ‘sacchānya'.
7 Better read ‘bhac-viṣṇa'.
39 maṇḍalō sat(bhu)ja-va(-ba)l-āti-la-pratha-yathā(āt)i-ča(ś)-ča(ś)-ča(ś)-ča-nadanta-asa-grāmād-asaśrī-śīla(ḥ)-a-pratāpāḥ paramamaḥśeṣa-
40 rō mātā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyatāh ārī-Dharmarāja-āloha kuśal垒 | Thīrāṇa-viṣhaye | mahā-
śāṃtaya-
41 śāṃtāya- | mahāra(ṛ)ja- | rājanaka- | rājapute-āntaraṇa- | dāgḍanāyaka- | dānḍavā(ḥ) | ā-śīk-ānappi[ka*]-sta(ta)ki-vi-vi-
42 yukt[ka*]-yayavahārṇas-e karaṇān-anvāt-ča(ṃ)-ča(ṃ)-ča(ṃ)-chi-vi-sūtra-jana-pada(ḥ)-ča(-)aḥa-va-va-
43 vallabha-jātiyam-yathā-āram-pājaya mānaya-ājñāpaya- cha | viditam-āstum bhavatām ētad-aviha-
44 ya-samvma(mba)-dīha-

(a) d-arhat-ā(ḥ)-aḥariya-Nāśichandra || tad-ā(ḥ)-aḥariya-aḥariya-āśa-āśa-pravu(bu)l-dhanahandra |
46 gaṁvativ kṣanah-purāṇapathi(ḥ)līn[ma*] bhavatvayam-īti | uktān-dharmav-
śāstrā || Va(Ba)hu-bhūn-vadhuṁ dattā rājābhīṣa-Sagā-
47 r-ālhbhir-ya(bh)hī | yaṣya yaṣya yadā bhūmītā(adv)-aḥya tasya tādā phala[m*] [19*] || Sva-dā(ḥ)uātātta[m]-para-dattām-vā(stān vā) yo harēśa vasundharāmān]
48 sa viṣhnaṃ kṛmīr-viṣhva-paṭīṭhiv-sacra paṭuyatā || 20* || Mā bhūd-ā-phaṇa-sākṣa vaḥ 
para-datt-ēti pārthiv[ā] | sva-

Third Plate; Second Side
49 dānāt-phalam-ānayaṃ | para-datt-āmūpālanam(āḥ) || 21* || Vidyā-vīrās-ta-rahaṁ avas-

gamya samva(ṛ)*-līka-sthitīt
| dha(dhir-dharm-ābhīrūdhana-parīṣ-adhāna-adhāna)
51 tasya[19*] | ki kama-la-dāmūv(mā)-vindu-[līlā]-māna-handa(mā) mūn-mūn-mūn-mūn-mūn
| ji-vitana-[tō]-cha-sakalām-śś
52 maṇḍahritan(ā)-chā-[rū]-cha(ṃ) vun(bh)dhiv sa ki puruśabh prāk-ṛṣṭ-tā ṛvri(vi)loṣyā- 
[19*][20*][21*] [Dhikak-ttta] paṭeca-karan-āpā[ka*]-vai-
53 ćvāśa-vri(ṛ)-hādābhōghī (Śāntaḥ) | utkṛṣṇa[ḥ] khṣaṭa-khaṇa Śāntaḥ | ādiyāvōma lāncchi-
54 tavā-petāpāl(la)-Va(Ba)l-lavarmaṃ[paḥ | Saṃ]*vya [1*]...[1*] || Kātō Sa(bha)h[ti]*jm-[j]pauti āt-
55 bhr-cha-rājitaṭ Śāmbhōḥ kathā-vistaraṭḥ ||...prithva...ṭtā |
No. 6—ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN; REGNAL YEAR 62

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ooctavamund, and S. Rathakaram, Puri

The village of Alagum lies about twenty-three miles from the holy city of Puri, celebrated for the great temple of the god Purushottama-Jagannath, and about ten miles from the Sakhigopil station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. There is a small temple in the village, in which the god Siva in the form of a linga, styled Ganttpura, is worshipped. The temple itself is rather unimpressive like so many of its class in the villages in different parts of Orissa. But its importance lies in the existence of two inscriptions on the stones of its wall near the door, one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription on the proper left is in the Telugu script and language while that on the right is in the Gaudiya script and in the Sanskrit language. The second inscription forms the subject matter of this paper.

The inscription covers a space about four feet and four inches in length and about one foot eleven inches in breadth. There are altogether twenty-six lines of writing, the letters being about 1½ inches in height. Originally both the inscriptions were fully covered with cement. Of late the cement plastering was removed; but there are still traces of it in the lower part of the inscription published here. Some letters, especially in lines 24-26, are not clearly visible.

The characters belong to a cursive form of the Gaudiya class, commonly called Proto-Bengali, and may be assigned to about the eleventh century A.C. or even later. The sign for medio-r, which resembles that in modern Oriya, and the short type of medio-a sign exhibited in a few cases (cf. Kṣapya in lines 5-6) are interesting to note. The initial a occurs several times in the inscription (lines 10, 18, 21, etc.) and the sign for asagatra only once (line 13). The characters may be compared with those in the records of the imperial Ganges such as the Nagari plates of Anangabhuma III—circa 1211-38 A.C.) edited above.1

The language of the inscription under discussion is incorrect Sanskrit, its orthography exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation; cf. words like dēsa for dēna (line 4), ranaka for runaka (line 7), māhātara for māhētara (line 8), etc. The rules of sandhi have been sometimes ignored.

The record is dated in the sixty-second year of a king named Anantavarmadhēva. The great length of the reign referred to leaves hardly any doubt that the king is no other than the great Ganga emperor Anantavaran Chāndrānaga who is known to have been crowned in 1178 A.C. and ruled for about seventy years up to 1147 A.C. The sixty-second year of the reign of Anantavaran Chāndrānaga would thus correspond to 1140-41 A.C. It may be noted that the reference is to the regnal reckoning and not to the Asaka reckoning in which, as indicated by certain inscriptions of the later rulers of Orissa, a number of regnal years were not to be counted. The details of the date, quoted in the inscription under notice, speak of Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright half in the month of Māgha. The date thus regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 30th of January, 1141 A.C. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, Vol. III, p. 284, the śaṅkhaśi tithi ended on that date at 19 of the day.

The inscription records certain grants made by a person named Kāmāṇḍi whose epithet disāpata (Sanskrit disāmput) looks like an official designation. It is possible to think that Kāmāṇḍi was the governor of a territorial unit of which the present village of Alagum in the Puri District formed a part. Kāmāṇḍi is simultaneously called Paramamātētara and Parama-

1 Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.
which show that he was a devotee of both the gods Śiva and Vishnu. His family belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and to the pañch-ārāśeṣa-pravara (i.e., having five sages as pravaras or distinguished members of the gōtra in question). The Kāśyapa gōtra, however, is known to have only three pravaras, viz., Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Nāiliẖuva. Pañch-ārāśeṣa thus appears to be a mistake for try-ārāśeṣa. In dealing with the ancestry of Kāmāṇḍi, the inscription curiously speaks of Prātimaha Pūtaṇḍi, of the former’s son Bhūmāṇḍi and of the latter’s saṅk-sūbhāsa or descendant Kāmāṇḍi. It seems that Pūtaṇḍi was the prātimaha, or grandfather of Kāmāṇḍi, and that Bhūmāṇḍi was his father inspite of the fact that he is said to have been merely a descendant of Bhūmāṇḍi. This seems to be suggested by the word prātimaha used in connection with the name of Pūtaṇḍi, by the similar formations of the three names, viz., Pūtaṇḍi, Bhūmāṇḍi and Kāmāṇḍi, and also by the fact that there is hardly any meaning in mentioning only two distant ancestors of the donor when the established custom throughout India was generally to mention only his father and grandfather. It may, however, not be impossible that Kāmāṇḍi was actually the son of a brother of Bhūmāṇḍi who later adopted him as his own son. That is possibly why Kāmāṇḍi is called a saṅk-sūbhāsa and not exactly a prātra of Bhūmāṇḍi. It may be recalled in this connection that the Śailodbhava king Ayālkabilla I of Kūṅgōḍa in Orissa is described in some records in prose as the son of Sāṁyabhita Māṭhavaranam I, but in others in verse as merely a descendant of the latter.¹ A very interesting information about Kāmāṇḍi’s family given in the record is that it hailed from a village, the name of which reads like Kadaṁvura, in the Chōla country, which was the modern Tanjore-Trichinopoly region of South India.

Kāmāṇḍi is said to have purchased with his own money a hala of land styled Kapāḷēsvaṇa in the village of Alāgumma which formed a part of the Rāmāṅga viśaya and made it an endowment in favour of the maṭha of the god Gartēsvaṇaḍēva. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by certain honest prajā-lōkas, apparently meaning the people of the locality. The object of the grant was two-fold; it was to provide food to an ascetic, possibly living in the maṭha referred to, whose name may have been Bhīj or Abhīj. Secondly, three pravartas of paddy were allotted for providing maṅgadā or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Gartēsvaṇaḍēva. In this description of the grant, the word hala, known also from other sources, has been used to indicate a piece of land of uncertain area. The exact weight of a pravarta of paddy is likewise unknown.²

In addition to the piece of land granted, a sum of money was deposited with the local adhiṣṭhānas (possibly superintendents of the temple) who are said to have been maintaining the pali-dēva, literally ‘village deity’ (possibly meaning Gartēsvaṇa), for providing an akhaṇḍa or perpetual lamp, apparently in the temple, in honour of the god Gartēsvaṇa. The lamp was expected to be the kūta-tārāya (i.e., a thing that ensures easy crossing of the sea of sanśāra for the members of one’s family) of this bāparaṇa, probably meaning Kāmāṇḍi himself. The word bāparaṇa appears to be a mistake for a word like kāparaṇa meaning ‘a penitent’. The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred chāṛīs added by five paraṇas. The word chāṛī usually means a hundred cowrie-shells, while paraṇa was the old silver kārāhpāṇa-usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. According to Oriya lexicon,³ however, both the words chāṛī and paraṇa are recognised in the sense of kā郎a (Sanskrit kārāhpāṇa) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. There is no doubt that the words have been used in the same sense also in the record under

¹ See Successors of the Śailodbhaṇa, pp. 400 ff. Cf. also ibid., p. 269 and note.
² Is it Oriya pāraṇa which is equal to ten maṇas?
³ Cf. Pranādā Ambākhaṇa, n.r. chāṛī and paraṇa. The Mohan plate (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 188, text line 25; cf. p. 191, note 3) spells the word as chāṛīs and uses it as a synonym of paraṇa. The same word also occurs in line 23 of the Vangya Sahitya Paravata plate of Visvarūpaddana (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 147), although it was wrongly read maṇḍaṇa.
discussion. This is clearly suggested by the fact that the amount given in words as 'a hundred chārās and five purānas' is separately mentioned in figures as 105 (i.e., 100 purānas). Thus the amount granted for making provision for the burning of a lamp perpetually in the temple of Gar- 
ttevara was 100 chārās, purānas, or kālānas which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells.

It is interesting to note that the family of Kānāṇḍi, who made grants, in favor of the village- 
god of Alagum near Puri and appears to have been an official serving the Gaṅga monarch Ananta- 
varman Chōdaganga, is said to have hailed from the country of the Chōlas. It is well-known that 
Chōdaganga's mother Rājasundari was a Chōla princess and that the very name of the king points 
to the existence of Chōla or Chōda blood in his vein. Rājasundari is described in the Gaṅga records 
as the daughter of the Chōla king Rājendrā who is variously identified by scholars with Rājendra I 
(1016-43 A.C.), Vira-rajendrā (1063-70 A.C.) and Rājendra Kulottuṅga I (1063-70 A.C. as Eastern 
Chālyka king: 1070-1118 A.C. as ruler of the united Chōla-Chālyka kingdom), although the 
Gaṅga king's name, Vira-rajendrā-Chōdaganga, found in some records, suggests that he was the 
grandson of the Chōla king Vira-rajendrā after whom he was named. One of the queens of Chōdag- 
ganga was the Chōla princess Chōla-mahādevī who is known to have granted some Kulottuṅga-
ādas for a lamp at the temple of Bhimās at Drākshākṣma, and may have been a daughter of 
Rājendra Kulottuṅga I. This seems to suggest that Chōdaganga's mother was a cousin of Kulō-
tuṅga (son of a daughter of Rājendra I), a grand-daughter of Rājendra I and a daughter of 
Vira-rajendrā. We have also evidence to show that there was considerable Chōla influence at 
the court of some of the early monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, who sometimes employed 
Chōla officials. There is little doubt that the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga was connected with 
the expansion of Chōla influence in that country. It is now accepted by most scholars that the 
Gaṅga dynasty was established at Kaliṅga (modern Muktingarā near Chisecole or Śrīkal-
kalam) about the close of the fifth century A.C. The Gaṅgas soon established their power in Central 
Kaliṅga ; but, in the seventh century, their position was threatened by the expansion of the power 
of their eastern neighbours, the Sādhabhavas of Kōṅgāla (about the border between the Ganjam 
and Purī Districts of Orissa) and by the establishment of the Eastern Chālyka vas at Pāthpurā 
(modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in the south. The authority of the Kaliṅga-
nagarā government was also considerably shaken about this time by the rise of collateral viceregal 
families like that of the Gaṅgas of Śvētakā. The process of decline continued and, in the tenth 
century, the kingdom seems to have been divided into five states under different branches of the 
Gaṅga family as well as of viceregal lines. About the end of the same century, Vajrabhūta Ananta-
varman (circa 935-1016 A.C.), belonging to one of the branch lines of the Gaṅga family, seems 
not to have consolidated his position in all the five states. His success may have been due to the help 
he may have received from the Chōlas. It has to be noted that this king, the first important 
ruler of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family, was a contemporary of the great Chōla king 
Rājarāja (985-1016 A.C.) who claims to have conquered Vēṣi (the kingdom of the Eastern 
Chālykas) by 985 A.C. and Kaliṅga (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) sometime before 1003 A.C.?  

10 Cf. Siv. p. 455.  
14 The history of the ancestors of this ruler has been discussed in connection with the Naṣātī plates of Anaga-

15 Bhimās III (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.).  
16 Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, pp. 26-37.
His son Rājendra I (1015-45 A.D.) also claims to have defeated the Eastern Chāluksya king as well as to have set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahendrā in Kalinga (in the present Srikakulam District of Madras). Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father when he may have led the expedition against the Kalinga country as his father's general is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. But it is extremely interesting to note that, in the description of the expeditions led by the generals of Rājendra I about 1023 A.D. in the countries towards the east as far as South-East Bengal, mention is made of the reduction of Odja (Puri-Cuttack area) and Kōsa (the Sambalpur region together with certain western tracts), both then under the Sūmavatī king of Yavāśinga,1 but not of any conflict with the king of Kalinga.2 This fact seems to suggest that the early rulers of the imperial Ganga family were regarded by the Chōla emperors as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the imperial branch of the Ganga family was another Vajrākṣasta Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.) who was the grandson of his namesake mentioned above and the grandson of the mighty Anantavarman Chōdākanga. But Chōla influence continued in Kalinga as late as the reign of Chōdākanga and even later.

The present inscription is one of the few records of Anantavarman Chōdākanga that have so far been discovered in the Puri-Cuttack region which was conquered by that monarch from the Sūmavatīs about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Chōla-dēsa has already been noticed. Kadambavura may, as Mr. N. L. Rao has kindly suggested be identified with Kadambūr in the Udayarpalāyam taluk of the Tiruchirapalli District. Alaguma is no doubt modern Alagum which is the uttakāpūr of the inscription under discussion. The name is Alaguma even now in Oriya pronunciation. The vāhaya or district of Rāmaṅga, in which the village of Alavunna is said to have been situated, seems to be the same as the Rāvaṅga vāhaya mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhumī II.3

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**TEXT**

1 Siddham2 Svasti [... Šrīmād-Anantavarmanādvaya
2 pravardhamānā-vijaya-tāju3 dvāsahalāhita-vahita-
3 samvāsa-vajraṃ Mādhav-śalita-tithau saptā-
4 myām vārā Guran Chōla-dēsa(a)-pāṭa-
5 va(b)a(dhā-Kadambavura-grāma-vanirṛgata-Kāsya(a)-
6 pā-gotra-paṇḍha-arhata-ravijaya-pravara-vāṇa-
7 la-Pūrṇa[v]a[t]a-tata-putra-Bhimāndi[ll][*] tad-vans-ō(d-vans-ō)
8 dbhava-paramanāḥāvata(vaja)-paranavāśasña(aḥa)va-
9 dispaśi-Vāmāndi-nāma khyāṭaḥ [[*]
10 dīnām Rāmaṅga-vāhaya-pratīva[ba]ddha-[Ala-
11 gūma-grāmaya-Kapālāvata(vaja)-nāma-bhūmi-ha-
12 la-aikān sahī-sūja-loka(k)n pramukham-
13 tyā sahī-dhānūrī krivā-āhā-dhīrma-viva(ṛj)-
14 dhaśya sīr-Garottāvata(vaja)drāvaya markha-pratīva[ba].

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4 From impressions.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 The dānas are superfluous.
7 Possibly dānapati.
8 The rule of sahā has not been observed here.
No. 7—BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 17

(D Plate)

D. C. SIRIAM, ONGTACAMUND

Sometime about the beginning of 1951, Pandit Vishnuji Ñastri, a Research Scholar attached to the History Department of the University of Patna, kindly informed me that he had seen a copper-plate inscription at the village of Bangaon (P. O. Bariahi, Sub-district Saharsa) in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar and that Pandit Chhâl Jiâ, President of the Chhdnârayan Club at Bangaon, and formerly President of the Bhagalpur District Congress Committee, might be approached for further information about the inscription. I at once wrote to Pandit Chhâl Jiâ, requesting him to send me a pencil rubbing of the epigraph so as to enable me to have a rough idea of its importance. Pandit Jiâ kindly complied with my request and, on an examination of the rubbings sent to me, I found that the plate was issued by king Vighrahapala III of the celebrated Pala dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. I was then eager to have the plate on a temporary loan for a careful examination of the inscription, and Pandit Jiâ was good enough to send it to me about the beginning of June 1951. I am grateful to him for this act of kindness as well as for the following information regarding the findspot and discovery of the inscription.

The owner of the plate is Pandit Gûnhur Jiâ, teacher of the Kalabati High English School, Bangaon. The village is an old one, situated on the bank of the Dhûmrâ, a tributary of the Kosi. To the west of the rivulet, there stands Mâhâlmati, the sâdham-pîha of the goddess Târâ and the native place of Mâghânamitra, famous in the Sàkta-Chhâtyâ legends. To the north-west lies Kandaha where there is a temple of the Sun-god, said to be founded by a king named Bhavâdityal, and to the north there is the Bâgâvata Sîra-lînga, installed, according to tradition, by the demon king Bâga. To the west of the village is a Gaôh-Dîh where some gold coins of the Mughal times

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15 dhâhirîya tapasvinî Bhiji, bhûjan-ârthë
16 pradhânta(tam | ) tan-madhùyâ-sûri-Garttësva(âva)ra-
17 dëvasyâ saivâ-vârthë dhânya-pravarita-trayûn
18 nîyâjita(tam ||) aparù-sûri-Ga-
19 rîräsva(âva)ra-pritayë pûrçha-pûrçhâ-âdhëli-
20 ku-chhùnpi-lak-âikëna êtasya kâparya-
21 kaïya kula-tûrâna-âkhanâ-dîpa-pra-
22 pradâ-sûrthë hallâmâvâsita-
23 pali-dëva-pâlit-âdikârînâ[â]
24 [hâjâstë pradâ[ttâ a]jákë hî(â) pu 105 ]*
25 [â-chandr-ârka-kâ]la-pan恙antâh sâdhu-pu-
26 [rushâl]h*] paripâlayanî

* Or, tapasvinî Bhiji.
* Possibly the intended reading is kâparya.
* The rule of eradâ has not been observed here.
* This prâ is reduction.
* Better read pradhânta pûrçhâ-âdikârînâ-ñâmen.
* The word seems to qualify dâsâmâra-sukhëام.
were dug out some forty years ago. A post is still hung at the place forbidding people to dig earth there more than three feet below the surface. There are also several Gaudī and Dīka to the east and south of the village of Bengāon. The plate under discussion was discovered by Pandit Ghughur-Jhā sometime in 1900 accidentally in the south-eastern part of the village, close to the Shārārī-īm. It was found buried in the earth with only the top of it visible above the ground. Pandit Ghughur-Jhā dug it up and carefully preserved it in his house.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 13-1/4" in height, 12-2/3" in breadth and 1-5/8" in thickness. On the top side of the plate is soldered the Palā seal (7" in length and 1-3/8" in thickness), shaped like 'the ace of spades' and known to have been called Dharma-dharmamāndra. The legend on the seal runs: Śrī-Vighrāpālācārā. The bronze seal is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation and weighs 425 lbs. A portion measuring about an inch in length has, however, broken away from the lower left end of the seal on the obverse of the plate. There are 32 lines of writing on the obverse and 19 lines on the reverse. Considerable space (from 5-1/2" to 7" in length) in the central part of five lines at the top of both sides of the plate is covered by the lower inlaid part of the seal, causing a break in the continuous writing of those lines. The seal is fixed to the plate apparently with the help of three knobs passing through holes made in the plate.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the eleventh century A.D., which I am inclined to call the Cāndiya script. In regard to paleography, language and orthography the inscription under discussion closely resembles other Palā inscriptions of the said age, especially the Áṃgāchhī and Belwā plates of Vighrāpālā III who also issued the present charter. The letter ṭ is written in two different ways (cf., e.g., samuṣṇaṭ in line 26 and paṛṣāṇa in line 34), one of which is commonly used and resembles the form of ṭ (cf. samuṣṇaṭa-sthāna in line 29). The letter ṭ is also written both in the Bengali and in the Dēvānāgari fashion (cf. sahā and sa in line 39). The superscript ṛ is often a short, horizontal stroke put below the top saṭā towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. uṣṣāṭī in line 48) and is sometimes not easily noticed: but in a few cases it is put above the top saṭā (cf. ṭ-ṣāṭī in line 49). The superscripts in the conjuncts ṭ and ṭ are often undistinguishable (ḍīrṇā in line 23, ṭīrṇā in line 30, parṇā in line 32, etc.). Medial ṭ is usually of the Bengali type put to the left of the consonant (cf. ṭahe in the line 26); but in some cases it is put above the top saṭā of the consonant as in Dēvānāgari (cf. Maṭī in line 31), while in a few cases it is indicated by a short downward stroke or curved put at the left end of the saṭā (cf. saṭā in line 31, ṭīkāṭā in line 32). Medial ṭ is sometimes without the top curve and is undistinguishable from the Bengali type of medial ṭ usually found in the record. The aśa is written in both the Bengali and Dēvānāgari fashions (cf. rāja and ṛā̄ja in line 15). The sign of saṃgraha has been used in several cases. The engraving is neatly done and there are only a few errors of language and spelling. The letter sa, which is a contraction of saṃbaddha meaning 'registered' or 'approved,' is found both at the beginning and at the end of the first line on the reverse of the plate. This characteristic is also found in some other Palā grants, including the Áṃgāchhī and Belwā plates on which, however, the signs are seen on the obverse. Similar endorsements on the copper-plate grants of the Varmanas and Śūna of Bengal show that the two 'sa's refer to the approval of the king himself and of one of his high officials.^[1]

^[2] Parājapī Śālokī Vaiśākh Pānḍita, Vol. LVI, pp. 60 ff. The inscription has since been edited by me, see above, pp. 9 ff.
The charter under review is dated in the 17th regnal year of King Vigrahapāla III whose reign has been roughly assigned to the period 1055-70 A.C. in the latest authoritative work on the history of Bengal. As will, however, be shown below, this dating requires modification in view of the evidence afforded by the present record.

The inscription begins, as usual, with the symbol for siddham and the word evam, which are followed by fourteen verses (in lines 1-21). These verses are found exactly in the same order in both the known charters of Vigrahapāla III and have been fully discussed in our paper on the Belwā plates of Mahāpāla I and Vigrahapāla III. Lines 21-23 quote the usual description of the Pāla jaya-skandhāvīras (possibly, temporary capital) whence the charter was issued. It is well-known that several of such jaya-skandhāvīras are already known from the Pāla charters, the same description (suggesting their situation on the river Bhāgirathī or Ganges) being applied to each one of them. Our record adds a new name to the list of the Pāla jaya-skandhāvīras so far known. Lines 24-25 of the inscription say that the charter was issued by the Paramaśūtara (devout Buddhist) Paramēśvara Paramānandaśāvāra Mahārājādhirāja Vigrahapāladēva, meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, Nāyapalladēva, from the jaya-skandhāvīra at Kāñchana pūrṇa which is as yet unknown from any other Pāla grant. Line 25 speaks of the land to be granted as a pāta, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called Purāṇa) of the locality called Vanskāvartta in the Hādārāya sīkṣī (district) of Tirabuṣkī. The lines that follow (lines 26-31) quote the list of feudatories, officials and others, associated with the above piece of land. The same list is also found in other Pāla grants, including those of Vigrahapāla III himself. The charter then goes on to say (lines 32-40), in the well-known style of the Pāla grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of Vanskāvartta was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the pratigya such as bhāga, bhōga, kara, kāro, and others) in accordance with the bhāmā cchādhaṇa-ādhyā (i.e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Like many other Pāla grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the Vishuvat sakrāt. As expected, this portion of the charter is almost a replica of the corresponding section of the Belwā plate already discussed by me. The donor of the present charter was Gauṭukāsarman who was an inhabitant of Ṣūrāhaka or Ṣūrāhaka. He was the son of Tūraka and grandson of Yojasvāmin. The original home of the donor’s family is stated to have been Kāñccha. He is described as well-versed in śrīveda, gādāvara and ṭhaka and as belonging to the Śānti-ya gōta having the Śānti-ya, Asita and Devāla āvam. The donor is further said to have been a subhakamāchara of Nārāmśi and a student of the Gauṭukāśiṇi. It is well-known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a Brāhmaṇa as a subhakamāchara or sahaśī, i.e., a student of a particular gādā of a Veda. In later Pāla charters, however, we have often mention of the donor as subhakamāchara of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of “a pupil”. Thus Gauṭukāsarman was probably a pupil of Nārāmśi.

future rulers of the region not to confiscate the gift land. This is followed by the date of the charter in the 28th day probably of the month of Aśvayuj in the 17th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III. Next follow in lines 42-47 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The two verses that

1 History of Bengal, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 127.
2 The grants of the Sūna of Bengal usually refer in a similar context to the annual income of the gift land in Purāṇa (i.e., in pursā-sūbera). The records of the rulers of ancient Ancient, however, speak of salary in the same context (Kṣemapāla-sūna-sūbera, pp. 73, 93). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measures of the principal crop.
follow in lines 47-49 speak of the dūta or dūtaka (i.e., the executor of the grant) and the engraver of the plate in the usual style of the charters of Vigrñapāla III. What is, however, very interesting in our record is that its dūta is said to have been the munīra Prabhaśatarāja described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vigrñapāla III, the ending rāja has been preferred to the expected pāla cannot be determined. The engraver of the plate was the artisan śāhīvīda who was the son of Hṛdāvīda hailing from Pāhali. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village. Indeed the same verse also occurs at the end of the Āṃgācchhi plate where, however, śāhīvīda is called Mahādhārāvīda-sūru instead of Śrīmān-Hṛdāvīda-sūru. The passage in our record is, however, grammatically wrong and requires some modification. Whether the reading intended is śrī-Mahādhāvīda cannot be determined, although in such a case Mahādhārāvīda and Mahādhāvīda may have been regarded as identical.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end (lines 49-50). According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmaṇa officers named Ghanṭīśa. This man is described as a vṛddhaka or servant of the lord of Gaṇḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own kula, probably meaning the jāgūr under his possession. Ghanṭīśa was the son of Yagñavala and the grandson of Vivāda. This Vivāda is said to have been born of Idēhāala, daughter of Gāhapaśa and granddaughter of Kāhechha who came (to Tirahukti or North Bihār) from Krodāhāla. There is no doubt that Krodāhāla is the same as Kōlāhāla mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of Ghaṇṭīkūtsarman, donor of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the Kailā (otherwise called Kailātva) plate, according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmaṇas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla jaya-stambhāśvīra and a hitherto unknown son of Vigrñapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a cent-free holding, a fact of considerable importance in the Bangāon plate is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year. Of course there were the Kurukkā image inscriptions, dated in the 19th regnal year of Vigrñapāla, and a manuscript of the Pāñchaklāśa copied in the 26th year of his reign. But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vigrñapāla III or his great-grandfather Vigrñapāla II. The recently discovered Naulagir image inscription, dated in the 21st regnal year of Vigrñapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vigrñapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vigrñapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers assigned Vigrñapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vigrñapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others assigned the long reign-period to Vigrñapāla III. In

1 Was it due to the fact that Prabhaśatarāja was born of a concubine of king Vigrñapāla III?
3 History of Bengal, op. cit., p. 174; Bhandarkar, List, No. 1622.
5 History of Bengal, op. cit., p. 179.
7 Ray (t. H. N. I., Vol., I, p. 350) assigns Vigrñapāla II to circa 992 A.C. and Vigrñapāla III to circa 1055-61 A.C.
8 Majumdar (Hist. Beng., op. cit., p. 177) assigns Vigrñapāla II to circa 960-88 A.C. and Vigrñapāla III to circa 1055-70 A.C.
the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vīgrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vīgrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vīgrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vīgrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

The rule of Vīgrahapāla III in Tīrābhukti or North Bihār about the third quarter of the eleventh century has now to be reconciled with Kalacuri expansion in that area. Such facts as that the city of ‘Banāras’ belonged to the territory of Gang’ about 1034 A.C. when, according to Bahaqī, Ahmad Niyāltigir, a general of Ma’sūd I (circa 1030-40 A.C.) invaded it, and that the Benares plate (Kalacuri year 783-1042 A.C.) of Kalacuri Karna (1041-72 A.C.) records the grant of a village in the Kāśi district to the inclusion of the eastern U.P. in the dominions of Karna and his father Gāṅgīyadēva Vikramādiyutya. The Kāranbēl inscription assigns to Karna a victory over Gauḍa and the Bheraghat inscription speaks of his hostilities with Vaiśālī, while his Paikone pillar inscription points to his advance as far east as the Bhirōhām District of West Bengal. Under these circumstances, the Nāpalese manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa, completed in [Vikrama] Saṃvat 1076 (1019 A.C.) when Tīrābhukti was under the rule of Gāṅgīyadēva, may be regarded as proving Kalacuri occupation of North Bihār in the first half of the eleventh century. It should, however, be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Mahāpāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) from Sāṃkāth near Banaras (dated Vikrama, Saṃvat 1083-1091 A.C.) in the eastern U.P., from Nālandā, Bodhgayā and Tīrābwana (dated in the reign year 11 or 21) in South Bihār and from Imādpūr (dated in the reign year 10) in the Mahāpur District of North Bihār; while two inscriptions (dated in the reign year 15) of Nāyapāla (circa 1058-55 A.C.) come from Gāyā in South Bihār. The Tibetan life of the Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpaśākara Śī-Śālān refers to an invasion of Māgadha or South Bihār under Nāyapāla, father of Vīgrahapāla III, led by ‘king Karna of the west’, i.e., Kalacuri Karna. According to this tradition, Nāyapāla ultimately succeeded in defeating the invader, while, according to the Rāmāvacarita, Vīgrahapāla III defeated Karna and married the latter’s daughter Yāvanākṣī. It has been supposed that this refers to a second invasion led by Karna against the Pāla empire. In any case, the present inscription shows that North Bihār was reconquered by the Pālas from the Kalacuris at least before the 17th year of Vīgrahapāla’s reign. Karna’s son Yāśabhākarna (circa 1072-1123 A.C.), however, claims to have devastated Champāvanā (modern Champāvan in North Bihār) according to the Bheraghat inscription. It seems, therefore, that the Pālas were struggling with the Kalacuris in Bihār, both North and South, for a considerable period of time.

Another interesting fact revealed by the Banāgan plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihār to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of Kāśi or Kāśiśāhī. Ghatṭānī, a Brāhmaṇa of Tīrābhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kāśiśāhī Brāhmaṇa named Kāśihāma through the grandchild of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmaṇas of Kāśiśāhī is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his own land in favour of

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2 Ibid., p. 728; Bhandarkar, List, 1222; cf. the Sāṃkāth inscription (Kalacuri year 810-1029 A.C.; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1292) of the same king.
3 Ray, op. cit., p. 778.
4 Ibid., p. 784.
8 Hist. Beng., op. cit., p. 146.
another Kōlandha Brāhmaṇa. That Kōlandha, together with Tarkāri, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place. The identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śravasṭī country, i.e., the district round modern Seta-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahrāin Districts of the U.P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal. The suggestion of the former group of scholars appears to be more reasonable. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlandha, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihār and Bengal.

According to the Kulaśā or Kula-patikiśā4 of Bengal, the Rādhiya and Vārṇendra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kōlandha (Kānya-kubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Aṃśuvarā because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vēdas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Aṃśuvarā are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Ṡaṅga, Kāliṅga, Kārṇāṭa, Kārala, Kāmarūpa, Samāśaṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Goura. His capital is placed by some at Sāmptha in West Bengal and by others at Vikramaśūra in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 834, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Śaka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A.C.4 There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śāhu dynasty in Bengal.5 But no genuine ruler named Aṃśuvarā is known from the Bengal sources. The only Aṃśuvarā known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihār or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A.C. Maithila Vāchaspatimātra refers to this person in his Nyāyakauśikā, a commentary on Maṇḍana-mitra’s Viśākha, in the passage: nīva-bhūya-vīryam-aṃśuvarā śīrāma-āṃśuvarā jayati. Vāchaspatimātra composed his Nyāyasūcchā in [Vikrama] Saṃvat 893 (vasa-anka-vasu-natas? i.e., in 841 A.C).6 Thus Aṃśuvarā, contemporary of Vāchaspatimātra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Aṃśuvarā was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihār cannot be determined; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this

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4 See History of India, op. cit., pp. 479-88. Kōlandha or Kōlandha is also called Kōlandha, Kōldha and Kōlāda.

5 Ibid., loc. cit.

6 Ibid., pp. 625-26.

7 See J.B.G. Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 60. Śekihara who wrote his Nyāyachandali in Śaka 913-991 A.C. was an inhabitant of Dakhilā-Rājśī; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author’s patron Pañjūdāsa seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. Hist. Bṛgya, p. 382a). The case of Udayana who composed his Lakhakauśikā in Śaka 996-985 A.C. is more dubious (cf. ibid., p. 315a).


10 See S. C. Vidyabhushan, History of Indian Logic, p. 133. Recent attempts to refer the year 858 to the Śaka era (J.O.J.R.I., Vol. II, pp. 349-53; Vaiṣṇava Sāktipātra Pratikāṭaḥ, op. cit., pp. 69-73) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Maithi and the neighbouring areas in the tenth century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as ‘the year’ as in the Nyāyasūcchā, etc.

1 DGA
Brahmanical kings, probably parts of Mithila and North Bengal, became important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vāchasastrapīṇa. It is possible to think that the Adiśvēra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kāśīvīha in Bengal. This suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to think that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihār.

There is a strong Mithila element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Mithila families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Kāśīvīha or Krūḍāśī at the ancient form of modern Tirhu in North Bihār. The district of Hidrēya and the village of Vasakāvarāta is is difficult to identify. I have not succeeded in locating Kāśīvāmpuraka and the village called Ṣīṭāka or Ṣuḥōka.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 8 Śravālīk̄a; verses 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25 Śāntālanavrīḍīta; verses 4, 7, 10 Vasanti-śāla; verses 5, 22 Ṣpā; verses 9, 12 Udvana; verse 11 Mātini; verse 12 Śikṣāvīḍī; verse 14 Mandākviṇī; verses 15-19, 23 Anuṣṭūṭhya; verse 20 Sūrsi; verse 21 Pahkāvīṛa.]

**Obverse**

1. Siddham: Maitrān kārṇya-ratna-pramudita-h[pl]dayaya pṛyasaḥ sandhānāḥ samyak-

2. viyā-śandamalaja-kahālit-sūñana-paikāḥ jītvā yaḥ kāmakrī-pra-

3. kharvaṁ-abhirhāvatisāvati[t] prāpā sānt[i]naḥ as āritamūr ḍhakūmakāha ja-

4. yav Daśava(bh)kī[ya]-naya-cha Gopaśāva || [1*] Lakṣāṃ-jumana-ja-

5. kēmanā sāmakāro viyā[ph]m kahānaḥ kāmā-bhara[na] pa[k]a[n]h[sa] yahān-dhā-

6. bhayāīr-asaṁhitattvātam-eś-āraya bhāhpritam[t] | marudā-paraṇa-līkā-hitah | 161 sa-


8. Rāma-


10. nāma-āruṇaḥ | yaḥ śrimān-naya-vikrama-sīka-vasati[y] ḍhaktātah śītāh śa[n]ān-dhā-


12. vapaḥ yaḥ pūrv-vajjā[🔗] bhuvana-rjvya-sukhāny-avai[n]ahit || [4*] Śrīmān-Vigrāhaḍālās-tat-


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1. From the original plate as well as the impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.
2. *Expressed by a symbol.
3. According to rules of Sandhi the s here should change to the smāra.
4. The danda is superfluous.


15. vīṇ[e]-vaṣu-kōṭi-varshaḥ || kālāna chandra iva Vṛgharat-paladēvaḥ | nāṭha-priyāṇa vimalāṇa kalāmaṇya yēn-ōdīṭena bhuvanasya tāpaḥ || [10*] Ha-

16. ta-sakala-vipakshāḥ saṅgārē vā[ḥ]kaḥ-darpād-anādhiḥkīta-vīḷaptaḥ rājyam-āśyāḥ pitrayāṃ (tryāṃ) | niḥṣita-charaṇa-padmō bhūbhā(bhu)bhaj[ṛ]* mūnīlai taṃsāṭ-abhavad-anāvapalāḥ śrī-Maṇ-

17. paladevaḥ || [11*] Tuyān-jāṭāḥ saṅga[r]* śrasi kriṭa-pāṭaḥ kahūḍhritān vita[v]ja[n] sarvva-

asāḥ prasabh-ṃulay-ājāṭ[r]*-iva raviḥ || [11*] hata-bh[v]jāntaḥ saṅgīla-prakritir-anurāga-

-ga[ju]va-

18. sat[i]*] sutō dhanyāḥ punyair-ajani Nayaḍālā-narapat[ḥ] || [12*] Pīṭhā sajajā-śeṣanāḥ-śaṃkā-

ripō pūjau raktah saddā || saṅgrāme dhavalō-ṛhaṇ-eccha Haraṭatō.

19. kalāthi(ah) kula vidvishāṃ(ḥāṃ) | clāṭuṇvvarṇapatri(ṇya)-samārṣa(ā) śiṣṭ[a]-yasa(śa)-pūrmi[r]-

jagna-raṇajyanā || [13*] śrīmaṇ[Vṛgharat-paladeva-ṃpatiḥ punya[r]-janaṇam-ahbūta(bhūt) || [13*] Dēṣā prāct prā.

20. chura-payasi svacchhām-āṭhya tōyaḥ svairat bhṛtāt(utva) tad-anu Mahāy-ōpattyakā-

chandanehu | kriṅvā śaṃdūraḥ Maṛaṇaḥ jaḍāta[r]* śiṅkaraḥ-abha-tulyaḥ Prāḷāya-rāhṝ

kaṭakam-abha-


22. kaṇyā-gaṇanāghana-gaṇa-ghaṭā-āyāṃyamāṇa-vāṣa-laḥkṣaṇa-saṃvṛśv[ha](bhu) samata-

jalada-samaya-saṇḍhaḥ ||[7] udīhīm-anēk-anapati-prābhātikrit-āprāṃyā-kaṇya-

23. vāhini-kharā-khur-ōtṛkāṭa-dhūli-thāśarita-dīn-antastāḥ || paramśevara-sēva-saṃyāt-aśeṣha-


24. Kāṃcinaḍapura-saṃvāsī[ṇ]* kṛma-maṇ-jaya-śaṅkṛhiārāt paramasamgyotaḥ mahāpraptaḥ śiṅkara-rāṇa-śrī-

man-Nayaḍālaḍe-ṃ-pāḍ-āṇhhyātāḥ paramesvarat paramahāṭāraḥ.

25. mahārajājālūrṇaḥ śri-Vṛgharat-paladevaḥ kna[ṭ] || Tirahulik[t]ja Hūḍ rēya-vaiṣhāyika-Vaṣu-

kāvartic || yathō-ōpṛtyā(ttyā) paṇcā-satikā[r][h]b[ṛ] || ||

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* The dāṇḍa is superfluous.
* The dāṇḍa is unnecessary. Similarly the dāṇḍa further on, mostly in lines 25-41, are superfluous.
* A letter has been cancelled between ka and ṇa.
* There is a conventional floral design between the first two pairs of dāṇḍas, while the space between the second and third pairs is left vacant.
26 samupagat-śāccha-rājapurusāṇ | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra-rājāmātya- | mahāśāndhi- 
vigrahī.

27 ka- | mahākshapaṭalika- | mahāśāmantas- | mahāśānāpati- | mahāpratihāra- | dhanśhādaś 
sādhanaka- | mahādaṇḍayāsaka- | mahākumārāmātya- | rājagṛ[ḥ]iṣṇ-ōptari-

28 ka- | dāsā(ś)parādhika- | chaurāddharṣṇika- | dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāśa(ś)ka- | sa[du]kīkā- 
gasūniṃka- | khaṭṭrapa- | prājīn*[j]tapsa- | kṛṣa[ṭṭ]pāla- | aṅgarakaha- | tādāyuktaviniyuka-

29 ka- | haṣṭya-av-śaṭṭha(ṣṭra)-sau-va(ba)la-vaṣṭrpakaka- | kiśora-vaḍāvū-ūśa[ś]hā-sū-āvik 
āṭhyākaḥ- | dūta-śrīṛṣhiṃpaka- | gamagāmika- | abhitvaramāya- | vishayapati- 
gā[ṛ]manipati-

30 tarika- | Gauṭa- Mālava- | Khasa- | Hu(Hū)ga- | Kuśika- | Karṣūṭa- | Lāti-
viniyānī

32 yathā-paripūrait-vya-grāṃ-ārdha-bhūḥ sva-āśmā-trīṣa-pūśi-gōdhaṃ-paryanta[ḥ]naḥ | sa-talāh- 
(lā) s-ōḍḍaṃ[ḥ]kā | s-āṃra-madhukhaḥ(kā) sa-jalā-sihaḥ(lā) sa-garti-śeṣaraḥ(rā) sa 
-dāśā-paṭçaraḥ(rā)

Reverso

33 sa-chaurāddharṣṇaḥ(ḥā) | pariḥṛta-sarva-pūlaḥ(dā) | a-ḥaṣṭa-bhaṭa-pravāsaḥ(ḥā) | a-kī-
34 ēchita-pragāraḥ(hyā) | suṣasta-bhāga-bhūga-kara-hiraṇy-śādi-pratayya-sa-
35 mētalḥ tua | bhūmi-čchulda-nyāyena ś- contempla-kaka-
36 m mātā-pitrā-ātmane cha punya-yaśa-bhūvyiddhayā bhagavantaṁ
37 Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭāraśka-puddāya | Šaṇḍilya-sagotrāya | *
38 Šaṇḍilya-Āṣita-Dēvala-pravaraḥya | Narasiṃha-sarva(bha)ṃchārṇā | Chēhha(Cha)ṃdūga-
śhāk-āśāyānī | māttas-śvākaranā-tarka-vidyā-vidē |
39 Kōṇāchesa-vinjra-gṛgataḥya | Iṣṭāhaṇ-vaṣṭastavyaḥ | Yōgasā(vā)su-ma-pattīraṇya | Ttu(Tu)ṃg 
puttrīya | śri-Ghūṣṭakāśāṃrapa- | viṣṇu(Bh)vat-saṅkṛantyaṃ vidhiyā | Ga-
40 ūgāyāṃ | smātvā śāsanikṛtya pradattō-(tt)-sēmābhūḥ | atō bhavadbhiḥ sarv airflow-the 
ānumantavyam bhāvibhir- api bhūpatibhiḥ bhūmṛj-dāna-phalā-gauravāt | apahara(ḥ)-
41 na cha mahānaraṇa- pāta-bhayat | dānam-īdam-anumādy-anumādy-anupādanāṃ prati 
vasibhip-cha khaṭṭarukāly | ājīn-bhavaṇa-viśēbhībhūya yathā-kālaḥ sumu-
42 [ṛḫjita-bhāga-bhūga-kara-hiraṇy-śādi-pratayya-ōpanaṇāḥ kārya iti o o] Sam 17 Avaya 
dīn[ī] | ḍhavanta- chāṭra dharm-ānusa[ni]ṃ ṣuṇāḥ álōkāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhīr(r)-vasudā 
dattā rā-

* A space of about four inches is left blank as the beginning of this line.
* Read "ūkṣa-āṇsomething.
* A little above the left and right margins of this line are respectively sa | and ni . The akṣara ni is written to resemble no within a circle.  Ni is a contraction of niśhāka, "registered" or "approved".
* A little space is left blank between the two āṇaṇas.
* The reading may possibly also be Ṣaṭkāra.
* The expression Gāṇapāyaḥ had been originally omitted and was later inserted. For want of space 9 10 the medial ś sign of this letter is indicated above the top sandhā as in older inscriptions.
* The medial ś in ni had been originally omitted and was later only imperfectly made above the top sandhā.
For Avayasa, Amsaya (Samkrit Amsaya) seems to be the reading intended.
RAJAPRASASTI: INSCRIPTION OFUDAIPUR

19. सिरोही वस्थं बहुं बर्हवंजु तं तोमापवानोऽसुरादेवरसेन्य श्रीकलातुः ॥२४॥ प्रसारंगुवे वके नेहः

20. अंबिरसमक्षः। ज्ञोताल्यास्तक्षक्ष तंते मूहनमदिर(वं) ॥२६॥ जगलिह(ह)पुषातातो जो(ज)सवारसुपुरे गतः।। अवतार मागुचु(च)ः

21. वाक्यों राशइ। सावली गिरी ॥२४॥ गतः। समरसोंमा ततो स्वयं करी।। वर्षे रजसमुद्रान्तों भूयणार्या सदा वचे ॥२५॥ चुः

22. ब्रह्मासुभास्यम भावसिस्वाघुदनुवी।। स्वक्षं बिजिन्या स्वयों बलाः(व्या)वें सर वरी गुः। ॥२६॥ शान्तिविलाृक्ष्यन्तु राजायंग्योऽक्षणयः

23. का:। पुकलागले बहे हुमकुदमवालोककानुः ॥३०॥ कलरेणस्तम्भाच्यो धते गोस्तके गते।। बिधुवस्तुसे बाहुः राजा:।

24. बुद्धो व्यापाः ॥३१॥ हारशालीपंचायतं भीराणाहोरस्व सेवा।। तथा कुम्भली वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्यमान सावये ॥३२॥ गोस्तकगिरस्य

25. वादसुभास्यस्वेदं भृमिः हल्द्यमतिः पुर ग्रहालसे।। तुहुखुःशीरसमस्यमुःभुनाणा।। परं विवाहां च वरी अगतीमताताः ॥

26. ॥३३॥ राज्यने:। समरसः तुल्या। कुम्भली व्यापाः।। भ्रटिर्यं जगलिहः सावलयमान वातनेति। ॥३४॥ शते तन्तरों पुरूं च पुरात्तवेंचे शुः

27. चा।। सुपर्वेसते जगलिहः संपुर्वश्चरितः ॥३५॥। क्षोलिन्तः तु भोमापसेम्योस्यकारेवीविश्रावः।। शुचियां तुल्या च करे च वर्त्यस्यमाने

28. ॥३६॥ स्वजनमहिसेषे भोमापाहिस्यनु ॥३४॥ भावाः।। कल्याव्यो स्वप्पवधिः सत्यसावलाम्यमः।। ॥३७॥ विवाहस्य करमिः(स)दिनिमित्तवेऽपति

29. जगतः।। भोमापासेम्यकारेः।। भ्रटिर्यं तोनेवेंचे।। ॥३८॥। कार्यके मथुरप्रवासी बचे मोकुल(व)स्वताः।। भोमापासेम्यकारेऽपयवस्त्रकः

30. ठयो।। ॥३९॥। भ्रटिर्यं तुल्यांसुभास्य(न)यथिः तु चोकरे।। अधे मागासे च करे तुल्या।। कुम्भलयां वातनेति।। ॥४०॥। श्रीकामार्यशकः।। स्वयः।। गुरु री(रौ)म्यपुरः

1 This dialectal word is used here anabhakta.
2 Sandhi is not observed here.
3 Here one of the two verbs chaked and nduata seems redundant.
Slab VII: Canto VI

11 धन्यवादार नमः। शते शतवर्ये पूर्ण नास्त्रिवेकरुतुम। ॥(१) \| कपस्व [भागे]। वाकः(म) कापात्प्रि कपस्वयः ॥(१)। हिस्तोजः।
RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

2 लिखा राजा रामसिंह सरेजनः। राजा मुनिप्रकार्यसानां रोजः[क]य सुमवः।

3 ना मुः। अशेरोपः[इ]कुमरः। इकानसिंहसिंहः। रुलः। याते समयमें पूर्ण दस्यमें।

4 लिखा। तु राजसिंहजयकरः। पंचारुज्जमानानारारायणः। तुम्हा तु या। सयाः

3 ना मुः। अशेरोपः[इ]कुमरः। इकानसिंहसिंहः। रुलः। याते समयमें पूर्ण दस्यमें।

5 अन्वयः। राजसिंहः। पुत्र वास। विविधिनायकसिंहः। राजः। अन्तः वाद्यजयमें।

6 श्रीमानः। पुत्र वास। वासमें। पुत्रवास।[थ] सुनैहसिंहः। पुत्र वास।

7 श्रीमानः। पुत्र वास। वासमें। पुत्रवास।[थ] सुनैहसिंहः। पुत्र वास।

8 श्रीमानः। पुत्र वास। वासमें। पुत्रवास।[थ] सुनैहसिंहः। पुत्र वास।

9 से[ध्]करणः। राजः। अन्तः वास।

10 श्रीमानः। पुत्र वास। वासमें। पुत्रवास।[थ] सुनैहसिंहः। पुत्र वास।

11 राजसिंहः। दिवसिंहः। वासमें। नामः। धेरूः। महाराजः।

12 नारायणसिंहः। दिवसिंहः। नामः। धेरूः। महाराजः।

13 पादः। वास। वासमें। पुत्र वास। राजसिंहः। महाराजः।

14 राजसिंहः। दिवसिंहः। नामः। धेरूः। महाराजः।

* There is a scored-out sign for medial े over े.
* First े was engraved which was later corrected as े.
* This letter is not corrected into े.
* This is a scored-out sign for े.
* There is a scored-out sign for े.
* There is a scored-out sign for superscript े over े.
15 सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं स उक्तवावः। विश्वीराधिवार्तारं लक्ष्यसचारित तत्कारं

16 जान अनुष्ठेषु । विश्वीराधिवार्तान् लक्ष्ण राजा क्रियागीते।: 121।। सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं
सार्थं पुस्तिका हि। जानोः

17 त: कष्टस्तीति । अस्सतसिकहोिद्वद्वेषः। 121।। जानसोऽति सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं
वाक्यं चेकरोऽपि। राजारूपस्तत्तवं तव: चम्शेषः

18 मिला मया।: 121।। केवलि विश्वीराधिवारं विहरे मथुरान्त।। राजा सबों स्थापत्यमें
स्त्राविशंस्ताः महोदि राजा। 121।। विश्वीराधिवारं

19 उप्राष्ट्रं मनोरथस्यसंगमं। उप्राष्ट्रं मिलनः। वाक्यं राजा विचारं तत:। 121।।
गुलामस्य संगमस्यविरूपान् जगार्जोऽति। जानसोऽति

20 त: सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं। सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं साक्षात्कारस्यकोणमें संप्रेष्य।: 121।। एवं सहिष्नुस्तनोक्तं
मिलानः।। राजा सबों स्थापत्यमें

21 वाक्तविशंस्ताः मनोरथस्य संगमं। 121।। जानसबों मनोरथस्य चवः (प्य) मनोरथस्ताः।। त्वः (थ)
कार्तिकायः (न्य) म गुलामस्य संगमं 121।।

22 इत्यादि संकल्पं चवः (प्य) मुखः वंचादितिः।। मथुरान्त कालस्थोऽवरः (प्य) इत्यादि
पार्थिव:।। राजस्थानस्य वंचादितिः।।

23 लम्बासि (थ) लिनः।। वेचवः राजावासालयः प्रवाहमिबुवः।। लक्ष्मणः।। शत: स्त्राविशंस्त वमो
कार्तिकायः।। राजास्तः

24 इत्यादि संकल्पं (प्य) मनोरथस्य कुलं।। 121।। कार्तिकायः प्रवाहमिबुवः।। इत्यादि
ज्ञातवः।। राजस्तः

25 विभवते 121।। चवः मथुरान्तमयः (प्य) यवः (प्य) मुनि (क्ल) चवः (प्य) मूलः।। मन्त्रनणां
कुलं वा (थ) यवः (प्य) लक्ष्मणः।।

26 मथुरः (थ) राजस्तः।। इत्यादि ।। यवः (प्य) यवः (प्य) मन्त्रान्तमयः।। लक्ष्मणः।। लक्ष्मणः।।

27 इत्यादि भवत्।। 121।। लक्ष्मणः (प्य) चवः (प्य) यवः (प्य) यवः (प्य) यवः (प्य) मन्त्रान्तमयः।।

¹ The correct form is सालाना।
² Read सिहिजाति।
³ The usual form is सिहिजाति, but its variant सिहिजाति is here used obviously for the sake of ease in
⁴ The normal form is सिहिजाति, but its variant सिहिजाति is here used obviously for the sake of ease in
⁵ स्नृवित्ति is not regarded here.
28 नृथे बा परिनिति तुम्हिरेते मातुरमित्र बहुत। श्रमुःतिर्विन्धोऽहोऽविविन्ध: विश्रामेभुः सृज्ञ-कामिनयोऽहोऽमातुरमिति।

29 धर्मनोऽऽुतुः क्रियामयः। [¹*] ॥ ॥ [¹*] व(ि)धर्मां राजसिन्ह प्रभुम्। भवति वत्त एव \\

30 निविद्यासप्तिमहासकोऽयं विशेष्यज्ञानेऽश्च। भक्ति निर्विद्यासिति गच्छाय:। [¹*] ॥ ॥ [¹*] ॥

31 धीराधिलिङ्गपिताः। कीर्तिक(ि)नवनये व: न यथावतुल्ल मुहमेवकार्या प्राप्तं सामस-

32 य इङ्गो एकस्वभावितांगति व प्रथमस्य इङ्गो एकादशोपमाणे किल सुलभार ए \\

33 लस्करूटिनक इङ्गो एकादशोपमाणेः समस्यां सम्बन्ध नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

34 निर्माणम्। गाढः(ि)मोरः(ि) एव धुमलुमुखायं। धुमलुमुखायं। धुमलुमुखायं। धुमलुमुखायं। ॥ ॥ ॥ धुमलुमुखायं। \\

35 ए एव भक्ति मुखस्यायं। धीराधिलिङ्गपिताः। एव। [¹*] ॥ ॥ [¹*] नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

36 ए एव भक्ति मुखस्यायं। धीराधिलिङ्गपिताः। एव। [¹*] ॥ ॥ [¹*] नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

37 धुमलुमुखायं। इङ्गो एकादशोपमाणेः। समस्यां सम्बन्ध नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

38 एव एव एव एव। एव समस्यां सम्बन्ध नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

39 एव एव एव एव। एव समस्यां सम्बन्ध नवलातिलार्गुरकार्यकार तुलितमपूर, म्हुः वनास्याय:। सार्थविधातिप्रा:।

¹ Thisṣ is a correction from set.
² Thisṣ is not necessary.
³ The better ḍha here looks more like ḍha. Compare ḍha in lines 32, 34 above.
⁴ Better read ṛgū.
⁵ Better read Jānā. 

1/DGA
1 ॥ ओगणेश्याय नमः॥ । शरे सन्तति पूर्व् चतुर्दशस्मितेमके । रामेऽशुकलोक्
म्या(भ्या) हु वेषयात्रा(व:त्र) गुरो वेषयत् ॥१॥ मध्यस्त मृगविश्वविभव(हिं:सा)
हंसतिविनुः
2 ॥ ता जंगलात्य जुधतिलुत्या जीतयातिव(द:त्र)ः किंकुतलुकरोमदहंगामकः । विश्वुकर्षित्वेषिया
विशदिति चर्य[ः]ैः केतकः कि वहस्ते
3 ॥[改制] स्वप्रभावात्साभ विजलकुते राजाक्षेत्रः वने ॥२॥ पादब(द्वः)स्वस्तोलक्षु(छः)
दमुदंवला शनि(श:स:त्र) राजात्: शालाघातः कलिका:॥
4 ॥[改制] नागिनः॥ ॥३॥ कि शुभरुद्धतः(शः)ः कि शाल्प्राणास्ति वा कवादरः: । कि वारे
लोकमुखच(ह) कल्यातात्य नालिका: ॥४॥ कि वा घोरः(श:त्र)ः (कः)ः रेत विसतकः
5 ॥ स्लोकाः ॥ ॥ कि वा विक्षतस्वर्ज्जरिपुदस्तेनालिबि(श:तः)ः सीकः (सीकः)ः । कि
वारे: स्लोकमकस्तिनास्ति कीर्तितहिताच्छिन्नतिः: । राजन: गर्भं प्रज्ञास्तिवर्ज्जरिपु
6 ॥ किरिति श्रोवणे ॥५॥ ततो शुद्धिनां लिनावितरस्मांहास्तिनां व कोलाहलेव । तथा
संवेदवाचीन वादिरश्चाेवहानां व श्री:कार्यार्थः: ॥५॥
7 ॥ जितोक्विमहानः(श:तः)ः प्रवासः जनः: संवेदः च (श:तः)ः भूनैर्योऽभू: । दारिति
निबिद्धः: । अभक्षणपरी धनाणि(भ:तः)ः ॥५॥ शुद्धिनां:।
8 ॥ क्रियान्तः अक्षोक्तस्ववास्तत्वा सति लोका धाराः: । सर्पया: समुद्रः॥ ॥ प्रक्रिया
साम्प्रसंवेदः शरु(भु:म) कृत्यवत्ता कार्या: ॥५॥ अवस्थेणे(शः)ः नीति

¹ The lettering of this line is not clear on the impression; consequently the reading is very uncertain.
² That is Viniśceṭa.
³ Sandhi is not observed here.
⁴ Perhaps the intended reading is pur-āchā. There is a superfluous consonant over rā, if that was meant
to be placed over ṛ; then the reading would be pur-stāchā.
⁵ Instead of svarāc read stāmya.
⁶ Viniśceṭa is superfluous here; read stāmyaḥ, etc.
⁷ This sana is not needed.
9. स्म सर्वे स्मुपास्तान्तभूतामि भद्रालिखित:। नही आचार्यः इन्द्रियजीवित्ता पति। (त) वर्तमाना। स्म स्मुपास्तान्तभूतामि। सर्वे स्मुपास्तान्तभूतामिः।

10. विन्ध्येभिः प्रवर्त्ती नामा। दिनो गुप्तलोकोलोक:। निःसर्गानंऽयं नामं:। गुप्तराजवाट्टा पञ्चायतन:।

11. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

12. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

13. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

14. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

15. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

16. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

17. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

18. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

19. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

20. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

21. निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव। निःसिद्धानेव निःसिद्धानेव।

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1. Snakda is not observed here.
2. These three syllables are missing.
3. For the sake of the rhetoric embellishment, Panaaka, we may, as in the original, read this syllable as ba.
4. There is a superfluous sign of invocations over this letter.
22. यारिकवहिनालिनीचा(वे)तः सुभोकः। सत्वसमुत्तेलित्वा भरुपलाक्षोभवलः। H2011 पृष्ठ साहित्य प्रवाहितिसाला संज्ञानिकरितायतावा।
23. विविधाति [म]लु समायानमहत्त्विकं: सोमिर। बालकार्तवालिकायाधिकाः। सावः श्रीरामार्जुरार्जितसिद्ध: भवति लघुदेवस्मिन्न(न)लवे।
24. H211 श्रीकालापायुः। वेष: कलेषवयोगवयः। बनभ(कह): कह(कह)वाहनाः। श्रीमयायः। गामु देवलः। H251 रागमनोयः। राजलाम्बुकः। प्रस्तेतः।
25. राजलीपि कलेपुर्वः। व(व)नारायणवरूपस्तूच्च्यानाः। गाम्याः। गुणवे रूपस्तू। अरणार्जुनवरूपस्तूच्च्यानाः। व(व)नारायणवरूपस्तू। दोषे फलसुदृढं न हनमध्ये
26. नुक्देव दासुसंवरूपस्तूच्च्यानाः। व(व)नारायणवरूपस्तू। न रामार्जुनवरूपस्तू। श्रीरामार्जुरार्जितसिद्धः। श्रीभद्र(क)तेमानानाः। H251 प्रथमः।
27. श्री H251 श्रीवेंद्रायुः। वेषवयः। श्रीकमलायुः। श्रीमयायः। गामु देवलः। H251 श्रीमयायः। दोषे फलसुदृढं। अरणार्जुनवरूपस्तू।
28. श्रीकालापायुः। वेषवयः। श्रीमयायः। गामु देवलः। H251 श्रीमयायः। दोषे फलसुदृढं। अरणार्जुनवरूपस्तू।
29. अरणार्जुनवरूपस्तू। श्रीमयायः। गामु देवलः। H251 श्रीमयायः। दोषे फलसुदृढं। अरणार्जुनवरूपस्तू।
30. यादसुभिनुष्ठानमायः। प्रवर्तितः। चित्रितः। स्वयं सहस्रलघुसमस्तसमर्पितकांकसङ्केतः। तर्पणाः।
31. असी H251 सहदोषवयः। श्रीवेंद्रायुः। रा जनमा पर्वतः। श्री वेंद्रायुः। कर्मिक कर्मोऽजुः। मयः। H251 समाजनासुधी राजविवाहोऽसामातरः।
32. श्रीवेंद्रायुः। श्रीवेंद्रायुः। रा जनमा पर्वतः। श्रीवेंद्रायुः। कर्मिक कर्मोऽजुः। मयः। H251 समाजनासुधी राजविवाहोऽसामातरः।
33. श्रीवेंद्रायुः। श्रीवेंद्रायुः। कर्मिक कर्मोऽजुः। मयः। H251 समाजनासुधी राजविवाहोऽसामातरः।

¹ The same as well as the reading of this verse is obscure. Compare the printed text.
² There is a superfluous sign of an asenteem over this letter.
³ This syllab is with arikara.
34 पुरुषः सुमनीच्छः सम(क)करणाः पुर: कृष्णकर्षण या हृदयुद्धासुदृढः रजः। उद्धतः
गणे विभाषितः सकोः मृते सवः सत्कां श्रीमानामोऽभिः

35 राजसहस्रसत: कौशः[9] प्रकाश: पर: [9.3.1] गुरु(व्य)भवगुरु(व्य)हारसते कलसृण कर
कौशः प्रवासात्यक्ष: प्राप्तः पुलिङ्गः [9.3.1] सुबुधवः

36 सुबुधवः[9] सहरिदः प्रवालः: [9.3.1] हृदयःव्यः जय गृहस्थः ब्रह्मांसतः मुने जनः [9.3.1] 
सुमनीच्छः श्रीमाने श्रीमतः अन्योऽः। गणास्ते(क)भवः

37 मुने कृष्ण पतिः विष श्रीमणे पुरुषः [9.3.1] मुने सुमनीच्छः विषः विषः मुने । तत्स्वे प्रक्षेप
तदुद्धवः लक्ष्यः [9.3.1] आत्माः भूतः भवः

38 का निर्देशः निर्देशः । मुने सुमनीच्छः विष्व(नि)विष्मः रक्षाः। रक्षाः [9.3.1] सत्काः
सम्राकुस्तहर्षयः प्रवासः प्रवासः भवः

39 सत्काः सम्राकुरंसतः सम्राकुरंसतः । लोकसम्राकुरंसतः सम्राकुरंसतः । सत्काः सम्राकुरंसतः सम्राकुरंसतः

40 सम्राकुरंसतः तथा का(क)विषुः [9.3.1] सुमनीच्छः विष्वसे सुमनीच्छः । सुमनीच्छः विष्वसे सुमनीच्छः
सुमनीच्छः विष्वसे सुमनीच्छः

41 तथा [9.4.1] लक्ष्यःवां(वा)द्वारायकलोक्षयोऽभिः अभिः अभिः अभिः अभिः अभिः । अभिः अभिः अभिः
वां(वा) मलिकः

42 [पुनी]पुनीपुर्णः पुर्णः पुर्णः पुर्णः वां(वा)द्वारायकलोक्षयोऽभिः अभिः अभिः अभिः अभिः । अभिः अभिः अभिः
वां(वा) मलिकः

43 [वा] [वा]मलिकः [9.5.1] मलिकःमलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः

44 अध्याय(ाः)गतः विष्मः तथा मलिकः [9.5.1] मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः मलिकः

45 नाभिसूद्धवः पुरुषः । समुद्धवःसमुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः समुद्धवः

1 Meaning ‘indescribable’
2 Sanskrit is not observed here.
Stab IX ; Canto VIII

[Metres: v v. 1-4, 9, 12-16, 13-43, 46-52 Anushkāthā ; vv. 8, 9, 44, 45 Upanītā ; v. 7 Indraśīla ; vv. 8, 93, 54 Sārdhunānirūḍhita ; vv. 10, 11, 17 Bhujānaprājīta.]

1 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदास (मे) हिन्दुकाल सेतु (से) गतबैली । श्रीगणेशदास (मे) हिन्दुकाल सेतु (से) गतबैली ॥ ॥

2 ॥ मुखे। विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥ विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥ विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥

3 ॥ विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥ विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥ विशिष्टविशिष्टविश्वास मयः (रे) नपिन्ततः ॥ ॥

4 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

5 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

6 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

7 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

8 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

9 ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशदाश मयः [10] शते सत्तवा (मे)लोलं श्रुतिविशिष्टस्य ॥ ॥

1 Reading of this line is not certain ; its language is not Sanskrit. The list of names given here may be compared with that occurring towards the end of Stabs III, VI, IX and XXV.

2 The correct form should be Ṛṣyapāda.

3 Sūndarī is not observed here.

4 This danda is superfluous.
10. लोमाजुलतानां सोहृत्र तं मुहाबलः राजसर्वसिंहजयं रघुनाथायडः निःशीलः ॥ ॥
   वोदापतः(श्री) सूक्ष्मकम्पनः(श्री) दासोकरोऽसम् ॥ ॥
   पुजाराज(रो)म्-

11. तात्त्वात् हे वीरेन्द्रते हनुमाध्यमः ॥ ॥ स राज्यो हृदासिंहेऽयो वेदविहारः निःशीलः वायुसिंहः राजसर्वसिंहजयः निःशीलः।

12. हृदासिंह साथविहारः मनवानामां क्रियाम् कर्मसिंहः ॥ ॥ अति सपत(सो)को गुर्गं कवि ा(ग्री)विन्यासिनः विष्णुगोत्रेऽएवे भ्रमवते ॥ ॥

13. महाराजसिंहासनां बृहस्पतिनामां निःशीलकम्पनः तदात् निःशीलः ॥ ॥ समारससेवा राजसर्वसिंहजयः निःशीलः।

14. हृदासिंह राजसर्वसेवा निःशीलः ॥ ॥ वीरेन्द्रते हनुमाध्यमः ॥ ॥ हृदासिंहगुर्गं कविताम् किरिकान्तिपुरं(म) महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

15. धन्यराजसर्वसेवाररमः ॥ ॥ नाधिपतिसेवा कविकविहारः निःशीलः।

16. ते च धन्यराजसर्वसेवाररमः ॥ ॥ अति सपत(सो)को गुर्गं कविताम् किरिकान्तिपुरं(म) महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

17. राजसर्वसेवाररमः ॥ ॥ कविकविहारः निःशीलः।

18. सत्त्वात् अवश्य महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

19. सत्त्वात् अवश्य महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

20. दुर्गुभुपपर्याशान्ति अवश्य महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

21. कुन्जः सत्त्वात् अवश्य महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

22. सत्त्वात् अवश्य महाराजसिंहासनम् निःशीलः।

\* Sandhi is not observed here.
\* First रो was engraved, but later on it was corrected into रो by scoring out the right hand vertical stroke.
23. इ० धिनि मीनालिकेमीलमालम | लक्ष्मी(डुआ) | विचल(डुआ) | तिरुनाल(युक्त) | राजु | [१०] | लाल | ध्यामारु- 

सिंह मीनालि | मागहरा | जोत्तिरिक | नारायण | [१०] | हिंदी | ऋषियां | 

24. स्मृतिते बवरि | स्नेहानन्दामाला | माहरयस्यम्य | धार्मिक | [१०] | हिंदी | धृतिते | 

स्नेहानन्द | स्नेहानन्द | स्नेहानन्द | स्नेहानन्द | [१०] | हिंदी | स्नेहानन्द | 

25. सर्रेन गुदि: | हिंदी | गुदि: | गुदि: | हिंदी | 

26. प्रयासम तत्त्वं | राणा | निदारितानां | त्वपकोषाम इति | हिंदी | धृतिते | 

27. स्मृति: | राजसिंह | महाप्रति | स्मृति: | हिंदी | 

28. प्रामाण्यं | धनंजयं | कर्मं | कर्मं | हिंदी | 

29. कुमारिक्यंप्रबोधिततनं | बाबा: | हुन्दे: | हिंदी | 

30. इ० धिनि | धिनि | धिनि | धिनि | हिंदी | 

31. विष्णु | विष्णु | विष्णु | विष्णु | हिंदी | 

32. हिंदी | हिंदी | हिंदी | हिंदी | हिंदी | 

33. इ० | इ० | इ० | इ० | हिंदी | 

34. इ० | इ० | इ० | इ० | हिंदी | 

35. वर्ण: | वर्ण: | वर्ण: | वर्ण: | हिंदी | 

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1 The sign 'क्रियाप्रकार after ka is not required. The intended reading means to be 'बुधकुमारम्-संवित्ति यदा।' 

2 Sardha is not observed here. 

3 नासिक means 'कब्रिरिका.'
36. के ह्वेच्छा जगदीशस्वयं विचारितः। स्वाभावः।। स्वकृतेत्वा।। धर्मेण नाम सुहावः साधितः।।
हर्षे पुष्करः।। [II, 2] ।। सत्यद्वृत्ते व्यस्तितः।।
37. के सनातनोमविदः।। महाराजकुमारीदयालिंशिः साहित्यः।। II, 11।। जलानि रंगपरस्तवास्याकरोमभः।।
महासाहित्यः।।
38. कृतवाचीरे वा(वा)वेतीस्वप्नद्वृत्ते।। II, 2।। धौरायोपसः[स]हुवुनरपवित्रः।। धौरायोपसः।। [II, 4] गुत्तत्त्वः।।
अ(अ)प्रमेयवरोऽन्तः।। भौक्तः।।
39. सिंहः[स] वा।। पुत्रः राजायुवकालः।। सत्योत्पादिनिखण्डः।। पुत्रः।। [स]सिंहः।। [प]सिंहः।।
ईवा(ई) हस्ताक्षरः।। II, 3।। पुष्करः।।
40. दक्षिणोऽयो मनुः।। साहित्यः।। जातिः।। जातिः।। जातिः।।
III) काये राजसमुष्कुविन्यासः।।
41. लंकाचिन्द्ररजसंस्करणः।। प्यार्याकोटट्टुरुदितः।। राजस्वस्वायामः।। II, 5।। द्वि धौरायोणः।। इवः।।
संवातः।। अ(अ)।। १७१५
42. "प्रवरः संवतसनसुधाकोश्ते तत्रवरः।। माधवः।। द्वृत्तः।। कुकणः।। समाप्तः।। चुपवरः।। धौरायुवः।।
हः।। करोऽन्तः।। धौरायोपसः।।
43. रूद्रः भोगुद्वारः।। कीर्तिः।। संवतः।। १९३२।। प्रवरः संवतसनसुधाकोश्ते तत्रवरः।। माधवः।।
सः।। कुकणः।। समाप्तः।। चुपवरः।। धौरायुवः।।
44. सीवितेः कुरुपिनिवारे।। धौरायुवः।। प्रत्येकः।। कीर्तिः।। धौरायोपसः।। द[०]।। रो[०]।। ५।। माधे।।
को[०]।। रो[०]।।
45. पाण्डुः पाण्डुः।। सीवितेः।। संवतसुधाकोश्ते।। धौरायुवः।। धौरायोपसः।।
46. तालयः।। II ।। "कर्त्तराध्यक्षः।। गुरुधर्माधि वरजनाः।। चुपवरः।। कीर्तिः।। समाप्तः।। चुपवरः।।
कालः।। कालसमुष्कुविन्यासः।। उवेशः।। [II, 9]
Slab X : Canto IX

[Metres : vv. 1, 14, 15, 34, 46 साधकविकृताः। vv. 2-13, 16, 18-32, 36, 38-40, 42, 43, 45, 48 आवकुव्यः। vv. 17, 37 उपमात्रयः। vv. 33 गितः। vv. 41 मनुकृतिः। vv. 44, 47 सृजकुव्रः।]

11. औपनेमितां नामः।। [I, 9] भुवसम्प्रयोगः।। प्रविष्कृताण्याकल्लोकालिकोंसकराः।।
कुकणाः।। राजस्वस्वायामः।। माधे।।

1. DGA

1. Śrādhi is not observed here.
2. From here to the end the language is the local dialect.
3. This phonetic change of Hindi अ into ह्व in Rajasthan may be noted.
4. इ is the indicative of the genitive same as ह्वते.
5. The sense is thus it took 8 days to go round the lake, and when Rājāmīha returned, he performed the full ceremony.
6. The names of the mastrous are also given above, towards the close of Slabs III, VI and VIII as well as below at the end of Slab XXV.
2. किशोर(कथा)धरिवीरसमक्षमहाभाष्यः प्रवासिनसंग(न) म(३३)गारामुनलकारस्वेद गीतादललिदारकः

3. धीराजसिद्धि विराजित । वस्तरकतनवत्ताकः लघो व्यक्तः गोटा(व) राष्ट्रसिद्धि यथो प्रति । हुम्ब ज्ञानः

4. मेठेन्न पश्चिमपहुँचेत तथा ॥१२॥ इवतास्विका एव प्रयवा इद्धु(व)देवमृ । इवतास्विकाः सत्यास्विकाः इह(ङ)हिती मतिस्विकाः ॥१४॥ धेमु(म)वा सः

5. नवाडळ शिवानी च भिवादः । उलिवना च पसीःवैद्धवालो यस्ते चापर(व)दिशा ॥१२॥ तासील वेदार्काणि मानी प्रामो नूनागकः । ब्राह्मण गुः

6. क्रिनः एवः कांतिरसी मदाः हि ॥१६॥ प्रामणां सर्वमिन हस्तु यथा तदागमणीकरणातः

7. कार्यं सत्यवपति शासीहि सता रघु । यदा राधास्य कर्तौ भूवो सरसम्भवतः ॥१०॥

8. सं धियौ इद्धु रुपनाराशिर्म हरिः ॥१५॥ तवैं गौविभ गूपां तवन्म भुव(व)हुम्बमः ।

9. भ्रमोपालोक्षम्बन्द्र कार्य स्थायित्वं सीमाः ॥१३॥ यथा

10. श्रवण्यां च विद्योपकरणविद्याः विद्यहुम्बमः । भ्रमोपालोक्षम्बन्द्र ॥१३॥ यथा

11. तथा ॥१३॥ धियौ सत्यवपति गूपं वत्ताकारः यथा हुम्बमः ।

12. अवाहकावर्तः कहिनःपलः ॥१५॥ तदा धियौ हुम्बमः ॥१५॥ अवाहकावर्तः कहिनःपलः

13. श्रवण्यां च विद्योपकरणविद्याः भ्रमोपालोक्षम्बन्द्र ॥१३॥ यथा

14. धियौ इद्धु रुपनाराशिर्म हरिः ॥१५॥ तदा ॥१३॥ धियौ हुम्बमः ॥१५॥ अवाहकावर्तः कहिनःपलः

* The sign of omitted text over or is meant to be over pd.
* गुण्डुल is not observed here.

**Syntactically, the words सन्धिः should come after स्तु in the end of this verse.

* In this verse there is obviously no play on the numerals of the date the details of which are contained in the following stanzas.
15 नरसंहरे ॥१६॥ तोऽपूर्वः शिष्ठस्वतंस्मितः समुपस्तांग ॥ सगरसांस्त्यशः ॥१९॥ अन्तः शून्यसः तत् तव आमस्मां अन्ते । शुद्धियो शुच्यो जाता 
म(मु)लिकोपेत परतः ॥१६॥ महाकाव्य महराणा

17 मत्वा साधारणेवः । न भवेत्रस्तुष्य चिन्ता कार्यन्माति युक्तता ॥१६॥ मत्वा ॥ रानो महास(ह)कायाः सेतुवंश(वंश) नूष्य(व)सहुल्ल । स्वस्तां ॥४॥

18 रज्जुमात्त कथे तत्परम ॥२०॥ कायान्त महतो हुस्य तथा भावानेकः । राज-
प्रायिकपञ्च्ययो दसवासात्मकः

19 परसः ॥२१॥ संतोदशकावं ॥ उपज्ञ ॥ पुष्पः तथ्यपिकु शिला । अन्तिन्तराण कलु अर्यलयः
कः(का)नरमः ॥२२॥ सर्व पराकः क(का)नमः

20 युज्यन्त(त) चन्तव अन्ते । शिलामु(मु)कर्णं राणा व्यक्तम(म) सेतुमुक्तः ॥२३॥ सत्या चक्षुशत
तथा चरणं शिरीष्य(श्रीष्य)भर(भर)तः । शूमपात्मेश्वरः कार्यम्

21 साह(ह)व्यवस्थित हि सुतः ॥२४॥ शिष्यमाणे धरीपाधीस्यानत्तराणणा अन्ते । सत्यस तलको(का)ः
धर्मक्षेत्र सापकः स दरीगामः ॥२५॥ स्वस्तिक्षेत्रः

22 धरीपाधीस्याना: सुभुधः । धरीपाधीवाणं धर्मच्युर्वरिन्नित्तारितः तत् ॥२६॥ शरम्यके(के)ः
शुष्यिष्यवपूर्वीर कस्मिनः । लोकस्मूः

23 पृथक्ष्य नीरथ दधः शु(शु)रीकुत ॥२७॥ टसियमानवतः शु पवानं संति साँशः ।
नलन्ति-सारस्याप्राप्तातः कलितमा इह ॥२८॥

24 युज्यितम्: सुभुधार्तेव यामरणिः वेव इह । नलन्ति-सारस्यापायः प्राक्षतस्ते निमित्ता इह
॥२९॥ इहे निमित्ति नीरथो नीरसंहरः

25 इति ॥ परः । शामे शामे वर्णनान(न) माता नगरस्ता माता ॥३०॥ यथा व्योजितसारस्याना
बास(बास)यः बास(बास)भूवः । इह तवाबु(बु)शास्त्राकालः

26 इति ॥ अतसात्माः(व) ॥३१॥ एवच सारस्यारण जन्म निमित्तम नरसः । सेतुम(ब)पवहे
सीः(सीः)गु(गु)पुष्पः प्रकटीतं(हर्त) ॥३२॥ प्रयाम(अ)ः

1 The way of writing the syllable यप is peculiar; one would read it rather यप.

2 The necessary sign meant to be placed over य in order to appear as the following letter, i.e., यः.

3 There is a superfluous numerical sign over हः.

4 The expression मन्यते मन्यते & is a literal rendering of the Hindi or Hindustani idiom acute stress denoting 'in
one's own presence', which, however, literally means 'in front of one's own self'.

32
27. നിരക്കും മിലി ഇണി മിലിപ്പെടെ കുതിക്കണം. വേദാ: പരിചരിച്ചാണ് മിത്ര രാമ തും യോ(യോ) ബന്ധി 13311. പു(പു) സുരി തോണ്ഡി മന്ദി വിശേഷിക്കുന്നു.

28. അഭികുന്നപൂക്ഷാഗതാത്മാവും വിഷ്ണു മനന്മാർ ശാസ്ത്രാധിഷ്ഠിക്കാൾ പുറത്ത് വം. കുരി വിശേഷിക്കാൻ കുരു ചിത്തരിനി ഹൈന്റായ നാശം മാ.

29. സിഖിക്കുന്നസുരി പാർവമന്ത്രോപയേണം പുരി കീഴെയ്ക്കാണ് നി(നി) ധി ധി സ്വേച്ഛാഘാട്ടിഞ്ഞ.

30. കുഴലാലുട്ടേ പാലിക്കളഞ്ഞിള കുത്തി(ഹാ) പാണ്ഡവാണ് സാമ്പത്ത് നാശം സിഖുവിശേഷിക്കാൾ.

31. രാജാനദി കൊട്ടേ വിജയനായ പുറത്തെ (പു) സമാന്തരം: എഴുതി. 13417. കുളകം പിരിഞ്ഞാണി വല പുറത്തും നാശം കൊട്ടേ.

32. രണ്ടേരാകാര: മഹാപരി സംസ്ഥാനവരെ ചെയ്യേ പ്രവേശയ്ക്കാള മഹാവാൻ: സുഷാന്ത് വൃഷിക്കുന്നിലും പ്രവൃത്തി നാശം സാമ്പത്ത് സമാന്തരം.

33. ജാലവുമായി കൂട്ടി ജോ. 14311. മുഖയെടുക്കുന്നതില പ്രവൃത്തിക്ക് മഹാവാൻ: സുഷാന്ത് പൂർവ്വം ലാധിയെടുക്കുന്നതി.

34. മഞ്ഞുപാട് ജാലവുമായി സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമായി മിനുമായി കൂട്ടി ജാലവുമായി മഹാവാൻ: 14017. സംസ്ഥാനം ജനാധി ഇതി പുറത്തു വാ മഹാവാൻ.

35. സാധാരണ ഇതിക്ക് ഹിന്ദുവാർ താരം മു. പ്രകാശാനികിരിതി സിലാബോപരി: ആദ്യവർണ്ണാധിപുനി പിരിഞ്ഞുയോന്മിഖുന്ന സ്വേച്ഛാ.

36. 14318. പതി ക്ഷാരാതി രാജരാജാ: ശാമിപ്പിതി(സഭ) നാഞ്ചം: സ്വരം നാഞ്ചം പിരിഞ്ഞു പുറത്തു(പു) കൊട്ടേ. 14311. കുള(മു) സിഖുവിശേഷിക്കാൾ വാ പുറത്തു.

37. പകരം രാജാനദി നാശം കുളകം പഴയതി (പു) സിഖു പുറത്തു 143131. ഗോവശേണ പുറത്തുള്ള പുറത്തുള്ള ശാഖയുടെ മാനം താരം.

38. സമാന്തരം കുളകം(അ) പുറത്തു ആദ്യവർണ്ണാധിപുനിഖുന്ന താ(സഭ) തിരിയോ(ക) മുഖം(പു) സിഖുവിശേഷിതി കുത്തി സിഖുവിശേഷിക്കാൾ വാ മഹാവാൻ താരം.

1. Ghatrtha kiṣapya.
2. Again a play on the date mentioned in the preceding verse.
3. The Agra convention is used: akalika, suṣṭha, prāṇavṛtta, vajra and prasti.
4. Note the double meaning here, sandhara = water and sandhara = the name of the demon who was slain by Prab-

5. Sandhara = 'demon slain by Rama', sandhara = 'demon of water'.
6. Vana = 'monkey', rare = 'auro', and sim.
39 र ॥४४॥ भोगनःकामः: प्रायः तारिचः(व)धरसारकः। महात्मेऽतरतः: पिसलसेंभरोऽ
वर(व)मः(व)। ॥४५॥ भक्त्वः: पादरकरामऽवधः: सेतुः।
40 सः(सः) भः[ः वोरे पालासाल्लिङः निर्याः: सुनःतः समःसः निमिसः।] नमोऽश्च सिवः
सुभासारिङः[वर्त्त्यमः]ः गायः अवेस्त्वालः निनितः नरगःः: खुशाः सिर्वसायकः।
॥४६॥ रायः नामोऽकः निलिप्तः तः वा कार्यः मल्लः गोरः।
41 दोग्गःनरः(व)ः(व)ः हः दोग्गः(व)ः(व)ः भः(व)ः(व)ः (ः) युर्वः(शू)ः
पूःः पूःः शुः गुः शुः गुःः। शुःः गुःः शुःः गुःः। रायः नामोऽकः निलिप्तः तः वा
कार्यः मल्लः गोरः।
42 दोग्गः तः तलासाल्लिङः निलिप्तः। ॥४३॥ गःः नामः नामः: सुःः गुःः सेतुःः। गःः नामः
कार्यः गरःः। गरःः गरःः देयः(शू)ः ॥४४॥ दोग्गः तः तम्बः।
43 पशुःकः दोग्गःपालासाल्लिङः: नामः: सः।

Slab XI ; Canto X

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 10-12, 15-19, 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37-39 Upajāti ; vv. 5-7, 9, 13-15, 20, 21,
33-36, 40-43 Anushthūḥ ; v. 8 Sṛṇḍhāra ; vv. 26, 29, 32 Indravajřā.]

1 ॥शोग्यसाय नमःः। सुभासारिङःवर(व)ः भः(व)ः(व)ः थियः(व)ः(व)ः भः(व)ः(व)ः थियः(व)ः(व)ः। भक्त्वः
रायःमुःकः दोग्गःकार्यः।
2 हृतः: सुःतः ॥४५॥ वरःसःमः: किल रायःमुःकः(व)ः भः(व)ः(व)ः पालासाल्लिङः(व)ः। सकारःकः
वर(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः(व)ः। गःः नामःः गःः नामःः।
3 य धाराः(नी)श्चतः तव(शू)ः ॥४६॥ सुःतःश्चतः किल निलिप्तः: थियः(शू)ः। भक्त्वः
शवः(शू)ः(शू)ः। गा(व)ः(व)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः।
4 र सुःतः(शू)ः(शू)ः ॥४७॥ पूः(शू)ः भः(शू)ः सकारःः गुःः गुःः। सुः(शू)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः। भक्त्वः
पशुःकः। गःः नामःः गःः नामःः। गःः नामःः।
5 तवःनवःः ॥४८॥ नमः सकारःनीश्चतः गः(शू)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः(शू)ः। भक्त्वः
रायःमुःकः थियः। गःः नामःः गःः नामःः।
1 Laghava goes with sahasrā and kālā, while lagnā qualifies septāṭīś. It may further be observed that the word lagnā is used here in the sense of saptāṭīś 'septet', which is more common in Hindī than in Sanskrit.
2 Sandhi has not been observed here.
3 The meaning of the word sarsrā here seems to be fixed from the conventional number of five assigned to the arrows of Kāma.
4 The letter it is superfluous.
5 There is a play upon the numbers mentioned in this stanza with reference to those of the date occurring in verse 13 above. The six arāma are enumerated as sīhā-mānas eṣā-mātyā śakti-pipāt kṣa-āryamāṇaḥ.
6 Perhaps we have to read शक्ति, referring to śaktī or jñānapāt.
7 Again a play on the number four, parśvaḥ-kāla-shatāśaṃsa means parśvānātha-kālaśatābhāyā. dhana, urika, kāma, and nāthaka.
18 सत: प्रणीता सच्चय: तेजेश: परिपूर्णया हो: मूर्ति श्रे: कृपयत्ववेदीश: तेजेशः जीवने: कर्म (क) स्वेच्छमात्र।
19 धन्यसूखमेश जाने विनीतरममुखो निरूपः हो: । यहा पुरा राजस्त्ततारथीः
20 राजस्त्ततारथीः पुरूषं हो: । राजस्त्ततारथीः पुरुषं सत्तलथैत्तिनामके व्रत स्वायत्तम।
21 वक्रे वर्णमिथुः सुभाषितः हृदयोऽर्थः । राजस्त्ततारथीः सहा सत्तलथैत्तिनामके
22 पत्तकल्याण्युः राजस्त्ततारथीः लुक्के जाने। राजस्त्ततारथीः व्रत स्वायत्तम।
23 हस्तात्तसुमुखः रुपः । चैर: सहा सत्तलथैत्तिनामके
24 चैरः सहा सत्तलथैत्तिनामके । चैरः सहा सत्तलथैत्तिनामके
25 वक्रे राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
26 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
27 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
28 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
29 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
30 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः
31 राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः राजस्त्ततारथीः

^ Kusum shokshirman.
^ The word chokshi is Marwari chokhi, Sanskrit chākṣikī, meaning here 'excavated square'.
^ Sandhi has not been observed here. For the Pārśuṣa sūka, see Rājputā, 1, 25, 19.
32 तनाम्‌नेत्रे । रक्ष(क)त्वै नानाविभवक्रुणा इत्यः । चक्रेन(व्र) हुतं तस्मादरुप्योक्ष्ये। इबः॥
33 वर्षं बिन्दः‌मै वाँच कथितानाम्‌ । इबः । हृतम्‌ सार्वसार्वज्ञम्‌(छ)नेत्रे । मुखः(द्) वदी
तथा । हृतम्‌ सार्वसार्वज्ञम्‌(छ)नेत्रे ।
34 परिकालस्यः । हृतम्‌ सार्वसार्वज्ञम्‌(छ)नेत्रे । भवतीमक्रुणविक्षोत्पत्तिः ।
35 भवतीमक्रुणविक्षोत्पत्तिः । पुष्पः(प) गये
तथा सप्तवर्षे । विद्वेदयितसा।
36 विद्वेदयितसा । पुष्पः(प) गये । चक्रेन(व्र) हुतं तस्मादरुप्योक्ष्ये।
37 सत्संध्येन सुदर्शनः इत्यादि । दुम्भाकृति: । वाटवर्णः(पशुः) ।
38 वाटवर्णः(पशुः) । वचनः(व्र) गये । स(ह) गिनि कार्यविं कुष्यवस्तु सुकार्ये वातः ।
39 नन्दि:स्त्रावर्गः । क्षणः(व्र) कुष्यवस्तु सुकार्ये (व्र) । राजानिः मह्ययितः ।
40 लोकस्य श्वसनः । वाटवर्णः स्त्रावर्गः(प) सुकार्ये । श्वसनः
41 सः सरससुग्रहः । वाटवर्णः स्त्रावर्गः(प) सुकार्ये । श्वसनः
42 लोकस्य श्वस्तः । उत्तर वाराणसीतिनामविकारः । रणोदिक्ष्यवतिते इस(स)म्‌[2] ।
समे: ॥

Stab XII ; Canto XI

[Metre: vv. 1, 13, 14 Upaniṣā; vv. 2-12, 15-48, 51-57 Anuśṭubh, vv. 49, 50 Gāthā]

1 [1] श्रीमोद्योतकायः नमः । श्रीमोद्योतकायः नमः। मुनयवस्तु वद्यव वद्यव तेषां वद्यवस्तु तेषां
श्रीमोद्योतकायः नमः।
No. 8—KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

N. VENkataramanAtYA, Madras

The set of copper-plates which is edited below was discovered at Kalidindi, a village in the Kalkalur taluk of the Krishna District, by a farmer while digging for earth in 1938. It was handed over to me by the late Sri G. Ramabrahmam Chaudhary, the editor of the Prayātātra, who had obtained it from the discoverer, for decipherment and publication. The set consists of five copper-plates of which the last is a broken fragment. The copper-plates measure

1 Better read vīryāya [21*] iī
2 The đodū is superfluous.
3 There is a small vacant space between the two double đodūs.
4 Read śritatā-Hṛdīva. As already noticed, the Amāgātīhi plate has the same verso reading, however, in the corresponding passage, Mahābhārata. If the reading intended in our record is śrit-Mahābhārata, it may be suggested that this Mahābhārata is the same as Mahābhārata of the Amāgātīhi plate.
5 Read either śri-Śāntikā-pīṭha or Śāntikā-pīṭha to suit the metre.
6 There is a floral design between the double đodūs.
7 Read gṛiṇaḥ 9*
8 Originally přāk was included.
5" by 10" each, while the length of the broken portion of the fifth plate varies from 2" to 3½". They are all strung on a circular ring about 1/4" in thickness and 5" in diameter, the ends of which are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal about 3" in diameter with the rim raised all round. The set of plates with the ring weighs 292 tolas; and the plates alone weigh 300 tolas. The ring had been cut before the plates came to my hands.

The seal: This is a very fine specimen of the seal of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings. The surface of the seal is countersunk on either side. The base of the seal is moulded into the shape of a four-petalled flower. On the upper face, it bears the legend Śrī-Trivikrama-Kakasā in relief across the middle. Above the legend are represented in relief the crest of the Eastern Chāḷukya royal family, viz., the boar in a running posture facing the proper left, and other symbols of royalty: the elephant head, the double drum, the sālsu or the conch shell, two chaśuśa or flywhisks and the royal parasol. The figures of the crescent moon and the sun are found in the top. Below the legend are seen three objects, a four-legged stool in the proper right, a four-petalled flower in the centre, and a lotus bud with a stalk in the proper left.

The alphabet is Old Telugu, commonly met with in the inscriptions of the period to which the record belongs. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank; the other plates are written on both the sides. A peculiarity which is common to the copper-plate charters of Rājarāja I, the donor of the present grant, may be noticed here. Including the present grant there are three sets of copper-plate records of the king that have come to light so far; and they are all partially palimpsests.

Of the present grant the latter part is a palimpsest. Beginning with line 75 (10th line on the second side of the third plate), traces of earlier writing are distinctly visible up to the very end of the inscription; but the characters have been so thoroughly beaten in that it is almost impossible to make out any letter. The reasons which prompted the adherence to this practice by the secretariat of Rājarāja I are not quite obvious. The first two plates have perhaps been engraved by a different hand; but the form of the characters throughout the inscription is so much alike that it is not possible to lay any emphasis on this point.

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, both verse and prose, 41 stanzas in different metres and 8 prose passages of varying length interspersed among them. However, a few Telugu words have crept into the text of the inscription, while describing the topography of the village granted, e.g. line 75, Pallepā-Gautarāṇa-viśayam; lines 108-9, Tēmara-Kolam-Chroviippā-kāna-Talluṇa-viśayam. Several errors, mostly scribal, are found in the text and they have been noticed in the footnotes. The date of the record is either not given or lost in the missing portion. If the date were given, as in the Nandampāṇḍi grant of the same king, at the end of the record, it must have been lost with the major part of the fifth plate.

The text of the genealogy including the prāvastī embodied in the inscription under consideration presents close textual affinities, with slight variations here and there, with the other Chāḷukya charters of the period especially the Kūlamollī plates and the Nandampāṇḍi grant of Rājarāja I himself and the Rāmapatiṃḍi grant of his father, Vimalāditya.

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1 The Superintendent for Epigraphs, Madras, kindly furnished me, at my request, with the necessary details pertaining to the measurement, weight, etc., of the plates.

2 The Superintendent for Epigraphy believes that the Kaladiṃḍi Plates were issued shortly after the king's (Rājarāja I) accession in Śaka 944 (A.D. 1022). See As. Rep. on S. I. E., 1887-88, part ii, para 14.


4 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 300 ff.

5 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 247 ff. and plates.
The text of the present inscription falls into four divisions: I. the genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukyas up to Bājarāja I.; II. the narration of the circumstances in which the grant was made; III. the description of the boundaries of the village which is the subject of the present grant, and IV. the imprecation verses together perhaps with the names of the author of the praśasti and the scribe.

I. This part further divides itself into two sub-sections:—(a) legendary, and (b) historical.

(a) The legendary genealogy opens with Nārāyaṇa, Brahma, Atri, Chantra, etc., and proceeds without a break up to Udayana, the son of Śatānika. Then comes a hiatus which is the composer of the genealogy bridges up with fifty-nine nameless kings who are said to have ruled at Ayodhyā. The sixtieth, Vijayāditya by name, migrated to Dakhināpatha, where, in an encounter with Tribhūchana-Pallava, he perished. His posthumous son, Vishuvardhana, however, restored the fortunes of his family and established his authority over the country between the Narmadā and the Sītu.

The first point that has to be considered here is the origin of the legendary genealogy. No traces of it are to be found in the numerous records of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs till we come to the time of Vimalāditya’s accession. Certain features of this legendary genealogy are found in some contemporary records of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi.¹ The reign of Vimalāditya marks an important stage in the development of the praśasti of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The records of the early monarchs of the dynasty from Kauṭiya-Vishuvardhana to Gupegga-Vijayāditya III embody, with some small variations, the praśasti found in the inscriptions of the Bāḍāmi Chālukyas, and mention generally the immediate ancestors of the donor without giving any particulars about them. With the accession of Gupegga-Vijayāditya III there sets in a change; while the preamble retains its original form, the part relating to the donor and his parentage undergoes a change. The names of his immediate ancestors yield place to an elaborate list of all the past kings of the dynasty, in which are set forth the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reigns. With the passing of each generation, the list increases in length and the praśasti is soon transformed into a family chronicle. This form was adhered to for a long time; and no further change is perceptible in the charters of the subsequent period until the accession of Vimalāditya, when, as pointed out already, a further change was introduced in the form of a long Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodying their lineage and gṛtra. The circumstances under which this change was introduced are not known. It is not, however, unlikely that it was due to the Chāḷa influenee on the Eastern Chālukya kings since the restoration to power of the main line in 900-1000 A. C. The latter had political as well as matrimonial relations with the Chāḷas.

Another point that deserves consideration is the historicity of Vijayāditya, the ancestor from whom the Chāḷukyas are said to have descended in the later Eastern Chālukya records. It is believed by some scholars that this Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Teḷēchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chāḷa,² but the evidence on which the belief is based is quite late and untrustworthy. The Chāḷukyas of Bāḍāmi, the parent stock from which the other families branched off, do not refer to Vijayāditya as the progenitor of their race. They trace, on the contrary, their origin to Jayaśimhāyallahahā of whom very little is known. Similarly the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi make no mention of Vijayāditya in this context. The Kauṭiya grant, no doubt, mentions Vijayāditya, not, however, as the founder of the family, but as one of the two additional names or epithets

¹ The Kauṭiya grant of Vikramāditya V, dated 1000 A. C. mentions for instance the reign of fifty-nine nameless kings at Ayodhyā and the subsequent migration of the family to Dakhināpatha (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 27).
² The present writer who has subscribed to this view formerly finds it untenable on further investigation, See K. A. Nilakantha Bāsavi; Cīḷa Studie, pp. 57-58.
especially peculiar to the Chāḷukyaś, the other name being Vīshṇuvardhana. And, even among the Eastern Chāḷukyaś the name of Vījayaḍīya as the founder of the dynasty was altogether unknown until the time of Vimalādīya. In view of these facts, it is not possible to accept Vījayaḍīya as a historical person and regard him as the founder of the Chāḷukya family.

(b) The historical section of the genealogy constitutes a family chronicle in which are embodied the most outstanding events of the Eastern Chāḷukya history. The history of the Eastern Chāḷukyaś is traced from Kūbja-Vīshṇuvardhana to Rājarāja 1. It is practically identical with similar accounts found elsewhere. There is, however, a small variation with regard to a minor detail which may be noted here. In this as well as in the Kōrumellī grants, in the description of the succession of early kings from Kūbja-Vīshṇuvardhana and Jayasimha, we have Tad-unai-Endarāja-vandana-cupta dīnā (line 33) instead of the usual Tad-unai-Endarāja-cupta dīnā.

The genealogical account, as embodied in the present charter, discloses certain facts about Rājarāja’s reign, unknown from other sources. It refers, no doubt, like the Kōrumellī and the Nandamūndā grants to Vimalādīya’s marriage with Kumārayai and the birth of a son to them called Rājarāja as well as the coronation of the latter in Śaka 944 (expired) on Thursday, ba. di. 2, Uttarābhādra, when the sun was in the sign of the lion (lines 53-55). The new information found is that Rājarāja, when still a boy, was invested with the necklace (kaṅkāthā), the insignia of the office of yuvrāja (lines 52-53); and that his uncle, the Chōja emperor Rājendra-Chōja Madhudrakatika, having heard of his great qualities, bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter, the princess Ammānā, who became his chief queen (lines 62-64). In this connection occurs an elaborate description of the greatness of the Chōja emperor, his supremacy over the kings on the earth, and the extent of the dominion subject to his authority (lines 56-62). The stanzas beginning with the words, Śakya-uṣṭād-upa va Hāmatiḥ and Sa-dṛśaiḥ chatur-āhāraiḥ-paṭikāḥ (lines 58-62), probably allude to Rājendra-Chōja’s Gaṅgātī expedition and his transmarine conquests respectively.

Thus, four important events of Rājarāja’s life are mentioned here: (i) his birth, (ii) investiture as yuvrāja, (iii) coronation, and (iv) marriage.

(i) The date of his birth is not known.

(ii) The investiture of Rājarāja as yuvrāja must have taken place duly without any obstacle.

(iii) His coronation, however, does not seem to have been performed without obstruction. For the date of this event which is stated to have taken place according to the present inscription in Śaka 944, Bhādrapada, ba. di. 2, Gauravāra, corresponding to 10th August, 1022 A.C., is nearly four years later than the last date, i.e., 1018 A.C., August, of his father and predecessor Vimalādīya. This reveals a gap of four years in the Eastern Chāḷukya chronology between the close of Vimalādīya’s reign and the coronation of Rājarāja 1, and the events of this interval are by no means clear. Several scholars who have attempted to bridge up the gap have been at great pains to

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3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 21. Samumabhavavantāna-varambhavatāra-vakramabhavam-vigvādādhyā-yadvādhanam. It may be noted that these two names are alternatively assumed by the Eastern Chāḷukya kings and it may be suggested that these names were assumed at the time of coronation.

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 30, l. 27.

5 The date is corroborated by his Kōrumellī and the Nandamūndā grants; Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 38; above, Vol. IV, p. 307.

6 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 238, 261. According to the Rāpersisapīṭa grant, Vimalādīya, the father of Rājarāja 1, was crowned on 10th May, 1011 A.C., and as this inscription is dated in the ninth month of his 9th regnal year, corresponding to August, 1018 A.C., he must have been ruling until this date. How long his rule lasted subsequent to this date it is difficult to discover; but since in all the records of his successors a period of seven years (reckoned in round numbers) is invariably assigned to his reign, he must have died before the end of his 9th regnal year.
extend the reign of Vimalāditya up to the date of the coronation of Rājarāja, taking it for granted that Rājarāja's accession to the throne did not take place earlier than the actual date of his coronation as recorded in his grants.

However, there is good reason to believe that the reign of Rājarāja I began a few years earlier than the date of his coronation in 1022 A.C. Sāktivarman II, the nephew and immediate successor of Rājarāja I, ascended the throne of Vaiṣṇav on Thursday, 18th October, 1061 A.C. Rājarāja is said to have ruled, according to the charters of his descendants, for a period of 41 years and this is corroborated by an inscription dated in his 41st regnal year. This yields 18th October, 1029 as the starting point of his reign. The following inscriptions of Rājarāja I, which give both the regnal and the Saka years, point to the same date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ins. No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Starting point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>183 of 1893</td>
<td>Saka 969—regnal year 26</td>
<td>S. 943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S.J.J., Vol. IV, No. 1008)</td>
<td>Saka 984—regnal year 37</td>
<td>S. 943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>663 of 1920</td>
<td>Saka 985—regnal year 11</td>
<td>S. 942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671 of 1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These records seem to suggest two different starting points for the reign of Rājarāja. The apparent discrepancy has perhaps to be attributed to the practice of quoting the Saka dates, either in the expired or in the current year, rather than to any fault in the chronological data given in these records. Of the three, the last one is surely dated in Saka 983 expired, as shown by the cyclic year Plava corresponding to it. The dates of the other two are not capable of verification, as the corresponding cyclic years are not given. If, however, the Saka year cited in them be taken to be current, all these three dates would yield Saka 942 (expired) as the starting point of the reign of Rājarāja I and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Telugu Academy plates of Sāktivarman II which terminate Rājarāja's reign with Saka 983.

There is, however, one inscription which gives a different and an earlier date as the starting point. In the Pānchāvākya plates of Vijayaṭītya VII, it is said that after Mummadi-Bhima (i.e., Vimalāditya), his son Rājarāja ruled for a period of twelve years, when Vijayaṭītya, Mummadi-Bhima's second son by a different mother, assumed Rājarāja, and having seized the kingdom, crowned himself king on Adharaṇadhina, śv. di. 5, Karkotaka, Kanyā, Suryabāha (Uttara-Phalgunt or Pūrva-Phalgunt) in the Saka year 992, corresponding to Sunday, 27th June 1031 A.C. If Rājarāja I, as stated in this inscrip-

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3. JAHES, Vol. V, p. 44.
4. JAHES, Vol. II, p. 294. According to the calculation of Mr. B. V. Krishnas Rao, the date of Vijayaṭītya's coronation given in the record corresponds to Thursday, 9th July, 1030 A.C. (JAHES, Vol. V, p. 38); but he does not explain how Addisvarana can be taken to denote Thursday and how the adharaṇa denotes Hastā. The date has been calculated afresh, as my request, by Mr. K. G. Sanyakar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the details of his calculation as communicated to me in a letter dated 11-12-1941 are given below:

- Sāka—34 (Pāla-bhāgī, month) = S. 932 = 1020-21 A.C.
- Karaki = Karkotaka = Sun in Karaka (June-July).
- śv. addhā-pakṣa = śv. 3.
- Adharaṇadhina = Sunday.
- Suryabāha = Uttara-Phalgunt (Aryamīra) or Pūrva-Phalgunt (Bhaga).
- Kanyā—agni = Kanyā-agni = 10 A.M. to 12 noon.

These details correspond regularly to Sunday, 27th June, 1031 A.C.; on that day śv. 3 ended at 37 of the day and Uttara-Phalgunt began at 43 of the day after the Pūrva-Phalgunt ended. At 10-12 A.M. the adharaṇa current were śv. di. 5 and Pūrva-Phalgunt.
tion, did rule actually for 12 years before Vijayaditya's coronation in June 1031 A.D. He must have begun to reign in June 1019 A.D. As Vimaladitya was still ruling at the time of the Rajaraja grant in August 1018 A.D., Rajaraja I appears to have succeeded his father almost immediately. As the available evidence regarding the exact starting point of Rajaraja's reign gives two different dates, viz., 1019 and 1020 A.D., it can be safely stated that his rule must have commenced some years before the date of his coronation which took place, as stated in his own records including the present one, on the 16th August, 1022 A.D.

If Rajaraja began to rule either in 1019 or in 1020 A.D., as shown above, there must have been some cause for the postponement of his coronation until 1022 A.D. Although no such reason is disclosed by the Eastern Chalukya records, the contemporary Chola inscriptions distinctly indicate the existence of political disturbance in Vengi at this time.4

(iv) The last point of interest to be noted in this section is the marriage of Rajaraja I with Ammaugā (lines 64-65), the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rajendra Chola Deva, a fact known hitherto only from the records of his descendants. The marriage was not merely the renewal of an old alliance between the Cholas and Eastern Chalukya royal families. It was also intended to serve a political purpose: Rajendra-Chola aimed at providing a permanent bond by which Vengi might be attached to his kingdom; therefore, he bestowed the hand of his daughter Ammaugā on his nephew.

II. The most important part of the present inscription is the passage which narrates the circumstances in which the gift was made. It states (lines 77-85) that the general Rajaraja Brahma-Mahārāja rose to eminence by the grace of the king Rajendra-Chola Madhusūntaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasures. No sooner did he receive the orders of his sovereign than he marshalled into the Andhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama-Chola Chōjakōnum and Uttama-Chōja Milāṇaśyaśā. The three Tamil commanders, who were like the three fires bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karpalā army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karpalā. The battle between the two armies is described vividly (lines 85-93). The engagement, however, seems to have ended indecisively or at any rate not in a victory for the Chola forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides who participated in the fight perished with their forces (lines 93-96). It was in these circumstances that the Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I set up, in memory of Rajaraja Brahma-Mahārāja, a temple dedicated to God Śiva called Rajarajēśvararam in the village of Kaliṇḍi. Two other Śiva temples were also built in memory of Uttama-Chōja Chōjakōnum and Uttama-Chōja Milāṇaśyaśā respectively. For conducting worship in these temples, and for the maintenance of a choultry for feeding fifty students, etc., the village of Kaliṇḍi renamed Madhusūntakanallīr, together with two other villages called Kadaparṭu and Ávakāru, was granted by the king (lines 96-103).

The place and date of the battle are not stated in the record. It would, however, be possible to fix them with some precision. It may be noted that the record states that memorial temples for the deceased Chola generals were founded. Such temples are sometimes founded on the

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4 Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 704 and 702 of 1917 of the Mad. Epi. Coll. These epigraphs of the reign of Rajendra-Chola Deva, from the Madakasira-lokha of the Amravati District, all studied together, allude to an expedition sent by the Chola emperor Rajendra I against Vengi about the 10th To 1021 A.C.) of his reign, to overcome some trouble there, under the leadership of one of his generals, named Aryan. Rajarajēśvarasvāmin. Of these No. 31 of 1917 refers probably to a battle which he fought with the Kalinga, Odias and Pataliputra army, while another (702 of 1917) expressly declares that the king of Vengi ran away on hearing that the Chola army had ordered his general to conquer such a country. These records which, as pointed out by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'obviously belong to the same time' (Calac, I, p. 279), allude to a military expedition sent by Rajendra-Chola about the 10th year of his reign (1021 A.C.) to conquer Vengi.
site, where the persons, on perpetuate whose memory they are built, are interred or cremated. As the memorial temples of the Chōla generals were erected in the village of Kalidindi, they must have been buried or cremated in the place; and consequently the battle in which they were killed might have been fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

The difficulty of fixing the date of the battle is great. However, certain facts mentioned in the record would help us in arriving at a probable date. The inscription contains the date of Rājaraja's coronation, i.e., 1022 A.C. and alludes perhaps to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangasur exponent and transmarine conquests (vv. 19 and 20). Moreover, at the time when the battle was fought, Rājendra-Chōla (1012 to 1044 A.C.) was still ruling at Gangai-kona[nd]cholapuram. These would indicate that the battle should have taken place between 1022 and 1044 A.C., the last date of Rājendra-Chōla. But no evidence is available from the Chōla records during this period of 22 years about any war between the Chōlas and the contemporary Western Chālukya king Jayasindhu II, of which the battle at Kalidindi might have been a major event. The last we hear of the fights between them is in 1021 A.C., when Rājendra Chōla I's attack on Raṭapadi took place. However, there is one Western Chālukya record at Hoṭṭūr in the Bombay Karnāṭak, dated 1037 A.C., which mentions a Dāsasāhaja of Jayasindhu II, Chāvaṇarasa, by name who bears the title, "destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi". If this Bijavādi is taken to be identical with Bēzwada in the Vēngi country, it would appear that sometime before this date, i.e., 1037 A.C., the Western Chālukya general invaded Vēngi and captured the city of Bēzwada. The Karnāṭaka invasion of Andhra (i.e., Vēngi) and the battle described in the present record may have taken place during the same Western Chālukya expedition under Chāvaṇarasa, especially as the distance between Bēzwada and Kalidindi is less than 30 miles. As victory was not secured by the Chōla allies of Rājaraja, even as indicated by the record, it is not unlikely that the event may be connected with the disaster which overtook Rājaraja I in 1031 A.C., when he was deprived of his throne by his step-brother and rival Vijayāditya VII. Although evidence is lacking as to whether the coup d'État effected by Vijayāditya was with or without Karnāṭaka help, a suggestion may be made that as Rājaraja was supported by the powerful Chōla emperor, his rival, Vijayāditya, secured the help of the Karnāṭaka king. Such an alignment is consistent with the political background of this period, as the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas were always arrayed against each other in support of rival claimants in disputed successions.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Karnāṭaka king may be Jayasindhu II, as the date of the battle is about 1031 A.C. As explained before, the Dāsasāhaja is, doubtless, Rājendra-Chōla I who is mentioned by name at another place (line 59) in the record.

Much is not known of the Chōla generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Utama-Chōla Milūḍālayya, figures as the ruler of the hilly tracts in the present South Arcot District in a record of the 4th year (-1016 A.C.) of Rājendra-Chōla, where he is spoken of as Yādava-Bhima of the Bhārgava gōtra, but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Neither of the other two finds mention in contemporary Chōla inscriptions. A Śānapati called Utamaśāla Brahma-Māraṇa is mentioned in an epigraph at Kölār, dated about 1033 A.C.; he, however, seems to be a nobleman quite distinct from Śānapati Rājarāja Brahma-Mahārāja of the charter under consideration.

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1 See above, p. 58, note 2.
2 Chōla I, p. 248.
3 Above, Vol. XVI, p. 78.
4 Dr. Barnett identifies it with Bijayādagi near Himgund, ibid., p. 77.
6 No. 28 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.
III. The details of the donation: For the maintenance of daily worship, celebration of festivals, etc., in the temples built in honour of the three deceased Chālukya generals, three villages all situated in the lower (Pallava) Guḍravās ṝīḷāga, were granted by Rājarāja I. Though Kalidināḷi and Kadajugravu were clubbed together and renamed Madhuravānār, their boundaries as well as those of the third village are separately described. The boundaries of Kalidināḷi are given at first in line 103-6; then follow from Pallaṇḍu-Guḍravās in line 106 to sīrā at the beginning of line 110 the boundaries of the village of Kadajugravu; and finally with Pallaṇḍu-Guḍravās in line 110 commences the description of the boundaries of the third village Āvakūr[ru], which is unfortunately lost with the broken fragment of the fifth plate. The three memorial temples were perhaps given one village each for their upkeep, maintenance of daily service, etc. Of the three, Kalidināḷi was situated in the east; it is said to have been bounded by Pūṭumharu in the north and the north-east. Konnekkī in the east. Kviḍam in the south, Vēvāka in the south-west, Kadajugravu in the west, and Dīsīrāmā in the north-west. The second village, Kadajugravu, was situated to the west of Kalidināḷi. Its boundaries, as described in the inscription, are: Kalvavās Śaiva in the north, Dīsīrāmā in the north-east, Kalidināḷi in the east and south-east, Vēvāka in the south and the south-west, Āvakūr in the west, and the streamlet Tallikrova [a branch of Tārawal-kānakk—are Śaiva] in the north-west. The boundaries of the third village, Āvakūr, are not definitely known; of the villages that surrounded it, the names of only two, viz., Kadajugravu and Koppaṅka-Mangavār, are found in the extant fragment of the fifth plate. In addition to these, another village called [Duggiyāpal]di is also mentioned with Kadajugravu; but the connection between these two villages is not quite clear.

Two of the three villages which form the object of the present grant, Kalidināḷi and Āvakūr, retain their names to the present day and are situated on the eastern fringe of the Colur Lake in the Kairna taluk of the Krishna Districts. The third village, Kadajugravu, cannot be traced in the available maps and records, but must, however, be looked for in the same locality, as it is said to have been situated between Kalidināḷi and Āvakūr.

Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, Tā-pinādal is identical with Tā-pinādal which is situated, even as stated in the inscription, to the north-west of Kalidināḷi. Pūṭamharī is not, strictly speaking, the correct name of the village. The suffix 'ī' with which the name of the village ends is the inflection of the genitive case meaning 'of'. Pūṭamharī therefore means 'of Pūṭamharū'. This must be identical with the modern Pūṭamharū in the same taluk. Similarly Vēvāka must be taken to represent the present Vaiyāka. Neither the streamlet Tallikrova nor the other villages mentioned among the boundaries can be traced at present.

IV. The names of the executor, the composer and the scribe are unfortunately lost; but the last line in the broken fragment of the 5th plate, which begins with śo Rāchiya-Pedderī [Bhī] ..., is found to form part of the following verse that occurs in the Kāriṇīi grant of Rājarāja.1

Ajānīya Kaṭakāśa Rāchiya-Pedderī-Bhīma-nāma-tanajñāḥ
kārī Bhīma-bhaṭṭa kāvaḥ bhāṣā-ajya Guṇabhiravāḥ

It may reasonably be assumed that the present grant ended with this same verse and that the remaining part of it was lost with the missing portion of the plate. If so, it may be inferred that the Ajānīya of the charter was Kaṭakāśa, the composer Bhīma-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Pedderī-Bhīma, and the scribe, Guṇabhiravā. Kaṭakāśa, who is spoken of as the Ajānīya in several Eastern Chalukya copper-plate charters, is not the name of an individual but that of an office. The term kaṭaka denotes an army, a camp, a town, etc. Kaṭakāśa may therefore be taken to mean either the commander of an army or the governor of a cantonment. The verse cited above refers

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 55.
to four generations of the family of Bêtana-bhaṭṭa,¹ the composer of the inscription. Though nothing is known of the first two members of the family, Bhima or Bhunana-bhaṭṭa was a scholar and poet who flourished under Vimaladitya. He was the composer of the new Eastern Chaluṭya prāṣasti embodied in the Rajastipūḍi grants.² On his death his son, Bêtana-bhaṭṭa, appears to have succeeded him in his office. In point of style and excellence of diction, the present record is superior to the Kœrnellii plates. The passage in which the author describes the greatness of Rājendrā Chōla is majestic and dignified; and his description of the battle of Kalidindi also is vivid.

In the preparation of this article, I have received considerable help from the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. V. Raghavan. I have also great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. N. Lakhminarayan Rao and Mr. M. Venkataramayya for their valuable help in this connection.

TEXT³

[Mettes : Vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 2) and 29 Śāndhavikīrṣita ; vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 27, 31, 32 and 33 Amastubh ; v. 4 Udgī ; v. 8 and 18 Vasantatilakā ; vv. 9 and 19 Mundākṛṣṇā ; v. 12 Upajī ; v. 13 Mañci ; v. 15, Ārya ; v. 22 Gīt ; vv. 26, 29, 30 and 36 Āryapāsī ; vv. 31 and 35 Svāgūlā ; v. 37 Vaiśakhā ; v. 33 Pushkātūrā.]

First Plate

1 Śrīdhāmāḥ Purushottamasya mahatō Narayanaṣya prabhūr-mābhū-pakārāhār-bhūdhī[va] jagataje-rasahā [Svayam]-


3 jāma[8] ([*]) Tasmād-abhātī Sudhāsūtach-Budhīh budha-nutas-taṭāḥ. [*] jātaḥ Purāravā nāma chakrajavrtttā sa-vikrā-

4 maḥ [*] [2[*]] Tasmād-Āyus-taṭā Nakhṣaḥ śrī Yāyāḥ chakravartī vara-kartā tataḥ Purī-riti chakrajavṛtttā tataḥ Ja-

5 namājīyā-vāmāddy-trītayasya kartā tataḥ Prāchīnāḥ tasmāt Sainyaṣīḥ tataḥ Hayapaṭāḥ tataḥ Sārvabhaṃ-

6 maḥ tataḥ Jayaseṣāḥ tataḥ Mahābhaṭṭaḥ tasmād-Aiśānakaḥ tataḥ Krūdhāraṇaḥ tataḥ Dūvākhiḥ tasmād-Rūhū-thu-

7 kaḥ tasmād-Ṛkṣākhaḥ tataḥ Māvataraḥ sātra-yāga-yājī Śrāvasati-nādi-nāthaḥ tataḥ Kātyāyanaḥ-

8 tataḥ Nilāḥ tataḥ Dusyantāḥ tāṭ-sūdāḥ | Chakravartī mahātājā Bharatō yūpā-kāṇānāḥ | kṛtvā-vāmāddhā-

9 n-akarōd-Ganagā-Yamumāya-taṭā | [3[*]] Tātāvahariṇāḥ | tataḥ-Suhārāḥ | tataḥ Hāstīr | tataḥ Virāsnanaḥ [*]*] ²

10 tasmād-Ajainīḥ | tataḥ-Saṅkhaṃdhōḥ | Saṅkhaṃdhōḥ | Taṣcana-sūyā[h]-Taṣcana-sūyā[h] | Sidhābhavya | tataḥ Pari[rikṣhāh |

11 tataḥ Bhunanaḥ | tataḥ Prudīrapaḥ | tataḥ Santanāḥ | tataḥ Vichitraviryaḥ | tataḥ Paṇḍa- (udu)rūjāh | Putrām-tasya Yu-

¹ Rekha, Peddari, Bhima, Bêtana-bhaṭṭa.
² Above, Vol. VI, p. 338.
³ From impressions.
⁴ The symbol in the beginning, possibly a lotus, stands for śūkṣma.—Ed.
⁵ Here as well as in several other places further on śūkṣma has not been observed.

18 DGA/32
12 dhaath(i) (dhaath) (r) - Bhām-Ārjuna-Nakula-Sahadāva | panchāndriyavat-panchā-sārvavrīsaka(saha)-grāhīnantatra\(^1\) || [41*] Jitvā yeṣa Puruṣa
13 niśāhāka hutaṃ(aja) havyākhyanaṃ kā(kha)ṣājyavāna Yāś-Śambhūr-śabhvantī saha samyot (bhāmya-sastra) ṛṣiṃya cha | yēn-ādhyastra
14 māśānāh Madhavātāc-ādīddhānāh saras-dvēśāhānāh satyāsīya-śagamayat-Kritānta-nagātīm yaḥ Kaurāvā-viśvishāh ||[50*]|| tātā-tāmu
15 d-Abhimanyuḥ | tataḥ Pārshuṣṭiḥ | tato Janamājayaḥ | tataḥ Kāṃsakaḥ | tato Naraṇānavaḥ | tataḥ Śatānakaḥ | tasmat
16 d-Udayanaḥ | tataḥ param | tataḥ Brahm biprīvāh-āvīśchhunna-saṃsūṣhaḥ-AYodhya-sahāsanāsmīhaḥ-Śkāmaḥsahāḥ-chakravartti

\(^{1}\) The intended reading seems to be panchāndriyavat-panchā-sārvavrīsaka(saha)-grāhīnantatra. — Ed.

\(^{2}\) The letter ra in sarva has a horizontal line inside, which is to be ignored.
32 árya-yallabhiyāyana bhṛtī Kujja(baja)viṣṇu(ṣeṣu)varṣhānu-hatha varshāgī Vṛṇ-gī
dāsam-aśjāyati-tat-sūnuḥ) Jayasinha.
33 ha-(vallabha-traya)ṭṛiṣṭatah | tad-anuḥ-Endarājya-nandanaḥnasasapta śīnānī tad-pu
tre [Viṣṇuvardhahan] nava va-

Second Plate : Second Side
34 rahāṇī | tat-sūnuḥ-Maṇugi-Yuvārajaḥ | paṇḍuchavinhātiḥ | tat-tanāyō Jayasinha-tras
yātāsa | tad-anuḥ] | Kō-
35 kilīḥ shuṃ-māsan | tasya jyēṣṭhīḥ bhṛtī Viṣṇuvardhahanam-um-nēchāhya satpatri
māsam-abdān | tat-sūnu | [Viṣṇyā]dī-
36 tyā-bhartīvṛkṣa-hathāsa | tat-patra Viṣṇuvardhahanah shat-triṣṭatāh | tat-sūnu-Maṇugi-
mdra-nirgrājō [ṣeṣu]chatvārinīṣṭatāh
37 tat-putrāḥ Kali-Viṣṇuvardhahanā-ṣaṛa-ardha-varshānam | tat-tanāyō Gunaγa-Viṣṇyāṭiṣṭya*)|=
chatvācchatvā[riṣṭatāh] | tad-bhrūtu-
38 r-vViṣṇumāditya-bhrūpatē-sutta-Chālukya-Bhumā-triṣṭataṃ | tat-patra Viṣṇyāṭiṣṭya=
sthān-māsan[na] | tat-[sūnu]A-
39 māraṇa-asapta varṣāpī | tat-putram Viṣṇyāṭiṣṭaḥ bālam-um-nēchāhya Tāḍaparājō māsam-
ēkān [tath jīvā]
40 Chālukya-Bhumā-tanāyō Viṣṇumāditya ēkādaśa māsan | tat-Tāḍaparāj-putrō Yuddhamallahs-
sapta va[rāhā] | ta]-
41 taḥ | Ammarāj-anuḥ Rāja(ā)Bhuṃā Bhuṃa-parākramaḥ | vijyāya | Yuddhamallani taṁ
dvādaśa-enān-dha . . . . ([7]*]
42 Sat-putram[re]-Dāsaraṇa-pratimāya tasya Bhūmaya Rāma-Bharat-ōpamayō-kanyān | Dānärjñrap-Amuṇa-
43 ōrijyāyō bhala paṇḍuchavinhātya-abdān-arakṣhad-avamānam-ammarājāḥ | [8]*]. Tasya
jyēṣṭhīḥ ōriṇatēsu chatu[sh-ha]-
44 sēṭhī-vidyā-pravīṇī yah Karṇa[ṇ-]ādina-sara-taro-nibhī bhūri-jānēna jīvā | lōkī-uvartthāṁ
suchiryan-[adadhi]-nāma Dānārjñ[ra]
45 v-ākhyasa trim-abdān-avahad-avamānam-anṛṣṭānam-ammarājāḥ | [9]*). Taitṛab[pat]
patrō labdham-anumāpad-an[ālīk] | [9]*] [8]:
kalavān dvīt-tamo-haraḥ | rāju(nā) Chālu[kya]-Chu[n]-
47 drō yah kahamā-tāpa-pākṣārō | [11]*) Bhālad-grihītvā Ballī dharṣīr(ḥ)trim girvāṇa-
saṭrō-śva satra-vargī[ā] jīṛ-
48 Śadu(kiti)varnma sa samā-Chālukya-nāryagī dvādaśa raksati sma | [12]*] Tāḍa-sa
tam-ārjanāma Rājāmarāntuṇḍ-ballī-
49 pō viśaṃa-rori-arṣi-dhīvanta-viḍyāvāsa-dakshāḥ | sma vahati bhuvam-abdēn-sapta Sapt-
sva-tējāsa-kalā]-va-

Third Plate : First Side
50 uṇmati-bhrīrn-mastaka-nyasta-pādaḥ | [13]*] Lakshmi bhartinī-bhūmaya tasya Vimalādityasya
Bhō(Chō)dv-ārvaya-kshir-āṃbhōṃdī-
51 ja[munā]h ārīyn eva | rāj-Rājakādhipaḥ | dēyās-eh-ābhāj|u|Rājara[ja]-dhuṭuḥ Kurn-
dāṭhīkhyāt-suto ya-

* [The missing letters may have been rōmaṃ.Él.]
* One letter between bh and trī was written and erased.
Kaṇḍārpa īva-paraḥ praṭi-vasan lōka-trayē atrī-hṛidi [14[*]

Bālye bhūṣaṇam-abhayad-ratnamayi yasya ka-

uṭḥilī kaṇṭha | guṇa-ludhīyā-eva mālā dharayā dattā pāṭhunyā rayā [15[*]

Ved-abhiḥ-dhiḥ-nidhi-pramāṇa-ganitṛ-ikṣye Śa-

k-ābda-saṅghē Ravaṇa Sinhaḥāt hahna-dvitiya-divasā vārē Gurāś-āltagan | yuktē bh-

ōttarabhadrayāt(pya-va)ti-vanī-

jyāṁ tu [śarvya]*-kaḥmaḥ bṛttūn pāṭṭam-adhatta gō guṇa-nidhiḥ ārī Rājarājē-nipah [16[*]

Yaśa-ōttamāṅgam-śabdhā-

māḥḥat-pāṭṭenā bhūyasā || || bharitām viśva-mahā-bhrātra janaaś(ā) rōṭpitak

yatā(thā) || [17[*] Api chu || Khyātaś-samasta-nama-

nātha-kirna-kōṭi-ratna-prabhā[pa(tala-pāṭala-pāda-pithāh)] | yas tyāga-varsha-pariharhitat-

sat-samājī Rājēṁ-

Drā-Chāḍā iti Chāḍā-kul-aika-ratnāh [18[*] Ekaśāś-ādīc-apa sa Himavān-lēvasa(rā) kų-

āpattadhīr-mūrtdhīn gāmā-

vimukta-sahihā-sichyamānaḥ paviṭraḥ [ Rājēndrī-yaḥ(yaḥ) kīm-ūta namatām-īvarāṇām

bahūnā-

ratna-lōka-prakāṭitā-jagat-prāṅgagōṇ(pē)bhyās-ārōhāyaḥ [19[*] Sa-dvipāṁ catur-

ambhūta(rā) pari-kṛttām viśva-mahā-bhrātra [1]-

layā daṇḍāṇa-śiva vijyō tā ādi-lājāśa-śiti pratiṣṭhāṇip-sarvāchā | sa-vair-śōbrānti-ūvārā-

śyāna vijaya-sta-

mūḥān-sva-nām-āṅkitān-iva baddhān-ā[m*]dha-mannō darppāga dig-dantīnāh [20[*] Sa śra(ṛ)tvā pa-

vrittyaśya(shya) vanśā-vināya-

tyāṣg-āhīṃnaṁ-ṣamat[i]n[ṛ] prajñā-vikramā-satya-śau(cha) paśūtā-śāuryya-kalamā-ōd[n] -

Chāḍāśo Madhurāṇja]-

kaḥ svā-tanayāṁ-āmamahā-nāmaṁ satīyā Chāḷukya-ābharaṇaṣaya cha-āgramaṃbāḥkūṃ śneēṇā
eya-ākārōt [21[*]]

Yasmin-rājani rakshati bhūṣaṇam-avakram-achūta-mā[r*]ggēṇa | abhayad-abhadham-

akulnasmāṇ-s[dūshi]tām-ā-

Third Plate; Second Side

mānasam [prajābhārtam] [22[*] Rājīṇo rāja-Chāḷukya-vaṃsā-lāṭikā-ālaṃbhasya yasya

sa-vayām anuvrat[te]-aḷaṃkā]-

rōṭi mitar[ti lōka-trayā-k(a)m[īn]īn] | hāra(ṛ)-lī-iva sogandhi-chandam-mayi | [lālāma]kī māl-eś-āmāla [jā]-

ti-jā(jā)a-la-kālitā daṇkāla-Lakṣaḥmīr-iva [23[*] Yaśa Śri-ParāGRaṇdhaḥ-hārav-a-vibhūr-dōro-

ddanda-[ka]kūṣhēḥyāka-pṛcchēḥm-āhīta-ha-

st-mati(sta)[k[a]-gala-nastadhaka-[k|h|d]āśāya grīdhrāṇ dhaḥ pakaḥo-paṭṭun-visāryā yati vyā-

baddha-chākṛṣe-chalat-pīcchēḥ-pa-

ṭra-chaya-sāriyāḥ vidhātāḥ vīṛa-sāriyāsannayati [24[*] Ekōn[iva] hayā hayena bahuṣo

vāhā-saharan-ta-

tha kō va vīra-hātō jayē praṭiḥbhātam ca-āstrā-bhīvarchās-saṅkhaḥ | ka-simhēd-ūti vidūtā
era-mukhēvaśeṣeṣa-
Fourth Plate : First Side

81 lasy-āsā[-āsā] pratipadya tat-kshāpata eva-Aṇīdhra-kshamāḥ prágamāt || [28[*]

82 anā-vaśa[n] prasāpa-sata-dharmam-aśīlahtah [30[*] ]

83 u-sit-vaśa[n] kshāpa-kshamāḥ prasāpare [31[*] ]

84 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [32[*] ]

85 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [33[*] ]

86 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [34[*] ]

87 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [35[*] ]

88 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [36[*] ]

89 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [37[*] ]

90 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [38[*] ]

91 u-sit-vaśa[n] prasāpare [39[*] ]
102 nauya-ti | [37[1] Bhrīṣam-avasam āha naḥ prajātum divam uñcchāntyayā pañāṭi-yagya
    105 n Rā[j]jra[j]-Rā[j]a-Brahma-Mahārāja-nāmdayāḥ vā-sa-ṭuṣalasya Madhurāntaka-kadāvasyā-ā-
    106 tulā-ha[ṃ]y adśeṣaḥ(ta) prāpya Kavvā(ma)jaka-la[ṇḍaśaṇḍhāi(thai)rya]-yyuḥbhvā [ti]śrī-śa
    107 sārdhām divam guṭavān-āśv[ī]kā-
    108 [na] hastikāmā cha bāḷāmā [bāḷ]-bāḷēna cha sama-bāḷavāc-eha | tam-uñcakāya [Kāḷīdīpā-
    109 | grā[m]ā]

**Fourth Plate: Second Side**

    98 la[a]-nāryā-[t]i pradvihāv anyā-vapi uh-ūḍīlāya Śivayatama-drayām | kara[m]ī | .
    99 | satutt[a]-saḥgita[ṭ]a-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita[ṭ]-na[va][k]arvma-bāli-ʌpshār-ʌdy-arttham pa[m]a[h]-ʌa-
    100 | chhātrāṇā
    101 śaṭrasaya śrōtrī(trī)ṇaṁ satr-arttham ch[ā] dvay-ādhika-paḥchita[v]dv-ʌvā[ʌ]bhūḥ | Brāh-
    102 | maṇa-[a]tēna bhūma[ṇ]a-[vē];
    103 | dhāna-ʌ[ṇ]mēna śūdra-ʌatēna Br[̃h]maṇa-
    104 | pāda-kamalā]
    107 | grāma-ma[ṇ]īyā dastaḥ tasya-ʌvadha[ḥ] [18] Pūrvvat[ah] Konnek ś][i]-a[va] ś[i]-ā[va] ś[i]-aṁgūya-
    108 | [taḥ] | lidorr[ba]-a[ī]-
    109 | m[ai]-a[va] ś[i]-[dakbah[i]-aṭah Koṭṭhama-ś[i]-nairṛitya[ṭah Vēvāka-si]-a[va] ś[i]-a[va] ś[i]-p[ṣči]-
    110 | mataḥ Kāḍa | .
    112 | sim-a[va] ś[i]-[b[ā]-a[va] Dajīnaṇṭi sim-a[va] ś[i]-[b[ā]-a[va] Dajīnāṇṭi-

**Fifth Plate**

110 simā | Pallapa-Gudravārē Ćaḍaparṇa-nāma-grāmaḥ | [Dv]jegīya-
    111 | pūjadi | [grāma]-
    112 | Ṛṣyā-pūrvavaḥ | Kalmī[ṛ]-śsim-a[va] śimā | aṅgūyaḥ | āsh-a[va] dakh[p]a[i]-aṭah | Vēvāka-
    113 | sti-sim-a[va] śimā | na[nai]-a[i]-
    115 | Krovi[y]a-bāṣi-
    116 | na-Tālikroyya-nāma ūnāḥ | uttarataḥ | Kalvasanā-sim-a[va] simā | lānāṭaḥ | Tājīnāṇṭi-

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1 The śīma Kāti in Ḍajīnaṇṭi-Baḷa appears to be superfluous.
2 The name of the village may be Ālikṛṣṇa or Puñḍaṇa.
Kalidindi Grant of Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I

(from a photograph)
The subjoined inscription is engraved on the inner wall of the north side of the third prakāśa, to the proper right of Śivaparāśu in the Raṅgavāhanavāmā temple, Śrīrangam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. It is dated Saka 1467, Vīravasu, Phālguna, ka. 7, Monday. The English equivalent of this date is A. C. 1546, February 8, Monday.

The importance of the record lies in that it contains a reference to a distinguished person known as Nalantigal Nārāyana Jīyar, who had, for a long time been associated with the administration of the Śrīmāgam temple and also mentions a descendant of Śrīnālaḥāraṇa, who was a preceptor of the royal family of Vijayanāgar.

The scripts used are Grantha and Tamil, and the language provides a good example of the typical Vaishnavī style with a fair admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words, better known as the saṃdhiṣṭhāla style employed by the great Tamil commentators. In fact, the expression īdāppāmā ādībhātasthanā poṇa pṛṣṭaḥ (i.e. this sin is highly valued) in line 7 conveys the same idea as contained in the Sanskrit quotation (ṣaṅgasaṃśita-kriyā pāpaḥ ādi dharmaṇāya hanātī), cited immediately above and this Tamil expression is also found in the great commentary known as Iṣṭa. This is a clear testimony also to the fact that Vaishnavite commentators of the mediaeval period had achieved proficiency in rendering Sanskrit expressions into good Tamil.

The orthography of the inscription presents the following features. The rēpā is represented by a vertical stroke above the consonant to which it is prefixed as in pāṛṇa, śāṛṇa, saṃāśṛṇa (lines 3 and 10). But if the consonant following the rēpah is doubled as in saṃāśṛṇa (line 6), dharmaṇa (lines 7 and 10) the sign for the rēpah is inserted in between the doubled consonants. In line 3 the Grantha letter pa is used in the purely Tamil word pṛṣṭa. This is only an exception since the Grantha alphabet is uniformly employed to indicate Sanskrit words or letters.

The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections are indicated in the foot-notes accompanying it.

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1 ABBRE, No. 13 of 1936-37.

2 This commentary was written by Vaṭṭukku-tiruvāpillīśi in the name of his teacher Nambīgar.
The use of the ancient form γάμος of the word ἄγαμος in line 9, meaning river, is peculiar for a record of the 16th century and a similar example can be found in the word ἄγαμος used for ἄγαμος meaning year. The word κήλος is a dialectal variation of the original word κήλος (κή-λο-κήλο). The word παραγωβούσα in line 8 is used in the sense that the income from the lands of this village had for sometime been enjoyed by the cultivators. There is a village today in Tanjore District named Pandāravājai. The word κήλος has been used with two meanings, vix., 'coler' in line 8 and 'arrangement' in lines 10 and 11. The use of the honorific plural pronoun is not uniformly applied in the latter part of the sentence in lines 9 and 10 as both οἱ οἱ and οἱ οἱ are used to denote the same person.

The donor of the grant is Śrīśailapūrṇa Tātāchārya alias Ayūk Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgār. He received a gift of the village Chintāmāni from Rāmarāja and Sūmakulatilaka Sādāsva Mahārāja and in turn granted the same, for the merit of both the Rāja and the Rāya, to the temple for the expenses of offering four dishes of food to the god as was once arranged by Nālandiga Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, allotting a share of the offerings for himself and his descendants. The village is stated to have been in former times given to the temple by a local Chōla king after settling a dispute over a stream cut from the main river. Then after a long time the village passed on to the ownership of the cultivators. Again the village was left uncultivated for a short period. Hence Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgār, the present donor who had himself received the village as gift, renovated the same in his turn granted it to the temple.

The role that the members of this Śrīśailapūrṇa family played in the spread of Vaishnavism since the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna, as also in the conversion of the royal family itself to the Śrīnāthasaivism faith, has been already discussed in this journal and elsewhere. Two records at Hampi make mention of this Tātāchārya. One of them is dated Saka 1465, i.e., about two years prior to the date of the present record. There it is stated to have granted a village, some fields and a garden to the god Viṣṇuśalāvā. He is described as the son of Tuṇumala Ayuṅk Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgāra. Since no specific mention is made of this teacher as a guru of the king, it is probable that he became the royal preceptor only two years later, i.e., about the time of the present record. The other record, of Saka 1475 at the same place, states that Aṅgalaṅgāra, son of Rāmarāja Kāṃṭhayayayāraṇa, raised a shrine for Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgāra, granted a few villages for various services to be conducted for the Āḻvar, and placed the endowment in the hands of Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgāra and his disciples who were required to conduct the services for the merit of Āṅgalaṅgāra's preceptor Tuṇumala Ayuṅk Tuṇuvāgadayaṅgāra. The latter is evidently the donor of the present record. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa alias Pariya Tuṇumalainamba, the maternal uncle of the great Viṣṇuśalāvā teacher Śrī Rāmānuja. In the records about the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa that are available from the various places to the north and south of Tuṇupati, the names of the places where they settled are prefixed to their names, as in Śrī Śrīrāmānuja, śrī Suṅṭai Tuṇappayaṅgāra, etc. Here the name Ayuṅk or Auk indicates likewise the place where the donor had settled. His father is also called Tuṇumala Ayuṅk Tātāchārya. Hence it is clear that

1 There are a number of inscriptions where both the Rāja and the Rāya are mentioned together, though in a different manner, e. g., ARK, 240 of 1904, Tuṇupati Inscript. Vol. V, No. 63.
4 ARK, No. 51 of 1889, ST, Vol. IV, No. 280.
6 The earliest reference to Śrīśailapūrṇa in the traditional Viṣṇuvaiva legends occurs in the history of Rāmānuja in the Gacyparasamusedhā. Under the directions of his guru, Ānandaśri, Śrīśailapūrṇa (Pariya Tuṇumalainamba), migrated from Śrīmadram to Tuṇupati.
a branch of the Śrīśailapātra family had already settled there one or two generations earlier. Avukku is a village in the Kollamuttal taluk of the Kurnool District. About the period of this record, Avukku was the seat of a powerful line of chieftains, under Sadāśivāraṇa and the Avukku Tīrūvēṇa-

The interesting history of the village Čintāmani is narrated in the inscription. It is in this part that the name of the eminent administrator of the Śrīrangam temple, Nałantigal Nārāyaṇa Jīyar occurs. He is well known from other sources. He was first known as Kṛishnāraṇa Jīyar and began his life as a devotee at Śrīrangam and rendered many services to the temple, one of which may be noted here. When a member of the group called vippahpons śvērōṇi became impure and consequently unfit for the service in the temple, Kṛishnāraṇa Jīyar was called upon to purify him and the Jīyar composed a work known as Sudārahamsatākam and chanted it to purify the person and make him fit for service. In recognition of this and many other services including the one mentioned in the present record, he seems to have been given the name Nałantigal Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, i.e., Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, who was eminent in doing good (nālam + tigal), and some of the devotees raised him to a new pontifical seat with the designation of Śrīṇāṅgakārīya Jīyar and it continued to be held in regular succession by devotees chosen from time to time.

The present record does another but more benevolent act done by this same Jīyar. The frequent floods of the river Kāvari south of Śrīrangam proved to be almost a permanent problem baffling solution. They were encroaching into the soil of Śrīrangam towards the direction of the temple. Nałantigal Nārāyaṇa Jīyar took some steps to prevent the erosion. Some of the measures he took as detailed in our record were spiritual and the rest were methods pertaining to flood control.

The Jīyar fixed a yantra, i.e., a disc or plate with the powers of a mantra at Āpelakāṭaṇa Garai facing west and also consecrated the deity called Śīstā. A stream was newly cut out, branching

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1 Similarly, Śingarākhāya (Narsimhākhāya) and Raṅgākhāya, of this line migrated from Tīrūr to Ėṭūr in search of better fortunes by engaging in skillful exposition of the Rāmāyaṇa. Yet dissatisfied with their position the family went to Vijayanagara where they converted the royal family to the Vaisṇavite faith.

2 Deōjākhāya, a descendant of Śingarākhāya settled at Shilongbur, N. Arcot District, and Tīkākhāya Avyākṣayavanagṛ of this family lived at Ėṭūr, Tirumalai (i.e. Tīrūr) and also at Kumbakonam. Again mention is made of one Sōta̤l Tīḷāpayaṇagṛ in a record at Conjeevaram. In the records under study the family is stated to hail from Anrā. In some later records at Kōvilpatti in Tīrūr District, Śrīnāṅgai Tīkākhāya and Śrīrangam Tirumalai Tīrūvēṇaga Tāttvayavanagṛ figure as donors. Lākṣumānaka Tīkākhāya is well known for his activities at Conjeevaram and Tirumāluridōlaivasal (i.e., Alegarkōll, Madura District). Thus it may be seen that this great family spread itself to preach and propagate the Vaisṇavite faith.


4 Kōḍalāgra (1909, Annāla Pratā), pp. 108-110. In these pages, there is a confused account of the services done by the various Jīyakṣ of this line, services to distinguish which see has to proceed with caution. For example it is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Čāntu Naṅghalīka was undertaken by Śrīṅgana-Nārāyaṇa Jīyar, Čāntu is identified with the Muslim princess of Delhi who plied away for the Khangpatā ṇiśi carried away by the Muslim forces in 1314 A.C. from Śrīṅgana and later on recovered by the Vaishnavites from the Delī Sultan. It is highly improbable that Kṛishnāraṇa Jīyar lived till 1314 A.C. the lower limit of his life being 1157 A.C., the year up to which his teacher Kārttikeya lived. Hence only a successor's action is meant here.

5 This class of servants at Śrīrangam are engaged in the rendition of the hymns before the deities on specific occasions, with music, dance and drama. Their duties are well defined in Kōḍalāgra, vide p. 27.

6 Published in the Kāvyamālā Series, part VIII, Nīrāyanagūra Pratā.

7 Kōḍalāgra, p. 115.

8 This deity is considered to be the son of Viṣṇu in the form of Viṣṇu and Śiva, see the occasion of Amṛtamathana. He is called Alsiyār and Śīstā. This deity is believed to control all the evil spirits. See also Sīh, Vol. II, p. 40, Lm.3.
off the right bank of the southern branch of the Kāvērī so that a large volume of water might flow out and the effect of erosion into the soil of Śrīraṅgam, i.e., on the north bank of the Kāvērī, would be minimise. A coarse grass of the puned type was planted on the left bank. The grass served as a good protection to the boundary on that side. The waters of the Kāvērī were partially dried up along the south bank. Owing to the cutting of the stream to the right of the Kāvērī, water encroached upon the cultivated fields belonging to the Mahājana of the village, Chintāmānī. They seemed to have raised objection to this step. The Jyār gave them lands in the Kōlakkattai village in exchange for the lands flooded on account of the cutting of the stream. But the Brāhmaṇas were satisfied and appealed to the Chōla king. The case was taken up and when questioned by the Chōla king about the injustice done to the Brāhmaṇas, the Jyār, in the course of his arguments justifying his action, is stated to have quoted the Lord’s own words...maṁaṁmaṇam-pāśam[pa]-api dharmamāṇā kalpatuntu occurring in the Bhagavad-Patī.5 The Chōla was much pleased with this representation and exclaimed that if that was the motive the sin was as valuable as pure gold and approved of his action.6

The Köpyḷaṇaṇa, a chronicle of the Śrīraṅgam temple, gives with a few differences the details of the same events recorded in the inscription regarding Nalantika Nārāyaṇa Jyār, a free translation of which is given below:

‘Every year when the Kāvērī is in spate, the Tirukkuralappan-nāmārāḷi used to be submerged under the waters flooding into the temple. In order to avoid this the Jyār having informed the lord of the regions consulted Śrī Śrīyaṭa Dharmabhara Kandāḷai Tōḷappar and excavated a channel to the south of the Kāvērī at the end of the street leading to Pumāṅga-Thirthar. The Brāhmaṇas of the village Chintāmānī obstructed the operations by lying down across the boundary. The Jyār told them that it was a sacred service to the Perumāl and hence they should not obstruct. But they did not listen to him. The Jyār looked down upon them. He went on with his work and raised embankments to the channel on both sides after erecting an avenue called nāṟṟi-arnagaṉ-cōṇaï. He made his follower Karupākkaratādi stand guard at a point of the breach at the south-east of Pumāṅga-Thirthar and sacrificed him.7 To the north he consecrated the Kāḷṭidāvāṭā (i.e., Śāṭā) and the village goddess known as Tiruvanagāchelvā and took similar steps in

5 It may be noted here that the undivided (bakkakugu) Kāvērī divides itself into two, just above the town of Śrīraṅgam. The north branch is called Kōlakkattai and the south Kāvērī. The present record calls the southern branch ‘Tēṭṟunikāvēr’.
6 A Chāṭakumār-Kāli is spoken of in the Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, p. 145. But the stream of our record cannot be identified with it because the ēḷi is said to fall into the Kōlakkattai and this stream flows to the right of the Kāvērī.
7 This is only one half of the verse of which the first letter is missing as the stone is pooled off here; and the verse is not found in the Bhagavad-Patī. Evidently the missing letter may be e or m yielding the meaning benevolent or done in my (God’s) name. The following instance of another irregular quotation may be noted: Tirumāṅgaḷi Tōḷar raised several structures about the shrine at Śrīraṅgam with the help of many architects. They demanded payments of their dues. Luring them with the prospect of treasure trece on the opposite bank, he took them in a boat across the Kāvērī. He had given secret instruction to the ferryman to capsize the boats in the middle of the river in justification of which the following stanzas were used and to have been quoted by him as the Lord’s own words: “Eṇaṅ kāṭiyam saṅkāyam-ḥīṅkaṁ mā-śāyamanaṣṭaḥ...” Purā Bhagavadavatikākālī kathāmaḥ-Dharmaratatam Mascimuttakkām pāṭamāṇī pūṇyāya kalpatunto Māmamūnithiyam pūṇyam va api pāpyāya kalpatunto.” Varā, Prapanaściruṇam, p. 375.
8 “Idam negaṁ tāni śakṛ-pāraṁ nāti-kōḷkaṁ pāḷ pēṇam. The idea of value is conveyed by the word kōḷkaṁ a standard measure in gold and the word nāti the idea of the fineness of the material and thus the śakṛ-pāra of the action is indicated.
9 The corresponding expression bakkakugu kosapāraṁ as it occurs in Köpyḷaṇaṇa, is not quite clear. In the other context it indicates that Karupākkaratādi was sacrificed. It is highly improbable that the Brāhmaṇas of Chintāmānī were sacrificed. And our record too tells a different tale.
the east end and thus saw that there was no room for Kanadra elements to interfere and mounted a ghatu so that nobody could live within the temple.

This account has omitted to mention the important act of compensation arranged by the Jiyar and other technical measures adopted by him. Otherwise it corroborates some of the details given in our record.

About the date of this Jiyar our inscription does not give any indication except that he was a contemporary of a Chola king. However, the following facts may be stated here. We know of one Srirangga-Naráyana Jiyar, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Srirangamatha temple for a long time. This Jiyar was first known as Kura-Naráyana Jiyar in the early years of his career when he composed the Sadasivaratasahamasanam. He was also known as Kura-Naráyana Kavi. His original name was Naráyana. He is stated to have received his initiation from Kuraattalvar at Tirumâruñjâla-malai. Hence he was called Kura-Naráyana Jiyar. The Kupolaloja places the date of this Sadasivaratasahamasanam in about the same period as that of Naâlijyar. The facts stated about this Nárâyana Jiyar in the Kupolaloja and those mentioned in our inscription concerning Nałantigala Nárâyana Jiyar would render it quite possible that the two persons are identical. The date of the events recorded about Nałantigala Nárâyana Jiyar must lie during the period of Kamalâja Tûlpappar, called Śenâpâti Dhurandharar, who was a contemporary of Nambâlai, the successor of Naâlijyar. Hence Kura-Nárâyana Jiyar alias Nałantigala-Nárâyana Jiyar must have lived as a contemporary of both Naâlijyar and Nambâlai, the greatest of the line of Râmanâja, and even lived further on. His long association with the administration of the temple had made him very popular and his admirers and friends ventured to establish a new pontifical seat named after him in rivalry with the established line of Râmanâja and succeeded in making him the first Srirângâ-Nárayana Jiyar with special honours. Though the dates of these religious heads have not been settled accurately, it can be safely asserted that Nałantigala Nárâyana Jiyar of our record lived from the middle of the 12th century up to the middle of the 13th. This inscription does not unfortunately give us any clue about the identity of the Chola king who is stated to have settled the dispute.

The technical expressions in which the ideas about the methods to prevent erosion are couched deserve special mention. The words kilî-gûru and malâdu-âru and the cognate verbs from which these nouns are derived are very aptly expressive of the operations involved. The word kilîtu embodies the sense of force conveyed by the action. The expression malâdu kojîtâ is both literary and technical. The use of the word malâdu is quite in keeping with the literary tradition of personifying rivers as women. At the same time the ineffectiveness of that section of the river and barrenness of that part of the land are precisely indicated. The names kilî-gûru and malâdu-gûru remind us of the small rivulets and channels in the vast distributory system of the Kâvâri and also of their names like kojîtâ-gûru (kuraiyâru), petâru (perâru) and valâppâru (valâppâru). Perhaps Kilpâluru is the name of one such kind of water course. Paîru in this name may be a corrupted form of pîsîru, just a variant of perâru. The divisions named after this âru came to be known as Kilpâluru and Meîpaluru according to their directions from this âru.

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 228.
2 Kîjyâloja, p. 106. Kuraattalvar was a junior contemporary of the great Râmâna and lived till about 1137 A.D.
3 Ibid., p. 106 et seq.
4 Ibid., p. 111.
5 There is one malâdu-grey in the island of Srirangam. This flows out from the Kâvâri and runs to the left of and parallel to the main river; Srirangam Town Topographical Map, Reg. No. 25 (1940).
6 SII, Vol. IV, No. 424. In line 8 of this inscription, both Kilpâluru and Meîpaluru, i.e., Meîpaluru are mentioned as belonging to Pîsîru-kâram in Rajadâr-vaîjanâdu, while Devadâsan of our record belongs to Kilpâluru of Uraiya-kâram.
The expression άδίκκαλανγα pου περαμ is found in the commentary of Namiballai, a contemporary of this Jiyār. Most of the expressions in the Vatsākesa parlance have been frequently used by the ḍakāra in their discussions and then incorporated into their commentaries.

The village Chintāmaṇi is situated on the southern bank of Kāveri opposite to and facing Śrīnāgam on the other bank. Regarding the other geographical names in this record, Dēvadānam which is said to belong to Kārāḷa (division) is evidently the village still bearing the same name. The mud fort of Tiruchchirāppalli referred to as the southern boundary of Chintāmaṇi must have been once raised around the main rock before the date of this record and the lines of these outer defences are marked by scattered remains of the works and the ditch (now filled up).

The western boundary of Chintāmaṇi is said to be the road (setṭi) from Krishnāraṇa Alavandapura to Uraiyar. This road can be traced on the map as leading to the south through Uraiyar from the small ferry station of Ammanmangalapuram on the Kāveri. Ammanmangalapuram is probably the Alavandapura of our record and Krishnāraṇa may be an addition to the same probably due to some association with Krishnāraṇa of Vijayanagar, which cannot be traced in the present state of our knowledge. Kolakur may be the modern Kolakattai where a village due south of Chintāmaṇi on the bank of a tank near Kōraiyar river. Lands in this village which is more than twelve miles from the river might not have been so fertile as those that were encroached by the stream and hence the Mahājanas of Chintāmaṇi had raised serious objection necessitating the interference of the king.

TEXT:

1 Sēnvandiyē Śakṣay-ābdē Śrīmān-Vēmkātādēsi kaḥ | Chintāmaṇi-mahāgrāma[m*] Śrī-Raṅgośayiya dattvān ||
2 Subham-astu [**] Svasti [**] Śrīmān-Mahā-irā ...irāja-Irāja[p]ramēsvasa-Śrī-Viraṛatāpa-śrīnun-Sallēsiva-Irāja-Mahā-irāya prithvi-irāya-pani anvānīra Śakābdam 1167 idān mēl śelānīna Viśvāvasu-samvatsaraṇa Phālguṇa-māsātā sukla-pakṣhātā septāmi yun Sōma-
3 vāramiṃ panī Rōhpīna-mahatraṇa nāl ten'karaṇ Pāṇḍikulāsani-valaṇāṭṭa Vijāvarā-viśvālīdi[**]-valaṇaṇāṭṭa Tiruvanarāṇgantiruppaṇ Śrī-Raṅganāthadēvar Śrī-baṇḍāraṭṣukku Śrīsivalpurāṇāhārya-Tatāharārā-āra Auvukku-t Tiruvēṅgālayāṅgar śilāśāsanam pani samarpitā-
4 paṇī [**] Ten'karaṇ Ṛagambhihara-valaṇāṭṭa Tāṭṭār-īśvādē Uraiyar-kurraṇṭu Kārāḷa-Dēvadānamukku mēru Tiruchchirāppalli maṇḍōṭṭiakku vajakku Kīrṇaṛaṇa[**]-Alavan-dapura Uraiyar-veṭṭiṇku kākakku tiruk-Kāvēṟikku terku īṅgūl-eḷaikku-ulpattu munnāl Tiruvanarāṇgantiruppaṇ paṇāgalai-
5 y-ākki pīṇu Nalanīgaj-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyār Tiruvāraṅgan-tiruppadīyai yāru koṭjugiṇdu koṇḍu mēmugam Ānakāṭṭāḷ-kasakku yantra-āthāpanam putu pani Śaṭṭāvaṇyum pratishthitā Kīlīyāṟu-gijittu ten-tiruk-Kāvērī malādā-ṇēyitvā malādā-āru kēdu vajakku nānaḷ naḍāvum Kīlīyāṟum tiṇkaraṇi nāgal?

1 Yele Tīvṛchānapōlī District Gazetteer, p. 226.
2 Yele No. 129 of Madras Survey Map.
3 From impression.
4 After n is a seems to be written, but this is reduplicant.
5 The second rē is reduplicant.
6 Read Kṛṣṇa.
7 The letter p is a mistake for n.
No. 9] SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF SADASIVARAYA: SAKA 1467

6 nadāmal Chintāmaṇi[piyil] idāngōla[kkam] kaṭṭalai ittu Chintāmaṇi-mahājanaṅgalkkun-
Kolak[clttai] grāmam parivartanai paṇḍikkoṭuk-kaḷiyil Sōlaṇ alaippittu samyālai-
śāvaṇa sarvabhūta-saṃhārdam-up[z] irukkavēppi irukka īppōl bhrāmaṇa-himai-
paṇḍalāmēṇ eṇu kēḻkā bhrāmaṇa-himaiskkē ā.

7 jēnai iḍugṛa parādyēai tānē, "unimitta-kritam pāpam[ms]-api dharmēya," kalpatē-
ēṇu Śrī-Bhagavad-Gītaiyilē toṇṇudu kaṇḍu sēyōggōpūṃ-sēnā adu kēṭṭā sōlaṇ saṃtōśēttu-
idnvē niṇēvē-śānlē inda-pāvam aṣīkkalai jūn pōn ēṇnu-eṇu Śrī-Īrāṅganāda-dēvērku-
dērā vātē kō.

8 dūtadūkkē pīnē nēdu-nēaikkē mēl-āga-chartīkkilēmē paṇḍāra-vādāiyē tirandu-pōpē-
Chintāmaṇi-grāmam i kku[di] dāṇā-māṇiyam nilamē nāḷē-nilamē [7]-[1/10] pūrē-nilam [7][2]

9 [[1]] marīm eppēppaṭē sakal-samudāya-prāp提yum upḍēdū milī-nikēḷē-jalā-pāsēṅ-
ādi aṣṭa-bhōka(m)ma-sē-vānēyagōjum upḍēdū namakku sammuḍaiyē priya-sīhērēnē-
ēyōs [11] śāvaṇa-mahājanaṅgalkē Śānakulaṭalakāyēmāṇa-śāna Īrāma-Irājaśādā-
varēya-Mahā-irēyūr.

10 kaiyē kēbēkōgyamē dhārāi vēppītē[13] tanmga[iyil] nēu pūrīva-Nalēntīga-Nēreyē-Kyīy-
ēṭa kaṭṭalai-pēpēdiyē perumēkkē polēttē jīgurometer[14] Irājāvēkkē śāvaṇa-ēgs-
ūmarēppitē inē khilōdēkāramē pēpuṇē grōnēttē uḍāyaṅ-ōgōdū.

11 perunē śēnu nēlu tālgai amudē śeyōḍētē idēl nēduḍēkkē-kēṭṭalai arē-pēdē vērtī-
kuḍē chaturthēmēmē nēlu tālgaiyēē ori tālgaiyēmē [Aʌkku Tīrūvēṅgadāyēgōr-
sēntēna-paramarēmē ēga chēndāśēttēy-varēyam apēbēvētī][15].

12 kkkōnē Śrī-Vaikēngavargē amudē śēyōōrēmbēddēkkē nēacykē-kkēdēvē-agēvēm ēppē-
dēkkē inē sēltēsēn[m]alēdēmē mēlkē kēyō-kkēnēkkē Śrī-Raṅgēṇaṅgēyē-[pīya-
ē]ējēttē [[16]] Dēna-pēlēnē[y]ēmēgōdēdē ēhēēōtē-chēhēēōtē-chēhēēōtē mēpēlēnēmē dēnē-
vēsēngēmēvē[16]ēmē.

13 ti pēlēnē [nēd-]jēcēyētēmē padēm [[17]]

ē-agēvēmē [[1]][18]°

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) In the Śaka year (indicated by) sētuvaṇṇēyē[14] Śrīmēn Veśaṭṭadēśēkē gave the village

Chintāmaṇi, to Śrī-Raṅgēēśa.

1 The syllable sē is written with one below the other.
2 A corrupt form of kēṭṭē.
3 The stone is mutilated here. Sē or sē may be the intended letter.
4 The sign for pē pē is inserted in between the two consonants.
5 The usual prothetic vowel u has been replaced here by ū in īrāṇgāda.
6 Read: ekkēkēkkēmē.
7 Represented by a symbol.
8 Either 7 is a mistake for 6 or 14 is a mistake for 13.
9 The figure 1 seems to have been written later at the beginning of the line.
10 The letter p is a mistake for the ordinary trill.
11 This portion is written over an erasure and hence indistinct; nevertheless it can be read on the impression.
12 This erasure and the last line of the inscription raise some suspicion about the genuineness of this portion. Usually this share is given to a nominee of the donor. Hence it is called sēttēmē sēkkēkē. It is highly improbable that a royal preceptor would have thought of nominating himself or his descendants to receive the share. This portion may be a later interpolation.
13 The length of the o medial sign is engraved at the beginning of the next line. 
14 Line 14 seems to have been written later after the engraving of the main inscription was completed.
15 This chronogram yields the number 1467.
Be it well! Hail, Prosperity!

In the Saka year 1467, corresponding to the (cyclic) year, Viśvāvasu, in the month of Phālgunā, on Monday which was a day of the seventh tīkhi of the bright fortnight, with Rūhiṇi-nakṣatram, when Mahārājāgirīja-Rājapuruṣaḥavarā-Sṛṣṭativarāja-Mahārāyaṇa was ruling the earth, Avukkī Tiruvēṇāgadayaṅgār aitū Śrīśatāpatra-Tātāchārya respectfully conveyed the following deed of endowment (tīkhaṇam) to the treasury of (the temple of) Śrī-Rṣīṇaṅgatehā at Tiruvanpong-Tiruppaddi (situated in) Viḷāvarāṇidi-valeñjādu in Pāṇḍukūlāṇi-valeñjādu on the southern bank (of the Kāvēri) (to wāl)

(lines 1-7) (scheersa) the village, Chintāmani (lying) to the west of Kīpālārī-Dēvadāgām in Uṇaṭhīr-kāryam in Tāljār-nāvādi in Irāṇagambhira-valeñjādu on the southern bank (of the Kāvēri) to the north of the mid-sort of Tiruchchirāppal[i], to the east of Kriṣṇaṅgapura-Ālavanppurnam, on the Uṇāvīr road and to the south of the Kāvēri, had been, in former days, made into a hamlet of Tiruvanpong-Tiruppaddi (and),

(scheersa) later, Nalantigal-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar seeing the river enroaching (on the land up to) Tiruvanpong-Tiruppaddi, fixed a gārtra on the bank at (a spot called) Āyakatāy-kārati facing west, consecrated (the deity) Śītā there, cut out a stream (called) Kiliyāru (thereby) drying up the southern (branch of the) Kāvēri and in order to permanently dry it up planted sāqal (grass) on the northern bank (of the southern Kāvēri) while not doing so on the southern bank of the Kiliyāru, (thereby) causing (some) land in Chintāmani (to be) inundated (by the flow of the water), and issued a decree (granting) the village of Kokkucaṭi to the Mahājana of Chintāmani as exchange (and)

(scheersa) the Chōla (king) invited the Jiyar and questioned whether a sāntāsē (like him), who should have compassion on all living beings, could thus do harm to the Brāhmaṇas, and (schea) on the Jiyar (replying) that he had done the deed, since the same God who had (the authority) to give such an order causing suffering to Brāhmaṇas had Himself stated in the Bhagavad-Gītā (thus), “Anything done for the sake of good (or in devotion to my cause) though sinful, is ordained as proper (in the interest of) dharma”, was pleased (with the answer) and said that, if this was the motive, the deed though sinful was as valuable as fine gold and granted the village (Chintāmani) to God Rṣīṇanātha, (and)

(lines 8-9) (scheersa) a long time after (this grant) the village came under the pāṇḍurāṇī (tenure) for a short while and then was left unchallenged,

(scheersa) our loving disciples, Hail! Prosperity! Mahāmangalāśvara Sāmakulatilaka-Rāmārīja and Sānadāśiva-Mahāraja were pleased to grant to me on bhukṣaṃgas (tenure) this village (of the extent of) nacāṭa (land) 7 (aṣṭhī) and 2 ṣakāṭi (land) 7 (vaṭāli) (i.e. in all) 14 (vaṭāli) and 2 mañj (yielding an income of) 146 pos, inclusive of settlement, fields, mounds, buildings, building-sites, river-founded areas, canal-occupied areas, selfāṇguṭi-trapps and all rights over the incomes of the village, as well as over treasure-troves, waters, etc.,

(lines 10-13) 1. (Tiruvēṇāgadayaṅgār aitū Śrīśatāpatra-Tātāchārya) do hereby grant this renovated village in the same way as was endowed formerly by Nalantigal Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar, to the God (Pershawī) as interest-bearing endowment for the daily offering of four dishes (of food) out of the produce of the village for the merit of both the Rāja and the Rāja; (and do hereby stipulate that) of the four dishes of food, one-fourth share is to be given to Avukkī Tiruvēṇāgadayaṅgār and his descendants as long as the sun and moon endure, the rest of the offered food being distributed among the Śrīśatāpatra,

in attestation (of the above deed), this is the signature of the temple accountant Śrīśatāpatra,

(Imperative verse)

(line 14) May Avukkī Tātayyaṅgār and his descendants enjoy this!
No. 10 SANTIRAGRAMA GRANT OF DANDIMAHADEVI

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Cuttack

In May 1949, I received for examination a copper-plate grant from Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. It was originally in the possession of a gentleman of a village near the Angul Sub-Division of the Cuttack District. Mr. Radhamohan Garanikyaka of Angul received the plate from him and sent it to the Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum. The inscribed plate, which was covered with a coating of greenish verdigris, was properly cleaned at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Cuttack, and such a set of excellent impressions were prepared. The plate was then returned to the Orissa Provincial Museum where it now lies. I thank Mr. Panigrahi for his kindness in allowing me to publish the inscription in the Epigraphia Indica.

This is a single copper plate measuring 13.8 by 10 inches with a circular projection at the centre of the proper right end, to which the seal, 4.4 inches in diameter, is soldered. The seal is designed in the form of an expanded lotus, on the circular pericarpial portion of which are carved, on counter sunk surface, the emblems of the sun, the moon and a couch-shelf and a seated bull facing proper right. In the lower part of this circular space there is also an emblem of an expanded lotus. In the space between the bull and the lotus is the legend śrīmad-Dandimahadeva. The plate is written on both sides, the obverse containing nineteen lines of writing and the reverse eighteen lines. The average size of the abāsuras is 4 inches in height and 3 inches in breadth. The abāsuras of the concluding two lines are, however, smaller in size. The inscriptions are deep and the letters are carefully and beautifully cut. The state of preservation of the writing is exceptionally satisfactory. The plate weighs 325½ tolas.

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet and closely resemble those of other records of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa, especially the Gañjām and Bāppus Plates of the same queen who issued the charter under discussion. While editing the Gañjām plate. Kielhorn opined about half a century ago that the writing "could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D." With the progress of our knowledge in the ancient history of Orissa, this view has now rightly been discarded. There is hardly any doubt that the imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa flourished earlier than the Śūravarman king Udūḍikārān (c. 1000-55 A.C.) and the Greater Gañjā king Anantavarmān Ādēpadsa (1078-1147 A.C.). This is not only supported by the known facts of Orissan history but also by the use of numeral symbols instead of figures in writing the date of the charter in question. This old system of writing numbers is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century. On palaeographical grounds, the present inscription may be assigned to a period about the tenth century A.C. The most interesting point in regard to its palaeography is the confusion between the medial signs of ज ज which is characterized not only of the script under notice (cf. more than twenty cases of medial ज wrongly

1 This is C. P. No. 43 of the A. E. F. E. for 1949-50.
2 About the beginning of 1951, I received for examination another plate of Dandimahadevi lying in the possession of a goldsmith of Ambapali near Hussainkhud in the Ganjam District. The text of lines 1-24 of this inscription is the same as that of lines 1-25 of the record edited here. The rest of the writing on the Ambapali plate is damaged and cannot be deciphered. This plate is registered as C. P. No. 28 of the A. E. F. E. for 1939-40.
6 Or. IHQ, Vol. XXIII, p. 205.
7 Anantavarman Ādēpadsa was crowned on the 17th of February, 1078 A.C. (Bhandarkar, Cuttack, No. 1599) and ruled for a period of 70 years.
8 G. H. Oka, Tamil: Palagaye (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.
written for medial a in lines 3, 8-9, 11-18, 22-33, 29, 35-36), but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of the same age. The form of medial a in this line is different from the one usually found here. As usual, it has been indicated by the sign for a. N has two different forms; see muni in line 3 and manu in line 4. Final a occurs in line 16 and final t in line 19. Ta for final t occurs in lines 3 and 18 and saḥ for final a in line 23. Initial a has been employed in line 22 while the sign for aṅgā has been found three times in lines 32 and 33. Medial a has different forms. Its sign in kria and nad-drisṭi (line 4) and kriḍaya (line 6) is not the same as in kriṭā (line 7). Note also the sign of the same vowel in ᵃḥṛtiḥ (lines 8 and 9). The symbols for 200 and 29 are employed in writing the date in line 37.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The introductory portion of the inscription (lines 1-25 containing fifteen stanzas) is in verse with the only exception of a small prose passage in line 3. These verses are also found in the Bāṅpur plate, although there are a few omissions in the two Gaṅjam plates. It is interesting to note that the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found at the end of charters are conspicuous by their absence in the record under notice. In point of orthography, the present inscription closely resembles the Gaṅjam and Bāṅpur plates. There are some errors such as set for set and ti for tī (line 1), vi for bhi (line 7), ṣṭha for ṣṭa (line 14), ṣrī for ṣrī (line 16), vi for vi (line 17), ṭṛ for ṭṛ (line 23), ni for ni (line 34), ni for ni (line 37), etc. In some cases, ausarṇa has been written for final a (see lines 4 and 19). In line 9, it substitutes final a.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 280 of an unspecified era. The symbol for 200 is a clear āu and we know from Nepalese and Bengali manuscripts that, while 100 indicates the figure 100, it signifies 200. But the difficulty in regard to the date of the present record is that, in the Gaṅjam plate (A), as rightly pointed out by Kielhorn, "the symbol for 100 is something between 100 and 100 just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāṃanghāṭi plate (of Raṇathājī) is āu." The case is the same with the first symbol in the date of the Bāṅpur plate. Now the problem is how. The first symbol in the dates of the Gaṅjam and Bāṅpur plates have to be read as 100 and while the second symbol indicating 80 is the same as in those records as well as in the present charter, the first symbol in the date of the record under discussion is clearly to be read as 200. It can hardly be normal to read the date of one record of a person as 80 and that of another record of the same person as 280, as one is not expected to date one's different records in two different eras with epochs separated exactly by one century. The first symbol in the date of the Gaṅjam and Bāṅpur plates as well as of the present record thus seems to have the same value, either 100 or 200. There seems, however, to be strong evidence in favour of the reading 100 instead of 200. It has to be remembered that all the rulers of the Bhuama-Kara family used the same era in dating their documents and that there is no doubt about the reading of many of the dates. The Dihaul inscription* of Sāntikara I is undoubtedly dated in the year 83. The date of the Hindol plate* of his son Śuhākara III is also clearly 103. This king was succeeded by his mother Tribhuwanamahādevī I, the date of whose Bhāṅmagarīḍa plate* is probably the year 120. The first symbol in the dates of the records of Śuhākara III and Tribhuwanamahādevī I is a quite clear āu. Now, as will be clear

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1 In this case, the renderings may also have been intended to be a part of the mark of punctuation that follows.
2 Kielhorn, Indian Palaeography (translation), Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 77.
3 Above, Vol. VI, p. 133. Rambhadrakar seems to be wrong in interpreting the symbol as 200 (cf. List, No. 1413).
4 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 234.
5 J. E. B. S., Vol. XVI, p. 77. The recently discovered Tarmād plate of Śuhākara II, cousin and predecessor of Śuhākara III, is dated in the year 100. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff. This plate has been registered as C. P. No. 15 of the A. R. I. R. for 1950-31.
6 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 121. The second symbol in the date of this record looks like anaṃ which would ordinarily be interpreted as 80 (cf. Ojaś, op. cit., Plate LXXXIII). But dates in the later records of the family and the possible confusion between the aḥ and aḥ symbols suggest 20 in this case.
from the following discussion on the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas, Śubhākara III who ruled in the year 103 and probably died before the year 120 was the great-great-grandfather of the issuer of the record under discussion; that is to say, only three generations intervened between Śubhākara III and the issuer of the present charter. As is usual, we may count three quarters of a century for these three generations. This will show that we have to read 180 as the year of the issue of the present charter and certainly not 280, because in that case more than one century and a half for the three intervening generations would be postposteroiously abnormal. Thus the symbol ल in the date of our record actually stands for 18 indicating 180 and this mistake may be due to the confusion between the medial signs for ल and ल in the present record as well as in others, to which attention has already been invited above. It has been suggested that the Buddhist dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas was accorded a feudalatory position in Orissa by Harsha Śilādeśa during his Kōngōda expedition about 643 A.C. and that the Bhauma-Karas used the Harsha era of 606 A.C. The present record would be dated in the year 180 of the Harsha era corresponding to 786 A.C. Attention may be drawn to the mention of a solar eclipse as the occasion of the grant in line 36 of the charter. There were actually two solar eclipses in the year 786 A.C., one on Monday, the 3rd April, and the other on Wednesday, the 27th September.1 But as will be seen from further discussions on the Bhauma-Kara chronology below, the above date of the charter under discussion is not free from doubt. It has also to be admitted that the palaeography of the record seems to suggest a much later date.

The charter begins with a verse containing the description of the city of Guhāśvarapāṭaka, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following. This verse as well as most of those which describe the Bhauma-Kara genealogy is also found in some inscriptions of other members of the family.2 The city, otherwise known as Guhadēvapāṭaka, was the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious śrīnāṭāsura of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word śrīnāṭāsura originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital.'3 Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king named Unmāṭāsīṁha. From other inscriptions of this family, which is called Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in later epigraphs, we know that its progenitor was a parāṃsaśākika (i.e., Buddhist) named Kāhēmāṅkara or Lakshmhikara.4 His son and successor was a parāṃsaśākika (i.e., devout worshipper of the Tathāgata or Buddha), Mahārāja Śivakara I, also called Unmāṭāsīṁha (or śāsin) and Bhaarasa. This king is said to have married, according to the Rākṣasa form of wedding, the lady Jayēkavā, who was the daughter of a ruler of Rāḍha in the valley of the river Ajay in the Burdwan region of South-West Bengal. Verse 3 of our record speaks of the illustrious king Gayājā and others who were born in the family of Unmāṭāsīṁha. Other records of the family represent king Gayājā I as the grandson of Unmāṭāsīṁha. We know that Śivakara I-Unmāṭāsīṁha-Bhaarasa was succeeded by his son, the parāṃsaśākika (devout worshipper of the Saguṇa or Buddha) Śubhākara I, who is called Mahārāja in his own Neulpur plate,5 but is endowed with full imperial titles in the record of his successor. He is represented as the lord of the Utkala country, as the sunderer of the Kaliga people and as a granter of land in Utara-Tōsali. He married Mahāhavādēvī who gave birth to Mahārājānārājas Śivakara II and Śāntikara I. King Śāntikara I was also known as Gayājā I and Lalitabhāra (or śārīra) I and was probably the founder of Gayājāpura mentioned

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2 See, e.g., the Tālānī plate of Dharummahādēvī, which has all the verses with slight changes in few of them (IHQ, Vol. XXI, pp. 217–29).
3 Some scholars are inclined to take Kāhēmāṅkara and Lakshmhikara as two different members of the family.
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1–8. The date of this record written in one symbol is uncertain, but may be the year 790. Śubhākara I seems to have been the first imperial ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.
in a later record of the family. We have referred above to his Dhauli inscription dated in the year 93 and to his queen Tribhuvanamahadhēvi who is described as a parāswāmaḥādhāri and as the daughter of a Nāga chief of the southern country, named Rājamalla. Verse 4 of our record mentions a king named Lōṇabhāra as born in the family of Sāntikara I. It is known, however, from other records that Lōṇabhāra (or Lavanā) was actually the grandson of Sāntikara I. The son of Sāntikara I, surnamed Gayāda and Lalitāhara (or 'bhāra'), was Subhākara III otherwise called Kusumabhāra (or 'bhāra') and Simhahāvaṇa (or 'kūta'). This king is known to have granted lands in both northern and southern Tāsali in the year 103. The grant of land in Uttsara-Tāsali was made at the request of his feudatory, Pulindarāja (either indicating a personal name or less probably signifying 'the king of the Pulindas') in favour of the god Vairājaṇa-bhūtāraka (Sīva) enshrined in the Pulindāvara temple. The land granted in Dakṣinā-Tāsali was actually situated in the Kāṇṭhāmangala vihāra. This king was probably succeeded first by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I alias Sindagaurī I and then by his young son Sāntikara II. Tribhuvanamahādēvi is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in the same way as an ancient queen named Gāyāvāmini had done. As noticed above, a date in Tribhuvanamahādēvi's reign falls in the year 120. Sāntikara II, who succeeded his grandmother, was also known as Lōṇabhāra (or Lavanā) I and Gayāda II. We know that Sāntikara II (alias Lavanābhāra alias Gayāda) married Hīra-mahādēvi, daughter of Simhamana, and begot on her two sons, viz., Subhākara IV (surnamed Kusumabhāra or 'bhāra' II) and Sivakara III (surnamed Lalitāhara or 'bhāra' II) both of whom became kings and are mentioned in our record in verses 5 and 6. By this time the Bhāuma-Karas were no longer adherents of the Buddhist religion. Mahārājaśāhī Subhākara IV (Kusumabhāra II) is called a parāswāmaḥādhāri in his Talcher plate of the year 145. His younger brother and successor Sivakara III is known from his records dated in the year 149. The sons of Sivakara III (Lalitāhara II) were kings Sāntikara III (surnamed Lavanābhāra or Lōṇa II) and Subhākara V, both of whom are mentioned in our record in verses 7 and 8. Sāntikara III married Dharmamahādēvi, while Subhākara V had two queens, viz., Gaurī and Vakula-mahādēvi. Both of these kings apparently died without leaving any male issue and, after the death of Subhākara V, the throne passed to his queen Gaurī who is mentioned in our record in verse 9. Queen Gaurī was succeeded by her daughter, the parāswāmaḥādhāri Paramahājāhāri Maḥārājāhāri Paramēśvari Dharmamahādēvi who issued the charter under discussion in the year 180. One of the two Garjān plates was issued by the same queen in the same year, but the Rāmpur plate was issued by her in the year 187. We know that this queen was succeeded by her step-mother Vakula-mahādēvi who was the daughter of a Bhāra king. The throne next passed to Dharmamahādēvi, queen of Dharmamahādēvi's paternal uncle Sāntikara III (Lavanābhāra II). We offer below the genealogy of the Bhāuma-Karas in a tabular form for easy reference.

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1 We have now the Terupāi plate of Subhākara II, son of Sivakara II, who ruled between Sāntikara I and his son Subhākara III in the year 100.
2 JBOKE, Vol. XVI, pp. 71, 72, 73. B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 14 ff., 22, and line 25 of plate P.
3 According to the recently discovered Baud plates of Pritvīmahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi II alias Sindagaurī I, Gāyāvāmini (i.e., Tribhuvanamahādēvi II) assumed the throne because her son Subhākara III had died without leaving a son. This fact suggests that Sāntikara I was adopted as son by the chief queen of Subhākara III some time after the death of her husband. The Baud plates have been registered as II. P. Nos. 20-21 of the A. E. J. E. for 1930-31.
4 The Baud plates of Pritvīmahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi II suggest that Tribhuvanamahādēvi I called herself Gāyāvāmini II.
5 B. Misra, op. cit., Plate II, line 42, Misra reads the date as 141.
6 Ibid., Plate II, line 40, and Plate I, line 6. The figure read here as 9 has a rather peculiar form.
7 The Baud plates of Pritvīmahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi II, dated in the year 155, say that her husband, Subhākara IV, and the latter's younger brother and successor, Sivakara III, both died without leaving sons and therefore she herself ascended the throne. This shows that this queen and her supporter did not recognize Sāntikara III and Subhākara V as sons of Sivakara III. It seems that there was a struggle for the throne after the death of Sivakara III between his sons and the queen of his elder brother and that queen Pritvīmahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was ultimately overthrown in favour of Sāntikara III.
GENEALOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS

(1) Kahēmañkara or Lakshmitkara

(2) Śivakara I Unmattāsimha Bharasaha = Jayāvall, daughter of the ruler of Rāḍha.

(3) Subhākara I (Noulpur plate) = Mādhavadevi

(4) Śivakara II (Chaukasi pl.) = Mōhinidevi

(5) Sāntikara I Lalitañhara ('hara) I Gayāja I (Dhauli ins., year 93) = (8) Tribhuvanamahādevi I alias Sindagari I alias Gsvāminī II, daughter of the Nāga chief Rājamalla of the southern country (Bhulinagarigarāth pl., year 120)

(6) Subhākara II (Terupāḷ pl., year 100) = Nṛnādēvi

(7) Subhākara III Kusumabhārā ('hara) I Sīthavindvāja ('kēta) (Himlā pl., year 103)

(8) Sāntikara II Lavanabhārā (Loja) = Hāmamahādevi, daughter of Sūthamāna

(9) Subhākara IV Kusumabhārā ('hara) II (Talcher pl., year 140) = (10) Prithvīmahādevi alias Tribhuvanamahādevi II alias Sindagari II (Baidū pl., year 155), daughter of Svabhāvatunga of the lunar dynasty of Kūsala

(10) Sāntikara III Lalitabhārā II (Talcher plates, year 149)

(11) Subhākara V = (12) Centre mahādevi

(12) Dāgīmamahādevi = (13) Dhārmamahādevi

(14) Subhākara = (15) Gautī

(15) Vakalamahādevi = (16) Dāgīmamahādevi (Gaṅjām pl., year 130; Bānapur pl., year 187)

Before entering into the details of the grant made by means of the present charter, it is necessary to refer to an important point in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings. The dates of the Bhauma-Kara records would suggest that the family ruled for about two centuries.  

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4 The recently discovered Baul plate of the queen say that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatunga, who belonged to the race of the moon and was the lord of Kūsala (apparently South Kōśala), from queen Nōtāmāhādevī, daughter of Yatōkūtidihi. The grants were made at the request of Šahēkā (wife of Mahānandaśabīpati, prince of the Magalakatesa), who was born in the Vṛṣṇa family and was married into the Vrāgū family, for the merit of the dead king. The gift land was situated in the Tantrikābhaṅga sthāna within the Daṇḍahaloka mandala (about the present Danton in the Midnapur District of West Bengal). The temple in question, which was a Śaiva institution, seems to have been situated in the same area which was probably being ruled by the husband of Šahēkā.
Elsewhere it was suggested that Sivakara I, Unmāṭṭasimha-Bharasaka, the second ruler of the family, was probably installed by Harsha during his Kōngōda expedition about 643 A.C. as his feudatory in Orissa. This date for Sivakara I Unmāṭṭasimha was taken to be supported by the Gañjām inscription which may suggest that Unmāṭṭakēśarī (simha), stationed at Virajasa, conquered parts of Kōngōdaʿarī from Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvētaśa with the help of his feudatory Rājaka Vishavāyana sometime after the Gaṅga year which may possibly be read as 120 falling in 616-18 A.G. Virajasa is no doubt the same as Viraja or Viraja, identified with modern Jajpur in the Cuttack District. One of the Parakāmī plates of Gaṅga Jayavarman was taken to be a copy of a genuine record of the sixth or seventh century, to which period the original records of the Gaṅga king are palaeographically assigned. Now the Parakāmī record referred to above is dated in the year 100 of the Gaṅga era, which falls in 596-98 A.C. Thus the reign of Sivakara I Unmāṭṭasimha was assigned to a date about the second quarter of the seventh century, the end of the dynasty to the early years of the ninth century and the rule of queen Daṇḍilmahādevī to the close of the eighth century. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this chronology of the Bhasama-Karas of Orissa especially in view of the late date suggested by the palaeography of their records.

In 790 A.C. the Chinese emperor T'ea-tsong received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by the king of Wu-cha (i.e., Odra, Orissa) in Southern India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was “the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion.” This piece of evidence cannot be easily reconciled with the chronology of the Bhasama-Karas indicated above. The original of the name is supposed to be śrī-Svētakāra-daśa Kēṣarī (Simha) who is often identified with king Subhakara I of the Bhasama-Kara dynasty. If this identification is to be accepted, we have to assign Daṇḍilmahādevī's reign to the middle of the tenth century and to suggest that the era used by the Bhasama-Karas started from the regnal reckoning of the founder of the dynasty. As however the names Subhakara and Svētakara are quite different in meaning, it is difficult to be definite on this point. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested to me that the king of Orissa mentioned in the Chinese record should be identified with Sivakara I Unmāṭṭasimha (or kēṣarī), father of Subhakara I. It has to be admitted that this is the only known king of early-medieval Orissa who was a Buddhist and at the same time had a name with the word “lion” as one of its component parts. But the word śrī does not mean “pure” and unmaṭṭa-simha means a “furious lion,” unmaṭṭa being a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit usattā, and none of these words can be traced in the Chinese translation of the Indian name. The chronology of the Bhasama-Karas based on the above identification therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. It may not be impossible that the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records belonged to a different dynasty of rulers, who flourished in the last decade of the eighth century but had nothing to do with the Bhasama-Karas. It must be admitted that the identification is a mere conjecture and we shall have to wait for further evidence to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhasama-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records.

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2. IHQ, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.
5. Ibid., p. 99.
6. Above, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64. Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes to me: "A more literal translation of the king's name and title would be 'the auspicious lord, pure, doing-lion king.' The literal Sanskrit restoration looks more sensible: śrī-Svētakāra-dasa Kēṣarī. The name was evidently understood in Chinese as Subhakara."
2 मन्त्राली मुहिन ॥१॥ बिलारे शंकरबाप्तिला निम्नलली ग्या: ॥१॥ शासपून संवि
ढांढालवली: बिलारे ॥१॥ शिराघात (यि)
3 [पं]काहुकाहु ॥ तो कम बड़े । भगुरुरुसमदीशक शीर(यि)चकोड़सुबंध: ॥१॥ नेपाल स्वभावमः त्वालांहुवलीसुबंध: ॥
4 ल(यि) ॥१॥ तिनकवामथत शयोस्तानविव पि ॥४॥ चाचाच: शंककारावर तवरा ॥ एकुपरः ग्रथि । शोभानवर लेंब घटि- ॥
5 देव(यि) ग्रथि: तुड़ा ॥१॥ सबलाकर्षणस्थलयों चाचाचारावर ॥ मन्त्रालयाविद्यैः ग्या: ॥ नवीकरणस्थलयों ॥ ॥१॥ ग्रथि ॥
6 बुरिज़पेहङ ब्राह्मणो संतानाविवरणस्थलयों ॥ देवव गजारव शंकाविवरणस्थलयों ॥ सुविवरणस्थलयों ॥ ॥ ॥१॥ सादरस्थलयों स्विवरणस्थलयों ॥
7 ग्रथि: ॥ गृहवेदनों शंक(यि)तायं ग्रथिनिर्दिष्टक ग्या: ॥१॥ सादरस्थलयाविविषयोंस्य धुतकक। ॥ शार मार्गावर ॥
8 जानो: ॥ तथोऽधि: ॥१॥ पंचविवरणस्थलयों: कोष तुलियन्यं गुरुवकोऽधि: ॥ पंचविवरणाधिकारी- प्रयत्न्यान्तरां ग्या: नूवः ॥ ॥१॥ ॥१॥ भु-
9 तो: सेतो रुपार शारास्थलयां भोजकालिन लंब(यि)ता ॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥ ग्रथि: पर्यावरणक्षेत्रोऽधि: ॥
10 ध्ये तथा: ॥ पार्शनिन्दितासंगमावर नूवः सेतों ग्रथिनिर्दिष्टक ॥१॥ सदरशंकसमुदाकिनिश- शवेदना सेतो संविवरणस्थलयों: सत्तो हि सेतोः ॥ विव-
11 भालिनिविषयवर तदेवसावरसंगमावर(यि)तायं नूवः ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥ ग्या: महायुगांशी- नामां नामांसमावर(यि) शवेदना सेतोः ॥
12 ध्ये तथा: ॥ कालिन्दिक लंबेद्रश्यार नूवः ग्रथिनिर्दिष्टक ॥१॥ ग्रथि: पार्शवर- द्विमार्ग्यावर तथा सत्तो ग्रथिनिर्दिष्टक ॥
13 बाबसिदस्य(यि)ता भवरस्मावर: ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥
14 ध्ये तथा: ॥ सत्तो ग्रथिनिर्दिष्टक ॥ ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥ ग्या: शारमार्गावर ॥१॥

* Meaning 'layer'.
* Meaning 'baktim'; Hindustani bauj.
* This sign is engraved above the line.
* This sign of aspandā is not required.
13 ते परे। पुक्त नवजनुकदागी राजसम्राट(ए)पुरस्कृत।\[121\] नवाकल्याणात दोनांलिखकारक। पदचारणातील समस्यांसमोहण होते।

16 भाषित मंदये \[115\] पवित्राणे महानिर्देशकाव्यपत्र तथा। समांक्षेपक भयो महाभास सोरिये स्थित: \[116\] \[120\] नवविनाशणात।

17 ये तु बधाम्य हस्तिपाल ते। ईथे गाजां इच्छितोऽर आग्रह पूर्वक ||221|| विसर्जे पंचवर्ग वे निम्नभूमी गणात्मका। पंचवर्गं मूळं

18 ये चैव वेशारी अभ्यस्तके \[122\] आशुविहरीरिव गणां घरभिं शास्ते। शास्ते। बिलारे हावा ताणातःं पंचब नस्तके \[123\] विद्वानः

19 ये सत सुभाष चतुर्वस्त। कोट्या विनिमयता सुनुरावृत्ततिः स्वितायत: \[124\] कौक-रोलाणामेती दृष्यो निम्नविवरणे। नितवारः निवरे।

20 तातर गाजां शुद्धं सत मे \[125\] उत्तम नेपालसांगणं गणविषयं विसरे। निम्नभूमी सतगा गाजा मस्तके तुवरं तथा।

21 \[126|| निम्नभूमी संपत्तज्ञ गाजा उपरी वा मूळ। गाजा स्थानिकाने कोटा(दक्ष)किंतुयं लिख ||273|| समांक्षेपविचारसंग्रहे।

22 डुआलिक्षितावंजना। विसर् विदवे माने चतुर्वस्त तत्कहे \[128|| साहित्यविदेश नगरे महाकोटके। दुर्धरी।

23 साहित्यके पंचवर्ग(त) निर्धेखणे गाजा ||126|| उदयेश्वरिदेश नूतने पूवारविषये। कोटाध्यक्षविनिमयाते विसर्जे निर्धेखे।

24 गाजा ||120|| डायवावे वेषारी विनिमयते शुद्ध पूवा। नरकालिकारवर गाजा मत ततः ||18|| 30(31)11/18|| पावसात्मके सेतूसुब गाजा मे तु [स।

25 हृदयके ||ईर्ष्य किसारते। पंचवर निम्नविवरणे माने ||31(33)|| नवाकल्याणाये मध्य इवान्दितमिति गाजा। ||1(1)|| पत्रोघोवक्त(पत्र) अभियो

26 "स्थातीतिधिवरण”， \[112|| औपचारिकारणाचं ये स्थित: \[32(35)सूचित:। भारागण-स्थायावातचिन्निर्वाही कोटकक।

27 \[33(34)|| मूळी गोष्टिक्षेत्रपातात स्वापन्ने हिं लेत। मागोस्य, स्थायित्वाच दैयोऽ ज्ञापने सवन \[134(32)॥ रामसेती यथा भाषि [दो।]

\[1\] इस फुल है जिनका अर्थ कम है लेकिन इसका अर्थ नीचे से अधिक है।

\[2\] The intended reading is लाम्रित।

\[3\] बालक्ष है जो मानकल्याण नहीं है।
28. रामदासरजंभ । सत्य संकरोलीसभाती भाव सिमितमें (2) ॥ ॥ ॥ बुद्धदया ॥

29. योगवेद सम्बन्धय एकयः ॥ ॥ कार्योलीसभाती सूचर भूमिक । सिमितमैरहि इति तव देवधर सिमितमें (2) ॥ बुद्धदया ॥

30. योगवेद यवहें शंकय भुजपाटधाकर ॥ ॥ नोकरवापत्र एवमेकः भुजपाटधाकर ॥ ॥ (143(14)) यहां देवधर सिमितमें उदये तु बंगमो गजा ॥ गोधें ॥

31. [इसका] यह एवः भुजपाटधाकर यह (140(14)) एवमेक भुजपाटधाकर एवमेक यह उदयें तु गजा ॥ वंशानुसारकृत ॥ ॥ (143(14)) यहां [द्वारा] ॥

32. विद्वेदाधि सेतोधव्यः सिद्धाः ॥ ॥ इसके त्रयोदशवर्ष विद्वेदाधि सेतोधव्यः यह ॥ ॥ (140(14)) यहां विद्वेदाधितः सिद्धाः ॥ ॥

33. यद्य कोष्ठकेवलभावादिति मन्यकरणं यह ॥ ॥ (143(14)) यहां विद्वेदाधितिसु तज्ज्ञ वेदाधितिसयमें ॥ ॥ (143(14)) यहां विद्वेदाधितिसयमें ॥

34. सत्यरामदास धन धर्मधर्मावलि सुनिश्चित । रामदास धन धर्मधर्मावलि सुनिश्चित ॥ ॥ (143(14)) ध्येयविद्वेदाधितिरूपः विद्वेदाधितिरूपः ॥

35. सुविदाः । विद्वेदाधि सुविदाः ॥ ॥ (143(14)) ध्येयविद्वेदाधितिरूपः विद्वेदाधितिरूपः ॥

36. तभाव नृत्यू नृत्यू (143(14)) गजा ॥ ॥ (143(14)) ध्येयविद्वेदाधितिरूपः विद्वेदाधितिरूपः ॥ ध्येयविद्वेदाधितिरूपः ॥

37. यद्य नृत्योत्तरी मन्यते (143(14)) गजा वशीकर विद्वेदाधि उदयं पंचम वां गजा ॥ विद्वेदाधि मन्यते ॥

38. कस्मविद्वेदाधिति सु (143(14)) विद्वेदाधितिरूपः गजास्वति पूर्वव थलक । ध्येयविद्वेदाधि ध्येयविद्वेदाधि ध्येयविद्वेदाधि ध्येयविद्वेदाधि ध्येयविद्वेदाधि ॥

1 The circles and the dots appear above the line.
2 Ksheras is imprinted above the line.
3 Sambhā is not observed here.
4 This sandhi is wrong; it ought to be saha or ashah-, which would militate against the metre. Better read saha or ashah-
5 After this was first inscribed Asastra-atha-site-agroha-ahna-mahadaga-[regnum] which was later scoured out. As indicated by a horizontal line running across this portion of the text. This has, however, been re-engraved at the end in line 44 below.
6 There is an inverted kshamata sign over the last danda, which shows that the portion engraved in L 44 is perhaps to be inserted here, forming a part of the verso 48 (50).
Slab XIII: Canto XII

[Metres: vv. 1-17, 19-23, 29-31, 37, 38 Anushśubh; vv. 18, 32, 33, 39, 41 Sārdūlavikṛśita; vv. 24, 25, 26 Indravijrā; vv. 26, 27, 35, 36 Upājñā; vv. 34, 40 Svagdharā.]

1. ॥ भ्रमणे शाय नमः ॥ नोटा० व्यक्तव लम्बतः साधृशितसमिति । गवार बध च विस्तारे सार्धकुमोदवा ॥१॥ नोटा दितोः।

2. ॥ नाम विस्तारे इति पुंसवतोऽधि साधृशितसमार्थित सु(त)लोमो(ो)दवा तु वैमेवः ॥२॥ नामार्थितसमार्थित विस्तरेत गवा दता । उदये।

3. ॥ सामाजवर मंडवरमन हि ॥३॥ नोटा०परिवर भाल्ल तावद्विजवस्दतर । ताक्षिदाः

4. ॥ भ्रमार्थक्षित तत्तावलेष्टिणिः ॥ भुत्वेते मंडवरू पुष्पचिं देवसन्मुखम्। ॥२॥

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* This syllable has apparently not at all been engraved, but the space for it is left blank on the stone.
* Being followed by a conjunct consonant, this syllable is long, while metrically a short one is required in its stead. Therefore, better read peaj[a]-stutra na=degha.
* This reading is extremely doubtful.
* Read = virsatimān.  
* See notes 8 and 9 on p. 43 above.
* Grā is a Bājāshāhī word meaning 'a dem'.
* There is a cancelled sign of superscript r over tr.
* The form orthodox, being an adjective of māndhapād, ought to be orthodā. The following word is āppati meaning perhaps 'Yavana' and not 'ocean'. We may read pačhima=śrityapradī-ppatā.
5 लेकिन: \( \text{कुर्सीत} \) खंडपापाटलेको कविताबंधन: \( \text{II}\text{.5} \) भारतसाहित्यावधाता: तिब्बती च निखारहे। भाषा स्थूलताः यतः-

6 सोल गुडलीलिताः हि: \( \text{II}\text{.6} \) मोहवनी च परोदिपथ सोडी झापसेर्वेका। तालेब एवं प्राणां नीमा मंदिरावर-

7 र्वा च \( \text{II}\text{.7} \) तालेबालमात्र नाही भोगती तालानामुकू। कैलाशवनरी तिथि गंगापा दिबिलिबुधा \( \text{II}\text{.8} \) काँ-

8 करोती कोहारामात्रा तिब्बतीसादृष्ट: निष्कामकपुराणो लिखी (विद्या)द्वारा इतिहास- [3*] \( \text{II}\text{.9} \) लिखी-

9 \( \text{तुम्भित्विंद्रः चतुर्विंद(चत)प्रतानिः व} \). वलोदासारणि तथा गजानामर: \( \text{II}\text{.10} \) भेराकाशिक्षनूपः-

10 तेर्पें गमनर: कुता। गाजायोपन कैलेक्ष्ट सहस्याणि गजानो: \( \text{II}\text{.11} \) विद्वकमोक्तालभें तदनान-

11 गानां तू संबन्धम्। कर्तव्य यहुँव्यक्तित्वादानाविविष्यः परा \( \text{II}\text{.12} \) तालानामयातिं कौशिक तदनान कुतः-

12 गानाः। तथा सत्ता सुखोदोभाजनांत्यो (भ) अलावाम् \( \text{II}\text{.13} \) सेठु कुता कस्तर्थो विचार्यते खरस्तुपररापते। भेरा-

13 \( \text{समस्तप्रसिद्धो कौशिकते} \) प्रागा ते \( \text{II}\text{.14} \) कौशिक इतायथापेतुद्विधया नृणां कलं बजेतु। पादाध्य लाभसः-

14 \( \text{विचारितमानयकाण्य} \) \( \text{सत्ता} \) \( \text{II}\text{.15} \) \( \text{एकविचारितसूक्तिः कंपानि तवोऽपात} \)। \( \text{एकविचारितुः कालान}-

15 गमनो \( \text{II}\text{.16} \) वातवरिधावाव्ययुक्तकामकसेती सहमांकपालेतवावी थ।(व)भूमयक्सरसा कविताः- सहाय्यादात्ततः। भाषा-

16 \( \text{त्तिः समुदायो विशिष्टत: के चतुः तेतु लिखं। स्मार्त वर्गां कामिः हे विचारितयें भेराकाशिक्ष: नृप:} \) \( \text{II}\text{.17} \) वनक्कालसादाम-

17 \( \text{तुधान्युद्वरितिसन्तोषः न्तिः। संध्यालकारैती दीर्घानालिपिमंडली} \) \( \text{II}\text{.18} \) तदावोणकारणि स्वाध्यायम्-

18 \( \text{सम्ब अंब} \). इति रामायणमस्य प्राक्ति सर्वो विषालित्यथा \( \text{II}\text{.19} \) भेराकाशिक्ष: स्वाध्यायमि \( \text{II}\text{.20} \) टे-

18 DGA/82
19 तु व(च)धुः महानमः(भ) निजः(निजः)लो तथमूदिः ॥२२॥ तसो जलार्थ वर्षे ब्रमानुवसा

गयरे।

तानजीरोजनसुदर्भचं संयज्ञक यः प्र्

20 संपुष्टे ॥२२॥ प्रतीपुष्टे राजसिहोरणा रणाः(भ) राजरामकुलु बधधायवान: शेलुते

एवेक वद्रुपसुनूः ॥२२॥

1 इत्यतः राजसत्तेण राजसद्वकर्षयीष्यः। भरतानिहो नृपानिहोत्सवमिष्टां न

भूताम् भावा न

22 नान तां ॥२२॥ पुष्टे शते सन्तेहि श्रुते विश्वामिति भावः ॥२२॥ इत्यतः भावः। वेतनाभुतसत्ताय तानिहा

23 भी नाने तानिहोत्सवमिष्यः ॥२२॥ संप्नावितं नीर्मितं: पुष्टे राजः तथा गुहासत्ताय

अनिहतान्ति। बच्छाय च(इ)धुः गुन

24 नान ऐसः नारायण गुरुम् मूहिः नीचे ॥२२॥ तथाय वर्षे लिखे भावम् ॥२२॥

निवीरीकालिनमिति तताने

25 भी गोमतीविनानवमानसव च ग(च)धुः गुर्दामतामूदिमुखः ॥२२॥ संपुष्टे राग्नाम्पन(व) गम्या

ग्रामादिनांग्रामादिनां

26 बारसना ॥ भी गोमती साधसत्ताय पुलायं संप्नामानवसर्वः भीम भवतामान ॥२२॥ शाले सन्ते

दशीले विश्रवसत्ताया

27 धरके ॥ धरष्टिमानव(व) हिरण्यक पश्चवता: हतां ॥२२॥ वदी सुवानपुष्टिव महावतपर

विधानाय। भीररा

28 भारात्सल्लाप्युपवनवत्स सरस्यमया महामता ॥२२॥ भारात्सल्लाप्यस्लायिति वनमुखार्णति ॥

भावाः

29 निवीरीकालिति महावतामया सुपीते ॥२२॥ रसायं कनकलते तु भवता विनाय

पारथ(व) गृहै गृहै लिख(व)भू

30 मेवण्ड विकृत्वाणो विकृत्वाविमात्राः ॥ हिलो व(व)चुम्बक वित्तालर्थ नागर्यो संयज्ञ

पूर्तोगो से

31 मवण(वत)केम्पामही जुरुः प्रमवती जुरुः ॥२२॥ वसायं कनकलते तु भवता विनाय

पारथ गृहै भारात्सल्लाप्यरा।

1 भूमा apparent to be the local term for 'dood'. Hindi भूमा from Sanskrit भूमा to 'overflow'. The word is here used in the feminine gender as it is in Hindi.

2 तां ऐसा.

3 संस्था is not observed here.
32 आश्रय सकल(स) कुरं अनन्य जुलूं । शरण: शीतरस्व समोभविनांमानुस्मान चापते(हर्ष-
प्रशुपोजमववं रजोम-)
33 निलालिङ्गज्ञानुः उन्निष्ठाः नर(131) इत्यवः हेमपुष्पयोः प्रम(भु)वर भवतारहुरङ्गायस्तु सर्व कार्य
कुर्सिकरणं निर्दिष्ट- ।
34 असुभासते लक्ष्मण राजसीह । सोबिवो हुप्यवेगः पतुसन्तरिण वा रसन: सत्यसुनिति
श्रीवीर सा(शा) हृदपवषि रिपुम- ।
35 गविस्वये गमुः: संस्कृत्योऽनुः नमूित: । मुः ते सत्यसिद्ध एकविन्द्रिणिमे भावणयुक्षलमे त
गुप्तमधि
36 विम्विधं न द्वारे घातकसा विवेकः मुरीका: । 1321 । ताहौः रुपाष्ट्रगुणरूपिनिष्ठा: सत्यसुधारा
वन- ।
37 तस्य नामे । स(तस्व) द्वितीयोऽवर्णोऽनुः हुः श्रुते(षु) सुर्यरेण समागतस्य । 1311 । शते
सत्यध्रोधेति एक-
38 विविधमखेकः । स्वगमतिसबे हेमपलसिद्वते: हुः । 1371 । विविधकर्मक्रम(क्रम) महाद(वान)ः
विविधादित्वाः अ- ।
39 शरण । मुः राजसिद्धिति विविधकर्मक्रम(क्रम) तथा: । 1331 । वले ह्रदकविविधवकर्म
उच्चित विविधं ए-
40 बा गूः । उच्चः या(य) तत्र निर्धर राव दुष्का विवृत वा विने । तदाधी विनाशितूः
राजविद्युतम धर्मस्वरूप वाक्योः कुलोः
41 विवृता परमेहता तत्रा कथ्य विविधोऽस्माः सम्: प्रमोः । 1381 । सोवमेक विविधकर्म(क्रमे)
विलिप्रय सवत्वि वा नवर नवर ।
42 भिन्नमेघ(भयो) गहनेवकर्म वास्ते विविधति विवृत(षु) वातस्त्रिलिता बाहुलणि वेकायाः स
-स्वमतानि स्कुमारवधाने न- ।
43 नन्दा राजसिद्धः सुवा बा श्रीवीर: मुर्गम इति वा सोंनुमनी विविधः । 1401 । वले
हर्षकविविधकर्म उच्चित विवे- ।
44 स्य दृश्योऽगूः वार्त्रिकं तत्रु सच्चिदेव विवृत्तां श्रीरामसर त्यथा । यत्वस्य: किंत
कपालसुपधवाः विनाशिता:

(*As regards the meaning of Appuri, see above p. 44, note 8.
*That is Bhiramgpti.
*Sudhak is not observed here.)
Slab XIV; Canto XIII

[Metres: vv. 1-4, 6, 8-13, 15-21, 24, 26, 31-35, 37, 38 Upajāta; vv. 5, 11 Upendravajrā; vv. 7, 25 Indravajrā; vv. 22 Vanīśasthamila; vv. 23, 30, 36, 39 Upajāta of Vanīśasthamila and Indravajrā; vv. 27-29, 40-42 Anushṭubh.

1. खोजणेसाद न्यसके: एवं प्रतिष्ठितासिविवेयक्षे हुले तालाय निर्माणकारों उस्ताहूपमाः सुपराजनके सिखे निर्माणनः

2. वन्दे(अः)विलावाहुमेयः: एववर्तीकुणाः वेिरेिमाः स्वागतामुस्रुमेय उत्तरमेयः: । यथा ब्रह्मायुगमधो महाविवः

3. रणीन्द्रमुर्तिविवेयुवानः विलोपणा: । विविचारसौतः संप्रेस्यायमास ते महाकोऽवि: । विवाहायुमासनुः

4. आविजालीनायामसिद्धायमाय तुभा: । कुतुक्सुः । यथा वियालेनु महामुहसुर राजायमाः कार्यकारसङ्करसः । पुत्रान्व(ब्रह्मम्)

5. यां छ हरा(क्राः)नां भुव्यांश्चरामस्रावस्त्रां च एव। व्रजस्वतानो वितलस्तुनीतां प्रतमः दीपातुनरकानाम् । मनोः

6. [व] मुक्तासन्नधुनामध्यमप्रवाप्रतमानोन्न्तिहरूकानाः(ष) एववर्तीनेयायुवानस्तहास्य एवः(ब्रह्मम्) महादसुः

7. हृद्देशः सुदर्भचं रजतः क्षणः प्रदास्य नितिप्रकृितिुमुस्रुपासः: [१२१] कश्चिविविवेयास्य सुविवः करुपुरुषरव गणमयः

8. यां । कामरीतानां निरक्तमुखां चुम्बक्तमुः विविवः: ब्रह्मम् । [१२२] संस्कारपितां: स्वािचािुण्कोलुकप्रयास्य वनपुरः

9. हृद्देशः सत्धानवकहः: विविवः कामनां यात्रा: । इत्यं युनस्तिविव विशालः ॥१२॥ कुलायः

1. After this occurs the sign of samprada six times repeated, possibly only to fill up the blank space and otherwise meaningless.
2. Deusa is unnecessary.
3. This letter was wrongly engraved and is scored off.
4. This samprada appears above the line.
5. The word 'padāraṇa' perhaps means 'tent'.
6. The three samprada signs are superfluous.
10 सन्तोषवनन्तर युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत युगस्वत । 

11 नामानां प्रतापमुद्रुतापि गुलद्रुपितां तां । इस्व मुखान्त म(व)पुण्यपिनचिं सत्तिमानां सप्निम धनिमत्ता न ॥१०॥ तथा(व) विषुण्डी । 

12 यथार्थ सन्त्रां तस्थं सन्त्रां वनस्पतयोजन । राजस्व यथा पूर्ण रघुरोहिणि संवच्यायामान साधारण्यां ॥१२(११)॥ पुराण । तथा रघुरोहै । 

13 सम्बंधान्य श्रीराजतिक्ष्म सन्तु प्रवाहः । इत्योन्तर्ष्य गुरुः कुंवेरः संवच्यायामान यथा यु युवत ॥२३(१२)॥ योगरूपसमेत्तवनाः । 

14 विषुण्डी । सन्त्रां(व)लतां गुलद्रुपितां । समाधुति मुखगणश्च गुलान्तरेण्य दोषयतः विषुण्डीतरेण्य विषुण्डी ॥२४(१३)॥ ज्योतम्य ज्योतम्य ज्योतम्य वापिः । 

15 सतसु महास्वमि व गुलद्रुपितां । प्रसंवच्यायां श्रीमालोहिणि धरापरम: श्रीयज्ञस्य श्रीलाभाः रणाम् ॥२५(१४)॥ पृथियमुपन्नसमाहितः । 

16 रौहेः निलेश्वरां श्रीतिकमुदवां । हुथ्योद्धलमुदवापूर्वराविद्वरेण्य चतुरतिनाः ॥२६(१५)॥ वेदमुता कार्यः । 

17 कर्तवरेण्याः(व) यथात्सर बंधे गुरुः राजस्वसिंह । धवाणिस्तनान्तः(व) हुथ्योद्धलसिंहः(स) वेदे गुरुः सुभद्रमहां विजन्तः ॥२७(१६)॥ रसेः-रसेः । 

18 भिः । विषुण्डीवलस्य रसेःदुरुर्गी: । करिनिर्गुर्गी: । धवाणिस्तनान्तः(व) हुथ्योद्धलसिंहः(स) वेदे गुरुः सुभद्रमहां विजन्तः ॥२८(१७)॥ रसेः-रसेः । 

19 च्या शमन: । न्यायातिः । धवाणिः । प्रववदेह[त] । धवाणिः । धवाणिः । रातंस्वः । धवाणिः । संस्तिगमिः । धवाणिः । 

20 पत्ता ॥२६(१८)॥ हेतुवक्षणिः एव तस्मात् । श्रीवर्गवाक्षणिः विश्वसङ्गायतार्यात: । वानीम । रघुः । 

21 हीतालक्ष्मेदविशाल: ॥२०(२०)॥ तपालशेषिः । गुलद्रुपितां साधारानोंग्यापूर्वस्मितः । वानीम । रघुः । 

22 चो मनके(व) ते चेवन विचारान्ति तथा: गुलद्रुपितां ॥२२(२१)॥ निर्माणस्ति: नरनामस्ववा: । समस्यान: । सबकुंडमुक्तोत: । प्रदेवः ।
23 सत्येवं करिरस्वतःमथं रत्नः पुरश्च यथा। नमः एवं माण्डलः। नमः(प) श्री
मनुवा शिवसागरः। प्रवंशकतः। अतः यः
24 विलोक्यतः। । कर्र्याल्यायः(प)। निः(प) हास्यः। चारणः। गुयाहलोभोभवया। समवः।
नमः(प) दु: पदाश्वः। सक्षमेव वेदः। योगः
25 सातोऽभिषेकायः। करणः। रुपान्तपमः। । वृद्धः महाशायः(हिंस्कः) धर्मः। अन-प्यः।
नमः(प) ब्रजस्य प्रको(य) वामः
26 स्य मुकः। समलोक्यातः। समावः। । वर्तवतिकं भवायः। इति(न)। प्रवाहः। प्रमुखः। समावः।
नमः(प) वनः। यवः.
27 निम(म) कर्माध्यक्षहस्तः। हुण्याितः। भ्रमित्तरमविमासः। छूँहोमा। योमः। परावृत्तः। वेंगः। तवस्तुः। नमः(प) एवं। व(ण) न्यः
28 श्लेष्व विबन्ध(स)। श्लेष्व विबन्ध(स)। विनम्रम(णय)। विनम्रम(णय)। वरुः। गोपम्यः। गुहोमा। वरुः।
29 सेल युद्धायः वेशः। आर्यविलासः। गोप्यायः। वरुः। गोप्यायः। गुहोमा। वरुः। गोप्यायः। गुहोमा। वरुः।
30 श्लेष्व विबन्ध(स)। श्लेष्व विबन्ध(स)। विनम्रम(णय)। विनम्रम(णय)। वरुः। गोपम्यः। गुहोमा। वरुः।
31 वायुसाधिप्रामिता। इति। नन्दः। तन्त्रोऽभिषेकायः। सेतुः। श्रीवनः। महानायकः। सत्वहस्तायः।
32 कस्मसारं समायानं वें सरीं। गुहोमायः। नमः(प)। कर्मः। समायानं रागः। गोपरावः।
33 सिंहो गुहोमायः। इति। गुहोमायः। कर्मः। समायानं रागः। गोपरावः।
34 श्रीवनः। महानायकः। नन्दः। गुहोमायः। नमः(प)। कर्मः। समायानं रागः। गोपरावः।
35 मं महायती। कर्मः। गुहोमायः। नन्दः। गुहोमायः। कर्मः। समायानं रागः। गोपरावः।

1 This stanza is engraved below the line.
2 Sandhi is not observed here.
3 This stanza and three suspaide signs are unnecessary.
Slab XV ; Canto XIV

[Metres : vv. 1, 5, 13-16, 20-23, 25, 27-29, 31-37, 39, 40 Upajñī ; v. 2 Yavāmbāvala ; vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 26, 28 Upajñī of Vaṃbāvala and Indranāthā ; vv. 4, 7 Indranāthā ; vv. 10, 30 Upendranāthā ; vv. 11, 12, 24 Anuṣṭubb ; v. 18 Upajñī of Vaṃbāvala, Indranāthā and Indranāthā ; v. 19 Indranāthā.]

1 [v.47] भीमसेनसाव सन्म [v.47] भीमसेनसाव सन्म
2 प्रभुसंगते दान [v.47] भीमसेनसाव सन्म

a The figure 47 is written above the line.
b čandī is not observed here.
c First was written āvṛt, then the superfluous vowel mark scored off.
3 सत्कृत् मित्रान्त: ॥३॥ गर्वं(ध)हारायणपुरुषोरिहितं वं पुज्यपुज्येत ॥ हमेहुष्योऽः ॥
करुण तुलामण्डप्यारं करत् पुरोहरण: ॥

4 सादारी ततोश्वसनम् ॥३॥ राजामहिमोऽथन्यरक्षसुङ्कोलार्थ: रास्तु विष: पावत: ॥
तोवरिष्ठेऽप्रवृतत्यहि सामातधातम: ॥

5 तुलां कर्मार्थविधाग्रुष: ॥३॥ प्रतापयताम सदैव सुत्त्र राजादेशविनिविषा मंकं सतव: समालस्तुस्कृतिे: ॥
विषाणु: सत्कृत: ॥

6 विशेषत: तप: ततोश्वसतियोऽः ॥३॥ बोहनमंडोतमेवलघुप्रविन्धतेः पुरुषरस्त्र: सत्य: ॥ स
रामचंद्रः किल तथ: चारत्म: स

7 केतसरीसिंह: ॥ते दिवसंकाल: ॥७॥ रावौ सितियोऽः चतु एव राजाविराजसिंहं
नारिष्क्ष: ॥ करुण तुला कर्मार्थविधाग्रुष: ॥

8 विशार राजाकरोगी व बलान्धसिंह: ॥७॥ उपास करोच महामहामालिक: रावौ अवने[ऽऽ
क]ङ्गिताः(स्त) बृहत्ता ॥ तुला करुणे: ॥

9 तदाः तुलास्ते अ केतसरीसिंह: इहोशोत्वाक: ॥७॥ स केतसरीसिंहमहादीपा नृत्य नियाय
बलिवसर्व सविन्ततः संज्ञयः ॥

10 नमहलविन्धतेः कुलकबोधमिरावृत्तेः ततः ॥७॥ गृहस्तिः जारभण्डोतिः(स्त)(सत)सरीसिंह: इत्यह
सेलोऽः ॥ सौत्रोशुण्डुपदुल्ला शिष्य: ॥

11 वादु सर्व लक्षणस्तथा रावौ(श)रथाविषिकायः ॥१०॥ सारेष्ट: शुभस्तलस्याः राजसिंहमन्त्रिष्याः
रथोस्यसिंहस्य पुरो जोपुरुषु व्यापल ॥

12 ॥११॥ विशार(वह)रजतसुदर्शवतः प्रतिरावतभ: ॥ वाणिको राजानागरे राजसिंहमन्त्राय: ॥१२॥
ततो नवमय: नववृज्ञनानानाविशेषाः ॥

13 नववृज्ञानाः ॥ विशिष्णवान्त: (श)परवज्जाः पुरविषित: गर्भवत: निनासी: ॥१३॥ ततो
महामहस्थपत्य भृद(र्ग)संतेः बेशय विकावे विज्ञान: ॥१३॥

14 नृपं महामह(स)ण: सुपुरस्य रघुस्योिनिशुल्भो तत्वपत्यस्य(स)पर्यः ॥१२॥ पथवे(व)रावा रविता:
पता च विचित्रवः शुभमहस्य ॥ सर्वस्य: ॥

15 विश्वास्वयं नृपेन्द्र ज्ञानस्यमेव कुलेऽमुनि: ॥२॥ गृहस्तिः मलत्वस्य: ॥
मलत्वस्य: ॥

* This danda is engraved above the line.
* This rā is redundant. Read गर्वम्.
* सत्कृति is not observed here.
* This so is superfluous. Read केतसरीसिंह.
* The sign of śrīva is engraved above the line.
16 [20]वाणधेये बंगवसंस्त एव प्रविष्टवाट सिः(सिः)वर ॥२५॥ प्रकाश्यते ततः च एवविष्टवाटः तत्स्यमात्रे भूमततमादि-

17 सह सः सयोक्तार शुभाद्विजजाति हिः [31] शुभवसंरक्षितवाटः ॥२४॥ समस्तो या शुभरसंज्ञाय सः

18 तु महःस्यस्यान्तर्य आदित्याभासः गुड़ जनादेवधर्मी; (वोः) दिवदत्तथामरणकः ॥२५॥ देवगणस्य शुरूः गु-

19 युतस्यस्य चक्षुशः व[30] शुभरसंज्ञाय द्वारः ॥ दोरेन शुभः(रोः) शुभरस्मिरिका संस्करणमात्रीणि[भे]-

20 राजाविरदः सन्याहिततः युतः समस्तो गुड़कः यथः ॥ यहा बलिः(रोः) न च रामचन्द्रो विराज्जले महायस्मादे

21 ॥२०॥ सहौपरिवर्तसंस्थितः(रोः) पर्वतलालितान्तर्यानाः सिः(सिः)श्रीमोनिमितीस्यः कुर्मायः ॥२२॥ (रोः)

22 महोधीपेन न उपरीतान्तर्यानाः धर्मकृपास्य संस्वामीस्यः(रोः)रणीवेशः ॥२२॥ हर्षलकारः यथे द्विवेच्यात् हतोपाध्यायाः निम्तवातो निर्माणातः ॥२२॥

23 देवस्य शर्किः प्रविष्टवाट प्राणिकां च ब्रह्मातिविरुध्दः(वरः)कितम् ॥ भूतस्मृतिप्रवेशादनं ब्रह्मायो वा(वा)महामायायामः ॥२२॥

24 दोरेण्य एव स्यस्य प्रविष्टवाट प्राणिकां च ब्रह्मातिविरुध्दः(वरः)कितम् ॥ भूतस्मृतिप्रवेशादनं ब्रह्मायो वा(वा)महामायायामः ॥२२॥

25 यस(वचः) श्रीमानः समस्त: [२२] भूमिकाः वे हर्षलकारकः पुराणः च पुञ्जीवर्षः नामवादः ॥२५॥ लोकाभ्यासः पुन्नविश्वस्वरस्य(स्य)स्यमोचरणातः-

26 प्राणिपत्रम्बुधः ॥ योगबुधकान्ता नापि गोष्टिको नापि(वरः)द्वीपमां ब्रह्मायो यत्रातः ॥२६॥ हर्षलकारः विलसकः-

27 वनः नवः नाशायनः िशिलेयः शयः ॥ रामकृष्णस्य भवावेश्येष्य चकार पुरा बरण तबः ॥२७॥ रथवः(म)दलालक्ष्यारः-

28 हितस्य हर्षलकारः यु (यु) वर्षः परेः ॥ निजाधितान्ति(ति)महिलाहितानि सविवर्णः या वर्षः युवियानि ॥२८॥ भूमिप्रति पुरः

1 For details of procedure, see Hāmādīrī’s Chaturunarpadhāntāpani; Dānakheṣṭā, nāgāya 12 (yadā-ādi-pratishṭa).
2 Read bhūna-dātrīya.
29 चेन्द्राण्यं त्वरात्यपीठाचालमात्मकारिष्ठ। प्रताख्यानप्रदिपात्वस्वकृतां ब्रह्मविप्रावित्ति: परहारनं या

[19] कलाप्य। ॥ १२४॥ परोक्षी ।

30 नागृजाटो वि बर्मं सुरीकावलिसितकं हितानि। विगीतिसत्वो वधाग्नितलं श्रृण्युपसारिष्ठ महाद्वीरस्वरुपं

महान्नामापमायथायं। ॥ ১২৫॥

31 मान दम्युंयक्तरं कुदुंसवतं धुर्म्यवट्टरं। माणा कालसितिष्ठत्ते तंत्रचं गं(नं)कल्लगा(मं)॥

प्रवृत्तं ग्रंवेंग। ॥ १२६॥ चन्द्रावर्गी ।

32 तत्कालकर्मरूपानं धुता वर्णं वा जिग्रुपमेव:। सुविषय: । संरक्षकेम्ब्रस्वप्यो मा

विलिसगारामाथभ। ॥ १२७॥

33 जरिबितानान्यरूपसित कुमारनांत्य महावर्गाय। बात-समूहं अभवानांतर्भ तात्त्वं वर्णो

मृत्तिकारपितं ॥ १२८॥ मक्ता-।

34 संमुखार्नीहलं च भौमन्तकप्यं संमुखार्नी। स्वजा(की)पम्यायनामयं श्रुकुलविशिष्टं

स्वाक्षर(का)मण्डलव। ॥ १३०॥ ग्रंथं मन्त्रक ।

35 स्वाक्षरवाच यहोग्वातकिं गुरुब्धित। अलाभोर्मंगुपसारिष्ठ(ड़े) वरी मररोप्ताराजानिसंहारन।

षुम कम नन्दिग्वाम्यामाथिर ॥ १३१॥

36 शानक नूकी स्वयं ब्लन्दोसाभारास्त्रिष्ठे। अलाभोर्मंगुपसारिष्ठ(ड़े) अग्नि(की)पम्यायन्।

शहयुसित। ॥ १३२॥ भ्रीगुत(कण) धिवद्धनान।

37 गुण्यंत्यं भोग्नायरति। निवेद दुक्ते। तम्युगजनसत्युगहुक्तं शयोरूपः: ॥ १३३॥

षुम कम: । ततो वर्त्त्वतं सुवर्णमुद्रं।

38 संयुक्तविद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्विद्वि

षुम: । ततो परभंदव शुक्रणमुद्रं।

39 धन्यति कहारिलुकच व स्वायत्त। [1] वातास्माहक्तिमुनुत्तरितः शतस्व तेषा। शुद्धः शुद्धामुख्र।

षुम: । ततो सर्वकाः श्रवण। ॥ १३४॥

40 धक नन्दनपूर्वकेतारामाथ। तु समायवो धुरकास्यं वाम कपरापोक्सुरं। तत: । उ(ि)

तुम्यपात्वस्याचार्यरत: नानाकार्यस्त्रोत: ॥

Slab XVI ; Canto XV

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37 Upajātī ; vv. 5, 6, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32-34, 36, 38, 39 Upajātī of Vamkasthvāvira and Indravasāhā ; vv. 8, 31, 35 Vamkasthvāvira, v. 12 Indravarṇa-]

1 संधीप्रेयासारम:। तत: । शारीरिकविवक्षणः। एवं कु रौकायं गुरु:। [1] तत: । सूचनाग्रस्त हृदतः

1 The figure 29 should precede the word जालपोषनी.
2 सन्तोलिक नाम is the same as नस्तीलिक, 'libation of water' with which a gift is made.
3 These marks are engraved to fill up the space.
2 समाखलि त ॥१२॥ बललकत्तनार्कविलिएमेनाब्राह्मण संस्कार विवाहतूकृतविवाहशत्।। बललकत्तनार्क
गणानविनामकृत्।।

3 यु मुखुपुरुष ॥१२॥ तल्लो(तल्लो)कपालमध्ये भूरिब्यन्त्रयज्ञशास्त्रं वागाधिका:।। एकेशररस्तारस्तारस्तार
विवाहकारण सर्वतद्विनतीम्।। श्रवणमण्

4 लघुविज्ञानयग्रास्त्रस्य (सै) अव ॥१३॥ हयोंडीयम्मययुक्तोत्तमभवयांबाहरनाथ सम्भव:।। बलाहुति
मोदतामयावरेणुहा इति

5 तव पुरस्यविवाहशता(अ)विवाहशता ॥१४॥ चौरी पुरस्य पुरोहितेः जनवाणिः विहिनमृ तववास
रेखसरः।। मुखिणेश्वरस्य च दिक्।।

6 क्षयको शोकशोभा न चंतासतवीरोदिनिरिति ॥१५॥ कुलकर [११९] प्रोक्त जनेलीकपयोग
युक्तो जलवायुमयीपरोस्ति सं वये।। वाना

7 जलश (ख)कगलसतुष्टकपह्र प्रस्तादिभिकरिष्यति ॥१६॥ तपाश इत्येक वर्षयथा पूजा: विपाद
पूर्व सकलामपकर्षण ॥११॥ खाना

8 यो नौरी कलशभु क्लमा नारी: पुर: सकलसाद: कलोकति:।।१२॥ बहमहोतहस्यमान
रूखुक्ष्यो लसहायः स्वप्नसन: सविसमयः [१] हि

9 खुद्दिबलिकारने शुष्चिद्वमग्न(ख)विवेध(ख)तिविशिष्टन्युदितानु ॥१३॥ संस्कारा वेंद्रा कलोकन्
[प(ख)]लक्ष्यस्मातस्यावतरिति भुतमिन्

10 तातु। भ(ख) जगु(ख)प्रभुको मलस्मिनिभारते मुपपञ्चभरित:।।१३॥ बहुवतु कोषेपु
मुखपस्याकरोपुष: श्रवणदेवेष

11 भवायु शवसुदय शुभवन्युग्म: वेंद्रा स वेंद्रविशिष्टदेवतानाः।।१३॥ नवप्रहारस्तारस्तार
विवाहकारण सं[स्य]यमवायुपविवाहकारण ।। न

12 यथहु सर्वहुरैशु द्रष्टाभिशार्यन्त्र: प्रतिचरियायित्य:।।१३॥ सं[स्य]यमवायुप च रूढ़ि
वर्ष प्रस्त: विलिपो-न

13 रोहानु:।। रूढ़ि भवन शुभरूढ़ि न देशे द्यायवेषा भवि भवतासुधेरः।।१३॥ नतो महाका
संपर्यपदात्तेः निश्च: समेती विलायतु

* These marks are engraved to fill up the space.
* This दम्पति is engraved above the line.
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14. रौप्य: | घराण्यव आगरणे विद्वंतवेदितकाय(४) इत्यदासंगताः | २१३० | सती: निवा।

15. निरहसिंह: | जात: श्रस्वत्वा वृषभसंगते & श्वेतवनासीच तत्ता कुमारान् | २१४० | गणन: वसमस्ताय विलुप्तयामार्ग: स्वः।

16. म(स)वर्ष वंजोकुशस्यस्यवर्तच: | पुरोवास्य समवधूपङ्गानाः | २१५० | समुहुः मुक्षःस्य(४)स्य | २१५१ | मुक्षविनीतम्युज्ज्वलस्यनाथः।

17. शनिद्वारास्तिहवर्णे | दिष्टापः | इत्यत: पुत्रा त्रिवंद्रस्य युला: समस्तवेदेस्वुपुरुषं | २१६० | िर्ताकरे कारयुपः नित्यैः।

18. तद्गमनेऽन्नावस्थास्य | निश्चक्तवास्याः इत्यद्य परस्य मस्त्व गुण: काष्ठभवसमाहस्यमेव | २१७० | अष्टाक्षरो वा मकर तत्त्र लिनि।

19. ळ[ह]ने | स्वामित्वस्य यथास्य। | त(त)ेनाय स्वै निधियो अथवा समवाचत्यति ततो जनन्य | २१८० | नूने समुद्भिर्जिता सत्वास्यस्।

20. समुद्धरभाषणवात्त्व आदि। | मकरायो केवलाये राजसुलेनात्मकतायले तु हेतु: कपिलोगमेवा(५) | २१८० | निरःकालित िर्ताकर्मारे समुधुः।

21. वै तथा तद्गमने गुणे माल िर्तात[करवन्] तथा श्रवाहिनिवलिच्चि कुण स्याः (६)। विनि बुधपुरे: | २१८० | गौ: गुणे वासुमको विश्वासुपूर्व(४) स्याः | २१८५।

22. तान्त्रिकता: | हिंदुक्कौले गा: प्रतिलोक भूष: पुष्टिहविवाहस्यमात्रातु | २१९० | गुणे मकरायो वात्त्वसुरोगिताह(४) वेदोजमेवादव्यः।

23. शुद्धि: | यत: | प्रभो। | गोतारशास्यभाषमातस्यमुग्मः | २२०० | सचिव(विने)समस्यो गरःस्त(सन्धने) गोर्तनष्टातय: | २२०० | तद्गमम्ये कार्तिकायनमातोमुनः।

24. भार(स)समिति महाकाल: | २२०० | गोम्यवतास्य। | २२०० | यथा तस्यस्यसाधारणवेद्यांशः समवधूपङ्गानाः | २२०० | शुद्धि: | लव्यान्वषीः नागकीतस्यप्रमेयः।

25. य पूर्वे शरस्यतार्य | २२०० | यद्य तालम्य नागमात्मकः कर्मवेदिक रिपुसः | २२०० | भक्ति शुद्धिकौलिने खनिजलोऽनि।

26. शास्त्रितिकमेव विभासिते | वसमस्ताय विनांशे नृपय: | २२०० | िर्ताकर्मायस्य सु गुणेताम (५) | २२०० | नामोगमात्मकः व शंकुद्वंपे।
27 वीराः कर्णाः तद्गुप्तययुधः श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् -

1 This śrada is engraved above the line.
2 This śrada is unnecessary.
3 This samākṣa is wrong; it ought to be nākā añātām.
40 नेत्रसार निवृत्तत्वं पुरुढःकाजनां न्यायं व संग्रामसंगम लिख्यते नायकं
मूर्तिर्महे : समानं््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््््্
8. महामहोत्सवायो महेश्वर: [१०] संस्त्या(प्रायम्)वर्णांशलस्काराकी(पृष्ठांशिष्य)पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

9. संस्त्या(प्रायम्)वर्णांशलस्काराकी(पृष्ठांशिष्य)पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

10. वर्णांशिष्या महामहो धर्मिकुन्त्ति: पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

11. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

12. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

13. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

14. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

15. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

16. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

17. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

18. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

19. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

20. पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य) पुवर्णम्(पृष्ठांशिष्य)

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* Sanskrit is not observed here.
* Here a superfluous space is engraved above the line.
21 वेश्यमानां द्वारमिवभास्तीनां। यस्मातं विद्यमाणां द्वारः प्रविष्टमानं द्वारः।

22 क[म त] घर[किस्थं] सहहार्यं समथेयं। सुकुमाररः। पुलिसः। दिविकारो- 

23 मासमां गिरिधारी परसरावनां। महति समथेयं सुभासं। दिविकारोहरसमाविष्टाः।

24 न्यररात्त। त्रिपुमुक्त: विलानव। गिरिधारां। समथेयं पतनः। रक्तः। राजसिंहराजा 

25 विसमुच्चनौः(व)। रहस्यमात्राः। समथेयं राजसिंहराजेश्वरः। विलानवः। कहणार्याः।

26 दोषामान्यमुक्तः किरतिन्द्रः। परिवर्तते नरे(रें)ः। युधी भानालिपिसमार्गम्। निम्नः 

27 मोद(व)यात्रात्तमात्रान्वतः, तिरुमलम्। नमः। समथेयं समितिः। निम्नः 

28 तुर्यमानन्तरीक्षाराजकालद्(म)। आकर्षित्वहारः। अब्रहः। युधी भानालिपिसमार्गम्।

29 विनायके विनायकः। पंः धोरायसिंहः। इतिवेदितः।। हेदुः। पन्चवंछेण:। 

30 ईश्वरायामार्ये। परमेश्वरेन सहस्रस्तमित्वृद्धीः। हि तातः।। पल्प्या युल्लानात्(न) 

31 काल्युक्ति:। पार्वती(व)। तद्यतः।। योगधारा:।। एको ग्रामः(ष)। निः(म)। नारः 

32 युर्यशः।। देवस्तूपः।। विश्वासः।। इति विश्वासः।। विश्वासः।। प्राणः(स)। राजः।।

33 युर्यशः।। देवस्तूपः।। विश्वासः।। इति विश्वासः।। एव। 

\* Hindi her: 'basant'.
\* Sanskrit is not observed here.

MGIPCO--81--18 DGA/82--16-7-34--459.
The charter records the grant of the village called Sāntiragrama together with another locality called Kōmyōsanga, situated in the Pachhama (Pacchima) bhaṇḍa within the Tamra viśaya in the Dakshina-Tōsallā (i.e., Tōsali) country. The grant was made by the Paramamahādeva (devout worshipper of Mahāśiva or Śiva) Daṇḍimahaśādevi, who is endowed with imperial titles, in favour of Bhāṣṭa Māhīkyādeva (possibly Bhāṣṭa Māhīkyādeva), who was the son of Jālalādeva and grandson of Purunāṭa. The donor was an inhabitant of Dharmaśāstra; but his family had originally hailed from Takārī. He belonged to the Bhāravāja gōra, to the Āṅgiras, Bāhāpatya and Bhāravāja praśastas and to the Vējāsanāya Charunasa and was a student of the Mādhyanates śākhā. The occasion of the grant was a solar eclipse. It was made at the request of Paramamahādeva Kōkunla sīthārād-Aparśodēva who was the lord of the Yamagartā māṇḍala. It seems that Aparśodēva was a feudatory of Daṇḍimahādevi and that the Yamagartā māṇḍala formed a part of the Bhumas-Karas dominions. We have seen that the kings of this family granted lands in northern and southern Tōsali, the former indicating the Balsore-Cuttack region (sometimes with a part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal) and the latter including parts of the Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam Districts. Kāgōda about the border between the Puri and Ganjam Districts is said to have been included in Dakshina-Tōsali. The Tōnaga chieftains Gayāyānaga and Vīnītānaga, whose charters have been discovered in Tālcher and Bonai, also called themselves lords of the Yamagartā māṇḍala. In this connection it may also be pointed out that the Tōnaga ruler Vīnītānaga seems to be mentioned as a feudatory of the Bhumas-Karas monarch Śivakarṇa III, grandfather of Daṇḍimahādevi, in both of his Tālcher plates dated in the year 149. An earlier ruler of the Yamagartā māṇḍala was Jayasimha who also used the era employed by the Bhumas-Karas in dating their records and was probably one of their feudatories. The date of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayasimha is read as the year 68, although the actual reading may be 128. It seems therefore that the Yamagartā māṇḍala was situated in the valley of the river Brahmānī to the west and south-west of the territories of the Bhaija chieftains of Kājāli-māṇḍala (in the Bānti-Komjhar area) and of Kūpijiaga-kōsa (in the Mayurbhanj region). It appears further that the chieftains of Yamagartā, the Bhaija also originally acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhumas-Karas. The Tōnagas of Yamagartā were probably succeeded by the dynasty represented by Aparśodēva; but, sometimes afterwards, the latter seems to have been itself ousted by rulers of the Sullī dynasty, whose names ended with the word amśdha.

The record contains two lists of officials to whom the royal order was addressed. Both of these are short but contain a few interesting entries. The first list, mentioned in connection with the country of Dakshina-Tōsali, includes Mahāśāntar, Rājasatka, Rājayata, Kumbhārāṇa, Aparśodēva (Uparika), Vīhārapati, Tāḍāyukta, Dīgśaṇapāṭika and Śākunāṭarika. In place of Rājasatka, other records of the queen read Aśvatāra, probably indicating the royal physician. Rājasatka may also indicate the same office. Kumbhārāṇa seems to be an Amśyā or executive officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood. Uparika was a viceregent and Vīhārapati the ruler of a district. Tāḍāyukta was probably the ruler of a subdivision of the district, appointed by the Vīhārapati and not by the crown. Dīgśaṇapāṭika was a police officer, its corruption Dīgasapāṭika still indicating a village-watchman in Orissa. The Śākunāṭarikas were probably spies. The other list of officials, possibly belonging to the territorial unit called the Pachhama (Pacchima) bhaṇḍa in the Tamra viśaya, includes Mahāmahāttra, Bhūhadbhūtika, Pustukapāṭa and Kājākātaka, to whose adhikāravaṇas or offices the royal order is addressed. Mahāttra means the headman of a village. Bhūga
possibly means one enjoying a free holding; Pustakapāla was the record-keeper. The word āṣṭakāla is difficult to explain.

The village is said to have been granted together with the uḍdeśā (space above the ground called ṛṭala), with subjects such as the weavers, ḍālī (milkmen, called Gādraka in Oriya) and khaḍikāra (wine-sellers) and with uḍdeśās (outposts) at the kāṭa (village or hamlet), ḍaṭṭā (harbour) and nādaṭarasa (ferry). Another interesting passage says that the grant was made a-lāresā-pratdvaktayā bhūmicchādra-pāṭhaṇa-ṇāyikā. The expression a-lāresā-pratdvakta seems to mean that the grant would never in future have to be the subject of another document. That is to say that the village could not be regranted to any other family and that its ownership could not be transferred by the donor to some other family. In inscriptions we usually find the expression bhūmicchādra-ṇāyikā. Thisṇāyika was based on the custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding. The word khaḍikāra in this case no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of khaḍikāra-pāṭhaṇa or 'covering a hole' seems to have developed out of a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the ṇāyika. The idea in bhūmi-chādra-pāṭhaṇa-ṇāyika was probably that the loss of lands owing to various causes was thought to be compensated for by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Dākhinā-Tōśāla (i.e., Tōśāla) and Yāmgaratā-mandala has already been discussed. Guhēvarapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, was probably modern Jāpur or a locality in its suburbs. Tamura viṣaya, Pachhama (Paśchima) khaḍa, Sāntīrajram and Kumyōsaṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. The headquarters of Tamura may, however, be located at modern Tamur (21°18' N. 85°14' E.) in the former Pal-Lahara State. In regard to the name of the khaḍa, it may be pointed out that one of the Gaṇjam plates of Davistrimahādevi records the grant of a village in the Pūrva khaḍa of the Vardākhaṇḍa viṣaya in the Kōngōda mandala. This seems to suggest that the Pūrva and Paśchima khaḍas were merely the eastern and western divisions of a viṣaya. Dharmapātja, the native village of the donor, cannot be identified; but Tākāra, where his family originally lived, is known from numerous other records as a great seat of learned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Tarkāra, Tarkārī, Tarka, Takkāra, Takkāra and Takkārī. Sometimes it is said to have been situated in the Madhyādēśa division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division. In one record the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvasti. There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvasti. Some scholars favour its identification with Setmābād on the borders of the Gonda and Bahrām Districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Bogra District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Takkāra is located in Oudh.¹

¹ See Jolly, Hindu Law and Custom (trans. by B. K. Ghose), pp. 186-97. Note that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first.
² It is to be noted that the Panjabis explain bhūmicchādra as 'uncultivable land'. The expression is used in the Arthasastra of Kautilya exactly in the same sense. See Bhattacharya, Kāmasūtra-śacara-dvaiti, p. 33, note.
³ See Misra, op. cit., p. 51.
⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 119.
SANTIRAGAMA GRANT OF DANDIMAHADEVI

[Metræ :—Verses 1-4, 14-15 Sûrdâlavikríṣṭa ; verses 5, 7-9, 13 Vasantarâkâ ; verse 6 Mûlûn ; verses 10-12 Anushtubh.]

Obverse

1 Sûddham[|[*]|] Svasti vyasa-ja{l-ā}bhir-vibhrama-dhara{ī}bā svē(śy)jī-śatapatr-śtkaraṁ-aśviya-
   śruti(tī)-chāmaraṁ-cha hasita-vyākōsā-kā-

2 ś-ōdayaśa[|(|)] uddānairsūmara(da)-saurabhais-cha karipām-ākhipta-saptachchhad-āmō-
   daim samhi{ţ}[|[*]|] sadai{va} karad-āra-

3 mbha-ārutaṁ vi(bī)bharataḥ[|[*]|] Śrī-Gu(Gu)hēśvarapāṭaka-nīvāśi-vijaya-akhandhavrātra-
   (rāt) || Sarva-āśā-paripūrṇa-ābh(i)dhi||

4 ka-ruchir-yas-āţaţum-astana-nayana-ananda[|[*]|] kritavān-janasa manasa prāpta-prabh-
   āhāṃ śhāman(ram) || ()|| sad-drāśi-pratirodhi yēna

5 cha tamō nirūlamb-unmōliyam ārtmān-indu-viv-śvānputar-abhūd-Umaṭṭasthitai(h-a)-
   hvayaḥ || [2[*]] Tad-vanāsād-ābhavam-anindita-guṇ(a)  

6 muktiśamāyāḥ santatāḥ[|[*]|] sad-vittī[|[*]|] sukha-śalalāḥ kahitiḥpritiḥ śrīmad-Gayād-ādayaḥ
   [|[*]|] yēn-nitva hridaya-pra-

7 tāp-śamanā ṅīvānābhāḥ śvayaṁ karṇa-śālēpa-sukha-sthitī-praścyinō hār-kvi(bhi)-
   rāmaḥ kriṭāḥ ||[3[*]] Tad-van-

8 ṣē-ḥhavat-ūṛjita[|[*]|] pratī-śvi(budha)-prītā(tī)ḥ pratī-śādayo dova[|[*]|] śatru-vadhi-mû(μu)-
   ḍhā-śūdūni-[n]muniṁ śrī-Lōṇabhair

9 ubhipa[|(|)] yasy-ākravya gurān-pratiśā-pāśikinaḥ prīthvibhiptaḥ prōḍhahāṭah(tān) dūruṁ
   sarvya-dug-antarēhhi[|[*]|] tatha śva-

10 brahmaḥ prassas(a)ṃ karāḥ ||[4[*]] Tasy-ātmajah prāpta-pārthika-chakri-chūdhā-nīvyāत(ṛyvyā)-
   ja-rōpita-pādaś-charit-ārtha-nāma [|[*]|]

11 vistār-śa(sa)nuḥbha-gu(gu)p-ōdaya-pūrit-āsasa-taṃmād[10]-ahhūt-Kusū(su)mabhāra iti kahi-
   tāṣaḥ ||[5[*]] Abhrī-

   ṭyāḍaḥ-hṛg-indra-līla[|(|)]|| anayad-amālīmah

13 naḥ pa(ya)ḥ-yaḥ-pūm. āgm[|[*]|] cchheir-apī ripū(śu)-ram(j)ma(j)nāṁ-aśa-jam-bhi|m|śram-

14 śāt-avāntar-ajani Śaṁtikāra[|[*]|] bhūdhānaḥ || [|[*]|] yēn-ōdāhritidhēv-akhila-dū(du)rma-
   kanṭha(p[a])kah(ś)ju rāmaḥ yathā-sū(a)ṃkham-apā-

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1 From the original plate and impressions.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 The syllable as here looks like ta.
4 The Gaṅgi plate A has karaṇa. The top vēṭṭa of dha in the present inscription was inadvertently missed.
5 The word samāvēṣita found in numerous other records is better suited in this context, although the grants of the Rama-Karas usually have nivāra.
6 The Gaṅgi plate A reads adoṅghal which Kielhorn corrected to sangatham.
7 The Būpur plate reads ye asta while both the Gaṅgi plates have ye astī hridaya-āraṇa. On the whole the reading of the Gaṅgi plates is preferable.
8 The Būpur and Gaṅgi plates read kaṇṭha-dālīthā which is the reading intended.
9 The Būpur and Gaṅgi plates have the correct reading kriṣṇa in place of pūṇa.
10 The Gaṅgi plates have śrīnaḥ in place of taṃmā.
11 Read kaṇṭha-kham.
12 Read saṁkham.
15 sta-bhiyā janēna || [7*] Tasya prāṣasta-śaṁjarit-brāhmaṇī-kṛṣṇī-viśva[ṃ]bhāra-śabhū- (bhū)-abhi śakṣata[n]sa-taṅ-śi || śrēyōdur-ekapada-
16 m-śi-śukhalā śjīṣṭāt-ātmā yaḥ arī Śū[ṇu]hākara iti prathitō yath-ārhatam || [8*] Tasya
trivishṭapajā-bhāja paramēva-
17 [ra*]jya dēśī-[vι] sannasta-janastā-nāta-pādāpadā || (||) śiṣṭ[a]*śāsanāni śāri-kar-āmala-kṛṣṇī-
Gaurī Gaurī-śva gauravā-padāni
18 chrisan-ahyacahuta-hat (hat) || [9*] Tātō Daṇḍimahādeoś putā tasyā mahāyāni || (||) mahū-
 mahā-sāmānyāśi chīra-kilam-apā-
layat || [10*] Avichārāhīṃ-sāya prānāṣu* vaṁśe Ka(Ka)ra-mahābhūtāṃ[ṃ]kā[ṃ] || * chikma-
bhūta pāṭāk-āṣva yā vaṭa(bhu)va bhūha bhūhaṃga[m*] || [11*] Lāvaṣāy-āṃrita.

Reverse

20 nishyānda-sundarām daṅdha vaḍa(ṇu) || || * ya rājach-cha[nhu]* lākha-ēva viśasat-kṛṣṇī-
chandriyā(kā) || [12*] Tasyāḥ prāti-pāta-nāta-durmāla-sātra-bhūpa-nē-
21 tra[tr-aṁvu(mbu)]-danta-nayāvatā-nayāvanā || (||) pāda-ānvu(mbu)ja-dya(ṇyu)nir-
amāntaram-anvarō(ṇa)diṣṭī mahāpra-lagna-kura(ṇ)ru vīnā-ḍal-ā[1-6]rru
22 [bhā*]kā || [12*] Uṇāṇāśah(a) alimmah(ak)āvē vē sā[ra]*khi(a)sh(a) mahākśatmikā-
sthiti-dīhā-sangha-ruchis-tushāra-krīpā śiṣṭāvi(jē)kējē[hu]sh(a)u māktamukta-
23 Rāhan tāhāha[kah]a-gramah(a) ku(ku)-mapahṣu trēa-āṇyaḥ kēvalaṁ kāntā-kuntalaa-
samaduntraṣṭa[nsa]h kū[ṛi]taḥ [a]śrīyāḥ prakrīṣa[ṃ]ḥ(ḥ)ru(ṃ)[vē*] bhuvī || [14*] Ramy-āśa-
24 k-śūkita-mayaṇa-kūndal-pūrṇa-vaṭṭtāḥ sva-ānākta-śhītpati-bhā-sāmanī-rājaḥatānī ||
kūṭha(kū)-ṣaṁjna-grābha-sūkṛ
25 t-ālamvu(mbu)ma-svarṇa-yashtir-yā nīḥēsah-praṣayi-sūmanē Nandana-ōdyaṁ-lakṣ̐humi[y*] ||
[15*] Paramamahāvārī suṭā-pīti-pōd-ā
26 nūdhēyā paramādaḥ śīṣṭā kālaṁ jālherējāś paramēva śānavā Daṇḍimahādeoś ku(ku)-
śāliṇī || Daṇḍiḥā-
27 Tōsālāyānī varṭamāna-bhavīṣya-mahāsāmantrō rājasatka* rājasam-bhūsam-svāpa-
riṣā-viśhaya-pātih-tulāh
28 yuktānu-dāṇḍapālīka-ātāṇāntakān-asyān-ṣpī rāja-prāśīdana-śhāṇa-vallakha-jālīyānāh-
(yān)||[16*] Tāṃrā-viṣhā-
29 yāh (ya)-Pachha(ṣhī) makhaṇḍa-mahāmālattara-vi(ḥ)ibhadhūga-prāsakapāla kūṭakaśā-
ād-yudhikaranān yath āchari maē-

1 The Būpur and Tāmālīś plate read prāsaṇa.
2 The Būpur plate has kīrtiṃ.
3 Kiethorn read naṃśeṣānaṃ saḥ in the Gaṭām plate.
4 The Gaṭām plate reads prāṣatha saḥ. Kielhorn suggested prāṣaṇa saḥa-kara. This verse and the
following stanzas are written in the Gaṭām plate B.
5 The next half of the verse and the following verses are also absent in the Gaṭām plate A.
6 The Būpur plate has the correct reading maṇḍapā-ṛṣ. The Būpur plate reads maṇḍapā-ṛṣaṃ-
suvatiṣyā.
7 Na is inceased below the line.
8 The śīsaṇā are superfluous.
9 In place of rājasatka, the Būpur and Gaṭām plates have mukhāya-rājasatka-manasaṃ. Rājasatka literally
means "belonging to the king"; but the meaning does not appear to suit the context.
10 The śīsaṇā are superfluous. The rāṣṭā sign may be a part of the mark of punctuation.
No. 11] REYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN; YEAR 12

This set of copper plates deposited in the archives of the Raja of Kalahasti in the Chittoor District, Madras State, was discovered by the late Sri Vaiyari Prabhakara Shastri who has edited the inscription on them in Telugu in the Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. In view of the importance of the epigraph which deserves fuller study, I edit it here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of five plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring had been cut, apparently by the previous editor, when the plates were received for examination. The writing is engraved on one side of the first plate and both sides of the next two plates. The remaining two plates contain no writing. This is rather unusual; and this unusual feature may possibly be explained on the assumption that the framers of the document had originally kept these plates ready with the idea that the writing would extend over them, and that their expectation did not materialise. In the alternative, it may be supposed that the two spare plates are a later addition. It has, however, to be noted that traces of a few letters incised in late characters, forming two lines, can be detected on one of these spare sheets. Though the rims of the inscribed plates are not raised, the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 25 lines of writing and these are distributed evenly on the five surfaces engraved.

1 The engraver began to incise the name of the village, but, as some mistakes crept in, gave it up leaving considerable blank space at the end of line 30. He then engraved it at the beginning of the next line.
2 Read pranām.
3 The usual expression is ṣaṅkṣa-ṛṇī.
4 The actual value of the symbol, as noted above, seems to be 100.
6 I am indebted to the above authority for having kindly secured the original documents for my examination and study from the Director, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. It is registered as No. 26 of Government Epigraphist’s C. P. collection for 1949-50.
The plates measure almost uniformly 8 inches in length, 2-5 inches in breadth and 1/16 inch in thickness. A circular hole about 9/16 inch in diameter is cut at the centre of the margin at a distance of 3/8 inch from the left side of each plate. The ends of the ring which is about 3 inches in diameter, are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal, 1/6 inch in diameter. The seal bears in relief the following figures. A lotus flower with five petals is carved at the bottom. Above this is a couchant bull with hump. Its head facing the front is placed towards the proper right. Two flywhisks fastened by a double chord are shown on either side of the animal. At the top of the seal and above the animal is a crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 26 tolas. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 80 tolas. Unlike the seal of the Kūram grant no legend is engraved on the present seal.

The charter belongs to a ruler of the Pallava house and the figure of the bull in the above description represents the emblem of the family. From other copper plate records and also coins we know that the bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. This emblem is not clearly visible on the seals of some early copper plate charters of the family. The figure, though somewhat crude, is recognised beyond all doubt for the first time on the seal of the Vilavatī grant of Sinhabarman. We may, however, note one peculiarity. Whereas the bull of the Vilavatī grant faces the proper left, that of the Kūram grant, the present charter and others of the later period, faces the proper right. An interesting fact to be observed in regard to the Pallava emblem represented on the seal of the present document is that it is the best of its kind on account of its fine workmanship, surpassing all the rest discovered so far.

The characters are Kannada-Telugu of the early 8th century. The letters are handsomely incised, though uniformity of size is not maintained throughout. In the aspect of their neat and elegant execution, the characters of the present inscription may be compared with those of the Uruvupalli record, though the former are removed from the latter in point of time by over two centuries. The initial ć and ṣ are found in lines 19, 18 and 17 respectively; and they are noteworthy. The signs for ū and u are fairly distinguished, the former, which is fully curved with a loop at the top, being akin to its successor of a late period. The final ṣ and s are used in lines 18 and 21 respectively. The medial short ṣ is made up of a complete circle on the top of the letter; and this is differentiated from the long one which is shaped like a spiral with a knot towards the left above the same. The final m at the end of a word is changed to mussāra in many cases; while in others, when it is not so transformed, it is represented by a peculiar mark which looks like a vertical stroke with a hook at the bottom towards the left. Instances of the mussāra may be seen in the following words: agāna in line 13 and sāhāsa in line 22. The hooked stroke is illustrated by the following cases: jñāna and Pallavatī in line 1, brahasara in line 22 and savaḍitum in line 23. The mussāra is changed to the appropriate class nasal and involved into sanalek in the following cases: Lōkapālaṇām-paṭ in line 3 and sārāma-bhūṣa in line 20. The subscript of the letters dha and ṣ are not sometimes distinguished; e.g., bhoṣa and vṛṣa in line 5.

In regard to orthography, it may be observed that the rule regarding the reduplication of the consonant preceded by r is implicitly obeyed in all cases.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition for the major part of the record (lines 1-20) is in prose. The statement relating to the executor of the document (gūdaya) is in verse (lines 20-21). This is followed by the impression which is, as usual, in verse (lines 22-23). The text

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1 For a description of the seal of the Vilavatī grant and discussion on the Pallava emblem, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97 and plate facing p. 297.
2 The photographs of the seals of the Kūram and Tādhantuṇam plates are published in S. I. I., Vol. XII, plate VII. The seal of the Vīlārapalaiyan plates is published, ibid., Vol. II, plate facing p. 321.
3 It may be noted that ṣ is the expression avatā in line 20 is not doubled, since this case is not covered by the rule, cāri raṇabāgā m ṣaṭ (ṣaṭaṇaḥāyaṇaḥ, VIII-4-46).
is faulty and the composition contains syntactical and other mistakes. These have been corrected either in the body of the text itself or in the footnotes.

As we shall see presently, the charter was issued by the Pallava ruler Naresimhavarman II of the Simhavishnu line. The records of the early rulers of this family are generally on stone, until we come to the time of Nandivarma II. Only two exceptions have come to our notice so far; one is the Kūrama grant of Paramävaravarman I, father of Naresimhavarman II, and the other the present inscription. It has to be noted further that the Kūrama grant bears closer affinity with the Udayāndiran or Kaśākoji plates of Nandivarma II in respect of the script and treatment of the subject-matter. The script employed in both is Pallava-Graṇtha and Tamil. Both contain an elaborate invocation in Sanskrit verse, a legendary account of the origin of the family and a lengthy praṇaṣṭi and poetical descriptions of kings. In all these aspects, the present record presents a marked contrast. The script employed here is the highly developed southern alphabet which has assumed the distinct shape of Kannada-Telugu. The subject is treated briefly and directly. The invocation and the praṇaṣṭi are short without the intervention of poetic passages. Thus our charter stands conspicuously as a class by itself, not only among the copper-plate records, but also amidst the mass of inscriptions belonging to this Pallava house.

We may on the contrary realise that the formal part of our epigraph bears close resemblance with that of the earlier copper-plate documents of the Pallava princes, which are older by more than two centuries. Like the Pikira and Vijayaśī grants of Simhavishnu, our epigraph opens with the brief invocation expressions svasti and jīva Bhavamā. A comparison of the specific epithets used for describing the ruling king and his ancestors, as found in the grants of Urupavalli, Pikira and Vijayaśī forming one group on one side and the present charter on the other, reveals a number of striking similarities of expression in the latter, which have been in some cases borrowed directly and in others either paraphrased or modified suitably from the former. For instance, the epithets, pratijā-pūrṇa⊥a-tāja-vaśa, Lāhappālam paścama and vījaya-gaṇa-sara-sandhā-vaṃjana, are commonly met with in all the epigraphs under reference. The expression anubhūtika⊥a or anubhūtika⊥a-siddhi-saṃpanna of the Urupavalli, Pikira and Vijayaśī grants respectively, figures in the modified form anubhūtika⊥a-siddhi-saṃpanna in the present inscription. While the phrase vasantā⊥a-lāka⊥a-vīra of the Urupavalli grant or its equivalent pratiśekha⊥a-lāka⊥a-vīra of the Pikira and Vijayaśī grants has been amplified into anubhūtika⊥a-siddhi-saṃpanna-sevō kaśya in the earlier group, this term has been slightly modified and abridged into bhavamā-bhafti-saṃbhava-saṃkrāta-sara in the present charter. Another case of modified contraction is the qualitative bahu-samāra-viṣaya-lāhdha-gaṇa⊥a-prakāśa of the present inscription, which is evidently derived from anubhūtika⊥a-siddhi-saṃpanna of the Urupavalli category.7

The present inscription commences with a brief invocation and reference to the Pallavas who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōta. Next are mentioned the three members of this family, viz., Mahāraviśvaravarma, his son Paramāvaravarman and his son Naresimhavarman. The last of  

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3 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 96.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 301.
5 In the Pikira grant the word anulat comes after jīva Bhaṭvamā. In regard to the expression Bhaṭvamā, occurring in line 1 of the Rājāru grant, see below in the text portion.
6 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 51. It may further be noted that the Pallava praṇaṣṭi of these charters bear close resemblance with that of the Chaudhilya plates of Kumāravishnu II and others; compare above Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.
7 Thus I have noticed in all thirteen expressions bearing mutually kīmā. Besides the seven commented above,
these was the ruling king who issued the charter from his headquarters Kāñchiphūra. Its object
is to record the gift of a village named Rāyūra as a trānasālaka, to a Raṅga named Kumāra-
munjaśārman who was well-versed in two Vēdas and constantly engaged in studies, by the king
for the augmentation of his life, strength, victory and fortune. The donor is described as devoted
to the feet of Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. He is also called Paramabhūṣaṇa, Paramabhaṭṭāvara and
Paramabhaṭṭāvyu.

Judging from the genealogical account given above and the palaeographical considerations indi-
cated before, it is easy to identify the above-mentioned three kings with Mahēṇḍravarman II,
Paramēśvara varman I and Narasimhavarman II respectively, of the Sīhavasūru line.

Our epigraph happens to be the only dated record of Narasimhavarman II so far
discovered. The date as cited herein is the twelfth year of the increasingly victorious reign of
the king, Vaiśākha, full-moon, lunar eclipse. These details, however, fall short for verifica-
tion. For want of necessary data, the reign-period of this king also, like those of other rulers of this family,
cannot be fixed with precision. Hence we are left to make what appears to be the most reasonable
assumption on the strength of circumstantial evidence. The broad limits of Narasimhavarman II's reign are indicated by two inscriptions as follows. From the Gadval plate of the Western
Chalukya king Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.C., which mention Narasimhavarman II's father
Paramēśvara varman I, we can postulate that the former succeeded his father some time after
that date. Since Vikramāditya I who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C., had among his contemporaries,
also Mahēṇḍravarman II and Narasimhavarman I, the father and grandfather of Paramēśvar-
avarn I, we are justified normally in believing that Paramēśvara varman I was quite young by
this time, i.e., 674 A.C., and that he occupied the Pallava throne at least for a decade or two after
this date. Mr. N.Lakshminarayan Rao, has placed the first year of the reign of Paramēśvara varman
II, the son and successor of Narasimhavarman II, in 728-29 A.C. with the help of a stone inscrip-
tion recently discovered by him at Uchāla, near Kurnool. This is the outer limit. We may also
observe that the Pallava ruler who exchanged embassies with the Chinese emperor in 720 A.C.
has been identified with Narasimhavarman II. With these facts in view, we may examine the
phenomenon of lunar eclipse which invents the above cited date with some definiteness. Accord-
ing to the Eclipses of the Moon in India, by Robert Sewell, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon
day of Vaiśākha in the years 701, 702, 711 and 730 A.C., which fall within the approximate reign-
period of Narasimhavarman II. Of these the first two yield 690 or 691 A.C. as the first year of
his reign. These perhaps would be too early, though there is no absurdity about them. Consider-
ing the long-range peaceful activities of this ruler, 720 A.C. which makes 709 A.C. his first year,
may appear to be rather unsuitable. So we might pitch upon 711 A.C. as the date of our
charter. This would show that his reign commenced in 700 A.C.

Of more than passing interest is the description, in our epigraph, of Paramēśvara varman I
as the performer of Āśramaṇa and many other krūtus, i.e., Vedic sacrifices. This leads us to
enquiry into the claim. Let us see how far it is justified. The Kūrama grant of Paramēśvara
varman I himself contains no reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice, and the other

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3 We may as well connect these three epithets with Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. The joint association of the first two
terms with the same person here is noteworthy.
7 Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXX, p. 291.
8 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : Foreign Nations of South India, pp. 16 and 116-17.
9 It is interesting to note that Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao places his initial year circa 709 A.C. by approxima-
records of this king are also silent about it. Furthermore, it is seen that with the exception of the present charter and the Sivanççyâl inscription\(^1\) of Sinhavarman, no records of the Pallava rulers of the Sinhavishyâ line, including Nandivarman II and his successors, attribute the performance of horse sacrifice to any of them. If this great achievement were a fact, the ruler himself or his descendants would have legitimately taken credit for it and certainly mentioned the same in their records. We may note in this connection the performance of horse sacrifice by Pulkkâsin I of the Western Châlukya family, which is often alluded to in their records.\(^2\) So the truth appears to be like this. In the Hirahâjadagali plates,\(^3\) Sivakandavarman is stated to have celebrated the horse sacrifice. Here we are at the source. The later descendants of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their prakasî in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family. The claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse sacrifices performed. Thus we find that in the Chendalîr plates\(^4\) of Kumâravishyâ II, Ursvupalli grant and other charters, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices. In view of these finds we are justified in making the following observation. The drafter of the Réyûrî grant, who, as shown before, was influenced by the texts of the copper plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and foisted it on the father of the ruling king, his patron, for his glorification. It would be on similar lines that we shall have to account for the characteristic attribute, 'performer of ten horse sacrifices,' ascribed to the Pallava king Sinhavarman,\(^5\) as noticed for the first time in the Sivanççyâl inscription.

The royal order announcing the gift was addressed to the inhabitants of Réyûrî; and it was enjoined on pain of corporal punishment upon all the ministers along with their subordinate officials (karnaçayas), all the officers of the state (sarmançayas) and the courtiers (râjâçayas), that they should collect no dues whatsoever from the village, particularly while on tour (çaçånaçayas). The executor of the order was Ívâra, the chief of Nandakurra, and son of Sômâditya, who equalled Râjâditya in valour.\(^6\)

The doner Kumârânâjâlarman was a resident of Kuravaeri and he is referred to as a Sômâyâjûn. He came from a learned family. Both his father Kumârârman and grandfather Kûlârman were proficient in two Vedas. The latter is said to have known the essence of the Vedas, Vedâgas, Ithihasa and Purâna. He belonged to the Râdhitara gotra and was a student of Âpastatiha, sûtra. We may note here the occurrence of the expression ëvâ-çâ-râga qualifying all the three members of the family. Evidently it is an abbreviation of ëvâ-vedâ-râga and may be taken to be equivalent of ëvâ-sûtra, i.e., ëvâ-vedâ.

Lastly we may consider the geographical information contained in the epigraph. The gift village Réyûrî is stated to have been situated in the Mêl-Mûndârâhastra. The prefix mêl in this expression is Tamil, meaning 'west.' This territorial name occurs for the first time in the present record, though Mûndârâhastra is already familiar to us through other inscriptions. Judging from its connotation, Mêl-Mûndârâhastra must have been situated to the west of

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 62.
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 8, 39, 117, 126, etc.
\(^4\) Above, Vol. VIII, p. 235. In the Chendalîr record the adjective sarman meaning 'many' qualifies the expression ëvâ-sûtra. So also in the Vilavarati grant. In some charters, e.g., the Ursvupalli grant, this word is omitted.
\(^5\) The identity of this Sinhavarman is problematic. Even assuming him to be Narsinçhavaranman I, the claim of his having performed ten horse sacrifices appears to be a conventional boast for reasons added above. But the claim as it is put forth is unique in the records of the Pallava house.
\(^6\) This Râjâditya may have been the grandfather of Ívâra. I am inclined to treat the expression Nandakurragunãskinã as a Kurmannâjâya compound made up of Nandakurra-guna and Ívâra.
and adjacent to Munḍarāṣṭra. Munḍarāṣṭra roughly comprised the major part of Kövīru taluk and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore District, Madras State. It would, therefore, be reasonable to surmise that Mēl-Munḍarāṣṭra might have comprised mainly the area of the Atmakhīr taluk of the district, since this taluk is situated to the west of the Kövīru taluk. This surmise is justified by the existence, in the Atmakhīr taluk, of a village named Rēyūra which may aptly be identified with the Rēyūra of the inscription. I am unable to identify the locality called Aśādhūrapura which was to the south of Rēyūra and presumably in its vicinity. Apparently the name has been Sanskritised and there are no means at our disposal to find out its indigenous appellation.

It is interesting to recall in this context that a village bearing the identical name Rēyūra is mentioned as the object of gift in a copper-plate record of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana II, dated 664 A.C. This Rēyūra was situated in the area of Karmarāṣṭra which comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and the southern parts of the Guntur District, extending roughly over the Ongole and Baratli taluks. Two alternative views are possible under the circumstances. Firstly, Rēyūra of the Eastern Chālukya record might be different from its namesake of the present charter. Secondly, they might be identical. Since scarcely any village answering the name is traceable in the northern taluks of the Nellore District and the southern taluks of the Guntur District, I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. But in this case we shall have to explain the discrepancy in the geographical position of the same village in the two records which are removed by a period of about fifty years only. Here we might note it primarily that Karmarāṣṭra formed part of the Pallava dominion and that it figures often in the records of the rulers of the line. Subsequently, this tract, as indicated by the Koppam plates, appears to have been subjugated by Pulakēsin II and passed on to the sway of the Eastern Chālukyas, some time before 630 A.C. We are, therefore, not facing an anomaly if we surmise that a part of this Karmarāṣṭra, particularly the southern or the south-western part, was reconquered either by Narasimhavarmam II or his father Paramēsvaramvarman I, particularly taking into consideration the ineffective regime of Vishnuvardhana II’s successor, Mahīgyuvarāja. This newly conquered tract might have been constituted into a separate territorial unit and named Mēl-Munḍarāṣṭra.

Nandakura whose from the āyāpi lāvara hailed may be Nandavarman in the Udayagiri taluk of the Nellore District, which has yielded some inscriptions. Kuravāri where the donors resided must be the same as Kuravāri occurring in the Tenjantottām plates of the Pallava king.

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1 Another instance of a similar nature denoting the territorial extension of an original territorial unit in Mēl-Pallavas. 
2 Compare above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.
3 Compare above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301, and also see V. Rangaswamy’s Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Nellore, Nos. 509, 533, etc., containing references to Munḍarāṣṭra, which is a later term for Munḍarāṣṭra.
4 This identification has been put forth by the late V. Prabhakara Shastri, Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Vol. VIII, p. 92.
9 N. Venkataramanayya: Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṛī, p. 46.
10 It must be admitted that no specific evidence is at our disposal at present to show that territorial expansion was accomplished by these Pallava rulers. But the fact that they were brave and indulged in aggressive warfare is proved by the historical events and the titles borne by them, such as Rāmacya, Ramantra, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Aśavisuddha, etc., which might not be altogether unprejudiced, S. J. T., Vol. I, pp. 144-45; Vol. XII, pp. 10-11. Compare Eastern Chalukyas (op. cit.), p. 60.
11 Topographical List, etc. (op. cit.), Nellore, Nos. 738-39.
No. 11
REYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN; YEAR 12

Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, which was also the home of more than one donor of the record. The same place seems to have been alluded to as Kṛṣṇaśīlī in the Sātakārṇavi plates of Guna. Vijayaditya, after about a century and a half. One of the donors in this charter, who belonged to this place, was Nārāyanaśīlī of the Rādhitā Juni. It would appear from this that this place was the resort of learned Brahmans for generations. It may possibly be identified with Krṣṇa in the Sātakārṇavi taluk of the Guntur District.  

TEXT:

First Plate

1. Svasti [?] Śrīmatā jītom(m) Bhagavatām [?] Kāṅchiśur-Ādhishtā(shṭhā)nāt- Pallaṅām(m) Bhārata-vājya-  
2. saṃśrātra(trā)nām sva-vṛtty-adhigata-rājyaṣya abhyarcheṣita-śakti-sidhi-sampannasya  
3. pratip-śāpanata-rājya-menjulasya Mahāyama-Lōkapālasya Lōkapālaṃ-puṭala(ḥ)ca-  
4. masya paramabrahmā(h)maṃjayasya Mahārājasya śrī-Mahānivikramavarmmaṇaḥ pattrāḥ bahu-  
5. samara-vijaya-labdha-yālab-prakāśasya vidhi-vihita-sarva-māryādasya sthitī-sthitasya  

Second Plate; First Side

6. amit-ātmanā yathādavid-ādhitā-Āyamālīk-ādy-aṇīka-kratu-yājīna-sataya-vaṃtasya dharmā-  
7. tmanā mahimapī Mahānivrasa Paramaśvaravarmmaṇaḥ pattrāḥ Bhagavad-ḥaksi-sad-  
8. kāla-sarvaḥ[ḥ]* jī prajā-anindrītā jana-paripāla-śoḍyoga-sataya vrata ta-dikahitaḥ[ḥ]* Ka-  
9. liyuga-dūṣh-āpahṛtta-dharmam-ōkṛharaṇa-nitya-sannadīḥ* anīkā-samara-sāmghaṭta-juṇīta-  
10. ma vaśvadhā-tal-alī(ḥ)-uḍa-vīcra(rī)pājūrūṣaḥ-guna-sarva-sandōha-viṣayāḥ[ḥ]* para-  

* There are other possibilities also, e.g., Kṛṣṇa in the Kṛṣṇa and Kandakar taluks of the Nelluru District.
* From the original plates and impressions.
* The omission may be read as also. This word should be read either as śrīmat or śrīmātā, preferably the former. In the former case it qualifies Bhagavatā and in the latter Pallavaṃ.
* Read Bhagavatā. The abbreviated invocation jītā Bhagavatā is met with in the Urvapalli and other records.
* Sāmkhaḥ is not observed here.
* This letter is peculiar and looks like h. The engraver seems to have included the wrong form of the intended akṣara ṣaṇa.
* In the Urvapalli and Vikrīgra grants the expression reads Lōkapālaṃ-puṣkhasya Lōkapālaṃ, whereas it is Lōkapālaṃ-puṣkhasya only in the Vilavaṭṭi grant. The expressions Madhyavasahākṣha and Lōkapālasya prakāśana obviously refer to god Varuṇa.
* The reading intended is perhaps makām-prakāśa.
* For clarity of sense it is better to separate this compound expression.
* This meaning is placed wrongly on the akṣara ṣaṇa.
* The word is not in the Urvapalli grant.
* Sāmkhaḥ is not properly observed here.
* This and the following two expressions may also be taken as qualifying Sampa-ṣaṭṭaṭaḥ, in which case we need not separate them.
Second Plate: Second Side

11 ramamaheshvara[h]* paramabrahma(ya(ya) Bappa-bhatṭaraka-pada-bhaktih[*] śri-Narasimhavarmma-

12 uṭah(varmṛa) Mēl-Muṇḍarāṣṭrēś Asidhāręparaśya-öttarē[ ] Rēyṛu-nāma-grāman(mayya) grāma-yākā-

13 u-itham-ūṇāpayati [ ] * ayam grāma[h]* Kuravaśrī-vastra(ya(vasta)vyasya Rāthitaram-

14 Āpasaunbha(ha)-ūṇā-ādhāyayinaḥ dvēda-pāragasya Vēda-Vēdaṁ[*]Etiḥasa-Purāṇa-tatva-

15 da[h]* Kaulasarammasya(vah) paurāṇya dvi(dvē)da-pāragasya Kumārasarmanmaya[h]*

Third Plate: First Side.

16 nitya-svāthāyāya-niratāya Sōmayājīnē Kumārakṣaśārammaṇē[ ] asmāku[riḥ]* āyur-

17 bala-vijaya[ ]nāvarty-ābhivyddhayē brahmudāhi(yi)krity-āsmābhīr-dduttra[h]* pravard-

18 rājyā-samvatsarē dvādaśa-varahē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsē[ayām] sōma-grahaṇa-

19 m-avagamayō[mya]* imāma[m-ad[imātya[h]*] sarvvaḥ(rvva) karaṇa-yuktā[h]*] sarvva-

20 sarvva-kara-parhā(bīrāh)(ram) pariharanta [ ] * Imām-ajīm-atikramet-sa pāpas-sārīrana-

Third Plate: Second Side

21 suta[h]*, śrīmān-Nandakurű-urip-Ēsvara[h] [ ] ajīṭāpī-sāsanasya-asya Rājāditya-prathē-

22 bhā shatāḥ[ ]lōkaḥ(hāḥ)[ ] *] Brahmapramaṇanda[ ] vihārī gourāḥ(mang) na vihārī vihama-

23 vihārī-śākāma(nam) hanti brahma-

*Śomālī is not observed here.
*The sūda is superfluous.
*This ascensive is placed wrongly on the following əkhaṇa yat.
*There is some confusion here. If the əkhaṇa yat is treated as a case of sūda, then the following initial t should be deleted.
*This and the following verses are in the Amāśaka metre.
*The form of this letter is queer. It is neither bh nor sa. It is clear that the engraver wanted to make it ṣad.
*Read ḍhāmara.
*Insert ā before this word to make the pāda metrically correct.
*The subscript 2 of this akṣarā looks like the subscript d or ṭ. Compare, for instance, sēṅ in line 23 and in the following line.
Seal

(From a photograph)
The credit of the discovery of this copper plate document, the existence of which was known as early as 1940, goes to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosalas Historical Society. It was in the possession of Dewan Harilal Singh, Zamindar of Bilaigar, in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Through the kind permission of Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, it was obtained on loan from the owner and sent to the then Government Epigraphist for India, for examination, in November 1942. Subsequently, at the advice of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who accorded his kind permission and other facilities, Mr. Desai, a member of his office, was also provided with an opportunity of studying the epigraph. Thus as a result of joint co-operation the inscription is edited here for the first time.

It is a set of two copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The plates measure roughly from 10 to 10½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth. A hole with a diameter of about half an inch is bored towards the centre of the top of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and a margin of about an inch is left out towards the left. The size of the letters on the first plate is bigger than that on the second; the average being roughly 1 and 8 of an inch respectively. As a result of this the first plate has accommodated 16 lines and the second 22 lines. The seal is circular measuring about 2½ inches in diameter. It is partly damaged and obliterated towards the left. Its upper portion contains crudely carved figures of a seated goddess, viz., Lakshmi, in the middle and two elephants with j aras in their upturned trunks on either side. In the lower portion is incised the figure of a dagger placed across pointing towards the right. In the intervening space is engraved in Nagari characters the partly damaged legend Sṛi (Sṛi)...Pratāpaṁalladāśu. In respect of this seal and many other points which will be discussed presently, the present plates bear close resemblance with the Pādrābondha plates of the same king, already published in this journal.*

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*The kāska is superfluous.
*The subscript t of this akṣara looks like the subscript dh or ṇ. Compare, for instance, udā in line 33 and rea in the following line.
*The words hā and ṇā are more commonly used for pathā and ṇāthā of this verse.
*This punctuation in the original is made up of a spiral followed by a wavy line.
*This is the first set of Bilaigar plates. According to the official records, the plates were originally unearthed while ploughing his field by one Rāmākṣa, son of Gopāl Kauha, a resident of the village Paunī, about 2 miles from Bilaigarh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilaigarh, who passed them on to his master, Bilaigarh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilaigarh, who passed them on to his master. The information gathered by Mr. Pandeya reveals that two more sets of copper plates were discovered in the village. The first set of Bilaigar plates were discovered in the village in September 1940. One of these, which fell into the hands of a sadda, was subsequently recovered by the Pandeya in 1944. This is said Zamindar. This set was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1944. This is the second set of Bilaigar plates for the convenience of description. It belongs to Prithvīdēva II and is stylistically very similar to the Chalukya style. The second set from Bilaigar is being published in this journal. These plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.
The characters are Nagari of the thirteenth century being on the whole identical with those of the Pâṇḍârâmbandh charter. Some of the peculiarities noticed in the case of the latter, such as non-distinction between ą and ą̀ as the second members of conjunct letters, scoring off of the superfluous syllable by vertical strokes at the top, besides others, can be detected in this inscription also. The āṃgrāha sign is not used in many places; for instance, Rāmaṇiśān-khâvat in line 12 and tatâ-bhâtî in line 13. It is, however, used in vāda-āṇi in line 8 and a few other expressions. As the first member of a conjunct letter, a sometimes looks like ṭ, e.g., avasâya in line 2. The subscript ĥ is not generally distinguished from ṭ, e.g., prāstrâḥ-ā in line 27 and āhâṛẖâya in line 33. The form of cerebral ā is made up of three vertical strokes—the first being slightly curved, the second a wavy line and the third a straight line, similar to its later counterpart. This kind of ā is not met with in the Pâṇḍârâmbandh charter. In the Pâṇḍârâmbandh inscription it is represented by a symbol resembling ṭ without its top joint.

In regard to orthography we may note the following. In rare cases the anusvāra is replaced by the class nasal, e.g., āṅga in line 13. ṛ is substituted for ḳ; e.g., Vrahea in line 1 and ṛ̐śāra in line 2. In certain expressions j is used for y and vice versa; e.g., yātāḥ for jātāḥ in lines 5 and 7, jāḥ for yāḥ in line 13 and jāṣa for ṣāṣa in lines 9 and 14. In a majority of instances ṛ is written for ṛ; e.g., śivas for śivas in line 1, ṛṣé for ṛṣē in line 1. The reduplication of the consonant ṛ in a is resumed to in a large number of syllables, though the exceptions to this practice are not negligible; e.g., āṃṣeṣṭhāṭhi in lines 3-4, ṛṣaṁṣeṣṭya in line 6 and ṛṣaysa in line 10.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the usual salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is composed in verse. There are thirty verses in all. They are generally punctuated by single daṇḍas at the end of each half and double daṇḍas at their completion. The verses are numbered. An inadvertent omission has occurred in numbering the 10th verse. On account of this the following verses are all numbered less by one than the actual figure. This mistake has been corrected in the accompanying text. Some errors in marking the daṇḍas have also been rectified. The first fourteen verses describing the genealogy of the Kalachuri family down to Pratâpamalla, are identical with those in the Pâṇḍârâmbandh plates. The next six verses, which are new, give an account of the doner's family and the circumstances of the gift. The following nine verses constitute the familiar praise of land gift and the customary incantation. The last verse refers to the scribe who wrote the record.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift, on the date specified below, of the village Sirâtâ to a learned and pious Brâhmaṇa, named Haiḍâsa, by king Pratâpamalla. Pratâpamalla belonged to the Kalachuri family of Kattapur. The genealogy of the family is traced as usual from the primeval ancestor Muni of the solar descent. This account is identical with that found in the Pâṇḍârâmbandh inscription. Pratâpamalla was the son of Rāmarâja or Râmatâdeva III and great-grandson of Prithûvîsva II. From the last part of the otherwise conventional enolgy (verses 13-14), it can be gathered that Pratâpamalla was quite young when he became king. Pratâpamalla is the last known ruler of the Kalachuri of Kattapur and his existence was brought to the notice of scholars for the first time by Mr. L. P. Pandeya's discovery of copper coins bearing his name on the banks of the river Mahânadi near Bâlpur. Subsequent disclosure of two copper plate charters issued by him, viz., the Pâṇḍârâmbandh record, and the present one, have placed his reign beyond all doubt.

The date as given in lines 23 and 38 is Śaṅkara 969, Āśāśāha, lunar eclipse. The Śaṅkara evidently refers to the year of the Châdi or Kalachuri era. Assuming the above year to be expired
and calculating with 247-48 A.C. as the starting point of the era, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Ashāśīra in 1218 A.C., corresponding to July 9, Monday. This appears to be the date of the record. We may, however, note that the lunar eclipse took place also on the full-moon day of Ashāśīra in 1219 A.C., corresponding to June 29, Saturday. The present charter is dated four years later than the Pāṇḍaraṇbhad epigraph, thus extending the reign period of Pratāpamalla up to 1218 A.C.

Before we proceed to other details, it seems necessary to examine a few facts connected with the history of these Kalachuris, not adequately noticed by scholars. One is the place allotted to Prthvīvidēva III in the genealogical account of the family. In his *Dynamic History of Northern India* Dr. H. C. Ray postulates that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Prthvīvidēva III. The only basis for this assumption is the Ratnapur inscription. In this record three generations of kings are mentioned, viz., Jājalladēvii, his son who might be Ratanadēva who defeated Chēdagaṅga, and his son Prthvīvidēva. The characteristic achievement of vanquishing Chēdagaṅga is ascribed in all the records of the family to Ratnādēva II, father of Prthvīvidēva II. From this it becomes explicit that Prthvīvidēva of the Ratnapur record is identical with Prthvīvidēva II and that no grounds exist for the assumption of a Prthvīvidēva III. The subsequent history of the family as known from other epigraphs reveals that Prthvīvidēva II was followed by his younger son Jājalladēvī II. After a short while the rulership passed on to Jājalladēvī II's elder brother Jagaddēva. The latter was in turn succeeded by Ratanadēva III and grandson Pratāpamalla. Thus we are justified in discountenancing the existence of Prthvīvidēva III.

Dr. Ray tries to support the above view of his by saying that the date of the Ratnapur inscription agrees with the inscription to Prthvīvidēva III. This argument is fallacious; for, the date which is taken to be Vikrama Samvat 1247, as read by his editor, the late Dr. Kidhorn, is itself doubtful and his observations on the same reveal that the record might have been originally dated in the Chōlē era, the first digit of which was 9. As a good number of inscriptions of Prthvīvidēva II with dates ranging from the Chōlē year 900 to 915, has been discovered, there should be no difficulty in assigning the Ratnapur epigraph to his reign. Another consideration that has obviously persuaded Dr. Ray to assign the Ratnapur record to Prthvīvidēva III, is the chronological position of its composer. This was Dēvagaṅga, son of Ratnasimha and grandson of Māmē. Now it might be that this same Ratnasimha was the composer of the Mallār inscription of Jājalladēvī II dated 919 of the Chōlē era. Ascription of the Ratnapur inscription to Prthvīvidēva II would lead to the result that whereas Dēvagaṅga, the son, drafted the record of the king who was the father, Ratnasimha, his father, composed the charter of the king who was the son. This superficial anomaly can be explained away by pointing out that there exists a difference of only four years between the

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1 Vol. II (1909), pp. 813-14. The same view appears to have been held by other scholars also, though not without difference; compare Rundarker's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 421 and the genealogical statement on p. 338. It must, however, be noted that in his article on the 'History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kāsa', Mr. Amsthānanda Ghose has shown that Prthvīvidēva of the Ratnapur inscription was Prthvīvidēva II, and not Prthvīvidēva III, *Calcutta Pāṇḍita Journal*, pp. 274-75.

3 Ibid., *Vol. XXI*, p. 782, etc.
5 Rundarker's *List*, Nos. 1234, 1235, etc.

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6 We may incidentally note the title *Rājasmitaka* of Dēvagaṅga's son, Jagatāsminha; above, *Vol. I*, p. 51. This is influenced by Kāmpīti. A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that a good many titles of similar origin from Karnatka were adopted and exhibited by distinguished persons in other parts of India.

last known dates of Prithvirāja II and his son Jajaldēva II, viz., K. 915 and 919, and that there would be no absurdity in assuming that both Dēvagāna and his father Rāmasinika lived up to an advanced age and composed the two records removed by a brief interval of time.

In his recent study of the inscriptions of the SouthernKalachuris of the Kalachuris of Kārṇṭaka, rather inappropriately described as the Kalachuriyas of Kālīgāpī by the late Dr. Fleet, Mr. Desai has been able to detect a large number of affinities that go to establish closer ties among the southern and the northern branches of the Kalachuri stock. An inscription from Harṣarī attributes lunar descent to the Kalachuris of Kārṇṭaka and this claim is supported by further epigraphical evidence. Among the northern Kalachuris, those of Tripuri and Gorakhapūr trace their descent from the moon. In glaring contrast with this comes the statement in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which commence with an invocation to the sun god who is represented as the originator of the family. It is interesting to note that solar descent is also mentioned in some inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris. Some of their records open with such an invocation to the sun god on the analogy of the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It has to be observed further that the Śaivaite traditions of the northern families, particularly those of Tripuri and Gorakhpūr, such as intensive devotion to the god Śiva and adoption of his vehicle Nandi as their royal emblem, were preserved intact in the southern family as well. An inscription from Chadjāñagā in the Bijapur District, dated 1657 A.C., introduces Bijjala I, the grandfather of Jōgama, as a subordinate of the Western Chalukya king Bōmāha-vana-I, and as bearing the significant title Dāhala-vedgāna (ornament of the Dāhala country).

The domee Haridāsa belonged to a learned and respectable family. His father was Divīdāsa, son of Bhrīgu-Paṇḍita. These belonged to the Śāmkrita gōtra, having the pravesas Śāmkrita, śrīgūra and Vāchaspata. After the statement of the gift in verse 19, a renowned teacher of Śaivaite persuasion, named Iśānaśīva, is eulogised in the next verse. The position held by this divine in the transaction is not made clear. It is likely that he was the royal preceptor and spiritual guide and introduced here at the behest of the king. Verse 30 contains a description of Pratīrāja of the Gaṇḍa lineage, who wrote the record on the copper plates, with clear letters out of natural devotion for the Brahmana. This Pratīrāja is identical with the scribe of the Pōḍrāhanthi plates wherein he is characterised as the light of the Record Office. The gift village Sirlā may possibly be indentified with Sirālī in the Janjīgī Taha of the Bilaspur District.

1 Fleet has alluded to only two links, viz., the title Kalakāra-rasuvaśadāksharasa and reference to the Dāhala country in a Harshar inscription ; *Bom. Gaz.* ; Vol. I, pt. II, p. 460.

2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 28.


4 It is shown that there is no real contradiction in the divergent claims of lunar and solar descent by the two groups of the same family and that they can be easily reconciled ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 28, n. 3.


6 Two inscriptions, one from Muttīlī and another from Īnagāvīr in the Bijapur District ; Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 104 of 1929-30 and No. 11 of 1930-31.


8 The theory of Jaina burnings of Bijjala II is now thoroughly exploded and it is shown on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence that all the members of the Southern Kalachuri family were staunchly Śaivaite in their persuasion. This and other topics briefly referred to above and in the article "Harṣarī Inscription of King Śoma" (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 23 ff.), have been elaborately discussed in his lectures on the Southern Kalachuri delivered by Mr. Desai in February 1961 at the Karnataka Research Institute, Dharwar. These lectures are published in the *Karnāḍa śākṛiya Paśīkha Patrīks*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 102 ff.

9 B. K. coll., No. 17 of 1937-38.
First Plate

1. सिद्धम् (*) [ II*] ऋ (ः) ह्रणे नमः || निर्गुण व्यापक, निवन्त सिद्धिं श्रेणि परिवर्तणं (णम्) || भववाधिः (ः) परं ज्योतिःस्मि सह (ः) ह्रणे नमः ||

2. वदेनदयेशसंवेण (ः) चाच ज्योतिः स पूर्वः पूर्वः पुराणः। सपासे पुरो नामं दिवाराजस्तन्तन्वेषेऽपि-

3. धि कार्ति (णं) धीरेयः। तस्मात्तत्त्वमुके (रम) कार्तिकोऽरः। सकलमुणिवरः हैहयाः नेन (नं) कक्षम (ः) को आताः। ! प्रथमः

4. भै (भि) पुरुषार्पणकरिहर्ष्योऽसाक्षे। कार्तिकाश्च निरीक्षिते। तातिसा (स्त्वे) स्त्वै (रवै।)-

5. द्राः (शा या (जा) स्त। काल्लदेवो तृतीयतिरितिकरणानुसाराः पूर्वकेतुः। अष्टादशा (शा रितिकरित्रोः)

6. विभवं (णां) विधाः (ः) नुषा न (व) सरुत्तमिः (श्री) वीणारकाः (ः) तस्य स पुरा तासोऽपिकुन्योऽपिवः। आसोलास्वेस (रवै।) च मंदः

7. लप्वस (तैः) स चवर द्राः (व) पूर्वः ॥ II || तेनां (शा) मनुष्येन महाकेतुः कलिः-राजसपविल्लस्तप (पिता) रितिः। या (जा) तोतः

8. वे हुद्दरपुष्णवीर्यप्रस्तावानसाहोष्णवपूर्णः। ॥ II || तेनां च महवचनार्जुनि रत (रवै।)-

* From the original plates and inked impressions.
* Expressed by a symbol.
* Here appears to be an error in this letter; but this and a few other dots elsewhere have to be ignored, as they are apparently due to the defect in the metal.
* This ra is not properly engraved; it may be compared with other ra in the inscription, e.g., lines 8 and 11.
* There is a scored-out sign for mandi before the letter sra.
* This danda is superfluous. By inserting this punctuation mark, the scribe possibly means that the first quarter of the verse ended with the word sāhā. This is wrong, as it ends with sun.
* This is clearly lāṣa; compare lāṣa of Kōkalla l. 8. The intended akṣara was perhaps yāra which is however wrong for ra. See above, Vol. XXIII p. 4, n. 2.
* The word sāhā is followed by the two scored-out syllables viha.
* In the form asāja is wrongly used for asāja for the sake of metre.
16 DGA/92
10. शुन्य || 11. [पु.प्रदेशस्थलम् || प. या. || इ.लिविकम. || नवदर्पण-संकल्पम् || पालमंडल: ||]
11. पाच शिवरक्षिती (श्री) राज (शा) || सतस्तानमुपित्कलोकत्पथरूपमूति: || शुवत: || सकलपुः-
12. ग्राममूलः || [श्री]मयस्तस्य मूदुविवृत्विश मुकुटानान् धाम आलवन्दे: ||=|| नल- (न) देवोऽश्रीभवस्माद्भूमिः-
13. पुरविकमः || ज (प) अर्धो (र्को) हस्तुमुखोकणीः || युनि चके पराकमुखो: ||=|| ततोऽश्रीमूर्वदीपः (प्र.) विवलयविकृः-
14. कस्त (कान्त) महीमा हिमानीताकार्तर्थेन (तत्त्वे) गदवि जाओ (यथो) सम्बद्धलयनः || चे बुधा (अ) देविः (प्र.) हितसंलक्षणे-
15. हरिलम्: सुत: पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजवलनस्तस्य मूर्तिः: || [१५] || प्रविष्टादमाभ्यालक-  
16. पुष (अ) कंडोतिः (पाद) वन: || अग्रेभेओर्धस्तस्मातू (पु.प) || [सा (शा) इ.लिविकम: ||=|| ततुज्विसिद्धिः (प्र.) ज्ञोत्तिः: || सकलकल्पुरी-

Second Plate

17. श्चामसूताः तृषु (वर) प्रासी (श्री) || [श्री (श्री) मागुणाल्गतम् (प्र.) || त्वीनिकरित्वकालेण जाओ (यथो) रासिः (प्र.) || मिष्टोपितविशेष: || इव: || वाक्सुतोदीशमूः-
18. श्रीवत्साविनविशमाद्यालोकाः (काँ) || डूढः (श्री) || तासे (श्री) शरीरिकरितिपतिः (निः) वहा (हो) || [प्रवसी रत्नराजः] || १२.२२
19. पुपालस्य: ससीन्धि (श्रीमन) नालधरिनिहितदिगमस्त: || मृदुं मिनिपिरतमभ्रमाः ||=|| समभ्रमत् (श्री (श्री) मयानारी वृणः: || मूर्तः-

*This letter is not clear on the impression. The plate is slightly damaged at this spot.
*This design is superficially.
*Better read दानपाध्य for दानपाध.
*The formation of the letter श्र is not normal.
*The word क्षेत्र generally ends in short े. The long श is necessitated here evidently for the sake of metre.
Seal

(From a photograph)
20 लाल्ये (ण्व) वसो (शी) याणे मुनिरसी कसापालकुवा मणितीरात्ये सप्त(गु)जुने
ब्रजे गुनिगणे नित्य हि नितात्व (स) हि: ११३१॥
21 म्हाया महत्वा महती महीये (श) प्रतापमलो जागे (दे) कमलेले [१]
Pूंपवीमध्रीमारकरामाय व (ब) पेन वा (वा) लोपि व (ब) दिले
22 हितीय: ११३२॥ प्रवेद: साक्ष्यांगिरसपराम्यस्वत्संप्रक: [१] संभुते साक्षियोऽने
पंडिते भुमुसा (सं) शास्त्र: ११३२॥ व (ब) -
23 मूत्स्य (श्रुय) निःसंप्रस: १ दूराणामूलतता (य) वणिःत् [१] प्राचार्यांगिरसित:
प्रियवाजु सांपुसा (सं) मत: [११३३॥] समु-सुरदत्तार्धा
24 कळस्वयङ्गर इत शेरवर्जस्य (शे) दिल्लोगाः पुरु: श (श) कलण्याविज्ञानिनिपुण: [१]
प्रदामार्यो (न्वो) विषे: ज (शेज) नातिनका-
25 म (न) दजनक: स्तुतरी कृिन (शी) तिलो (लो) के सकलनरपि: पुण्यमरण: ११६(१७)॥
तपुसो देशराव उत्तममात्तमार्य: वता-
26 ध्वा (म) प्रणीमः [१] सर्नामर्य (सम) करतो विवेकनातवत: धिः (धिः) मेघु: वृहामाणः:
[१] सा (श्र) स्थायानेय (श्र) निःमामन्ति:निःनिमर्तो धमे (सम) कुर्यु (ब्र) धिः (धिः)
सदा
27 लोकानां प्रियदर्शिनो निशितथी: प्राप्त: ३ प्रतिन्दो (क्षो) दया: ११७(१६)॥ तस्मे
प्रतापदेशेन (न) राजा संकल्पपुर्व (क्षे) के: [१] प्रदत: 
28 शिराजाम प्राप्राप्त (प्र) दामी (क्री) सोमार्यद्वारी: ११५(१६)॥ शैवार्धेनि:
(क्षे) रोमाणि: कलिन्युम् दानेकिन्द्वाराणि: मा (गिः) मराणके (क्षे) स्व (स्व) रापाणे
29 ल(श) मधुपु: प्रापि विवेकाराणि: [१] प्राप्तांत्यात्त (त) मोविन्यान्तराणि: २८(गिः) न
गुणानां खलि: १ हुते (शी) दानिधियो विवेक:-
30 वसातिथि (विः) दलता (ल्य) वृहामाणः: ११६(२०)॥ स (श्रे) भद्रातम क्षण
साक्षान (क्रे) वर्तमान (नम) [१] भूमिदानसव विहानि मल ब्रह्मणः [१]
पुंरदर २१(२१)॥

¹This danda is superfluous.
²This sa is redundant. Read छो-छो-छो-छो-छो-छो-छो-छो-छो-छो.
³The visarga after प्राप्त is redundant. Read प्राप्त-प्राप्त-प्राप्त-प्राप्त.
31. व(भ)हृभवः(व्र)सुधा दत्ता राजेन[१०3] संसाराधिभ:। कस्य यस्य यन्ना मूर्भः त(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तद्या फलस्य ॥२१(२२)॥ मूर्भः यः प्रतिनिधिः(क्ष)ति कस्तु(भ)भुः।

32. मी प्रवखः(द्ध)ति। उत्ता(भ)ो दो पुष्पकम्माणां नियतो(त) इत(र्क)मणी-गामिनी। ॥२२(२३)॥ पू[भ]स्य(व्ये)दत्ता हिज्ञातिम्यो यस्या(त्तास्य)इत्य अः पुरावर-(र) सम[(स)भी(स्त्री)]

33. महीम्भुतां सेषः(भेष) दाना(भ)स्यो हि: पालनम्(पु) ॥२३(२४)॥ स्वदत् परितस्य वो(यो) हरेः(त)स(स)धरा(राम) [१०] स शिष्टता(भ)स्या कृंभुङ्ग्वा पितुः।

34. भि: यह महज्जति। ॥२४(२५)॥ तदागारां शहस्लेण ताजपेत(त्त)म् तेन च। गवो कोट्तिमदनेन भूमिस्तरां न सु(शु)ध्यति। ॥२५(२६)॥ पिष्टि।

35. क्षर्वसहस्त्याणि [स्व]में तिष्ठति भू(भु)सिद्धम्। चाल्हेत(तता) वासुमला च तानवेत तानभे वसेत(त) ॥२६(२७)॥ [हेतु] दत्ते हुते चेव अधिकित्त भव(चिदुः)।

36. मानस(मान)स्व(स्व)। प्रतीमुखेन सीमायः(या) हरेन मण्डस्य(श्व)ति। ॥२७(२८)॥ यथा(पु)प(पु) पवित्र स(स)क [तेन्लतिविध्] न्यविधि(विधि)वर्ष्णति। ॥२८॥ व(व)मु०६भिषुकृत दाना स-।

37. स्व(स्वे) स्वस्य(स्ये) प्ररोहिति। ॥२८(२९)॥ स्थानाः(त्त)ह: परहितार्थपरः कुंभि-(ली)नो गौडक्ष्योक्तिस्वगुणिविवेदितो पवार्धम्। नारे। हिज्ञा।

38. तिज्जरेणु निसर्गमक्तः व्या(त)कारकिर्मिज्ञान(न) प(स)तिरजस(स्य)स-। ॥२९(३०)॥ संख्या ५६६ [१०९]

[१] This stroke is engraved above the line.
[२] This ल is a correction from ल्रम.
[३] These four letters and the dandas as well as the letter दी at the end of the foregoing line appear in the margin. Apparently they were first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who later discovered the omission and made it good.
[४] Or perhaps the original has correctly प्र, the upward stroke of the medial-० merging into the left hand downward stroke of ल.
[५] This is obviously meant to be कार्त, being the incorrect form often met with in inscriptions.
No. 13—SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack

Amongst the tracts where the NIA dialects are spoken, Orissa offers a unique opportunity to the students of Indro-Aryan linguistics. Numerous are the epigraphic records left by the rulers of Orissa who flourished before the Muhammadan conquest of the country about the middle of the sixteenth century. Distinct traces of the influence of the Oriya language and orthography are noticed in such early inscriptions as the Madras Museum plates1 of the time of Narendradhavala,2 which are written in quasi-Sanskrit and are assignable to the tenth century A.C., while epigraphs written in the Oriya language are found in fairly large numbers since the fourteenth century. Although Oriyan inscriptions of the age of the imperial Ganges, whether their language is Sanskrit or Oriya, were usually written in the Gaudiya (the so-called proto-Bengali) script, which is the mother of the Oriya alphabet, we have, from the fourteenth century, epigraphs showing fairly developed characteristics of the Oriya script. Unfortunately medieval Oriya records, written in the Oriya language and alphabet, have been very rarely published with facsimiles and accurate transcripts. In the editor's preface to the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. V, 1925, H. Krishna Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, observed, "Of these last (i.e., the Oriya records transcribed in the volume, Nos. 1006, 1119, 1152 and 1161), the texts given have to be considered as tentative since there are no published inscriptions in this language and script to afford comparison and since scholars capable of handling them are also few." Of course, some early Oriya inscriptions were published by M. M. Chakravarti without facsimiles in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, Part I, 1893, pp. 99 ff.; cf. ibid., Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 149 ff. Another Oriya inscription from Bhubaneswar was published with Plate in the same journal in 1924 (pp. 41 ff.) by G. Sircar; but the characters of this record are early Bengali. The Balasore copper axe-head inscription of the Srivavasa? monarch Purushottama (circa 1470-96 A.C.) published by Beames in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, 1872, p. 355, and by E. A. Gait in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 363, is the only early inscription written in the Oriya language and alphabet, of which both a facsimile and an accurate transcript are available to the students of Oriya palaeography and linguistics. Krishna Sastri's remarks about the paucity of satisfactorily edited early Oriya inscriptions remain substantially true even today. The transcripts of the large number of Oriya records since published without facsimiles in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, 1928, are by no means remarkable for their accuracy. No apology is therefore needed for editing in the following pages an interesting inscription of the fourteenth century, which is written in the Oriya language and alphabet and is one of the earliest of such records so far discovered.

The village of Siddheswar lies in the vicinity of Jajpur (ancient Virajâ-tirtha) on the river Vaitara in the Cuttack District of Orissa. The name of the locality is derived from that of the deity Siddhesvâna (Siva in the Linga form) whose temple is the only attraction in the area. There is a stone svâgha-stambha standing in the courtyard of the said temple, although the figure of the bull is missing. The pillar bears an inscription, the preservation of which is unfortunately not quite satisfactory. The record is engraved around a section of the pillar, which is tapering upwards. It occupies a space about 54 inches at the top and 63 inches at the bottom in length and 7 inches at the left end and 6 inches at the right in breadth. The writing is

1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.
2 [In deference to the authors' wishes, unromanized a and o is not used at all in this article, as in Oriya, these
vowels, say the authors, are often short.—Ed.]
divided into two parts by a vertical line, the space occupied by the portions at the left and right being respectively $37\times7^2$ and $17\times6^2$. There are five lines of inscription in both the parts, the first line of the smaller portion at the right being a continuation of the last line of the bigger part at the left. Individual akṣaras are between $4^1$ and $1^2$ in height. Of the two parts of the inscription, the preservation of the bigger one, which is more important, is fortunately not quite unsatisfactory; but a piece of stone has broken away from the middle of the second part together with a number of letters from all the five lines of writing. The first line of this part, with the exception of three akṣaras at the beginning, is broken away, while the gap caused by the break in the other lines of writing is between $4^1$ and $8^1$ in length. This has rendered the decipherment and interpretation of the latter part of the record extremely difficult.

The inscription is written in early Oriya characters which may be compared with those employed in the Balasore copper-axe-head inscription of a later date, referred to above. Of initial vowels, the inscription under review employs a, i, u, e and o. Of these, i is of the Gaūḍiya type, while o (pronounced in Oriya and some other East Indian dialects as v in English not and often confused with o) and e are of the modern Oriya type. The medial s-stroke is short and joined to the top curve of the consonants. The medial signs of s and i are sometimes not easily distinguishable. K is without its vertical stroke as in the modern Kārāṇi variety of the Oriya alphabet. The same is the case sometimes with e which is invariably pronounced as h in Oriya and other East Indian dialects. T and r are of the Bengali type, while s closely resembles the Telugu form of the letter. In some cases, there is little difference between g and p and, in a few cases, m also has a similar shape. R has more than one form. Sometimes it resembles c; but often its tail, which developed out of the protuberance of the lower slanting line of Gaūḍiya r, is joined with its top curve (put at the right side in a few cases; cf. vēr in line 1) as in modern Oriya. The form of the akṣara Ṛ is interesting. Ṛ resembles the same letter as found in other Oriṣia epigraphs including the Bhubaneswar inscription (in early Bengali characters) referred to above. The akṣara ह in sanskrit (line 1) has, however, a cursive form noticed in some records including the said Bhubaneswar inscription. In modern Oriya, dental l is distinguished from retrol-flex l (derived from the sign of l in Gaūḍiya) by a discursive mark. It is possible that this distinguishing discursive mark has been used in our inscription in a few cases (cf. l in vaisala in line 3) but the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the epigraph renders it difficult to be definite on this point. The numerals 1, 2, 4, 6 and 9 have been used in the inscription. The figure for 1 shows its Telugu form; while 2, 6, etc., are of the Bengali type. A peculiar Oriya method has been followed in pa 50 sa in line 4 to indicate paśčāt 50.

The language of the inscription is Oriya. An interesting orthographical feature is the almost universal use of the dental sibilant in accordance with the peculiarity of Oriya pronunciation. Noteworthy are also the expressions sarvadābhāṣā for Sanskrit sarvarīni, rījā-rīje for rījā-rījā, sāmanthā for sāmeat (sāmeatra), kīṁpha for kīṁpha, chaturdiya for chaturdi, ūttara-ūttāra for ūttara-ūttāra, mahāsaṁapati, saṁajna for saṁajna, katha-krāṇa for katha-karaṇa, veśora for veśora, veśora, parivarasaṁa for parivarasaṁa, ūjita for ūjita, 3a for aiyu, sebhāva for sidheva, etc. Similar expressions are also noticed in numerous other early Oriya inscriptions.

The date of the record is given in line 1 as sāmanthā 19 sādaya Kāraṇaśāśtra 14 Chandra-vēre, i.e., Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Kāraṇa (solar Bhādrapada) in the Anka year 19 of king Narasimha. The mention of sādaya-veṣeṣaṁaka Viśvanātha-mahāsaṁapati as an officer of the king, as will be seen below, shows that he is none other than the imperial Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV who began to rule about 1378 A.C. The expression sādaya, used in the date, is believed to be a corruption of Sanskrit saradī—Prakrit sarādī meaning "in the year".
SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19

and here refers to the peculiar Anka reckoning connected with the medieval rulers of Orissa. Omitting, according to rule, the years 1, 6 and 16, the 19th Anka year of Ganga Narasimha IV would indicate his 16th regnal year corresponding to circa 1394 A.C. The details of the date suggest Monday, the 27th July, 1394 A.C., to be the actual date of the document.

The inscription records the grant of part of a village called Bhanigrama which was situated in the Ranniga, Bishaya or district. The revenue-income (jita) of the land was 50 maḍhas probably of silver. The said district formed a part of Purvadik-Daṇḍapāta, i.e., the eastern administrative unit. The governor of this Daṇḍapāta (daṇḍa-parīkṣakā) was Nandikesvara-sambhitivira, who was subordinate to a higher officer, Śrīkaraṇa-pattanāyaaka (designation of the chief officer in charge of the records department) Viśvanātha-mahāśeṇapati. Viśvanātha was the ekaturdik-daṇḍa-parīkṣakā, i.e., the governor-general of four Daṇḍapātas in the east, west, north and south in a particular area of the Ganga kingdom. The same officer is no doubt mentioned as Purav-Śrīkaraṇa Viśvanātha-mahāśeṇapati in the second set (VI A, line 24; VI B, lines 3-4, 12) of the two Puri plates of Narasimha IV.1 A Simhachal inscription of Saka 1313 (1391 A.C.)2 mentions Viśvanātha-mahāśeṇapati as the Śrīkaraṇa-pattanāyaaka of Vāraṇasi-kaṭaka, i.e., modern Cuttack, which was the capital of the later imperial Ganga.

The grant is said to have been made with the consent of the administrative officers including the paśāta, madula, kośtha-kaṇṇa and bhāga-loka of the Daṇḍapāta in question and was exempted from the payment of all taxes (avedāṇa) including okoru, pāṇḍa, bhāga, soda and pariśānu. The word paśāta is derived from Sanskrit paśāda which is used in the form paśāya or paśāvata in Gujarati in the sense of "land separated for the maintenance of the village-artisans or for religious and charitable purposes". The official designations paśāta or paśāta and mahā-paśāta are also found in other Oriya inscriptions.3 Madula is the same as modern Oriya madula indicating a class of servants of the god Jagannatha conceived as an emperor.4 Kośtha-kaṇṇa seems to indicate officials of the revenue department called Kośtha-vājāna in the Puri Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.5 The expression bhāga-loka may be the same as bhāga-bhūj found in the Kana plate of Lokavirgha.6 Among the taxes mentioned in the list of exemptions, okoro is apparently the same as daṇḍa-orora, i.e., the watchman-tax, mentioned in a Jagannath temple inscription.7 Pāṇḍa may be modern Oriya pāiseri and may have been a tax on the money realised by the creditors from the debtors. Pāṇḍa is apparently the same as paṇḍattijya of other inscriptions and pāṇḍa of modern Oriya. It was probably a tax levied for the maintenance of the clubmen. Bhāga means a periodical or occasional offering of money and soda (the same as modern Oriya sodā) a similar offering of uncooked food. Pariśānu, as the name implies, was a supervision tax, although its real nature is uncertain.

The purpose of the grant was apparently the long life (cf. ānca... for Sanskrit āyushkāmāthe in line 6) of king Narasimha IV. Owing to the damaged condition of the second part of the record under review, the names of the donors and the donors are not easy to determine. But it is permissible

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2 SII, Vol. VI, No. 601.
3 See SII, Vol. VI, No. 94, lines 4 and 5; No. 1152, line 4; cf. the Oriya family-name Paṇḍya or Paṇḍa.4
4 According to the Puravaghanda, Bhāhākāsana, the duty of the Mahānā is to stamp a seal on the books of the donors of the Puri temple.
7 JASB, 1893, Part I, p. 91. Orora as the name of a tax or fine occurs in the Mahānā-Pāhrā (cf. Mahanta's Pāhrā-bhukti, p. 7, last line). On the realisation of pāhrā that was lost-out together with the Puravaghanda-bāndā-nakturn, p. 7, last line). On the realisation of pāhrā that was lost-out together with the Puravaghanda-bāndā-nakturn, p. 7, last line). On the realisation of pāhrā that was lost-out together with the Puravaghanda-bāndā-nakturn, p. 7, last line). On the realisation of pāhrā that was lost-out together with the Puravaghanda-bāndā-nakturn, p. 7, last line). On the realisation of pāhrā that was lost-out together with the Puravaghanda-bāndā-nakturn, p. 7, last line).
to think that the grant was made in favour of the god Siddhesvara in whose temple the record is found. Line 8 of our inscription reads the name Siddhesara (Siddhāsvara) at the beginning and śaṇu data (i.e., "given to . . .") after a big gap. It seems therefore that the grant was made by a person named Siddhesara. It is interesting to note in this connection that an officer of the Gaṅga monarch Narasingha IV is actually known to have been Pātra Siddhesvara-Jena mentioned in the Puri plates B (Plate VI A, line 23). The extant medial e-mark after Siddhesara in line 8 of the inscription may suggest the title of nobility or family name Jena (originally meaning "a prince"). Thus it is possible to think that Pātra Siddhesvara-Jena, an officer of Gaṅga Narasingha IV, installed a Śiva-līga named after himself and granted part of a village in favour of the deity for the longevity of his master.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription, viz., the village of Bhaṅgrāma and the district of Raṅgā, the intended reading for which may be Rāṅgā. The name of the district reminds us of that of the Rāṅgā vishaya mentioned in the Puri plates1 of Bhānu II. and the Rāṅgā vishaya mentioned in the Alagum inscription2 of Anantavarman Chodagāna. The village of Alagum about ten miles from Sakhigopal in the Puri District was situated in the Rāṅgā vishaya. It is not impossible that Rāṅgā, Rāṅgā and Raṅgā (or Rāṅgā) are variant forms of the name of one and the same district.

**TEXT**

**Part I**


5 [ehora pāukkā pīkkā] bāṭa vedā parīkarasaṇā jāvata svadāna nāti-kara[nti] Vira-āri-[Na]- rāṅghaleva-

**Part II**

6 ūkra [kā[amārthē]]

7 [i hā]......;ī pa 1

8 [yde]sara-[Jena*]...... ūk[u?] data pa 2

9 māḍīha du [3]

10 droho [ka*]rai

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1 There are numerous other cases of naming a deity after the person responsible for its installation. See above.

2 *Journal*, *Ar. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 34.

3 Above, p. 42.

4 From imprints. The inscription was copied by Sivac in January 1899.

5 The name of the deity seems to have occupied the space before this dative suffix.
SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19
Part I
Left side

Right side

SCALE: ONE-THIRD
No. 14—SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA: SAKA 615

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, GUTACAMUND

These copperplates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1949 from Mr. N. V. Samudra, B.A., L.L.B. of Akola, Madhya Pradesh, to whom the plates have since been returned. They were reported to have been discovered at Sangalooda (Sangudi), District Akola. The charter consists of three plates held together by a ring with a seal containing the legend Śrī-Juddhāvaruḥ and an emblem which looks like a flying garuda. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side only, the second being written on both sides. The plates together with the ring weigh 60½ tolas. The record is registered as C. P. No. 59 of the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1949-50. A brief notice of the inscription has already been made by Prof. Mirashi. I edit the record here with the kind permission accorded by Dr. B. Ch. Chhagra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved in characters belonging to the southern class of alphabets. They bear close resemblance to those in which the Afānārī Plate of Tējavarman⁴ and the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga⁵ are written. In general appearance, style of engraving and palaeographical features, the script of our record falls in the same category as that of some Kalachuri, Chalukya and early Rashtrakutā records of Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt, viz., the Sarasvati Plates of Buddhārjula,⁶ the Abhūsā-Plates of Śaṅkaragana,⁷ the Nauārī Plates of Śrīśrīvasyā-Sīlāditya,⁸ the Nīrapat Plates of Nāgayudhaya,⁹ the Sanjrā Plate of Buddhavarasa,¹⁰ the Manor Plates of Vīnāyaditya-Maṅgalarasa¹¹ and the Antarōli-Chhārōli-Plates of Karka II: Saka 679.¹² Some common characteristics of this group of inscriptions are the following. The characters employed in them are round in execution and show a tendency to cursive writing especially in the engraving of the letters ą, ọ, ę, ę and ő. In the marking of medial ę and ő, ę and ő, and in the invariable use of the looped ą and the unlooped ċ they are all alike. The palaeography of our record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 7th century A.D.

The alphabet of the inscription calls for the following remarks. Instances of initial vowels, ċ (line 6), ą (lines 21 and 22) and ċ (line 23) occur in it. Ă, initial, is exactly of the same form as that in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga.¹³ In the marking of some medial vowels peculiarities are found. Thus, medial ę is indicated by a vertical stroke within the loop marking the short ċ, e.g., ę in line 21. Medial ą is indicated by two separate strokes as in ā in line 2. But the same sign is marked in two different ways even though attached to the same consonant: e.g. pā in lines 22 and 24. The jñānāḍya which is exactly like ma is found in kṣatikā (line 8), rucitākā (line 9), kānukā (line 9) and patickā (line 11). Y is written in two forms: the bipartite form occurs in dhāya (line 15) while the form with a loop at the left like the Grantha y is noticed in viśāya (line 14). The dandas are marked for the full verse only and not for the half-verse.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 4, 7 and 8.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXV, plate facing page 236.
⁶ Ibid., plate facing page 23.
⁷ Ibid., Vol. VI, plate facing page 222.
⁸ Ibid., Vol. IX, plate facing page 226.
⁹ Ibid., Vol. VIII, plate facing page 232.
¹⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, plate facing page 124.
¹³ JERAS, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 106.
The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Portions of the text are in verses of which there are only two, both in the Śāntinirukṣīṭa metre. The rest of the inscription is in prose. The usual imperative verses are conspicuous by their absence but a passage in prose occurring towards the end (lines 25-28) contains the imprecation against violators of the charity.

The phraseology of the record deserves particular mention. The inscription opens with the usual salutation and the mention of the place of issue, viz., Padmanagara. In certain portions the phraseology of the record is exactly the same as that found in some early Kātachchuri records, viz., the Āhāraṇī Plates of Sākharāna: K. year 347 and the Sāravīti Plates of Buddhārāja: K. year 361. For instance, the passage āmānyā-ādīta-takti-siddhiḥ describing Svāmikarāja in our charter (line 7) is found in both the records cited above where it is applied to Kātachchuri Krishnarāja. Again the sentence yāt-ča svāhāya-śṭīkti-tōḥ-hād-īva sūkla-āt-śhīgasātmikarā-śnartī-ča gāvār-trīpaṭaḥ (lines 11-12) eulogising Nannarāja-Yuddhāśura of the present charter is traceable in the above records also where again the same Krishnarāja is eulogised thereby.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the composer of our inscription drew inspiration from the earlier Kātachchuri models much in the same way as the writers of Gaurāja grants in the time of Dadda Pṛśāntarāja drew upon the same Kātachchuri records. Whether this fact by itself could be taken to indicate some political connection between the early members of the Rāhṭrākūta family figuring in our grant and the Kātachchuris is more than what can be said at present.

The orthography of our inscription shows some noteworthy features. N is used for ṇ in rūṇa (lines 1 and 24). The same consonant ṇ takes the place of ananta in padarśīvaḥ (line 4). A redundant ś occurs in Śnātakāya (line 11). V is used for s in Sauvābhīṣya (line 13). Mistakes like bhūmicāda (line 23) for bhūmicādha, paścchadaṁ-varśīha (line 29) for paścchadaṁ-varśīha and paurṇaṇi (line 30) for paurṇāṇi occur in the inscription. In some cases the consonant after the rēpha is duplicated.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāhṭrākūta chief Nannarāja who bears the surname Yuddhāśura which is engraved on the seal of the plates. It is issued by him from Padmanagara. Nannarāja’s genealogy is described as follows: in the Rāhṭrākūta family was born Durgārāja whose son was Gūvindarāja to whom was born Svāmikarāja. The son of Svāmikarāja was Nannarāja who was endowed with innumerable virtues and who was a Paramājāma and a Paramājāma-pratāpa.

The object of the charter is to register the gift made by Nannarāja of lands in the villages of Umbarikā-grāma and Vaṭāpuraka-grāma, to the Brahma Haragaṇa-dvivādin, son of Bhūtagaṇa-bhāja and grandson of Varmanlaka-chaturvādin, in order to secure religious merit for himself and his parents. The donor is further described as a resident of Tagara, as belonging to Vaiṣṇavīra gōtra, Kānśika prastara and Tatirūla charura and as Aniruddha-anānta-pradāya. The boundaries of the lands granted in Umbarikā are stated as follows: on the south it was bounded by the boundary of Vaṇvadara, on the north by Tatiṣṭi-Tilāngicchhī-Bhūtāraka (temple), on the east by the boundary of Nāgaiya and on the west by Ucchhīshṭi-udabhātālā.

The gift is stated to have been made with libation of water on the day of Kārdate-Pūrṇimā and the date of the record quoted at the end mentions the same day in the Śaka year 613 which is expressed in words.

2 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 297, text-lines 6-8 and 8-7.
3 Ibid., p. 286.
4 The compound Aniruddha-anānta-pradāya may be understood as an anānta which was un-kindered i.e. the anānta was named after a person who had the bīraṇa, Aniruddha. See below.
The chief Nanmarāja who issued the present charter from Padmanāgarā is already known to us from two other inscriptions both belonging to his reign and in which the same genealogy is prefixed to his name. These are the Multai Plates¹ and the Tiwarkhed Plates.²  The former is dated Šaka Samvat 631, expressed in words, and it records the gift made by Nanmarāja of the village of Jalaṅkuhe situated to the west of Kṛṇihīvēṣṭāra, to the north of Pipparrkika, to the east of Jalaṅkā and to the south of Arjunaṅgrāma. None of these villages has been located yet. The place from which the charter was issued is not specified. But the findspot of the record is known to be Multai in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh which lies about a hundred miles northeast of Akōla, the locality in which the Sangalooda Plates were found. The other inscription, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, discovered near Multai, records another grant by the same king Nanmarāja, of some land in the village of Tivrēkhešṭa, i.e., modern Tiwarkhed, on the south bank of Amrēviśka. The date of this record is given both in words and numerals as 533 of the Šaka era and the place of issue of the charter was Achalapura, i.e., Ellīchpūr, 50 miles north of Akōla.

Although the chiefs mentioned in the three charters are the same and the texts of the inscriptions up to the domative portion are identical except for slight variations here and there, and some omissions in one of them, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, some remarkable differences do exist in other respects between our inscription and the other two. In the first place the latter two are engraved in the angular northern characters while the present Sangalooda Plates are inscribed in the rounded southern characters. Again, there is a great difference in the dates quoted in the three records although they purport to have been issued by the same king. In the Tiwarkhed Plates the Šaka year 533 is given as the date of that charter while our grant and the Multai Plates are dated in Šaka 615 and 631 respectively. Obviously the Tiwarkhed Plates must be understood to quote a wrong date, since in other respects also, besides the disparity of over sixty to eighty years in date between this and the others, this charter is faulty and contains large omissions in the textual portion which in the other two is complete and identically worded. These and other defects in the Tiwarkhed Plates, as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,³ cast some doubts on their genuineness.

The difference in the script of our record as compared with the other two is indeed noteworthy. That in the same region two different scripts were employed and that by the same king must be considered to hold some particular significance, the nature of which is difficult to establish although similar instances are known.⁴ There are indications afforded by the present charter to

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 2.
⁴ We have inscriptions of the Telugu Chōla chief Pumāinkatā coming from the same locality, some of which are engraved in the Telugu-Kannada script of the Chālikya variety and some others in the Pallava Grantha characters, e.g., his Tippalā inscription is in the Pallava Grantha script (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 291 and plate) while his Rāmāvārakāmarī Pillar inscription is in the Telugu-Kannada script of the Chālikya style (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 234 and plate). It is well known that this chief was a feudatory alternately of the Pallava and the Chālikya (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 231).

Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the enigma presented by some charters of the 8 Cōḷapatnarāja king Māṇabhavacana, the characters of each of which are so dissimilar to those of the others, thus presenting a palaeographical incongruity.⁵ While two of his charters, viz., the Ganjam Plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 144 and plate) and the Cuttack Museum Plates (above, Vol. XXV, p. 148 and pl.) are in one style, his other two records, viz., the Bogāḷa Plates (above, Vol. VIII, p. 100 and pl.) and the Puri Plates (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 122 and pl.) are engraved in quite a different script and style. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar tried to give some explanation of the enigma presented by these charters (above, Vol. XXV, p. 149).

The two records of Dantidurgā, viz., the Ellīchpūr Plates and the Śamangal Plates may also be cited as other instances in point. The former which is in southern characters like some Chālikya records of Gaṅgātī were issued by the chief who was still a feudatory of the W. Chālikyas (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 26-7) while the latter which are in northern characters were issued by him as an independent sovereign. Although the genuineness of the latter has been called in question yet one cannot set aside the inscription altogether and for our purpose ⁶ are concerned with the script of the record (see above, Vol. XXV, p. 26).
the effect that the issuer was not a paramount ruler but one enjoying only a small status. This becomes evident from the fact that no titles of independent rulership like Mahārāja much less those of supreme lordship like Mahārājādhirāja or Paramaśatāśāra are attached to the names of any one of these Rāštrakūṭa chiefs from the time of the first member of the line, viz., Durgarāja. The recently discovered Nagardhan Plates of Śvāmirāja, an earlier member of this line, also show that the issuer of that charter, Śvāmirāja likewise does not assume any titles of independent rulership but actually describes himself as Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānuṭṭhaṭṭaḥ i.e., devoted to the feet of his lord (Bhaṭṭāraka). To whom then were Nāmarāja and his ancestors of the present charter subordinate? Prof. Mirashi expressed the view that they were at first vassals of the Kalachuris and later, of the Chālukyas of Hāmāli who displaced the Kalachuris, and that Śvāmirāja of the Nagardhan Plates was a Kalachuri vassal to start with. He also adopted the view, subject to revision, that Gōvinda, the adversary of Pulakāśin II mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription (634-5 A.C.), was to be identified with Gōvindarāja, the grandfather of Nāmarāja and that the Chālukya emperor reduced these Rāštrakūṭa chiefs to vassalage after his subjugation of Kalachuri Buddhārāja and his acquisition of the Three Mahārāṣṭrakas. In my opinion these conclusions can for the most part be sustained as shown below.

It is not improbable that Gōvindarāja was a contemporary of Pulakāśin II in or before 634-5 A.C. For, the earliest date for his grandson Nāmarāja provided by the present record from Sangalooda is Śaka 615, i.e., 693 A.C. and as the latest date afforded for him by the Multai record is Śaka 631, i.e., 709 A.C. it is not unlikely that he started his reign earlier and that he succeeded his father even before 638 A.C. Assuming further that his father Śvāmikaraṇa had the usual reign of 25 years, i.e., from 655 to 680 A.C., the date assignable on the same reckoning of 25 years' rule to Gōvindarāja would be 630-635 A.C. Thus he could have been a contemporary of Pulakāśin II in 634-5 A.C. Besides the reference to Gōvindarāja in the Aihoḷe prāṇaśāstra there is another piece of evidence suggesting some Chālukya association with this Rāštrakūṭa family. Pulakāśin II is described as Nāgarājana-pādānuṭṭhaṭṭaḥ in one of the records of his collaterals ruling in the Nasik District. This Nāgarājana is believed to have been some preceptor of Pulakāśin II. Whether it was the name of his preceptor or favourite deity, what is worthy of note in this connection is that Nāgarājan or Nāgarājhana was the findspot of the grant of Śvāmirāja and this place might have been named after a deity or a person called Nāgarāhana to whom Pulakāśin II was devoted. If this surmise is proved correct by more substantial evidence, it may just be possible that Pulakāśin II, in the course of his campaign into the Rāvāṇa and the Vindhyas, passed through Nāgarāhan, the capital of these Rāštrakūṭa chiefs and subdued them in the time of Gōvindarāja, sometime before 634-5 A.C. Since then the family might be supposed to have continued to be Chālukya vassals up to the time of the present charter, the script of which, as noticed already, bears such close resemblance to some Chālukya records of the period, particularly the Nausāri Plates of Yuvāraṇa Śrīśāraya-Sīhātīya, the Manor Plates of Nīlakāla, the Aśājīrī Plate of Tējāvarman of the Hariśchandra family. Besides, there is yet one more indication in the present grant to connect these chiefs with the Chālukyas politically. The dome of the charter is called Anisārā anusatā-pradāya. It is well known

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.
2 Ibid., p. 3.
4 Above, Vol. VI, p. 10.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, plate facing pp. 291.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXV pp 227, 233 a  8  plate.
34 [व]लाय [१२] [व]कलुगोप: सुमित्रोत्तर: सङ्कल्पोत्तर: किल्लिकर: १२११ लाय(सो) न्यपतथा शुभत्वयोत्तर: शुभाशीतम(स) भर्मशुला-

35 कविलमण: । प्रकाश: वर्गायस: सागरायस: बाजारायस: मुखय १२४१। लिङ्ग वितान: तम (तम) वथा: सुमलसा: (साप)-

36 वनमालिकावा । सतासोतोभक्तारतत्वम: विनिमित्ता स(स)कसुमसम्बर: १२३१। कलावर: मंकसुमसम्बर: मुखर: दुर्गविनयते-

37 भ: वांश: । पुरोहितवांश: नरी अर्हनासामस्यकरिकामेण १२६१। लसरसुविर: (स) भ मन्दपते: कोणं: पीछ: समस्तसेवः-

38 तत: । शंभ: वाग्मुनोगहिवाराकामे । वेदावनविकारित भूषाय: १२९१। तत: अवलंबय: मन्द:सुमसम्बर: होमे परा अवलेखने

39 उलमान्ते । भीवेदापाष्ठ: अपि(प्र) सर्वरितमा सत्या नुसा(ते) कुशाय १२५२। लस: विशारद: विशिष्टकार(क)तरसेन: विशिष्टसार(क)

40 विशिष्ट श्रद्धा प्रस्तुतः । अक्कल्प(य) हु(चल्या) म(म)ति गतक(क)म: स चावर-१२६२। अद्र(अ)राजाभिव: विशिष्ट प्रवाह मुना(व)

41 कलावरविलिंग प्रकल्पम: । अतःपारामिच्छेकर्ष्यकर: कर्म समस्तापायः प: मानुषाय १२०१।

Slab XVIII: Canto XVII

[Metres: vv. 1, 5-8, 11-14, 21-23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 38 Upajāti; v. 2 Indravanā; v. 3 Upajāti of Upardrana, Indravanā and Vānaka; v. 4, 33 Drutaviśāma; vv. 9, 16, 17, 20, 24, 25 Upajāti of Vānaka and Indravanā; v. 10, 25 Indravanā; v. 15, 18, 30, 31, 34, Anushūkhā; vv. 19, 41, 42 Śārdūlaśaṅkara; v. 28 Prāñā; vv. 36, 39 Upardrana; v. 40 Mañjā.]

1 । भोगेसाय: नमः१०) । सत्यदेशसंं लिङ्गध: धर्मसुमधरः: किल प्रविभागः (भ) सुमणुकरष्टर: नुपरसायनः । राजसेवान: साक्षे-

2 हिंदो शास्त्रायथ: (विषय: शुभसंवेदना: १२११। भृहा विश्वा: बारिस्थिता: शुभर: वृक्षोऽन: ज्ञानसायनः । सुदूरविशिष्टः-

3 । न सुनेत: लक्ष: शुभं राजो नासितीनामः १२२। कुल(स) य शुभविशिष्टानां शुभरस्वरुपसादः । सुनेत: दुना।

¹ Meaning 'gold'.
² Sanskrit is not observed here.
18 DGA/82
4 यह महाबहुरसिंहें राजारण्यवेद: [II.2] श्रवरसिंहमनन्तीराज्यावाक्र(ि)सिंहम्योगसम्

5 नादि(ि)हरसिंहभविक: मनिवलसिंहश्विशिष्ठि: [II.1] सुतेन गृहस्वाति सरापणविवेशि

6 मुरोर्षिवावराविलिहः ओष्ठरस(ि)किना०: [II.2] चिताजीविलंबपुष्करव्ययि

7 तत्त्वमिभु तु दुर्ग सुश्रुषे तुल्यान्: [II.1] समासोनवासिनः वै वसा

8 वस्मु कुष(ि)णः राजविलिहिनाति [II.1] भवा विषयि दुष्पेशस्वतः सतीदुनात: (ि)

9 सर्व राजारिररेषः नाति [II.1] लस: सुभण्डकजस्कागरसाभसंगसम्पद्यतुष्मि उसमें

10 बिषय एवरसिंहविरुचिकारः [II.2] गार्तकरति कावःसम्(ि)राजा(ि)गार्तकत्वम् [ि]

11 समालः(ि)तः: सुभण्डककुलसागरसाभसंगसम्पद्यतुष्मि उसमें

12 मिति सोपस्वा(ि)राजि वजयाः [II.1] इति [II.2] व्र(ि)प्रयुक्तम सम्भवे पु(ि)ष्मि बुधस्वरे

13 वेपुतृत ग(ि)कार्कुद(ि) [II.2] दन्तविलिहिनाति [ि] सम्रासम्पद्यर(ि) राजासम्पद(ि)

14 दुर्गावह सवासिंहिनाति [II.1] बलके(ि)व राजकासिनः पुष्कः [II.2] प्रथमादिकि

15 श(ि)स्तानवाटि [II.1] स दत्ता(ि)व राजसि(ि)कोसि [II.2] स्त्रापणसर्वपर्वति भवि

16 यह उसदशाक्षाभिलिहिनाति । कारिण(ि) इह सत्तारुपस्वमः कुस्ताति(ि) बालिवरेन

1 This angroha sign is not necessary.
2 Read तृषित प्राणते विकालिति.
3 These two angroha signs are unnecessary.
4 There is a superfluous causative over this letter.
17 गर्भाम् तत्त्वाकारकारुणी कुकुरः [18] स्वचालिताकारुणीसत्यसत्यनीर्मित(म्) वानरावृत्तियोऽभावम् । ॥१७॥ ग(ता)ककपसावः(सि)हृद्ये फि।


19 वेष करो जलभ्रम: संपत्तो वाक्ये: [17] सयं गर्भानुर एव साय(सि)हृद्ये पद्माकृतिम् तव तात्त्वासरसीवचनयोवेंम मत[3] सत्त्वोयं भूवे ॥२०॥

20 रस्ताकरेशेव विभिन्नत: बाह्यबह्यस्य पोषे सुर्दे भवेर ग्रहुः[22]। तथायहीर्वाचनसुर(थ濢)-सागराभव(म्) से काव्या भूनिपथण(थे)॥२०॥ ग(भ्)।

21 समक्षसंकाशः भोजःसिंहः: त्रिवर्गः पुरले मुनामायोत्साम् सकाश्च(थ) विभास(म) प्रभाव गु(थ)पण्डितमेव हुला ॥२१॥

22 कुलाहः(का)बंद्धवहरि मुनामायोत्साम करे ऊर्द्धमयं विशय। शुभामुद्ध: शुभामुद्ध: सिद्धान्तेऽपि गु(थ)पण्डितमेव हुला ॥२२॥

23 सवाक्ष: ॥२३॥ शुभाभित्वेऽवः[23]हृद्याण्वतिवर्त लता(सि)तुला हृद्याण्वतिवर्त। मुहा समाहरहृद्याविभास: श्रवणसिंह: प्रति।

24 वाक्षोऽकाशः ॥२४॥ सुर्यसुनिर्दिष्टहरि(सि)रिता॥[२४] शुभा: सम(थ)नयेन्त्र यवेन कोपलोऽ[२५] वारनुरूक्तस्य हृदयाण्वति(ख) परा[२५] समानोंविभास।

25 सति ताल[२६] ॥२५॥ भक्तिनार्थः(भ्) बाह्यबह्यस्यायोत्साम न्य(स्)बन्धुरण(भ) यद्य का नयि(भ्)हृद्ये [२७] सत्त्वोत्तरः सागर एक उसम रात्रीनामारण(सि) सुख(नि)मृि।

26 विभिन्नतः: ॥२६॥ ग(भ्)रायु(भ्)हरिकाण्वतिवर्तिने तत्रहः(सि)मेव नृपति प्रत्यति [२८] भ्रमरायु(ति)मृि हि रात्रीस्थु बुद्धा नृपोत्तरः सम्बन्धा तु(भ्)लावः ॥२६॥

27 शुरुः(भ्)स्य कस्यमुग्धस्य ज्ञाना(थ)दुर्वमेव किन कुश्यास्य(थ)। भुवा नृपावलायेश नृपः क्वेनान्तीवने बिभिन्न: ॥२७॥ विभिन्न(भ्)॥

28 नवसहस्तः(भ्)क्रमज्ञानात्मकन्तोऽविभिन्नतः [किंतु] तु(भ्)ला(भ्) मुक्तान्नवः। विभास पुष्कर(भ्)तदादिनेतुः सिन्धुः। ॥ ॥

29 वानसाध्यायाःकिण्यमितश्च[२९] अयमान्तरवस्त्रहः सूपः ॥२८॥ समस्याविभासीनमित(सि)तेन बिकाशालासारासिनः हि।
30 सं कुषभोज(क)कुषभण्डारिणी (कृष्ण) पुत्रा भेदभाव बिवाह(ति) \[126.1\] शुक्रासुर्यं यशुप्रकाश ऋषि स उच्चतां। वर्ते तथम् सुम्रत:-

31 शुक्रधुलयोजितं \[126.2\] उप्य(क्षे) सिरसं गुनं(क) वीक प्राप्त शवगुंधारी [**] शुक्रधुलयोजितं(क) सिरसं गुदुक(क)लसीमु तुम(स)चितं \[126.21\] श्रम[निरस]हरु-

32 (क)मित्रमहमंजुतु सुकान्तवियं शष्योदसिरि[सति?]
** कनकक(सु)तीलिङ्कसितादरात्तनोपनृपति;
** प्रियतामये \[126.22\] गुण(स) तुल(त)वै-

33 तिर(तिर) प्रकल्प(तिर)परवतिताय नुपरात्मलिङि: तिर(तिर)कर तुल(त)सर्वसु(क)ये: सकुश्लि(ति)
** तिरि विशिष्टमालि धुर(क)योमितस्माथे \[126.23\] न नमेति विषणिा-

34 का(क)हरे जाने तवेतात्म परि [**] कन्यावेजुलुक्तु राजसित(ति)हृ लोपयितं \[126.24\]
** लोकान्तरस्वस्तपवारुदानकुरल:-

35 शतुरामिश्वरक || कर्मवध(म) मित्रतामालि तव: \[126.25\] पालवम हुल(स)स्मितिल सर्वसिता\\
** \[126.26\] जय(आ)महाम(ह)क(स)त(स)परि-

36 धनकल्पमेत तु कोक्कपुरुषक्षािः \[126.27\] शुक्रधुलयोजकालिया यितिरसितमहसेसामपणया \[126.28\]
** दुन(भ) \[1\]

37 तिरिन्देशारंभस्य जात(त)सं शताष्ट्रमेषोपकल धिः सन्धे। तिरिक्ताकुर्यन(त)प्रश्ना वन्नी शौरेजेतस्रह धिः

38 मृतिव मणि \[126.29\] प्राणी(क)परवर्त(वाणे) (क) \[4\] गजराजियां तुहतविमय श(कान्तने)रणसित-\n** प्राणियां(क) \[126.30\] गोष्टु(क)कलान(त) मृतिव: प्रकाः-

39 [तिर] नानाविभः (क) बालकायविभिन्त(कालने)विवाह(व) \[126.31\] तुमाहे नेक(क)र्थें तुहतस्तवा ।
** पदा वेष तबेव जला। स घेकर:-

40 भार द्वार(क) ध(व) हरियमर्गवान कविस्वामीस्वकाँ: \[126.32\] विजयगोलक(क)-
** भारहोधो श्वर्यमण्डलित सिस्मालस्तवनामितिः

41 तव(क)पाराइम(म)दार्शनव(व)राजा। विविधित्व्याकथगन्तिस्किर्ततांसमस्तव(सु)लुला के नेम(क)क(त)रेत
** हिरीयः \[126.33\]

* This danda is unnecessary.
* The last letter, i.e., स, is superfluous.
* Perhaps we have to read tri-mūrtinam-brāhma.
* The letters in brackets are to be omitted.
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42. शायद उपसर्गात साम्भव योगीसामाजिके उपक्रमांक(क)एकः करीकर(व)लोकोऽसम्य- 

43. तेन(स)पहुँच त(तु) रासरसन इति या कह्यो या मायेकः युज(तो)पुरुषपुस्तः प्रतिवेदी 

44. पुरुषपुस्तः अनको बुधः जी समानान्तानुसारे रामार्के पै(ए)[व]* क्षत्रावधायास्नायाहृं 

45. मव्व बार(रा)क(क)[पुस्त महत्]*[५] पुस्त: सववशेष साम उपभागवेतस्साहुः ||[५२२४]*

Slab XIX: Canto XVIII

(Meties: vv. 1, 2, 32, 39, 40 Sārdīsimakrūta; vv. 3, 6, 8, 11, 13-15, 17 Upajāti; v. 4 Indra- 
vājra; vv. 5, 9, 10, 12, 19-21 Upajāti of Indraśaṃkā and Vamakeshabala; v. 16 Indraśaṃkā; v. 18 
Upajāti of Indraśaṃkā, Vamakeshabala and Upendravājra; vv. 22-31, 33, 37, 38 Anuskṛtab; vv. 34, 
35 Srañāthā; v. 36 Mālinī.)

१५

1. ॥ ब्रीरभाष्यकार नाम(म)। परसो विभुस्तीरण(पृथिवी)एवः[४] ततादश रामीको सि(क)रोजिं 

2. ब्रीर(व)री शस्य(क)ुन्तुः तरेण उविदः[४] रामासानाने गुर्जरोही इंद्रवसस्याः 

3. अस्तुतुर्वर्तःस्वरूपहोरोपत्तमुः ब्रीरभाष्यमिराजसाधितुस्वरूपिन्ययः पुरोहितीतिः । विव(व)धाराय 

4. तत(ष)ब्धे मुष्ठ वसस्यवास्तवक्ष्य सववशिष्यं विलाष्य(प)धानिले ||२२। गरीख(५) 

5. खुष्ठुः ने मुष्ठ वसस्यास्तवक्ष्याराग सववशिष्यं विलाष्य(प)धानिले ||२२। गरीख(५) 

6. खुष्ठुः [विव]नस्य: प्रविठस्याः तुम्हाः । खुष्ठुः [विव]नस्य: प्रविठस्याः तुम्हाः ॥२२। गरीख (५) 

\[5\] This numbering is wrong. We should have here a simple danda, marking the first half of the verse.

\[6\] The words yātānaya maha are supplied from v. 30 of the canto XIX.

\[7\] This figure 10 is written on the top of the slab and refers to the serial number of the canto.

\[8\] This should be corrected into विवायः.
7 नसनात्र दिलिष्टत्त [रे̄]नानुसिंहत यद्वद:। दुरुस्तव्यते हरिश्च लाशीं कर्तृत सहवेय स्थिरवां तस्मात्। नहोममस्याः कृतः।
8 मासेकत् कर्मवष तेन गु दुर्गिञ्जस्यापेः। सर्वेख चतुः: पतिरुप्लक्षितः (स्त्री)तथा प्रणान्तिविषयः। स्त्रावः। नमोरः। पृः।
9 श्रीसमकाल चुर्याल्पक तथा स्मारापिनेन। िस्तुः। श्रीदुर्गिलं द्रष्टव्यद्यत । लक्षणोऽत्मस्य वृत्तमाणा। निबन्धः सर्वे लक्ष्मि्।
10 लक्ष्मिनार्ध दुर्गिञ्जविषयः। सम्पति यत्तितः। दुर्गिष्टविष्टिविषयः। सम्पत्ति लोकसंसारवाणाः। सम्पत्ति।
11 वान्यत श्रवाय ब्रणविकोशेन व राजां सर्वाः। दुर्गिञ्जत्त बिन ब्रणविकोशात्प्यायः। कर्मायोऽवय गुणः। निबन्धः। दुर्गिञ्जस्त्रीवः।
12 सर्वाः लक्ष्मिनार्ध दुर्गिञ्जविषयः। दुर्गिञ्जविषयत्तिविषयः। सम्पत्ति राशिस्याः। लक्ष्मिनार्धस्य श्रीसमाहुः। निबन्धः।
13 नायसायः ततः। असायः राशिकोत्रावाणसारावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। श्रीसमाहुः। श्रीसमाहुः। अलावः। राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। श्रीकृतः। दुर्गिञ्जविषयः।
14 सर्वाः वनां यतः। दुर्गिञ्जवनार्धः। सम्पत्ति लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः।
15 नायसायः तत:। असायः राशिकोत्रावाणसारावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। श्रीकृतः। दुर्गिञ्जविषयः।
16 नायसायः ततः। असायः राशिकोत्रावाणसारावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। ततः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः। लक्ष्मिनार्धः।
17 द:। नायसायः ततः। असायः राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। श्रीकृतः। दुर्गिञ्जविषयः।
18 दुर्गिनः। नायसायः ततः। असायः राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। राशिकोत्रावाणश्रेणी(स्त्री)तथा। श्रीकृतः। दुर्गिञ्जविषयः।
19 विषयः। नायसायः। असायः। नायसायः। असायः। नायसायः। असायः। नायसायः। असायः।

1 The saṃgraha signs are superfluous.
2 Before श्रसाय there is again a superfluous saṃgraha sign.
3 This śanda is engraved above the line.
4 This saṃgraha sign is also superfluous.
20. नभेलिकामकृतीस्वतानीचि. ॥२१॥ नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश। ॥ पूः ।
21. दाविषीविककर्मभौति च देविकिमक हृदिभेय ॥२२॥ तस्य निरिद्धमंसिल(ब्रह्म)सत्तमत
किं दु: ते गोविन्दाधि। ॥
22. सम्भवन: दु: । ब्राह्मण धार्मिक सुवासिरूपाणि: हर्षे इतार्थिरश्वेत शेषया प्रमो: ॥२३॥
23. समस्यानु: ॥ ॥२४॥ नृपस्य सहृद्युदाधिकाकार: पु: (न)हृद: इता[(२)] कार्यकर्ममेहानि: [१]*
24. सत्तमता निरिद्धमुत्त: प्रविद्ध्। ॥ ॥२५॥ पारिवर्थाणि: सिद्धसत्तमाणि: ॥ ॥२६॥
25. ग्रामिर्जीविकहृदिभेय ॥२७॥ वर्ष भृगुप्तामलोकतितविक्षपांगुरुत ॥ ॥२८॥
26. सत्तम: नृपस्य ज्ञातो ज्ञातं त्यथा इति ॥ ॥२९॥ नृपस्य ज्ञाता दुर्गीरेन ॥२०॥
27. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश। ॥२१॥ नृपस्य ज्ञाता दुर्गीरेन ॥२२॥
28. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥२३॥ नृपस्य ज्ञाता दुर्गीरेन ॥२४॥
29. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥२५॥ नृपस्य ज्ञाता दुर्गीरेन ॥२६॥
30. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥२७॥ नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥२८॥
31. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥२९॥ नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥३०॥
32. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥३१॥ नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥३२॥
33. नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥३३॥ नृपिरतायापरासरसुतानिममिता(कृता)निवध राज्यराजेश ॥३४॥

* Svedhi is not observed here.
* After this fifty-six syllables are wanting, which shows that one complete line of the inscription is missing.
Slab XX ; Canto XIX

(Metens ; vv. 1, 12 Srayñarā ; vv. 2, 3 Vasuvalatilaka ; vv. 4, 42, 43 Śārdulakṣirṣita ; vv. 5, 38-41 Upajā ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 Anuṣṭubh ; vv. 15 Pramāṇiki ; vv. 21, 34-36 Ratdākaṭi v. 37 Śikharī.)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Slab XX</th>
<th>Canto XIX</th>
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<tr>
<td>[Metens ; vv. 1, 12 Srayñarā ; vv. 2, 3 Vasuvalatilaka ; vv. 4, 42, 43 Śārdulakṣirṣita ; vv. 5, 38-41 Upajā ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 Anuṣṭubh ; vv. 15 Pramāṇiki ; vv. 21, 34-36 Ratdākaṭi v. 37 Śikharī.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. **Śīrṣapayām nyāma:** [1] *\text{विमसिक्षतीद्वारःतपस्यस्वरूपादेशः}\* 

\text{विमसिक्षतीद्वारःतपस्यस्वरूपादेशः}

*These three syllables are missing.

\*Sandhi is not observed here.

\*This is redundant.

\*This figure 19 appears on the top.

\*This sign ofasya\textit{} is unnecessary and is to be omitted.
2 लुक्राके वर्ण [\(1^{n}\) श्र] (क्रोजी'काल) वें-अवोकृष्टक्वनिभचापरम्परा (न) उनिर्द्धा ध्यय (ण) सन्य- (ढ)ुण्डी बांहूमिरित मशा: बोरसिंहदिकु (ढ)।

3 सत्रह: [\(1^{n}\) कृ(ढ)ुण्डी) बोरकराहड़ ठमोक मिस्त्रालो विसृज्ञो भावलना लम्बोनर्मण: सम्भु: कृमोढ़ुण्डी- प्रकराहड़ जोतिरतासिन् (ढो)।

4 मिस्तरसमू शिंदिवयान समापढ़ एव: [\(1^{n}\) सिद्धार्कोणुखते परिमुक्तमुनिमुन्य(ण्डु) न: क्वतातल- लहुबधित: सित हु[ण्डु] श(श) कयति [\(1^{n}\) वली-]

5 रंभिमहर्षपुर्ण जलतिसहस्यणो नून सुपूर्ण हसि तेष्वक्वरसङ्क्राम: [\(1^{n}\) र] शाले घटि(ढ)ि-तहसुनुपनमण: पूलो सहसुम(सश्च)-

6 पृथु(ण्डु) गाढ़ा तवाप्रहलादपरेश्च: लेनुव(ढ)ुण्डु(के) [\(1^{n}\) र] शाले पृथु (ढुण्डु) मिस्त्रुण्डुयूर अन्यायस्यज्जुक्तेन्द्र तिसरंशी-।

7 रेकहेतु(पर)णमिझयसमाधसमोह: अन्त्य: [\(1^{n}\) सत्तक्ष्म मध्यम न वदारी कविक्षमलय सांस्य: न च बुद्धस्तम । लो महारे(ख)े-।

8 न जनासायण(ण) मोकत[\(1^{n}\) शम्भु: कवितिन्ति दिवि [\(1^{n}\) अले मिलिता चे प्रााँ म न ले मना महिलये । ले सना वमहारे मानार्थ-।

9 स्वामणःकम: [\(1^{n}\) मेह(ड)ा शिष्यत्रसाधा धनेवताच मलाबे । मनानि तोप्रेजमाणि तालि जातानि भुले [\(1^{n}\) ये बस्मार्थ-।

10 जीवनवा: व्याले ते, जीवनवाद: । यदारो न सुनाय प्रामा पुण्यप्राप्तर्फदुर्फुदुरः । [\(1^{n}\) भुचछा पुचछा जले मनास्येभ शी(ड)ी) जाकृृ-।

11 कृ(ढ)ुण्डु: । जलेतम्यज्जति (ढ)ाळो बवानाथ त्यं ध्या कता [\(1^{n}\) शी(ड)ी)बिधु(ड)ी) जलेतायत पञ्चकरो (पुकरां) । प्राकृतिमण्ड(मा) शर-।

12 शास्त्ररा(नृ)दिश: सापर(ण) कालु(ढ)ुण्डु: [\(1^{n}\) वर(ढ)ुण्डु] : स्वतवनसिमो कप(पति) प्रवृत्त तप: ।

13 अश्वमि: [\(1^{n}\) ज्ञतकार(के) सिंवस्त्येहूधु: मृ] सस्तिस्तुपायकालिनिस्तम्यामुनीत्वा (ष्ठा) पानुमा (मान) न: सातस्ययोत्तम-।

14 शि(ढ)ुण्डुसंतालु: भाजावार्षतीपथविष्ठ नरसाये ते तहान: प्रापति ग्यौत्पन्नप ध्यायाप्त:।

\(*\) This numbering ought to have come after सत्रह: in the previous line.
15 रिमिन(स्र)काम १२२। वधा स्वले तथा जब्ते बुधा क[संति] भायः। भिषिकभव
श्लायस्य जप(त)तरं मुँते २०३१॥ वग्निप्रत्यः हुतः। सह(ब) व-
16 नल्ल ईव तेसंभवः। पुष्कम निषाध्यो भरीश्च वहनामस्ययोगतः १३३४॥ पृथ्वी वयः
ले संहिर्मण्नाति नलणामेः। वात्तिः जलकल्लोऽर।
17 लगर्मनाति सवन्नम पृभु (स)। वर्णनाः[स]प्रतसोवानमाणाय विलयवः। प्रेक्षिते तथा
(सु)गायत्वां पवावेश्व(र)गिकताकं: १६३१॥ कनम-
18। लाशा(श)सवयानीतसदृश्यः वहनात्यायः। कमलाच(च)म्यायो लकमलासामस्य पृभु(च)॥
प्रविष्णास्यभगता वा भाला भूम्भास सं(त)।-
19 तथा। तदाबो वाणां निषिद्धः। कण्यपाणिषः १७३१॥ पदामाः। अलसमानाः वशा
राजतिः तय ते [१] नीति: गृहाय संह(व)ति नीरानी य-
20 तथा हवः १६३१॥ नित्सन्यो शिरवाचुश्च(चु) | वरस्न|कुल्हवयः। नबयुयाय(प)वेनेनेन(सू) तथावे निदितामिति: १६५(२०)॥ पुष्करिपरमसु(पञ्ज)-
21 बोहरेवदुभुमिष्ठ ो ह(पु)विजिष्ठः। [२०२४] कम्बु जलस्यो बुधः। सिंहु[एक?]
हिति तान्त्र(प) चर्मस्य पहुँचता २०३१॥ भ्रान्तयाज्ञापनाय कृ
22 रुजु(जु)पुरानः। विराज्ये राजसिद्धो माहः? मंडलसामांतः २१२२॥ तथा ब्रज(त)स्यो
मानसेवेचालम(सप्त*): सुकेचित्त(*): रुजु(जु)चत्तारिफः(चर्या)-
23 स्यायुस्मुहन्तिता: भिषिता:([*]) २२२३॥ एतक(चर्य)स्यो भ्रान्तामहसहः॥ विचित्रः: मुनः।
च(च)रुजु(चु)दायकम(चु)। नक(च)कपगा कपला नायः
24 त तह(ह)सयः २३२४॥ तस्यो गरीव(च)धायकः। पुरोहितवरे हितः। ततः(च) विभाषा
स्वयम्य स्वाकारिणः काय्कारिणः। २३२४॥ स्वायायिकाः
25 स्यायुनायः(स्यायः) ततसङ्गरः(स्र)हनिष्ठ(स्र)। सम(प्र)सागरानाय वुलावनाय सा भ्रामः(भ्रामः)
२२३१॥ परम(स)धारित(र)स्य नुला(ह)चर्याः। ततः
26 कहु ([*]) स्वकारिणः[सर] युनुलावनाय व(स)हु: [हहु] २३२५॥ रघुराजरायः(ह)सं
दुलावणः [स]हमिति। वस्य(स)पुरकी(स)स्यः। सहपरम्परायितः। २२५२॥ विभव(व)हज्वः

¹ The number 20 between a pair of double dasas appears above the line, while there is a single dasa after 20, the last letter of the verse.
² Scondh is not observed here.
³ After this there are two dasa and two dasas, which are all superfluous.
27 रूपेण (प्रवद्) द तातिवादा (व्यवस्ता) शुभदानाथो (सान्)। दात (प्र) दान (न)। महूर्विव (व)। इत्यादिति।

28 दात क्रेश वा (बा) रथे (अयो)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

29 सिद्धहृदार्थ वा (बा) रथे (अयो)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

30 मार्गेन विसमिस्थापनाएँ वत (स) वर्तमा (त)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

31 सत्सुविक (स) पीवृत (म)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

32 गामिनी सिद्धपृणु दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

33 गामिनी दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

34 व त्या (स)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)।

35 समस्ती (प्रेम)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

36 मायासमित मुखा (सु)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)।

37 संगमालय वालायुः (सत)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)।

38 भविष्यगत (व)। दिवे (अव)। दिवे (अय)। दिवे (अय)। सर्वलोक (व)।

*The intended reading may be श्रीसिद्धवृद्धिकरिणानि भविष्यः।

*Two long syllables are missing here. The intended reading seems to be श्रीसिद्धवृद्धिकरिणानि भविष्यः.

*This word पारिच्छि is superfluous and is to be omitted.

*The sign of ṣaṭgṛha is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

*The word श्रीसिद्धवृद्धि means 'gold' here.
Slab XXI : Canto XX

[Metres : vv. 1, 6-9, 15, 20, 24, 27, 29, 32, 33, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46; Upagiti ; vv. 2, 10, 17, 20, 31, 43-45, 48, 52, 53; Guśa ; vv. 3, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51; Udgiti ; vv. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 42, 49; Arghya ; vv. 54; Anushṭubh.]

1. [१] जै(४)सिह(४) [२] जागमेष्यम जनः (नमः) [२] अमव(४)सिहनामे राजे राजोक-लाभः। सार्वजनसत्वन्तत्वभिगत्वतभिकारुक्तः (लक्षणः) [२] परमेश्वरप्रसवामिषः。

2. गते संख्युक्तार्धमयः। राजमुखावासुः (हिरोमन्तिनः) तुरुवसः। [२] कलसुरुवसः (सेव) शङ्क(४)शत निमित्तकालमालिकः। [२] कौतिसः बः कानककलाः।

3. हणस्थः हेवूणःनामानि। [२] नातान्त्रिकानि ब(४)तुरस्यकारः वहावेण लोकपुरे। राजे: श्र(४)विजयसान हस्ते राजाकर्मभूतः। [२] क्रम: राज:-

4. गिहनामेण राजे किल कठ(४)अवः लुभ्यस्वः। राजमुख्यान्तरसपालितामलितूपः। [२] भुवन्द्यासस्मात्मः। गतोस्मः। [२] राजमुखाणाः। पंचवशः।

5. ते: कलिमनमुखः लुकररुताकः। [२] पर सार्वजनसत्तात्सत्तरस्यकारमूलयः। हृष्णव-नामानुः। कलकृतिव(४)हुलकालः।

6. श(४) नामदिनितामेण प्रवन्धराजसुः। हस्ते प्रवन्धकीलः। स्थुतेकृतिलावननुः। [२] श(५)कार्मेष्यमेण स्थूलसिहिष्ठाः। राजाः [२]

1. Instead of देवानंदे, we require here देवहरिषेण. Apparently this line of the verse was intended for the 22nd canto and has been wrongly copied here by the engraver.
2. This line of verse is redundant. It is meant for the 24th canto.
3. This numbering should be omitted.
4. Read श्पेश्वरसागरः.
5. The metre is defective here. Read परमेश्वरप्रमाण नाम पत्रे etc.
6. This dupla is superfluous.
7. The absence of स्वाभि is in favour of the metre.
7 सारिकुंस्त्यांत्यसहकरात्मकुज्ञितमूल्यं **१५४** वन्दूस्त्रिः(स्त्र)नामकाॅकः माध्यमकाल(क्ष)रघुकः
मुनःप्रभातः। हलतमूल्यं पुरिः(५) ग्रंथः
8 सारिकुंस्त्यांत्यसहकरात्मकुज्ञितमूल्यं **१५४** वन्दूस्त्रिः(स्त्र)नामकालवत्तिराजस्तमुतारितमूल्यं। देवस्किषणः
विशिष्टं(व)सहिः हेमस्वर्गनः(५) ग्रंथः
9 बुद्धांशि **१५६** अवेदवपुरः कित गो(सी)सातारितिप्राणिः। ग्रंथारोहः। ब्रह्मवर्धनः(व) रश्मोते
मृिनः(मु?) वल्ले हि **१५६** रायाय भाष्करः
10 हुमिकवत्र हावनापुलायम् **१५६** वदू(५)समारात-पनि। पुवर्विगतायः(५) ग्रंथारोहः। राजसतुर्रायसः
मुद्रांगः हलतमूल्यं दिरः(५) हो भोमारायमः(५) **१५७** सातः
11 हेमसत्र(व)प्रकृति-राजसन्तुर्रायसः(सी)मूर्ति(५)संगः। ग्रंथारोहः। ग्रंथारोहः(५) तात्विकायमः
**१५७** सतासः(ि)द्रवचः(व)असतिदशनम(सी)मुद्रासः(सी)मूलसः(ि)मूलसः(ि)
12 विकालाङ्गिकवरः हुम(सी) गोधत्रः(सी)गो(व) ग्रंथारोहः। मूर्तियः। ब्रह्मवर्धनः(व) रश्मोते
प्रेमप्राप्तसः(सी) **१५८** अजःरवः(व) ग्रंथारोहः(सी)हुमिकवत्रः।
13 जय रायायः। सारिकुंस्त्यांत्यसहकरात्मकुज्ञितमूल्यं **१५८** वदू(५)समारात-पनि। पुवर्विगतायः(५) ग्रंथारोहः।
ग्रंथारोहः। ब्रह्मवर्धनः(व) रश्मोते [१५८] जय रायाःकः
14 लम(व)मितः-राजसः(ि)मुद्रासः(सी)मूलसः(ि)ग्रंथारोहः। **१५८** मोक्षसः(ि)समारात-पनि। पुवर्विगतायः(५)
हलतमूल्यः(व) हुमिकवत्रः हुमिकवत्रः(ि) हेमस्वर्गनः(ि) हेमस्वर्गनः(ि) **१५९** रायायः
15 सया गुरुसरः मुद्रासः(ि)सहारायमः। राजसतुर्रायं तिव गो(व)कित(ि) तसः ग्रंथारोहः **१५०**
भारीपुलायः। रजाबवः(ि)भरसः(ि)हुमिकवत्रः। रायायः
16 मू(ि)पूर्वायिकःकहलामुख्यं **१५२** वदू(ि)सरः। करतः। राजसतुर्रायं सहरुप्राप्तमूल्यं।
हेमस्वर्गनः(ि) सि(ि)सः(ि)सतिदशनः
17 महाकुंस्त्यायः(ि)भिः **१५२** हलतमूल्यपरमर्थवः हुमिकवत्रः(ि)मूलसः(ि)हेमस्वर्गनः(ि)। पुवर्विगतायः(ि)
कितः हुले **१५३** ग्रंथारोहः। ग्रंथारोहः(ि)
18 महापुरः प्रेमप्राप्तमूल्यं। सतिदशनायाते राजसतुर्रायं। पुवर्विगतायः। **१५४** अजःरवः(ि)मूलसः
राजसतुर्रायं पुरिः(५) ग्रंथारोहः। पंचवाटायः रायायः

*The first half of this verse is missing.
*The second quarter of this stanza is too short by four syllabic instants. To set the metre aright we may read अजःरवः(ि)प्रेमप्राप्तमूल्यां ग्रंथारोहः।
*Instead of प्रेमप्राप्तमूल्यां we may read प्रेमप्राप्तमूल्यां.
*This half verse is in excess form. Compare above verse 15 and n. 1.
*The metre requires this syllable to be long.
*This n is unnecessary and hence must be omitted.
*The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.
15 DGA/52.
19 तत्त्वाणि राहितमुक्तिमिमं (ब) है ॥१२॥ शृङ्गारारस्तं [विकलमिरीकृता हृ] । 
पृ (५)ः परिवर्तनं नरपति। मेश्वरम् (च) हेमभक्तित्वानि (न) मिन। ॥१२६॥

20 प्रथमं राजामुक्तिसङ्गोत्सवं राजतमृतार्ण। तथा सम्भवेण ॥१२७॥

21 तुर्गपरं स। कलामयं (ब) रत्न (र) म (स) व्रतवाचारसिद्धम् ॥१२८॥। राजामुक्तिकास्वभाषा मृत्यूस्मय (स)। 

22 स। कन्या मधुपुष्पारणं ॥१२९॥। मिदनारं इत्युत्तरं जातरसस्त्रिकृ तापस्यामुमुन (च)। 

23 वर (२०)॥ राजतमृतमुक्तिकास्वभाषा (च) ॥ राजतमृतमुक्ति इत्युत्तरं बिनमूययोहिं (प)। 

24 सूतपुष्पावताशुकदर्शनम् (न)। सुवर्णवर्णम् (च) विनात्तरण। कुरः ॥ राजप्रकटवर्णे स कुर ॥४३॥(४२)॥

25 च (प)ः सतीप्रभातिकृ। विनात्तरणं राजतमृतमुक्तमुन्याय। ॥४३॥। ग्रामिकं-

26 दलालान्तरमये भारतम् भूतमः प्रदशी ॥४३॥। ग्रामिकं (स) विनमूययोहिं (च)। 

27 शलोम् (च)। ॥४३॥। राजतमृतमुक्ति (व) हृतमुक्ति (प) भविष्यसंस्कार (च)। 

28 शुल्काचारम् (स) शुल्काचारम् (स)। शुल्काचारम् (स)। शुल्काचारम् (स)। 

29 वर (उ)ः द्वयं विनिमयाय। द्वैषुकुक्ति ॥४३॥। राजतमृतमुक्ति इत्युत्तरं बिनात्तरं बिनात्तरं 

30 वामनदितत्: ॥४३॥। विनात्तरं जानम् (म) जानम् (म) जानम् (म)। 

31 मुक्तिसिद्धार्थं (श) मुक्तिसिद्धार्थं (श) मुक्तिसिद्धार्थं (श)। वर (र) पालकरोऽवर्धनं निम् (न) भविष्यवाक्यविषयम् ॥४३॥। 

*The metre requires this syllable to be long.

*Instead of नूर, perhaps we have to read नूरुर.
Slab XXII : Canto XXI

[Metres : vv. 1, 40, 42-45 ; Śārdūlaśākhā ; v. 2 Śrāṅgāthā ; vv. 3-21, 23-25, 28-36 Anūṣṭāṭh ; v. 22 Śāṅkū ; v. 26 Diṭa ; v. 27 Aryā ; v. 37, 39 Siṣṇuśākhā ; vv. 39, 41 Vaṃśatilakā.]

1 **[1]* सिंध(ः) [**[1]*] शीतेश्वरम् भ्रम(ः) [**[1]*] सुव्र(ः) कण्ठस्य अन्तः श्रवणकालः[\textit{सिंध}]

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*The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.*

*This *ś* is stressed out. Read हुष्ठमः.*

*The meter requires this syllable to be long.*

*This line of verse is too short by six syllables. Perhaps we have to read राजसौभ नूयो बादे.*
The total sum spent on the actual construction of the lake amounted to Rs. 40,04,029.

The details of the expenditure are specified as follows:
- Rs. 27,95,497 in Bāmasinā's account (also mentioned in verse 28-29, canto XX).
- Rs. 5,08,809 in pāraṇa's or mulā's account.
- Rs. 2,12,034 in Mahāmanikā's account.
- Rs. 4,78,697 in carrying the earth thrown out of the quadrangular ditch in Pāneha Śyāmalākī's account.
- Rs. 32,011 in plastering.
- Rs. 7,09,801 in the inauguration ceremony.

The meaning of the word tapā is not clear. It seems to be the Sanskritized form of the similar Arabic word šarif which is used in the sense of side, direction, etc., and is also spelt as safar. We are told in verse 21, same IX, that Rājaśīh, finding the work of construction unsatisfactory by a single hand, divided it among his officials. The expenditure on items in charge of Bāmasinā, (the ruler's) mulā, and Mahāmanikā and Śyāmalākī seems to have been given in verses 4-9. The word has been used side by side with other items of expenditure. The word tapā may therefore be translated as 'in the account of', or 'on items in charge of'.
13. शस्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय राजामुखम कामा(दय) वृष पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

14. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

15. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

16. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

17. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

18. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

19. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

20. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

21. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

22. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

23. देवता स्त्रालय(मय) सीतापावली समरपर्वत। ऐं(ए)मय वृष पूजः कि जने धर्म पूजः कि जने
माणिक्यपठिन(सर) दीपावली मट(द) सर- 

4 This as is redundant; read: अलमना- 
5 This presents another view according to which the total expenditure on the construction of the lake, its 
inauguration and rewards to masons, etc., amounted to Rs. 1,00,07,009. 
6 Maha means 'faulty.' 
7 This sign of punctuation is not necessary. 
8 Though the correct form of the word is शर्स, the author has contorted it into शर्स for the sake of the 
metre, relying upon the adage: Api मात्रमात्र मात्रम मुख्यमात्रम मुख्यमात्रम मुख्यमात्रम मुख्यमात्रम मुख्यमात्रम. 

4 This as is redundant; read: अलमना। 
5 This presents another view according to which the total expenditure on the construction of the lake, its 
inauguration and rewards to masons, etc., amounted to Rs. 1,00,07,009. 
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24 स्या[१] ||२३|| पूर्म || यत् संतको पूर्वन्त चतुर्विंशतिमलेल्वके || भी(भ)व्ये राजसिंहें ||

25 ले लिरोहितस्य शापमयी(वं)त पीठि || राव्य लिरोहितपरित चचे निजपराकरे: ||२४||

26 तोप्पाज्जूत || प्रव हृदाफोरदाबीताद्रहोपाहो० मुः ||३३|| राणा सुपरन्तसांतश्रीय सहेम

27 मुः: प(प)वासलायणपर्व्यावहित: ||३२|| यतं सतपरास(स)तीते चतुर्विंशतिमलेल्वके ||

28 यज्ञ: ||३२|| विक्षिप्तमयकर्ति विक्षिप्तमय दाति: || महतु चु: सुयमानु शाति राजसिंह-

29 लिन्धु लिन्धुरीम प्रताप्नस्य(न)स्त्रय || भगत्न(चचानि रिपुतिः)प्राप्तमुः चहथु ||३३||

30 वर्ष(स)लानि राजसिंह| साधुकुमारी लिन्धुकुमारी—सप: ||३३|| शादुशरीत्वपरातित संताप्ति

31 प्रताप्तन्योजुनूत ||३३|| अतागो रापले भिनिः(व) जगावालकरणः || विखलामः || गुः- (व)वा(व) कविताकार(व) मीठिनयवन

32 बत्ता बिध्याः स्वप्तः कवित्याति वा प्राणालीवायलाः कथा कल्याति तत्प्रावसागः ||३३||

33 ति करुङ्गः निपुणः || लिखो: लिखो: कविरकिकितसलकुकलपः || निपुः भाले गोः निरिसिः

34 अस्तमाणि बहुि धर्मसे श्रेष्ठ(स)निपिस्ते ||३३|| पूष्म || भुजयोगिविधमारं पानेः

35 मित्री मित्री (?) विमला || विमलीला वत्तु ||कौशिकि(स)वा मुक्त(व) चाच(व) मच(व) ||

36 सां जवक्त(प) माएमलकितन निपुङ्क्त: हुमादिन्तव(प)वत्तिस्कम: || व(व)के सवविलोम्बावति-

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¹ Sanskrit has not been observed here.
² Three syllables are missing in the latter half of this verse and the sense is not clear.
³ This long syllable is obliterated beyond recognition. Traces of the medial long are visible.
RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

37 राजसिहनुपस्ते वेशसः(भा) शुरुमार्गः ||14|| राजपुरो अनविश्वाचः उल्लेखभो माण्डलवः(भा)ः ।
सिद्धुपलक्षी हर्षसेवके यत् ।

38 भाषां विष्णुवर्णवाचनः वर्णां कः(भा)ः विविष्टतप्तत तव राजाचे ||14|| बीराजः
शोकसिहनुपुरवः ।

39 सुः ॥ बीराजः(भा)ःवत्वः शुभलाभः आ(भा)ः ॥ जमसिक्षः रोमः तनः ॥ श्रीकर्णसिहोः ॥ ।
पुनः राजानान्यततियः भण्योर्मान्यासिहोः ॥ पुनः ॥ बीराजः(भा)ः सिद्धः एव ॥ [क]ःलीफः वरः
शीलानष्टिरि ॥14|| पुष्पः समको दले ॥

40 तपस्वः व तद्दृश्यायने विने हृदयःगतिःशिरः(भा)ःसः तरये ॥ बीराजसिहनुपः ॥14||
काव्यः राजसमुखशिरःजः ॥ सूत्रः(भा)ः वरिष्ठाः ।

41 वे ॥ राजः(भा)ःवत्वः(भा)ः राजश्रवः दुर्भिकः(भा)ः राजसमुखशिरः ||14|| प्रसीदोःस्तरः
माण्डलाः शिरः(भा)ःधरः ॥

42 श्रीकर्णसिहः(भा)ः श्रीकर्णसिहः दर्शनः(भा)ः ॥ तेम्नसने रु राजः(भा)ः गः ॥ हितः वा
हुस्मानः वा वधुः ॥ पुपेश्वरमुकुटः(भा)ःनविष्ट्य ॥ इत्ये गहीरशिरः ॥(भा)ःपूः ॥

43 मा[०] ॥14|| व(भा)ः व वायुमयूरसुकन्तः गः ॥ तनोर्मे श्रीविहारानामः भुजः ॥ श्रीविहारशिरः
ङ्गः ॥ काव्यः राजसुपारः ॥

44 वर्णसमः(भा)ः वीरः(भा)ः कशुकं समुः ॥ सत्यशुकुलवर्णःकविविशिष्टभामिः(भा)ः थोर्यःकौःशिरः
(14)ः ॥

Slab XXIII; Canto XXII

[Metres : vv. 1, 26, 30-46 Anuśṭubh ; vv. 27, 28 Upajīti ; v. 29 Giti ; vv. 47-50 Saśādāvāksiśātā.]

1 न बीराजःकाय मः(नमः) ॥ स(भा)ःते सत्यचारःसत्यचारः पदः(भा)ःविविष्टतप्ततवः(भा)ः
शुभसिद्धाः ॥ सत्यश्रवः(भा)ः ॥ प्रसीदोःकायः॥14||
श्रीकर्णसिहनुपः ॥

2 बीराजः(भा)ःकाय ॥ मः(भा)ः हराजकुमारियः प्रद(भा)ःकर्तः सत्यश्रवः(भा)ः(14)ः
काव्यः श्रीकर्णसिहःकायः(भा)ः परस्यः(भा)ः सत्यश्रवः ॥ परस्यः(भा)ः श्रीकर्णसिहःकायः ॥

3 लीफः(भा)ः ॥14|| हितींकायः किंतु समुः ॥ श्रीकर्णसिहःकायः।
4 उरोगोमा धारणे हृद्यव(व)रामयासु । सहवंगस्त्रे मुनावलं तातु[क्]दु(स्)गुरुर्साम(स)। नूय । भाषायांसुसेनाय तुर्षितवरय च । गरीजव।ा-
5 सतस्रामे हृदयासुदति वा हुषानु । महुद्धस्त(थ)कुरुस्योदालेन(स्)स्मृति याद(य)चो-विति । ततोवं कवितस्वहंगो गणुप्रवेक्षकर धियं । नूय दु-
6 ब्रुतु गांगाते कन्याका महाधुस्युली यथावत। करिणो व हुयु कला(स्व)वातो चुंबकन्यु- प्रति । म्वुरुं च ततो कुन्डु याद(य)देव(दे)राणुर्न्दर(र) । बार-
7 सं व्योग्योदेशं राष्ट्रियो शोभाकाशे । आदि। भवेरसोदशकाते वर्ण(च)धर्मदात्रिये ।
8 वातायायु गुरसत(सु) । श्रावी । नक्सात्रिय(स्)पण । तत्वा तह्वः वा: प्राता(पं)सेवार्था- मांकू(समय)िस(स)। । नूय। संस्करेण राज(ऽ)नगरे रामलितिवेदान्त् । तल्लीकः:
9 वालंतस्य शक(स)ताविवायसत: । नूयु । सबविषयस्य पुरु । बससा । आ(तः)युघकमितिः थोंरे रामस्थारकरो । नूय दु नूय।ा-
10 वीरसमावत: कोणि तथा विनासरितुः । हुतता पुः दिन्व या दिया भिंत्रा(स्वत)भावास्त(र)िशंकल । नूय।। वियः कलेवः(स)लवासिः धरो रामपुर(र)वरः ।
11 श्रव(स)व्युधः[र]विन्दुवुः[र]विन्दुवुः(क)वा(त)हुःहुः:[ः]। नूय।। प्राता(पं)व्यत्सर्वक्ता श्रविपति या(यो)हुः सुरुक्ततः । तत्तक्तो(क्)त(सो)*सकेते(सो)माः लो(य)रवां शीतः।
12 ता: । नूय।। राष्ट्रोऽतिविधित्वाय भावात: । व्योरीसमाहारः क(क)स्वा
13 विनास भेंगवा [ः] दिया(यो)विन्दुरः पा(त)स्ते पुः ग्राममण्डुः पुः: नूय।। तत्रै नक्सात्रिय(स्)पण तत: । तत्वा तह्वः(व)द्व: पा(त)स्ते।
14 यह्वः नथुर्दरः[ः] । नूय।। द्व:ः(स)कृतिमहा इत्यस्मात्वेदन(स)रसतः: । चंद्रेयोरिवान्दुः
15 कुः विनासरितुः पुः: दिया(यो)विन्दुरः पा(त)स्ते पुः ग्राममण्डुः पुः: नूय।। तत्वा तह्वः
16 वेश्वर(स)कुः विन्दुः(स)नवारायणाधिकाः । नूय।। भवेरसोदशकाते वर्ण(च)धर्मदात्रिये: ।
that Anuśrītas was a surname of Chālukya Vikramaśītiya I who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the sūtra was named after his surname either in commemoration of his having founded it himself or was named after him by some other founder in token of his respect to him as his suzerain. That Vikramaśītiya I was a great conqueror is attested by his records in which he claims victory in country after country and in all directions. That in the south he went as far as the Kāvēśi region is proved by his Gadval Plates. As for the extent of his possessions in the north, we have as yet no direct evidence. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that in these northern regions he inherited the Three Maharāṣṭrakas first acquired by his father, Pulakēśin II, since we have it stated in Vikramaśītiya's inscriptions that he not only regained possession of his father's kingdom which had been lost to enemies but also acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. Further it is well known that the Western Chālukyas were recognised as overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family ruling in the Nasik District. One Svāmichandra of this family is explicitly stated as the feuador (pāda-prasād-sapajr) of Chālukya Vikramaśītiya I. Rāḥtrāśītiya Nānaraśa of our grant, though not actually a contemporary of Vikramaśītiya I, evidently came under Chālukya hegemony at the time of recording the grant under study, i.e., in Śaka 615(-616), his king must have been Vīnayāśītiya, son of Vikramaśītiya I. It is also interesting to note that it was this Vīnayāśītiya who conducted a successful expedition in the north in which he was ably assisted by his son, prince Vījayaśītiya.

None of the kings mentioned in our record barring Gōvindarāja is known to us from any other source except the two other grants of Nānaraśa referred to above. However, in respect of Svāmikaraśa, attention may be drawn to another person of the same name who figures as vijayaprati in a 7th century record of Kāpālīvarman of the Bhoja family who ruled the area around Gos in the west coast. Except the similarity of name and the proximity in point of date between the two persons there is nothing else to connect the two, much less to treat them as identical.

The area of rule of the family of Nānaraśa lay as determined by the provenance of their records and the places mentioned in them roughly in the districts of Akola, Amravati, Beasul and Nagpur of Madhya Pradesh, which all lay adjacent to one another. Ancient Vidarbha roughly corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāgarjun Plates of Svāmikaraśa, was issued from Nāndīvārāmsa, the same as Nāgarjun which lies three miles south of Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The family seems to have moved south-west to the region of Amravati and Akola where they fixed a new capital at Padmanargara from which our inscription is issued. This place may be identified with modern Padmāṇi lying within the postal jurisdiction of Akola.

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2 [The words surreptitious here is to be taken in its literal sense of unhindered: it is not proper to connect it with the name or title of any person.—Ed.]
3 Ibid., p. 102, text lines 17 ff.
5 Ibid., p. 103, text lines 17 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 225, 227, 228.
9 It was at first inclined to identify Padmanargara with Paun in the Bhāmara District, a place which is also known as Padmapura, and where an early inscription of Bhoja Bhagadatta was discovered (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 439). In that case Umbarka, the gift-village, might be Unaret lying about 15 miles WNW of Paun. But since that can be certain as to which of these two places was Padmanargara. See Miraśa, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 7, n. 2.
This identification is supported by the location of Umbari, the village mentioned; for, this is Umbari near Akola. Even the findspot of the plates, viz., Sangalooda, lies nearby. The Tiwarkhāḍ Plates mention another capital of the family, viz., Achalapura, the same as modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, north-east of Akola.

Of the places mentioned in our charter Padmanagara and Umbarikā have been identified in the foregoing paragraph. Tagara from which the donee hailed might be modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State. Nāgayayi, situated east of Umbarikā, may be Naigaon, near Akola. I am unable to locate Vaţapursaka, Vaivadraha and Uchchhi(οr chhì)vāhāl which are stated in the record to be in or near Umbarikā.

TEXT:

First Plate

1. Svasti [*] Padmanagarād-Vi(tād[*]Vi)tirma(ruṇa)-aṭhit-pāla-āpta-yāsasāṁṣi-

2. Rāṣṭrakūṭ-ānvayē ramyō kshīra-nidhāv-iy-śendur-abhayāḥ-chhṛi-Durjgarā-

3. jē nṛpīh [*] lōk-āhlādana-hēṭubhiḥ pravītatais-tējō-viśē-

4. ab-aṭayāh(ro)-yyēn-ōchhaḥ padavīn-vi(vīh vīg)āhya vidhivat-pakaśa-ilva[yaṇa]


6. bha-yaśā[ḥ] śri-Vṛi(Gā)vindarāja-tasya-śiṣṭa-ātmavān-ātmaja ś-

7. tmany-āhit-sakti-siddhiḥ śri-Svāmiśkarājaḥ [*] Putras-tasya ma-

Second Plate: First Side

8. hāmabhāva-ḥaritaḥ śri-Nannurājaḥ krit[i] ti-kūntah-kāruṇikah-kalā-

9. śka-rahitah-kētah-karśē dviśāna-dhauryō ruṇa-sāhas-ā-

10. bha-dhiyām-agrusaśa māninaḥ vaidagāh-ōdāhata-chētāsam-adhi-

11. patiḥ-kalpa-dra(druti)mō yē-ṛttihināḥ(nām) [*] 2(Yā-sa parça-samāra)(samāra)yā-viśēsah-lo-

12. bhād-iva sakahārā-śḥīgānaikār-ītaraś-cha guṇair-upētah

13. Paramabrahmaṇyaḥ Paramabhāgavataḥ śri-Yuddhāsur-āpara-

14. nāmō(mā) sas-sa(sa sa)rvān-ē(n-ē)va rājā-sāmanta-vihayapati-grāma-bhū-

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¹ From impressions.
² Metro: Sāṅkṣāmabhāṣa.
No. 14] SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA; SAKA 615

Second Plate: Second Side

15. gika-purillaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādm-samamuv(ō)bōdhayat-asti vō
16. viditam yathā-amabhīr-āmmātā-pitrīr-ātmahā-sa puṣy-āvāpṭāyē Taga-
17. ra-vāstavya-Vā(r)uṣa-sagōtra-Kaṅgro(ā)kara-pravara-Taittīrīya-sa-brahmachā-
18. riśē Anivārit-ānmā-satra(ttra)-pradāyinā Varmulaka-chaturvēḍa-paurā-
19. ya Bhātagaṇaḥ-haṭṭa-puttra-Haragaṇa-dvivādya Vaṭapuruṇa-grāmē
20. viśā(ā)(i)ti-karmā[nta](nta) madhuka-samītā(tam) keśetrā[ni]-cha nivarttana-saṣṭaḥ
tachcha (tach-cha)

21. Umbarīkā-grāmō(mē) dakshiṇa(vē)na Vaivadraka-sima-maryāḍā
22. uttaraḥ Tatilīṅgīchchhi-haṭṭakara(rakah) pūrvvaḥ Nāgayaṛi-maryāḍā*

Third Plate

23. paśchimā[th Chēhīvāhala¹ [jī]bhū-aghastanaḥ[ī] keśetrā[frō] bhūmichhi(chchhi)dra-
24. nyāyēna Kārttiṭa-paurṇa(raṇa)māyām-udaka-pūrvvam pratipāditaṁ
25. yātō-asamad-vahāyair-anayair-vv-agāmi-nṛpati-bhūgapatiḥbhir-asamad-dā-
26. yō-nunantavya[h⁴] pratipālayastavyaḥ-cha yō v-ajñāna-timitra-pa-
27. ṇal-āvṛta-matīṣ-īchhādhīnīyāḥ-āchchhā(chechhi)dyamānam v-anūmādē-
28. ta sa paṁchabhir-mmahāpātaka[h₄] sa[m]jyukta[h⁴] syād-īti [*] Saka-kāla-
29. sa[m]vatsara-śatēsha saṭhṣu(ṭsu) paṁcha(dā)jān-vā(sa-va)rō[ghē] Kārttiṭa-suṣuddha-
pau
30. [raṇa]mi(māyām) likhitam-īti [*] [*]

Seal

Śrī-Ju[ḍḍhā]suraḥ

¹ This may be also read as uttaraṇa Taittīrīchchhi.
² Di is inserted below this last line at the left end of the plate.
³ This may be also paśchitamācchhitakāla.
⁴ Some word like apalēkātāna is to be added here. A similar omission occurs in the Mulhā Plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 205, n. 1).
No. 15—MUNDAKHEDE PLATES OF SENDRAKA JAYASAKTI; SAKA 602

(I Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

These plates were found several years ago in the possession of a Patil of Mundakhe, a village in the Chalisgaon taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, who edited them twice—first in the Marathi magazine, Prabhātā of Dhalia, Vol. I, No. 19, and afterwards in the Annual Report of the Bhūrata Itihāsa Samālakāra Mandal for Saka 1834, pp. 169-177. As no facsimile of the record accompanied either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not published. Several years ago, while I was studying the Bagumra plates of Nikumbhālasakti, I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its import for the history of the Sendrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when I received recently a copy of the printed facsimile of the plates from my friend, Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra, Saka 1829, as well as from the name Prabhātā printed on it, it is clear that the facsimile was published in the same magazine Prabhātā in the next issue after the text of the record was first edited by Chandorkar. This facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words in the transcript published by Chandorkar. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. For these reasons as well as because this is the only record of the Sendraka prince Jayasakti and is important for the ancient history of Mahārāṣṭra, I re-edit the grant here from the aforementioned facsimile published by Chandorkar.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on the inner side only. Their size and weight have not been recorded. From the description given by Chandorkar they seem to have raised rims for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the first inscribed plate and the top of the second, there is a hole for the ring which strung the plates together. This ring is said to have carried a seal with the legend Śri-Jayasakti, but no photograph of it seems to have been published.

The record consists of twenty-four lines, twelve being inscribed on each plate. The writing in a good state of preservation. The record is, however, rather carelessly written and contains a few mistakes here and there. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in the other records of the Sendrakas found in Gujarat and Khandesh. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows: (1) the initial ē resembles l, but has a long vertical on the right; see śāha, line 14; (2) the stroke for medial ā is turned upward in the case of j as in -sājant, line 6; (3) ē has everywhere a straight vertical stroke on the right; see labak, line 2; (4) ē generally appears looped as in samumatē, line 1, but it is sporadically unlooped as in sāna, line 18; (5) a final consonant is shown with a horizontal stroke on the top; see sāita, line 21. The jīvānādiya occurs in line 10. Punctuation is indicated by single or double dots. The language is Sanskrit. Except for four benedictory and imperative verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the writer has used in the eulogy of Bhānasakta the very expression śīrāvamala-sāśākha-māṇḍala-yāsīrānta (yaśaḥ), which describes Ādyavasakta in the Bagumra plates, and Allasakta in the Kāśāra plates. Again, the expression Bhūra-sūmi-āppatathatā-saktaḥ which describes Ādyavasakta in the present plates occurs in connection with Allasakta in the Bagumra and

1 This No. bears the date Phālguṇ, Saka 1829 which is plainly a mistake for Saka 1829. The same mistake occurs on the first page of the previous two issues. As stated above, the facsimile of the plates published in the next number bears the date, Chaitra, Saka 1829.
Nágad plates. The drafter of the present grant has thus drawn upon previous records of the family, and, evidently regarding the epithets as conventional, has not scrupled to transfer them from one prince to another. As for orthography, we may note that ṣ is used for r in Phálguna, line 24, and the consonant following r and that preceding r and y are reduplicated; see chátarādanta- and vikērama-, line 2 and śaunādhyāta-, line 4.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the Sêndraka prince Jayaśakti. They were issued from Jayapuradvarī. They record the grant, by Jayaśakti, of a village the name of which Chandorkar reads as Śeṣajāhadaka. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is Sāgad ēka grāmaḥ; not Śeṣajāhadaka-grāmaḥ. The village was therefore named Sēnā. It was included in the Kandalikāmāli viśaya. The donor was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bēvasvāmin, who belonged to the Kāṣāya gōtra and the Hirâyakētī branch of the Taittirīya śākā of the Black Yajurveda, and resided at Kālivana. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun’s entering the Maṅga-rāśi on the 10th tīthi of the dark fortnight of Phálguna in the year 602 of an unspecified era. The year and the tīthi are expressed only in words. From the Nágad plates we know that Jayaśakti’s father Allāsakti was flourishing in Saka 577. The year 602 mentioned in the present grant of Jayaśakti must, therefore, be referred to the Saka era, and corresponds to 693-81 A.C. In this period the sun entered the Maṅga-rāśī at 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February 681 A.C. The religious ceremonies connected with the surukrānti must have been performed after sunrise next day, the 18th February 681 A.C., which was the 10th tīthi of the dark fortnight of the amānta Phálguna. This date shows that the amānta scheme of the lunar months was in vogue in Northern Mahārāṣṭra in the seventh century A.C. The grant was written by the Śaṅkivivahaṅka Rāma.

The present grant gives the following pedigree of the donor:—

Bhānuśakti (Śrīvallabha)

Ādityaśakti

Nikumbhālalasakti (Śatyāśraya, Prathivivallabha)

Jayaśakti (Śatyāśraya, Prathivivallabha, Vikramāditya and Nikumbha)

Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as Nikumbhālalasakti, being probably misled by Bühler’s reading of the royal name in the Bagumra plates. The facsimile of the present grant, however, shows the correct reading of the name to be Nikumbhālalasakti. The same reading of the name occurs in the Nágad plates published by Mr. G. H. Khare. We now know from the Kāṣāya plates that the proper name of the Sêndraka prince was Allāsakti. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of the plates. Nikumbha was evidently a bīruda prefixed to his name. The same bīruda is seen to have been assumed by Allāsakti’s son Jayaśakti in the present plates. The bīruda was evidently derived from the name Nikumbha of Allāsakti’s grandfather, mentioned in the Kāṣāya plates. He had another name of Bhānuśakti which is noticed in the three other grants of the family, including the present one. His descendants Allāsakti and Jayaśakti seem to have assumed his name Nikumbha as a bīruda, probably because he was the founder of this Sêndraka branch which flourished in Gujarāt and Khāndesh.
The present grant describes both Allaśakti and Jayasakti as *sramadhipata-patichha-nakha-sobda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They both were evidently subordinate chiefs, owing allegiance to the Chālukya Emperor of Bādami. Bhānuṣakti, though described in a more grandiloquent style, probably enjoyed no better status. As his grandissim, Allaśakti was flourishing in 653 and 656 A.C., Bhānuṣakti may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. He was probably placed in charge of Gujārat and Khandesh by Pulakāśīm II after he had conquered these provinces from the Kalachurī. No records of the reigns of Bhānuṣakti and Adityaśakti have yet been discovered, but Allaśakti is known to have made three grants, two of which, recorded in the Kāśāra and Bagumra plates, are dated in the Kalachurī era and one, viz., that in the Nāgar plate, in the Śaka era. The earliest of these, viz., that in the Kāśāra plate is dated K. 404 (653 A.C.) and registers the donation of some land in the village Pippalkhēta, modern Pimpalner in West Khandesh. The second, known as the Bagumra plates, dated K. 406 (656 A.C.), registers the gift of the village Balusa, modern Wanas near Tēn in South Gujārat. The third record, viz., the Nāgar plate, though issued from Kāyāvastāra, modern Kārṇān in Gujārat, mentions the grant of a village in the *vihāra* of Nāndipuravāhari which is probably identical with Nandrasingā in West Khandesh. This grant is dated in Śaka 577 (655-56 A.C.). These records show that Allaśakti continued to hold Gujārat and Khandesh at least till 656 A.C. Sometime thereafter, he seems to have lost Gujārat; for the next date from that part of the country is K. 421 (671 A.C.), furnished by the Surat plate of Śrīśāraya-Silāditya, which register the grant of the village Asāṣīgāmā, modern Astgaon, not far from Tēn. From the Māṇḍora plates, recently published by Mr. Kriśna Deva, we learn that Dharāṣāraya-Jayāsinha, the younger brother of the Chālukya emperor Vikramādiṭya I, founded the Navasiri branch in 669-70 A.C. Thereafter, the rule of the Śendrakas seems to have been confined to Khandesh. As shown below, the places mentioned in the present Mundakhēṭa plates can be satisfactorily located near the western border of that district.

It may be noted that Bhānuṣakti, Allaśakti and Jayasakti bore certain *bīruda* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerain. One of these deserves special notice. Jayasakti calls himself Vikramādiṭya in the present grant, dated 651 A.C. His suzerain was Vikramādiṭya I, who had died just in the preceding year (650 A.C.). As this is the only known grant of Jayasakti, we do not know whether Jayasakti had borne the *bīruda* previously or whether he assumed it only after the death of Vikramādiṭya. The absence of any reference to the imperial family in the present grant lends colour to the latter view, but we may note that similar *bīrudas* were assumed by other feudatories of the Early Chālukyas. The Māṇḍora plates, for instance, show that Maṅgalaras, the son of Dharāṣāraya-Jayāsinha, had assumed the *bīruda* Vinayādiṭya before Śaka 613 (691 A.C.) during the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vinayādiṭya. The present grant does not, therefore, give any indication that Jayasakti had thrown off the yoke of the Early Chālukyas.

No descendants of Jayasakti are known but, as I have suggested elsewhere, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.C. may have belonged to the same lineage. Like the Śendrakas, they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the

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1 Chandrahas’s view that the Śendrakas were independent kings who helped the Early Chālukyas to establish themselves in the Kanarese country is not supported by any evidence.
2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.
3 Dr. Field also inferred that the Bagumra plates belong to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance. See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bom. On., Vol. I, Part II, p. 361. Since then we have known of several records of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas which make no mention of the reigning emperor.
4 Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 166 ff.
Pāyasa inscription of Saka 1128; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sendrakas, as it traced its descent not from the lord of serpents but from the Sun¹.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Kundalikānala, the headquarters of the mālaka in which the donated village was situated, is probably identical with Kundalgaon, 14 miles west of Nandgaon near the western border of the Khandesh District. No place exactly corresponding to the donated village Saṅgāṇi can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundage which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nandgaon may represent the ancient village. Jaya-puradvārī, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jeur which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nandgaon. Kallivana where the donor resided is undoubtedly Kalvāṇa, the chief town of the Kalvāṇa taluk of the Nasik District.

TEXT²

First Plate

1. स्वति [2] ज्ञापिण्यारो नेस्वार्येश्वरसूरिः सिन्धुविलितिवसाृ (सिं) महति सेन्त्यकरेश्वर (मह) ।

2. कल्याणिकात् चतुर्दशनिमानकारावलायसाृ उजस्वानविलितिवसाृ (सिं) विजितारघरिपुणः स्विशिक-मात(मात) ।

3. ब्रह्मास्तमहीमण्डल: प्रणात्यायामहतीकरोमुक्तिप्रस्तुतः(द) संकरो नवपववहिदारावनावसी-प्रभवी।

4. संप्लुप्रोात: शरभमायकोमण्डलायसाृ(श्या) । श्रीबलमायुशकालितस्य पुनात्यायालयाश्च ।

5. श्रीमद्वन्दववस्तकाविदिवस्तकाविदिकतिवस्तकाविदिवस्तकाविदिकतिलखण्डोपेतो विपुरसन्निहायसाृ(श्या): ।

6. कुमुमिनिकरो।

7. प्रतिपत्त्वकश्वचलमातः शमुद्र हव विलितिविदिराशकम्बूज्ञानास्य परमात(म) ।

8. श्रीमद्वन्दववस्तकाविदिकतिलखण्डोपेतो विपुरसन्निहायसाृ(श्या): ।

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¹ Above, Vol. 1, p. 342.
² From the photo-cinogaph published in the Prabhat (Marathi) for Chaltra, Saka 1828.
³ Expressed by a symbol.
⁴ This expression is used to describe Adityasakti in the Bagumra plates, and Alladasati in the Kāsita plates.
⁵ This expression occurs in the description of Alladasati in the Bagumra and Nāgadh plates.
13 याज्ञवल्क्यचासुप: संदिग्धितं तत्त: सर्वोपरि: परलोकां (श्रेष्ठे) शतम: (म) गौरवन्त महत्वां (नि) श्रुत्वा [लते] क्रुद्दलकालविषयामात्राः

14 मंत्रतः एव श्रावः। संपर्क: सर्वान्धवलिनिग्नितिरत्नवर्ग: [निकारिही] एवकरुपिसिद्धिः

15 कः [पू मित्तेश्वरायमात्राधमोऽवर्गः] भावनाकालविनिग्निकरितिसमकालिन: शुकप्रियः

16 भीमः कलिनि: [गु] पालावल्क्याद्विगोवितितिरिक्त हिरथवकिर्तिवा द्वार्तिवेदमुत्विकार्यस्ववर्त्तेषु बधिवशेषवर

17 [वा] मित्रोपचयमात्राहाराजिकिद्व्रो: [सी] लक्षणांवर्ते [व्य] मतापियोरतामकद्व द्विगोविति

18 [फा] लगुन्त(न) बुहल्दायां पुरै लिंधे भावति सुविदादि [सी] नराधि संकलने उद्वीकोतिसंग्रहाः प्रतिशादितो प्रतिवादीय

19 नैवेद्यागमिः प्रभुतिनिः कलिनिः यस्मिन्तस्य संग्रहाः संसारसंसारजनवल्क्यदेशः एव जीवितमवायस्य निरेक्षकम्यमवादायाः [ष]

1 Chandorkar read -तिवरकर्म- but the sign inscribed above कः is that of jikadevala.
2 Chandorkar read नेत्रानावपत्यामात्रः but the correct reading is clearly as given above: compare कोविषयायाः एव श्रावः in the Vajacis plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 34) and कुणारिकायाः एव श्रावः in the Sanskrit plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 299).
3 Read नैवेद्यार-.
4 Read नैवेद्यागमिः.
No. 16—CHATESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

R. C. Chhibba, New Delhi

This beautiful prāṣasti is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black granite. It is kept in the temple of Śiva, that goes by the name of Chātēsvāra, in the village of Kismapur or Kisanpur (Krisnapura), in the Cuttack District of Orissa. This village is situated about 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack. The inscription seems to have been examined first by Bābū Nagendra-dāsa Vāsū as early as November 1893. He noticed it in Bengali; in 1894, in his Viśveshāsana, Vol. VI, p. 229. Later on, in August, 1898 he read a paper on it, giving its full text and translation, which has been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I (History, Antiquities, etc.), pp. 317-327. No facsimile of this prāṣasti has so far been published elsewhere.

After Vāsū's treatment of this inscription, no other scholar seems to have cared to examine it closely, though it has been referred to by various scholars in connection with the history of Orissa. In the winter of 1938, the writer of this article, in the course of his official tour in Orissa, happened to visit Kismapur, where he studied the inscription from the original slab. As a result thereof, it was found that the text presented by Vāsū is as inaccurate in places as his interpretation of it is erroneous. The present writer had occasion to comment on this inscription in the Hindi monthly Hitakṣar, September 1951, pp. 155-158, as also in the Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. I, 1952, pp. 11-13, where the importance of the inscription as well as a few examples of the defects in Vāsū's treatment of it has been pointed out. These may be considered as enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription.

1 Mātra of verse 1-4: Asūkāya.
2 This clause is superfluous.
3 DGA/53
The inscribed surface measures 31" x 18". It contains 25 lines of writing. The engraving is beautifully executed, and is fairly well preserved throughout, except a few scratches about the middle of lines 17 and 18. These, however, do not cause any difficulty in the reading of the akṣaras affected.

The alphabet of the inscription is the eastern variety, proto-Bengali, of the thirteenth century A.C. Some scholars prefer to give this script the name Gandhī.1 Forms of ḫ, j, t, ṝ, etc., which resemble the modern Oriya and Bengali forms of these letters, are noteworthy. The forms of initial vowels a, ā, u and ē may be seen in lines 6, 8, 22 and 8 respectively. The sign of ṝiṃğa is remarkable inasmuch as it consists of two small circles, one above the other, with a horizontal top stroke on the upper circle. The form of ḫ looks somewhat like that of ṣ. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as ṛaś in line 1, ṛtṛ in line 3, ṭyū in line 7, mṛṛa in line 12, and ṣka in line 7. This last shows that the subscript ṣ resembles ṭ. The form of ḫ otherwise may be seen in mukṛi in line 2. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is in verse throughout, except the obeisance in the beginning. There are altogether twenty-five verses in various metres. The verses are not numbered, but the end of the first half of every stanza is marked off, as a rule, by a single dasya, and the completion of every stanza, likewise by a double dasya. The style is highly ornate.

As for orthography, no distinction is made between the signs for b and ḫ. Properly speaking, the sign for ḫ stands also for b. In giving the text, I have read it correctly as b wherever ḫ is required.2 A consonant after ḫ is generally doubled, cases like ṭhaś in line 6 being exceptions. In those like açasaśa in line 5 the rule of reduplication does not apply at all. In such cases the consonant after ḫ is correctly left single.

Grammatically, the pronominal use of the word dasya in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature, as in Māgha's Skandahārṣabha, III, 57: janaś-aṭa-akṣara-śa jātā mukṛi-pu-anumāttaṃ caita-saṅgrahā. In verse 9, the verbal form açasi, in the causative sense, is a solecism, which is repeated in ṭeṇ in verse 10. Similar solecisms are not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions. On the seal of Bhāskaravarma of Pragyaśīsha, for instance, we have ṭaḥa jātā dṛyaṃ sa-Ratmadeśa. Kādikṣapaṇa.8 To quote an earlier instance, we have sasvadharīśa-saṃgaḥ prajāḥ in the Mānuvār inscription of Māla śaṃvat 524, referring to the Gupta king Gobindagupta. The word ādūṭa in verse 7 has possibly to be taken as synonymous with kṛtoḥ, which would be of lexical interest. The construction, however, seems to be faulty inasmuch as a ādūṭa was essential in the subordinate clause and that is absent. Instead of ādūṭa, something like ādūṭa would thus have been the case. The interpretation of the word ādūṭa as given below be acceptable. The verse no doubt is a hard nut to crack.

The main object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Kāmāntaka, i.e., Śiva, evidently identical with the present Chāḷēśvara temple. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who exactly was responsible for raising this edifice. Vasu ascribes it to Ānagāraṇīya.2

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1 Dr. D. C. Sircar, for instance, justifies this designation (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239; IHQ, XXVII, pp. 199-1). The script of the present inscription compares well with that of Saptāśvara's inscription of the time of Ānagāhaṇīya II; above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 292.

2 The confusion between r and ṭ is not only a palaeographical feature, but also a phonetic peculiarity, which is noticeable in certain inscriptions even of the Gupta period. See Dr. G. S. Gill's note in the Journal of the Cambridge Pastoral Institute, Vol. VI, pp. 303-309.


4 Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 15, text 1, line 4.
bhima II, whereas a careful perusal of the text, even as it is presented by the said scholar, will show that it was Anangabhimha II’s (really III’s) minister, Vishnu, who built that temple. Babu Manomohan Chakravarti, who, by the way, proved this Anangabhimha to be Anangabhimha III (and not II), has evaded the issue by merely observing: “Several years would have elapsed between the minister Vishnu’s fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple.” Babu Rakhāl Dās Banerji, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note by attributing the construction of the Siva temple in question to Govinda who was the said Anangabhimha’s grandfather’s minister. The confusion is probably due to the fact that Anangabhimha’s grandfather’s name also happens to be Anangabhimha and that both he and his minister, Govinda, also figure in the present inscription, as we shall presently see. Dr. Hemchandra Ray, however, correctly ascribes the erection of the temple to Vishnu.

Our inscription mentions only four members of the later Ganga dynasty of Kaliāga: (1) Chōja-gaṇa, (2) his son Anangabhimha, (3) his son Rājendrā, and (4) his son Anangabhimha. Not taking the earlier rulers of the lineage into consideration, Vasu took the second of the aforementioned members as Anangabhimha I and the third as Anangabhimha II. In the context of the full genealogy, however, these two stand as Anangabhimha II and Anangabhimha III respectively, one of their forefathers (Vajrahasta by name) being Anangabhimha I. It may further be observed that a variant form of this name, which frequently occurs in inscriptions, is Anirankabhimha, and that Rājendrā of our inscription is to be equated with Rājarāj III. The full genealogy as well as the events connected with the various members of the dynasty has recently been reviewed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his edition of the Nagari plates of Anangabhimha III, Saka 1151 and 1152. The portion of the genealogy contained in the present inscription stands as follows:

(1) Anantavarman-Chōja-gaṇa (1078-1147 A. C.)
(2) Anangabhimha II (4th son of I) (1190-97 A. C.)
(3) Anantavarman-Rājarāj III (son of 2) (1208-1211 A. C.)
(4) Anangabhimha III (son of 3) (1211-38 A. C.)

Again, as indicated above, in connection with Anangabhimha II, our inscription mentions his minister Govinda; and in connection with Anangabhimha III, it describes his minister Vishnu. As a matter of fact, the Chātyāvar inscription is a eulogy of this Vishnu himself. Of the total of twenty-five verses, the poet has devoted as many as thirteen to Vishnu alone, describing his valour, learning and charities. The first eleven verses, descriptive of the Lunar Race and some of the later Ganga rulers belonging to it, serve as introduction, while the concluding stanzas mentions the poet’s name and fame. A perusal of the whole inscription leaves one with the impression that Vishnu was that type of a minister who is all in all in a state, while its ruler counts as a mere figure-head.

The contents of the inscription are, briefly, as follows. It opens with a symbol for siddhāna followed by ॐ and obeisance to Siva. Verse 1 is in praise of the Ocean and verse 2 in that of the Moon, born of the Ocean. Verse 3 refers, in a conventional way, to the kings descending from the Moon, i.e., those of the Lunar Race. Verses 4 to 6 describe, in a general way, king Chōja-gaṇa.
(i.e., Anantavarman-Chōdāgānāga). It is of interest to know that, in verse 4, he is described as an incarnation of the Narasimha avatar of the god Vishnu. We may parenthetically observe here that, as is known from other inscriptions, Chōdāgānāga's ancestors were all staunch devotees of the god Śiva, and that Chōdāgānāga himself was one such in the earlier part of his life; but that, about 1115 A.C., he started adoring Vishnu as well, later on becoming a devotee of Vishnu alone. His descendants all adhered to the Vaishnava faith.¹ Verse 7 describes Chōdāgānāga's son Anaṅgabhūma (II) as a peace-loving ruler. Verse 8 mentions his able minister, Gōvinda, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gōta. Verse 9 introduces Anaṅgabhūma (II)'s son Rājendra (Rājārāja III), whose son Anaṅgabhūma (III) is described, in verses 10 and 11, as a valorous and munificent ruler. Verses 12 to 22 are descriptive of Anaṅgabhūma (III)'s minister, Vishnu. In verse 12 he is stated to have stabilised the empire of the lord of Trikaliṅga (i.e., Anaṅgabhūma III). Verse 13 represents him as a great warrior. Verse 14 alludes to his having routed a king of Tummaṇa, while in verse 15 mention is made of his fight with a Muslim ruler (Yamrajāparāja). Verses 16 refers to his vigilance and war-preparedness, ensuring safety and security to the empire of the lord of Utkaḷa (i.e., Anaṅgabhūma III). Verses 17 and 18 contain a poetic description of his glory (garās). Verse 19 adverts to the Tulāyupāraśa gift which, it is indicated, he ceremonially gave on the sea-shore near Puri. Verse 20 contains a poetic description of sea-breezes and informs us that the minister Vishnu caused pools and tanks to be constructed along principal roads. Verses 21 and 22 describe his proficiency in the Vedas and various śāstras. It may be noted that it is on the strength of these two verses that Vishnu may be taken as a Brāhmaṇa. Otherwise, neither his caste nor his parentage is expressly stated in the inscription. Besides, we are not in a position to say whether he was in any way related to Gōvinda, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Anaṅgabhūma II. Verse 23 informs us that Vishnu erected the temple of the Destroyer of Cupid (Kāmāstakā), i.e., Śiva. In verse 24 a long life is wished to this temple as well as to the preist. The author of the pranāṭi, a poet, Bhašakara by name, introduces himself in verse 25, as the last item.

It may be realised that this eulogy gives us more of poetry than of history. The translation of the text appended hereto will give an idea of the heights of imagery and hyperbole to which the poet Bhašakara has soared. He has exhibited his skill well; but, alas! he has not been understood so well, with the result that what little of historical value his poem contains has suffered distortion. The obscurity that prevailed over the identity of the builder of the temple has already been pointed out. Following Vasu's translation, Banerji says: "According to this inscription either Gōvinda or Anaṅgabhūma III erected several pleasure-houses at Prasūṭātama or Puri and performed the golden Tulāyupāraśa ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."² Now, this statement is wrong. In the first place, it is neither Gōvinda nor Anaṅgabhūma III, but Vishnu, who should be credited with the works of public utility enumerated. Those, again, in reality consist only of tanks. He constructed no pleasure-houses and no roads. A perusal of the text and its rendering (of verses 19 and 20) given below will show that the so-called pleasure-houses refer to the toy-killocks of jewellery for the Tulāyupāraśa gift, magnified by the poetic fancy into so many replicas of the Mount Māt, the abode of the gods, and that, so far as roads are concerned, Vishnu only dotted them with tanks here and there, and had nothing to do with their constructions. Besides, even the excavation of tanks may not be taken as a personal charity of Vishnu. It was presumably a part of the liberal policy of the government with Vishnu as its chief minister. What stands to the credit of Vishnu as a person, judging from the description given, is the great gift of Tulāyupāraśa, apart from the building of a Śiva temple, the main object of the inscription. It may be observed that the Tulāyupāraśa is the first of sixteen

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¹ Ibid., pp. 219-20.
mahālāgana, 

great gifts, 

enumerated and elaborately described in the Purāṇas. In the case of the particular gift in question, the donor gives away in charity his own weight of precious metal and stones (gold, silver, ornaments, jewels, etc.).

Historically, the alterations to the wars waged by Vishnu on behalf of his master, Anangabhūma III, are more important. They are, however, so vague that they do not add much to our knowledge. Verse 14, shorn of its hyperbole, means to convey that Vishnu fought with a king of Tummaṭa and possibly harmed him. We know that Tummaṭa was the capital of a branch of the Haihayas of Mahākāśa, now represented by a small village called Tummaṭa in the Išāpā Zamin-dāri of the Bīlāpur District in the Chattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. We also know that those rulers came into conflict with the Gaṅgas of Utkaḷa (Oreisa). In fact, Ramadāva II of the Haihayas line is known to have inflicted a defeat on the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman-Chōdāgāngha, the great-grandfather of Anangabhūma III. It is, however, not known as to who the adversary of Vishnu was. It may be argued that the author of the praśasti would have given us a more detailed and definitive information on the point, if the war were really a major one. Chakrabarti infers from the poetic description that the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhūma river at the foot of the Vimihya hills. It is true that the Vindhya-adive-ānāma bhima-kaṭi-viśāy of the original does lend itself to that sort of inference, yet it is open to various objections. In the first place, the word bhima-kaṭi may not refer to a river of the name of Bhūma, as we have taken it to mean. In fact, no river of this name is known to exist in the region concerned. The well-known Bhūma or Bhumathati, a tributary of the Kṛishṇa river, is too far in the south. It is thus more probable that the compound bhima-kaṭi-viśāy is to be rendered by 'in the fearsome groves along rivers.' The choice of the word bhima in this context seems to have been dictated by the poet's liking for alliteration. After all, the poet is describing the bewildered state of his hero's adversary running about in all directions, and not the site of any battle.

The reference to Vishnu's encounter with a Muslim ruler in verse 15 is even more obscure, Chakrabarti's supposition that this refers probably to some invasions of Gīyā ud-dīna Tūr in the fourth Bengal ruler lacks corroboration.

It is needless to dilate upon the faulty text and the free rendering of it presented by Venu, resulting in misconceptions some of which have been shown above. As indicated above, the inscription is to be treated more as a piece of poetry than as a bit of history.

TEXT

[Mitra: V. 1 śikharī; v. 2 upajati; v. 3 sangkarā; v. 4 Mandākāṇṭa; v. 5-7, 10-17, 20 Sāndalakāśī; v. 9, 21, 25 Varahādabha; v. 18 Harī; v. 19 Pṛthvi; v. 22 Vanaśabha; v. 23, 24 Mahānā]

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2 तामेकुण्य: [11]। तरमामुखसिंहभादवन: कलामिशिक्षकतावियतनातामु।
वसोपासराम प्राणुदारामाणसे[से] पुराविकुटेके पुरारि: [11]। भूपालसाध-
भूपालसाधसरसारोमनदरवधायासीन्यते।

3 निज्वालावलीविशिष्टकर्तास्वादवादवादवनात:। येंसां क्रियार्थवः[हे] प्रतिपुमुदवत्वरम्युः-
णेतृत्वोहीर्यवान्यतकल्पोक्तसितेः। कलमति जलपितानि सनातनितानि 11[11]।
तेपाम्य(पां यं)वे विश्वःवादसाः।

4 ज्ञोक्ष्मकुन्निनीपादायाणकतेः नरकरत्नोपयोगिताविवेकबुधैः। वेनो(पां)हामिक्र-
मदवदेयतीर्थसंपाद्यमात्र। घर्षितेवभो अतिन्युजाय। प्राप्तिता मोकालमेइः 11[11]।
ब्रम्हलग्नोर्कलसवयो गाठतिकावासानाः।

5 रिसव्यव: सेरामपर्वताल्केन मनसा निर्निखवालीनात:। चन्द्रसेरामपर्वतादेवायीक्रि
मुकामुलातः। पुरुषार्दुरागसभ्यस्वरूपादध्यविनात्सहस्रहः। [11]। वाकलशिवाद-
मण्डला:लकुटलास्ताभवः।

6 रसाद्यात्यन्त्रकङ्कुट्यारगर्जः। प्रात्याशिवः पनर्विष:। ब्रह्मकोल्डगि मण्डलाशर्मत
विभिन्न तामस्युना सन्यो निक्षु:क्रिष्टियतनुसूतो निवारणासीमा रसः। 11[11]।
अथीतसुनंपञ्चभोमूपः।

7 ति: पुष्यापवपातसतो न सूपद: कलामकालसिंहसाकलोलावलिताः। केरम
सत्यकृया यूनवतस्रवाहः। विबधहामामा। मुक्षभक्तेण वृहे कलसता
सामान्यतासाधितमु। 11[11]। स्वेरे शुभः।

8 शर्मसम्प्रभुव्याहसात्ताः मोकिन्द इत्यजनि वालसुदे विजेन्द्र। राजाः क एवं सहिष्मा
पदसाधने तामाक्ष्यमार्यवहे विद्वे घुरिण:। 11[11]। सवा(वां)नत्यात्ममहीपितग्रेष्यायोवालावलिताः।

9 रे नवराजासहः। यसायांकुंजगुहाभासायः स्वविल राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन तत्
विशिष्टोः। 11[11]। सनासी तमन्ज्ञोमन्नूः प्रस्त प्रलापसागरसानस्वा(वस) विजीतः
सुवर्णशिखरी गाति इत्यवः।

10 यथात। प्रायामस्माहिन्यं यथा छ्वा मून्तवनि धारोकर्माणा: प्रविषु: तथापि
निष्ठाय युग्मकेलिमम्। 11[10]। विशेष्यं निष्ठाकर्षणं यथात तत्क्रिताम्भुः
स्वदृढः कष्टे भिन्ननि।
11. तद्दृशितमम् विवृतीमतिकां सज:। तलावांतन्वरूपाविविधायते-भूलत्वापदितिपालभावलके कः पुनः॥[१११]*॥ तत्त्वां श्रविपाल-भाववाचमोनिःशयत्।

12. पदवयोद्धेविबंशक्तिवणिज्यूरिवपर:। कलितवासस्वच्छम्यमध्याहम। । द्वेरत्िऽमतानि यस्य यथा समाय किमुमहे सामायं किंतुक्षणानुपपत्तेकातपतिः॥[१२०]*॥

13. रणायणरशीभरम्यः। पुरो [प्रेमः] लोककाशिएवविनासस्वकान्ति हृ: स्वतः। बालस्वर ह्येन्निः न चिरादासाय चिन्तयः। पुरुषः ॥ प्राप्तां निबोद्ध-नित्यनिरयानस्वितां गः।

14. तविषयं पारिवं। नांच्छ्वैः॥[१३१]*॥ किंश्च्याेरवस्मीम स्मामवत्नकुः तः तेवर्मोत्स्वस्व-निविद्धुक्षणपश्चात् समाय सर्वस्म:। पार्श्वतः। योगसाधनप्रर्थन्म न तथा प्रेमांवनानुक्तिमिं विश्वः।

15. विष्मूर्मृं वषा परिश्रां तुम्मादायुवियो। ॥[१४६]*॥ कण्यासिद्धसायकस्य सुभाषेकाकानिः निच्छति:। किमुमही यज्ञानविनः तत्ष्य श्रीकं यु।

16. नां स्नयोमज्ञप्रायो नारिकामक्षुरं वरिष्ठेन्द्रियातिरस्यवृद्धेणस्महास्य:॥[१५१]*॥ साहस:। प्रसि: स्फुरित हर्य:। खंलित स्यूर्यावर्गः। प्रेमिकः। पायि पुष्पहरिश्चदल-हिर्यकमा।

17. सम्यते। सम्सा(रमास्य: कश्यपभो मोहिः॥ पद्याम:। कुलवामानां [नु] यज्ञ न कामिनुकलयते। सामायतस्वर्णजाती:॥[१६१]*॥ भ्रमार्पित किंवत्स्यवर्णय-दय स्वायत्वविस्तृतविशेषलयक्तिकः।

18. देवते यह ब्राह्मणकाशिएं। बालस्य यन्तानि तन्तरेऽ। धर्मसमायते यज्ञ [स्फुरित] यज्ञ वा निवसित वस्माद्यमेतवस्स।॥[१७१]*॥ तत्तत्त्वामार्थम्यस्वमेतस्चिति। विशः। कुलाज्ञकः।

19. कण्याशिवविभिन्नमुक्तः। विष्कल्पकोत्स्ये भूमिकेववद्वा। स्वरुपानिकः। जनोनेवतेवते तद्दृशयः॥णावरे।॥[१५१]*॥ अश्चर वृक्षोतमश्रृवशिवो।

बालस्मृतिस्य डेक्षि: ॥ बृहस्पतिस्वमवत्तम्य:। स्वरुपानिकः। जनोनेवतेवते तद्दृशयः॥णावरे।॥[१५१]*॥ अश्चर वृक्षोतमश्रृवशिवो।
Success! Om! Obeisance to Siva!

(Verse 1) Hall to the Ocean, the sole (brāhme) lord of (all) the rivers, (submerged) in whom the famous (mouss) Mainakā (still) cherishes the memory of his (childhood's) frolics in the parental lap, in whom Vishṇu is (enjoying himself) as son-in-law at (his father-in-law's) home, who

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*a* Mainakā, son of Mt. Himālaya Gum: Mān or Mānas, is described here as absolutely care-free, because he was lucky enough to have escaped the calamity when Indra slipped the ships of the mountains. He owes his escape to his friendship with the Ocean. The word jauṣa in the original stands for both jauṣa and jauṣat, "father and mother," according to Pitams, I, vii. 67 or I, vii. 70.

*b* Vishṇu is known to be Mahādudhāsana, i.e., "one who resides on the waters of the great ocean." The ocean is his father-in-law, becomes his wife, Lakṣānī, happens to be the daughter of the Ocean.
freely distributed ambrosia among the gods (even) after having experienced tortures at their hands at the time when they churned him!

(Verse 2) From him (the ocean) was born the Moon, causing wonderment to the eyes of one and all, whom Vishnu placed in his eye, (and) whom Shiva placed on his forehead, out of loving regard for his virtues.

(Verse 3) From him (the Moon) sprung kings, the glowing flames of whose amazing prowess manifesting itself on the (ever) expanding battle-fields consumed the swollen stream of of the enemy elephants, the union with the celestial Ganges rising every moment through the ceaseless influx of whose fame caused such a (thrill of) joy to the Ocean that he started rolling with surging waves, the which revealed he keeps indulging in (to this day).

(Verse 4) In the family of those (kings) of the spotless fame did the glory of the Naraśimha incarnation (of the god Vishnu) manifest itself in the guise of the king Chodagaṅga whose sword a veritable hermit on the sacred banks of the river of cut of the (enemy) elephants flying into a frenzied rage, helped the hostile princes attain the blessing of salvation.

(Verse 5) With his mind agitated by the palpable displeasure, he (Chodagaṅga) grabbed, in his hand (as soft as) a fresh leaf, the chignon of the enemy Fortune even before he clutched his creaser-like sword, (and similarly) he first rendered the gorgeous bosoms of the ladies of his enemies bereft of their pearls; (and) afterwards he did so the broad temples of the boisterous scent-elephants of his enemies, from which rut was trickling profusely.

(Verse 6) At his humiliation, the hostile chiefs, obviously frightened by his schnitter being branded and looming large (to their horror), (and) shuddering under the volley of the multitude of his arrows, sought after the complete-extinction type, as if priding themselves on emanating

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4 Literally, 'installed an alma-house of ambrosia for the gods.' Ambrosia (ameru or sukhā) is one of the fourteen gems that the Ocean yielded when churned by the gods and the demons. Those include the Moon and Lakshmi as well.

5 The implication being that he treated benevolently and generously even those who urged him grievously.

3 While Shiva's carrying a crescent on his forehead is well known, the idea of Vishnu's bearing the Moon in the eyes goes back to the Veda, where he is described as 'having fire as his head and the sun and moon as his eyes' (aparāśāraḥ ṛṣaśāraḥ jatāḥ jatā jay māyāvāsya.). It is on account of this that one of Vishnu's thousand names is Karvi-kīrtana, i.e., 'one who has the sun as one of the eyes' (one Vaiṣṇava-kīrtana, with Saṅkarāchārya's commentary, verse 26).

4 In order to appreciate the poetical fancy here one must know thatśrī (fame) is conceived as a white liquid while the waters of the celestial Ganges (really speaking, the Galaxy or Milky Way in the heavens) are regarded to be milky. The augmentation is thus supposed greatly to add to the gracefulness and charms of the favourite lady, baring to his lover, with the nectarous bosom.

6 Nārāyaṇaism of the original is comparable with Nārāyaṇaism of the Vaiṣṇava-kīrtana, verse 3.

2 A sort substitute for saying 'he killed his enemies.'

7 The alleged reverse order of unquenching and modestation, rhetorically speaking, indicates the agility of action and confidence of victory on the part of the person whose value is described here.

8 As for the temples of elephants having pearls, they are traditionally known as one of the various sources of pearls. The tradition is recorded by Mallikārjuna as follows: Karṇa-kīrtana: śrīśāraṁ gāhāṁ mātyaṁ bhīśma-udbhāna-udbhānaṁ prakāśitaṁ bāhūṁ leśi kāśic eva śatya-udbhānaṁ-śrīśāraṁ. Pearls are known in the world as emanating from elephants, chairs, boars, conchshells, fish, snakes, oyster-shells and bamboo. Of them, however, those coming from oyster-shells are most common. For details, see under mātuka in the Saṅkalar- padamu.

9 A scent-elephant, gaudha-sindhu, is supposed to be one of the most excellent kind of elephants. It is defined as Yazr̥ gaudha-sindhurān na īśakānti ārutārās ārutārām asa gaudha-gātā, viṁśa āśāvatā-priyām-śrīśārām. 'A scent-elephant is that having scent whose scent the rival elephants take to flight; such a scent-elephant brings victory to the king (who owns it).'

8 DGA/53
Epigraphia Indica

[Vol. XXIX]

...ception (from the bondage of this world), having pierced through the frontal disc of the orb of the sun in the heaven.\(^4\)

(Verse 7) From him (Chôdgâgâ) was (born lâsa) son, king Anåâghâhîma, a very par excellence of piety,\(^2\) who was not touched by the justifying by the virtuous actions of the he who is the lord of the earth. What a (wonderful) magic trick was that, leaving aside the array of rutting elephants, (and depending rather) on the one-legged bull (i.e., dharmâ), adopting merely\(^3\) that (magic), he had secured the empire!\(^6\)

(Verse 8) In the family of (the Brâhmans belonging to the) Vatsa (gôtâ) there was born an excellent Brâhmâna, called Gîvinda, who was voluntarily adored by the hymns and chants of (all) the three Védas.\(^8\) What an (astonishing) greatness was this of the king that he made him (Gîvinda) the bull-at-the-yokes for carrying the burden of (his) empire!\(^9\)

(Verse 9) Then, from him (Anåâghâhîma) was born a king, named Râjendrâ, the swans (in the form) of toe-nails; the house-holders (so to say) of lotuses (in the form) of whose feet, rest? on the top of mossy woods (in the shape) of locks of hair of all the hostile chiefs who bowed to (him).

(Verse 10) He (Râjendrâ) begot that king Anåâghâhîma whose manner of disporting himself by giving charities far excels in fulfilling desires (of the ephahants), even if the mountain of gold (i.e., Sûnâmû) gets melted by the blasts of the flames of the fires of his prowess, and the clouds, having taken it (molten gold), shower it in milliard streams day and night for filling (all) the quarters (of the space).

(Verse II) If his fame purifies (all) the three worlds, in vain is there the celestial Gâgâ! If his utterances roll about in the moenk (of the people),\(^*\) so upon pearl necklaces! If the purpose

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\(^1\) All this means that the enemies fought and fell. Seeing us escape from the sure death, they made a virtue of necessity, hoping to be rewarded in the world hereafter with the reward of a happy warrior. And that reward consists in the attainment of perfect bliss in the solar region, as the tradition has it, which only two can reach, a pûrân and a warrior. Compare the couplet: Déva-san dasa still nitya-manasa-bhârana; paripratî gîpap-

\(^2\) There are these two men in the world who bursts through the disc of the sun, (one is) a perpetual yogin, perfected in meditation, and (the other is he) who is killed in the battle without turning his back (upon his appearance). [Sukhaksharavatâvârâgâ, Nirnaya-Gâteri Press, Bombay, 6th edition, 1929, p. 161, verse 106.]

\(^3\) Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, kindly informed me that this couplet is met with in certain Kannada heno-stone inscriptions. See R. Lewis Roe's Mnemos and Cogory from the Inscriptions, London, 1909, p. 172. It may be recalled that, among the titles of a bâhyâgâ, a noteworthy one is gôabhâ chângyap-

\(^4\) This means that the pious people enjoyed special protection and security under Anåâghâhîma.

\(^5\) Mark the use of the word sâdha in the sense of abhâva in the present context. The English word purs offers a parallel inasmuch as this likewise is occasionally used in the sense of sheer or more.

\(^6\) The implication is that Anåâghâhîma was a peace-loving and righteous king. Though he possessed war elephants, he never went to war. The bull, symbolic of dharmâ, stood on all the four legs in the Krita age, on three legs in the Tretâ age, on two legs in the Dvâpara age, and in the present Kali age, he stands on one leg, mythologically speaking. Again, manstrâyâ apparently denotes here 'magic trick' or the like, but in reality it stands for manstrâyâ, the expedient of wise counsel, which is one of the three expedients well-known in the lore of statecraft, the other two being parbhasasâri and asthâ-asthâ, referring to the personality of the king himself and the enthusiasm of his forces respectively. The poet astutely tells us in the present verse that Anåâghâhîma's success as a ruler was due to the wise counsel he used to receive from his ministers, one of whom is described in the verse that follows.

\(^7\) In other words, he easily acquired proficiency in the Vedic lore.

\(^8\) Another of the poet's pot emblems! Being a calf (Vatsa), a great favourite of the cows (gûr), Gîvinda must indeed have made a fine bull of himself to drag the great burden! Born of the poetic embellishment, the circumlocution means that Gîvinda was Anåâghâhîma's chief minister.

\(^9\) Mark in this verse and in the following ones the historic present tense, referring to the past events.

\(^{*}\) It need not be pointed out that the Sanskrit word kâvya means both 'throat' and 'neck'.
of decoration could be served by the sparklings of lustre of the toe-nails of his lotus-like feet, what was the necessity of tying a tiara on the block of a forehead of the hostile chiefs!

(Verse 12) Now, he (Anangahilma), the toes of whose feet used to fall into a slumber (as if were) on the balcony of the foreheads of the hostile princes, had one Vishnu, like a second god; Vishnu himself, who served him uninterruptedly as his minister. What should we speak of his (Vishnu’s) fame which, having created hundreds of white parasols (all over the world), brought the whole empire of the king, the lord of Trikaliya, under one single parasol! 1

(Verse 13) How wonderful that no sooner had they approached the foot of Vishnu than both (kinds of) the hostile chiefs, those who surrendered to him, laying down the arms in front of him in the forefront of the battle-field, and those who stood their ground with their swords upraised, itching for a trial of strength, achieved the blissful state of complete emancipation! 1

(Verse 14) The anchorites of the Vaikhāna order, by their striving in the practice of yāna, do not so much perceive this universe to be composed of (the god) Vishnu as indeed it appeared to the king of Tunmāna to be consisting of (the minister) Vishnu, who, (in his hallucination) out of fear, saw him (in all) the directions, repeatedly uttering ‘there is Vishnu, there is Vishnu,’ (during his flight from the battle) at the skirts of the Vimālya hills, in the forests along the Bhūnā river, (and) on the shore of the sea. 4

(Verse 15) How are we to describe that heroism of his (Vishnu’s) during his flight with the Musliim king, while all alone—his arrows appearing as his ear-plumbers—he shot dead (many) expert soldiers, which (display of heroism) became a grand feast to the sleepless and unwinking eyes of the gods who were the interested lookers-on in the heaven above! 4

(Verse 16) While he (Vishnu) is on the alert, 6 no harm whatsoever (can come) to the sovereignty of the lord of Utkala; horses in their thousands are prancing on all sides, elephants are playing about in herds, all the quarters of the space are choked with multitudes of lilies awaying on (either side of every) road, residence is in camps (also, on the mountain ridges), (and) trampling is on the foreheads of (hostile) chiefs of noble birth (also), on the peaks of the celebrated mountains.

1 The term rādā or rādātī, properly speaking, means ‘topmost part of a building’ or ‘part of a sloping roof’. 2
2 Projecting from the outer wall,” which in Hindustani is called abhajā.
3 The point of poetic perplexity is the creation of hundreds of umbrellas on the one hand, and on the other the keeping of the government under only one umbrella. It may be pointed out that “a single parasol” is symbolic of universal sovereignty. Cf. śāntepūtā jaivaṇa prabhāsana, in Kālidāsa’s Mahābhārata, II, 47.
4 Vishnu’s parasol refers to the god Vishnu’s holy feet as well as to the minister Vishnu’s proximity. The verse implies that those of the enmity who dared to oppose were killed downright, and those who surrendered were allowed to enjoy their freedom.
5 The poet has severly kept up the minister Vishnu’s comparison with the god that name in this verse as well. For a different interpretation of the expression bhūnā-sāl, kulaṇjā, see above, p. 125.
6 That is, pulling the bow-string right up to the ear while shooting arrows.

4 The eyes of the gods are traditionally known to be ever wide open, without blinking. The poet evidently wishes to convey that, in watching the heroic feat of Vishnu, the natural brightness of their eyes proved an extra advantage to the gods, because thereby they did not miss the great sight even for so short a time as the twinkling of an eye.

6 On the alert “is a free rendering of the original kruddha which literally means ‘angry’ or ‘furious’ This is to be equated with the adgra-dūda (‘one with the red upraised’) of the rajjali or statecraft. Expecting on rajjali, Mann says: Nita-ṣāṭa-dūdha rājātī, etc., “Let him be ever ready to strike”, etc. (Mann, vol. VII, 102 and 103, and G. Bühler’s translation in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, p. 232). Commentators like Rāvaṇa explain dūda in this context by bānāṣṭi-hiti-dūdha-sākṣa, military training and drilling, especially for war with the help of elephants and horses. The poet of our passage evidently refers to such a war-preparedness on the part of Vishnu in mentioning the sports of horses and elephants and all the rest of it in the present verse. The lilies and lotuses symbolize the peace with plenty established through his good administration, while the trampling on foreheads points to the proper subjugation of hostile elements in like manner.
(Verse 17) Just think (of it): How extensive (after all) is the surface of the earth where his (Vishnu’s) Fame can comfortably sit! How spacious is the sky where she can stretch her feet! How big is the mansion of heaven where she can enjoy herself! How roomy are the quarters of the space where she can leap about! And how expansive is this fragment of a universe where she can dwell?

(Verse 18) The world having been (white) washed by the heaps of his fame, owing to the (all-enveloping) whiteness produced (thereby), Siva grasps at Yamunā for adorning (his head), fair damsels carry blue lilies for their ear-ornaments, (and) in the heart of the jasmine groves the bees make out their mates (only) by the buzzing sound.

(Verse 19) On the shores of the sea, favourite of (the god) Purushottama,² he (Vishnu) raised many a veritable Mèru (mountain of gold) while performing the Tulāpurusha ceremonies. Consequently Indra, seeing (not one but) a hundred pleasure-resorts (resembling Mèru), cast aspas on the lotus-like face of (his consort) Śachi.³

(Verse 20) He (Vishnu) dotted the roads with hundreds of lotus-pools, at convenient intervals. From that time onwards, the sea-breezes, with their fatigue and weariness of the way removed by (their resting in) the deep inner caviities of the blooming lotuses, carrying provisions for the journey—provisions consisting of the spray pregnant with the fragrant essence—gently follow the way-farers.

(Verse 21) Logic regarded him with favour! Lore of the Vedas kissed his ruddy lips! Ethics had a free play in his heart! Statecraft, too, embraced him lustily!

(Verse 22) As for the Purāṇas (the old persons, so to say),⁴ he, himself being a repository of the wealth of clear understanding of the real meanings (of the Vedas and the like), revived (and rejuvenated) them; (for), owing to the great defect (and the derangement, attendant on old age, of the honours of the body, known as tri-dōha) through the perversion of the views about the Vedas (and the decay⁵ in the faculties of hearing and seeing), they were leading (people) on the wrong path and thereby becoming unpopular (and going astray and stumbling).

(Verse 23) This temple of Śiva has been built by him (Vishnu), where the Sun has assumed the form of its globe⁶ of gold, the Moon has become its crystal pitcher full (of water),⁷ and the celestial Gaṅgā (is apparent in) the fluttering beauty of its banner.

¹ Traditionally, the waters of the Yamunā are black whereas those of the Gaṅgā are white, and it is white lilies that ladies take for making them into ear-pendants. The bees are naturally black. The confusion, such as Śiva reaching for Yamunā instead of for Gaṅgā, is wrought by the fame which has tarnished everything white, poetically speaking.

² The allusion seems to be the beach near Puri in Orissa, where there is a famous temple of Purushottama-Jagannātha, so closely associated with the minister Vishnu’s patron, Anangabhima III.

³ Mythologically, Mount Mèru consists of gold and gems, and is the abode of the gods. In the Śravasmāsa, I, 49, we have such significant synonyma of it as Himalī (‘mountain of gold’), Bāhunā (gem-pecked) and Norālaya (‘abode of the gods’). The sight of a hundred such delightful abodes must invoke desire for dalliance in Indra, the lord of the gods.

⁴ The analogy with old persons is kept up in the attributes that are given in this verse to the Purāṇas. It need hardly be mentioned that the word purāṇa means ‘old.’

⁵ The use of the word vihara in the sense of bhavan, house or dwelling, is best illustrated in the ŚrivatsānŚrīvatsasūdā, II, 63:

*Kṛśṇād bhavati samājita
āsavaḥ kārī vihara
śrīvatsasūdā bhavanī
vīrāhād bhavanī prasādāh

*By this is meant the spherical member of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple, from which rises the bell-shaped spire.

⁶ This obviously refers to the pitcher of water, which is kept suspended or placed on a tripod over the Śrīlīga in the amarnam sanctum, the pitcher having a tiny hole at the bottom to allow water constantly to drip on the Śrīlīga below.
(Verse 24) As long as the great mountains remain inside the ocean, as if engaged in the jala-japa prayers for the removal of dangers from and the establishment of peace in (all) the three worlds, so long may this temple keep up the grandeur of swelling heaps of foam in this world, and so long may (this) eulogy be sung (as seed)! 

(Verse 25) That well-known Bhāskara is the poet of this (poem), whose fame is hardly contained in (all) the fourteen worlds that there are, whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (all) the fourteen lore that there are, and whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (all) the fourteen aeons that there are.

No. 17—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

B. CR. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

A.—Kāśyapa Image Inscription from Silao

This inscription has been published by me. It attracted the attention of Professor Dr. E. H. Johnston of the Balliol College, Oxford, England, who was good enough to offer some illuminating comments on it in a letter, dated the 28th October, 1941, addressed to Dr. N. P. Chakravartli, the then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Dr. Chakravartli kindly supplied me with the relevant extract from that letter. This extract runs as follows:

“Owing to various circumstances I have only recently seen Dr. Chhabra’s interesting article in Epigraphia Indica on the Kāśyapa image inscription at Silao. On one or two points however he has overlooked references, which would have modified his interpretation. If you would be good enough to send this letter to him, he might be interested to look up those I mention, and if he wishes to publish a supplemental note, he is welcome to make what use of my remarks he likes; there is no need to mention my name.

“On page 330 he refers to Buddhacaritra, xvi, 12, in Cowell’s edition; but the whole of the text in Cowell from xiv, 33 on is a nineteenth-century addition by Amṛtānanda, who was Hodgson’s pandit in Khatmandu. Ásvaghosa did give a full account of Mahākāśyapa’s conversion, and an English translation of it from the Tibetan and Chinese by me is to be found in Acta Orientalia, XV, canto xvi, 24 ff. There is also an earlier translation in German from the Tibetan only by Fr. Weller in Das Leben des Buddha von Ásvaghosa.”

1 The reference here is to the submarine mountains.
2 In an ordinary japa, the votary sits in a quiet corner and mutters prayer or repeats a formula there in an midertone or inarticulately, but in a jala-japa, as the term indicates, he is required to keep sitting under water all the while.
3 One has to imagine that the exterior of the temple was originally white-washed, and that the main item of the upkeep of a temple usually consists of a fresh coat of lime-each at least once a year. The poet in doubt wished that the temple built by Vaisra might be well looked after and might endure for ever, but the προσκυνήσις τῶν οἶκων, the stances lands itself equally to a totally opposite and undesired sense: the solidity of a heap of foam, a mocking reference to the ephemeral nature of man-made things.
4 The twofold division of the universe into three: earth, heaven and the aether world, is here replaced by its more elaborate classification into the following fourteen sections: esa, bhūvar, eva, mānak, junas, tāpas, tirtha, tihe, vīrata, vāyu, raksā, tālaka, rohita, nākās and pīkās. The first one refers to this earth, the next six are above it, one over the other, and the remaining seven are under it, one below the other.
5 The fourteen traditional lores are four Veda, six Siddhānta, Dharm, Mitham, Nyaya and the Purāṇas collectively as the fourteenth.
6 The fourteen maṇḍarminas constitute but one day of Brahma. They comprise 3,829,000 human years. Six such periods have already passed, we are living in the seventh, and seven more are yet to come.
7 Above, Vol. XXV, 387 ff., and plate.
"In verse 1, should not āvāsa be taken in the technical sense, as described in Rhys Davids's Pali Dictionary, s. v.: It is a puzzle to me that the term does not appear to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. I would suggest the meaning here is "of immeasurable intelligence" (or "power of perception")

The last verse refers to the legend that Mahākāli attained Nirvāṇa, but after it his body was preserved by magic, and he entered the Gurupāda mountain, where he awaited the coming of Maitreya. Hui-nê Ch'ang's account of it differs slightly from this and from the verse, in making his Nirvāṇa referred till the meeting with Maitreya. For the canonical accounts see Watters, On Yuen Chwang, II, 144, and much more fully in J. Prayulk, La Legende Acoka 167 ff. (Is this latter important work not available in Indian Libraries?) Dr. Chhabra clearly not satisfied with his own translation and has not seen the significance of adhīśhāna, which refers to a Bodhisattva, the magic spiritual power of Buddha, by which he causes things to endure, or a Bodhisattva to explain the most esoteric points of doctrine. For references see La Vallée Poussin, L'Abbeillaense de Vassandhu, ch. III, 31, and ch. VII, 112 and E. Lamotte, Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā, 58 ff., and Suzuki, Studies in the Lānkhāvatārasūtra, 377.

"Despite the last, I think it is unusual to find the power attributed to anyone except the Buddha. It is of course a specifically Mahāyāna doctrine, and the Hiñayāna adopted it from them. I take it that the verse means "This Kāyapa, who passed into Nirvāṇa and yet kept his body in existence by his magic power just for the good of the world, resides (lit. shines) in the Beautiful Gurupa mountain; i.e. inside the mountain, not on it."

I have nothing to add, except one remark in connection with Dr. Johnston's explanation of the last verse. It might be considered right provided the viśvāsa of the original be taken as referring to Kāśyapa himself. It is, on the contrary, presumed that we are concerned here with the statue and the inscription on its pedestal. And when the latter says viśvāsa Kāśyapa, it obviously alludes to the stone image of Kāśyapa, and not to Kāśyapa as a person. Such being the case, would it not be correct to say 'on the mountain, not inside it' rather than 'inside the mountain, not on it'?

Further, I am inclined to connect Gurupāda gīva, vargā with viśvāsa and not with viśvasamābhāti. The difference it makes is as obvious as it is consequential. According to the latter construction, the statue must necessarily have been set up on the Gurupa hill itself, whereas according to the former it might have been established anywhere else as well. In fact, the possibility of its having been erected in the vicinity of the village of Silao, if not at Silao proper, has already been shown.

B.—Chandrabhaṭṭi Rock Inscription, Saka 893.

This inscription has been edited by the late C. R. Krishnamacharlu. It is a Kannada record and pertains to the Jain faith. It consists of only six lines, the last two of which comprise the following Āryā in Sanskrit:

| अनववर्तमानसम्बन्धविमलावर्तिकामकालेश्वरविचरणम् |
| दिलोभोपनिकालं कुमारसुक्तिसखम् (दे)सनातन: |

1 It has been pointed out that "the inscription is virtually a label to the image" (ibid., p. 323).
2 Íd., p. 333, note 12.
3 Íd., p. 332, para. 1, p. 331, para. 2.
4 The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopīl (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 12, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 6-7, plate I (10).
5 It may be pointed out that the sign of medial (long) ॒ is not distinguishable from nasal (short) ॒ in this inscription, and that the rule of soudhi has not been observed in kavya it.
The learned editor introduces this verse by remarking that it "expresses a wish that the glorious Sarvanandindra may ‘dispel the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of his conduct’. The reading in the photograph appears to be jala-dhāraṇī - in which case it would refer to the waters of his pure conduct." His translation of the couplet accordingly runs as follows: "May the glorious Sarvanandindra wonderfully effect the destruction of the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of (his) ceaseless teaching and (his) absolutely pure conduct!"

First of all, the possibility of the reading jala-dhāraṇī is ruled out by the fact that it militates against the metre, not to speak of the dubious nature of the use of dhāraṇī for dhāraṇiḥ. Secondly, the term nīḍāgha, that has been taken in the sense of ‘drought,’ usually means ‘heat,’ ‘summer,’ or ‘hot weather.’ This primary sense of the word appears to be quite appropriate in the given context. In fact, it is doubtful whether the word nīḍāgha has ever been used in the sense of ‘drought.’

It is, however, the last word of the couplet that the present note seeks to draw particular attention to. Indra in Sarvanandindra is evidently not to be equated with Bhairavar in Sarvanandi-Bhaṭṭārav that occurs in the Kannada portion. The word indra appended to the name Sarvanandin plainly refers to Indra, the lord of gods, the god of rains, with whom Sarvanandin is metaphorically identified. The rest of the verse will bear it out that we have here a clear instance of the figure of speech, called Rūpaka, and that the very Indra is the mainstay thereof. The idea embodied in the verse thus becomes manifest: as the god Indra allays the oppressive heat by pouring rain, so may the holy Sarvanandin dispel the evil by spreading knowledge and thereby turning the common herd into good characters.

Finally, as implied by the above free rendering, the long compound in the beginning also lends itself to an interpretation slightly different from the one offered by Sri Krishnamachari. According to him, it speaks of two diverse things: śāstra-dāna and pravīmaka-chārītra. And the chārītra he takes as referring to that of Sarvanandin himself. It would perhaps be preferable to treat the two things not as separate, but the first as the cause and the other as its effect, and thus the chārītra as referring to that of the people at large. This would not only justify the plural number employed in the expression, but would also be more in consonance with the adage vidyā doddā vinayāṃ vinayā yati pāreṣāt, etc. A more literal rendering of the stanza would therefore be: "May Indra, (the god of rains) (in the guise) of the holy Sarvanandin, in his wonderful way, put to end to the (blazing) heat (in the form) of the evil by means of rain-clouds (in the shape) of perfectly flawless characters (produced) through his ceaseless teaching or continuously disseminating knowledge (among the people)."

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1 What has been taken for the length mark (or medial 6) on the letter da seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

2 Considering the religion of the teacher spoken of, the śāstra here may be taken as alluding to the Jain scriptures, but may as well be taken in its broader sense of knowledge as defined in the sūtras:

अग्रेक्षचवृद्धि परोक्षार्थव्यक्तिः
सर्वेऽन्नोष्ण वायस्य विवाहण एव सः॥

Mr. P. B. Desai, Epigraphical Assistant, has kindly pointed out to me that the inscription is in the nature of an epitaph and that the concluding expression in the Kannada portion, sangamana-sadā saundipada, translated as ‘completed the vow of renunciation,’ implies, as similar expressions in similar Jain inscriptions do, that Sarvanandin died. In that case, the blessings invoked in the Sanskrit stotra would sound rather inconsistent unless, of course, Sarvanandin’s agency as preacher or teacher, after his death, be understood to be continuing through the succession of his disciples.
C.—Balasat inscription: Saka 1106

This short inscription of four stanzas, rather indifferently engraved, has been published by Dr. M. G. Dikshiti. Its text seems to be defective here and there. I had an opportunity of examining Dr. Dikshiti’s article on it at the time when it was going through the press. I even made a suggestion or two regarding its reading. The observations offered here are the result of a study which I subsequently happened to make of this interesting record. It presents certain difficulties that are still awaiting solution. Dr. Dikshiti’s provisional identification of the king Krishna figuring in it, for instance, with a member of the Abhira family of Bhambegiri needs corroboration. And his explanation of the line read by him as

"व: च '(य)वन्य निकात: कलते कतीचा विधा भजत(सम)"

is in no time made over the earth… to the possession of the king Krishna does not seem to have hit the nail on the head.

In the present note, however, I propose to draw attention to a more obvious point, namely the object of the inscription. "The object of the inscription," says Dr. Dikshiti, "is to record that the Pusaalite repaired the Royal Matha (Raja-matha), standing on the banks of a river, at Balasatanka, for the inhabitation of Brahmins." The relevant text याप्रदारावलगत... व गुणों विनिविषयानातीतो: has accordingly been translated by him as "he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitation of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery." The use of the term matha in the original has given rise to what I may call a misconception as to the exact purport of the record. It has been taken in its ordinary sense of 'monastery', whereas it has in all probability been employed here in its secondary sense of devalaya or 'temple'.

In the very opening sentence of his paper, Dr. Dikshiti informs us that the inscription is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple. And in the absence of any specific reference to the contrary in the inscription, we may be justified in accepting that the matha mentioned therein refers to the very temple itself where the inscription is found.

Going through the earlier reports on the epigraph, one gets at the root of the confusion. Mr. H. Couzens first drew attention to its existence upon the matha. Mr. R. D. Bapari, who happened to examine it later, has asserted that it is found on a temple and not in the matha. It appears that both the scholars in reality referred to one and the same building, the former naming it matha after the manner of the inscription and the latter calling it temple in accordance with its actual appearance. The mistake, however, seems to lie in the fact that to Mr. Couzens, the term matha meant nothing else but 'monastery.' To him the building in question was thus a monastery, because it was labelled, so to say, as matha whatever its form and size. One finds him describe it as such in his Medieval Temples of the Dakhan. In this publication he gives also a plan of the matha, from which one can see that the modest dimensions of the structure answer more to a simple fame than to a monastery.

It remains to be shown that matha, meaning 'temple', is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauli cave inscription of the time of Sántikar,

\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{1}}\text{\footnotesize Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff. and plate.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{2}}\text{\footnotesize Ibid., p. 312.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{3}}\text{\footnotesize Ibid., p. 319.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{4}}\text{\footnotesize Ibid., p. 313.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{5}}\text{\footnotesize Ibid., p. 309.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{6}}\text{\footnotesize Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, p. 55.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{7}}\text{\footnotesize An. Prop. Report, A. S. I., Western Circle, 1918-19, p. 45.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{8}}\text{\footnotesize Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 23, 26-27.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textsuperscript{9}}\text{\footnotesize Ibid., plate XXVIII.}\]
for instance, records the erection of a temple, where the term employed is *maha.* The word *maha*, occurring in line 8 of the Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Siva. The Alagun inscription, dated in the sixty-second regnal year of the Gaugam monarch Anantavarman Chodaganga, obviously refers to a temple of Siva, under the name of Gartëvara, again using the word *maha* for 'temple.' Instances of *maha* and *mabika* (diminutive forms of *maha*) in the sense of 'shrine' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.

If now, in view of the foregoing discussion, we accept that the *maha* of the inscription refers to a temple, the question arises as to which particular deity it was sacred to. The answer is: to Brahma. This is indicated by the very words निरंतरानितिवस्त्तिः which may now be rendered as 'for the permanent residence of the god Brahma.' The word *brahma* thus retains its primary sense. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation to the very god Brahma. And, as if to lend conviction to all this, we have a report by Mr. Cousens himself that among the sculptured stones, that lie about at the ancient site of Ralasap, there is an image of Brahma. It may, therefore, be supposed that this image must originally have been enshrined in the *maha* spoken of in the inscription. It is called *raj-maha* or 'royal temple,' which possibly signifies that it was built originally by a king. It may be worth while to investigate as to who this king was. Considering that temples devoted to Brahma are few and far between, the present specimen, though now deserted, may be counted among rarities.

No. 18—NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHA SWAMI, MADRAS

The sculpture-bearing a short one-line inscription engraved at its base, which is published below, was discovered in 1940 at Nagarjunakonda, Guntur District, Andhra State, by Mr. K. Ramamurti, the Senior Conservation Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, who was then in charge of the Archaeological Museum at that place. It is a mutilated image in high relief on a white marble slab that was found half buried in the debris of rubble and stones on the northern slope of the Nagarjuna hill, overlooking the river Kriahpu. In the process of clearing the debris, Mr. Ramamurti discovered traces of a large many-pillared hall, at the extremity of which the image under review was found. The partly exposed pillars of this hall are made of marble similar to that used for the other monuments of this place. The building, of which these pillars are the survivors, perhaps enshrined under its roof the very image which forms the subject matter of this article. A search for the missing portion of the image round about the region proved of no avail. The image is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Nagarjunakonda itself. When I visited this place

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1 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 204.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 230.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, p. 47, text line 14.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 226, text lines 26 and 27.
5 Medieval Temples of the Dakshas, p. 22.
6 An article on The Temple of Braham at Khad-Brahma, by Mr. Henry Cousens, in the A. Rec. A. N. I. 1906-07, pp. 171-78, may be consulted with advantage on this point.

D OA/54
in 1940, I took a photograph of it and a couple of estampages of the inscription at its base, both of which I publish here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated pūrṇa-gaṇa, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgarjunikonda, Amaravati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in Prākrit language and Brāhmi characters assignable to the 3rd century A.C.

The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an a-vikṣubh, 'one who has her husband alive', and a jīvāpya (Sanskrit jīvāpya), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the Ikṣvāku and the other in the form of the gomā, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines akin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegean coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, Ādiā-SAŚkTI, Prakṛiti or Prithivi, the Earth. Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oölite seal found at Harappa depicts on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb. This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure akin to this is afforded by a small repoussé gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess. The inscribed sculpture of Nāgarjunikonda also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamduvali who figures for the first time in this record is described as Mahādāvi and the wife(?) of Mahārāja Sri Bhavaḷa Chaṭṭamala. The latter is probably identical with his namesake who is mentioned as a son of Sri Vira Purandara and Mahādāvi Bhaṭṭidāvyā and as the brother of Queen Kodaballuri, in inscriptions from Nāgarjunikonda itself. In an inscription from Raṇṭāla, not far from Nāgarjunikonda,
Nagarjunikonda Image Inscription

(From Photographs)

B. Ch. Chharena
Sec. No. 3277 F-18. 1907/08

Survey of India, Calcutta
the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Ethavala Sira Chaṁṭāmula. The expression a-viṭkaṇṇa and jīva-puṭa used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathūra, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C, and also on some inscriptions of the Śrīṅga period on the rails from Bodh-Gaya. In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.

TEXT

Sīda[ha]ni*

Mahādēva Y a-viṭkaṇṇa jīva-puṭa Mahā[rå] ja-sirī-[Ethavala Chaṁṭāmula]a-paṭiya*

Kamīṇu-vulāyā kariṇa[i]?

TRANSLATION

Success. (This image is) caused to be made by Mahādēva Kamīṇu-vulā, (who is) an a-viṭkaṇṇa (i.e., one with her husband alive) and (who is) a jīva-puṭa (Sanskrit, jīva-puṭa, i.e., one who has her child or children alive) and (who is) the wife (i) of Mahā[rå] Sirī Ethavala Cha[mṭバル]

No. 19—MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACUMUND

Ablur is a village about 6 miles north of Hirarur, the present day headquarters of Kōdūk̄h, Dharwar District. Traditions are current in these parts asserting that formerly it was a very big city and included within its extent the present day neighbouring villages of Bhōgāvī Saktī, Nūḷgār, Dēpadhel[ji] and Yattīnāḷḷi. According to another tradition Ablur is the birthplace of Svarajya, a popular Kannada poet (circa 1700 A. C), and a house near the Sāmbravana temple is shown as the place where he was born. In one of his śripad̄i verses Svarajya states that he was born at Abhaḷūr, which is identified with Ablur.

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3. Ibid., 1926-27, p. 111; a, 3; cf. Jīva-puṭa in the Nasik inscription of Ghatamukha, Sitaḍu and Jīva-puṭa-puṭā in the inscription of Prabhavatgupta in the Select Inscriptions. (These references were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. C. Sinor.)
4. Shorter-Mārāṇī Pravasmāranaśāstra—Maṭhavādākak, v. 99, Jogurā-vadā eight śrīyā—Śrīyāvā, Šādkhānakā Ṣrīyā-sahā-saṭ-dvāpaśāstra—Śrīyāvā, Šādhanaśāstra, Addārṇa, ch. 144. (I am indebted to Dr. C. C. Ghosh and Dr. V. Raghavan for these references).
5. The punctuation is indicated by a hook-like mark.
6. The portion of the inscription bears numerous scratches on the stone somewhat obliterating the letters embedded in the background.
7. The stone has slightly peeled off here and with it the lower half of the latter has gone. There is a distinct mark of an assauer over ʕ. Probably the expression is patiṣṭya, a corrupt form used in the sense of patrī.
8. The expression obviously stands for hiraṭa ʕo.
9. The slanting stroke at the end seems to stand for the punctuation.
10. The Ablurā-charitra, to which a reference will be made in the later part of this article, also says that it was an extensive city.

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Over half a century ago the late Dr. Fleet noticed in this journal seven inscriptions\(^1\) from this place, three of which were edited in full. In the course of my annual tour during the field season of 1951-52, I visited Abūr (January 1952) and explored its antiquities. My investigations revealed that this village contained a large number of inscriptions many of which were not known to Fleet and that some important points connected with its antiquities were also lost sight of. In all I discovered thirteen more inscriptions. I propose to study a few of these here briefly.

Most of the interesting facts regarding the activities of Ėkāntada Rāmayaṇa,\(^2\) the militant protagonist of the Śaiva upheaval, are centred in the temple of Sūmāśvara. Besides the epigraph \(E\)\(^3\), furnishing a graphic account of his miraculous exploits\(^4\) this temple contains an inscription above a panel of sculptures depicting the scene of Rāmayaṇa’s encounter with the Jainas as described by Fleet.\(^5\) As there are some errors in the understanding and reading of this record \(F\) by Fleet, I may point them out here in the first instance.

Firstly, it is a label inscription and the word \(tāva\) appears to have been used in a rather technical sense denoting ’a place representing the scene of.’ We meet with its variant \(tāṇa\) and \(tāhava\) in other inscriptions at this temple, which we shall study presently. The expression \(tāva\) may be derived from the Sanskrit root \(ṣṭhā\), though it appears to have been influenced in its formation by Prakrit. It is interesting to note in this context that the labels in Tamil incised near the sculptures representing incidents in the Pallava history, found in the Vaitkūṭhapetumal temple at Kāṇchipuram, similarly end with the word \(idam\)\(^6\) meaning likewise ’a place, etc.’ Secondly, the epigraph is not incomplete and none of its letters is missing as supposed by Fleet. The first line ends properly with the word \(kudureya\) and continues in the second. At the end of the second line, again, it is unnecessary to supply some letters through brackets as done by Fleet. For its continuation is found on the front side of the parapet wall and it reads almost exactly as conjectured by Fleet. The whole inscription now reads as follows:

**TEXT (Fleet’s \(F\))\(^7\)**

1 Śrī-Brahmāśva(śiva)ra-dāvāralli Ėkāntada-Rāmayaṇa basadiya Jīnanda-oḍḍav-āgi taleya-aridu hāṭe da tāvā || Sāmka-gāvunda basadiya-oḍḍav-īyade ājum-kudureya-  
2 n-oḍḍinam Ėkāntada Rāmayaṇa kädi geldu Jīnanda-oḍḍu liṅga-pratīṣṭhō(ṣṭh)yaṃ māṭita tā[vu] ||

**TRANSLATION.**

This is the place representing how, at \(the \text{ temple of }\) the illustrious god Brahmapārva, Ėkāntada Rāmayaṇa laid a wager, at the cost of the Jīna of the shrine, of cutting off his head and received it back again. When Sāmka-gāvunda would not let him destroy the shrine of the Jīna,

\(^1\) Above, Vol. V, pp. 213 ff.; Inscriptions A to G.  
\(^2\) The epithet Ėkāntada appears to have been acquired by Rāmayaṇa after his victory over the Jainas. In lines 23-29 of inscription \(F\) the propriety of this epithet is justified on the ground of his firm and single-minded devotion to Śiva. But it appears reasonable to add that he might as well have claimed it to bring into contrast his great achievement which consisted in vanquishing the doctrine of Anēkanta that characterised the Jīna faith.  
\(^3\) Above, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.  
\(^4\) It is of interest to note that the achievement of Ėkāntada Rāmayaṇa against the Jainas is also described in one of his compositions in the Kāvya metre by Harihari, a Kannada poet of about the 13th century. Harihari’s account agrees in many respects with that of the Abūr inscription \(F\).  
\(^6\) Śāh, Vol. IV, No. 135.  
\(^7\) In \(ṣṭhā\) and from an impression.
MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

Inscription I

\[\text{Insert image of inscription I here}\]

Inscription II

\[\text{Insert image of inscription II here}\]

SCALE: ONE-HALF

B. Ch. Chhabra

Survey of India, Delhi Office

[Additional text and annotations]
arraying his men and horses against him, Ekantada Ramayya fought and vanquished them. He smashed the Jina and installed the linga (in its place).

Now I will take up two more inscriptions in the same temple. These deal with the same theme as the above, viz., Ekantada Ramayya’s victory over the Jains. These are also of the label category. They are not dated, but evidently belong to the same period as that of the above epigraph. They may be assigned approximately to 1200 A.D. on palaeographic considerations.

INSCRIPTION I

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the left of the entrance into the inner shrine of the Samaivara temple. The sculptures represent a dignitary with attendants on one side and a row of Saiva devotees on the other. A person holding a document in his hand is shown prominently in the middle. The epigraph reads:

TEXT1

1 Srimadi-Ekantada-Ramayyame Samkagauvum-
2 jan-sheyan kujuva thal[vu] [ * * ]

TRANSLATION

This is the place (depicting the scene) of conferring the certificate (of victory) upon the illustrious Ekantada Ramayya by Samkagavunda.

INSCRIPTION II

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right of entrance into the inner shrine of the same temple. The sculptures depict the scene of a Jina placed horizontally ready to be broken amidst a group of local officials and Saiva devotees. The epigraph reads:

TEXT2

1 Yu(Ekantada Ramayyangalun Jimman-asada)
2 ling-pratishtheyam madida tavu[* *]

TRANSLATION

At this place (is depicted the scene of) Ekantada Ramayya breaking the (image of) Jina and setting up the Sivalinga.

INSCRIPTION III

This is an independent inscription by itself, made up of labels. It is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right side of the parapet wall at the entrance proper into the same temple and just opposite to Fleet’s E. The characters are of about the same period as those of the foregoing records. The panels of sculptures as well as the inscription divide themselves into three portions pertaining to different episodes in the lives of Saiva saints. The first series of sculptures consists of the figure of Siva in his divine form followed by that of a Saiva mendicant standing before a devotee holding a long piece of cloth in his hand. The second series represents a devotee with his wife carrying a child in her arms and a Kapolika bhikshu facing them. The last is the figure of a seated man holding an object like a small round bat. The labels below these sculpt-

1 In situ and from impressions.
2 In situ and from impressions.
whereas Bijjala was a protagonist of the orthodox Brahmanical creeds. Basavëśvara was a reformist directing his attacks against the rigidity of Brahmanical dogmas and practices and preaching his new cult of liberality and equality amongst the devotees of Śiva. A volume of epigraphical and other evidence is now available to prove that Bijjala, like all members of the Kalachuri house, was a staunch follower of Śaivism and had no particular interest as such in Jainism. Thus the theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala stands thoroughly exploded. When Fleet wrote in this journal more than half a century ago, he expressed his doubt in regard to the historicity of Basavëšvara on account of the paucity of sources then available to him. Subsequently the discovery and publication of a substantial number of literary works and epigraphs which constitute quite reliable and contemporaneous documents, have established him as a historic figure beyond all doubt. Of paramount importance in this context is the evidence of the Arjunavāda inscription published in this journal.

We are in possession of more epigraphical evidence now to show that besides Rāmâyana and Basavëšvara, three flourished in this century other sponsors of the Śaiva movement, whose aggressive activities must have contributed to its success. We may illustrate these observations from the contents of two inscriptions. An inscription at Anjigiri in the Dharwar District, referring itself to the reign of the Western Chalukya king Vira-Sūmëśvara IV and dated in 1184 A.C., introduces a feudatory chief of the Sagara family named Vira-Goggidēva. An ardent upholder of the Śaiva faith, he is described as 'a fire to the Jaina scriptures' and 'a death to the adherents of the Jain Law.' The record further characterizes him as 'an eagle to the snakes which are the Jainas' and 'a hunter of the wild beasts in the form of followers of the Jina.' Another epigraph from Tāji-kiyō in the Bijāpur District, referring itself to the same reign and bearing a date in the same year, furnishes the following facts about another feudatory, Mahāyogōta-vira Virupareśa. This Virupareśa propitiated god Hara by his multifold devotion and was busily engaged with the advocates of the rival faiths. He launched a regular crusade as it were against the adherents of other sects. A conflagration to the forest of Jain creed and adept in demolishing the Buddhist Canon, he pulverized the Jain temples and raised the throne of Śrīvallināga. Thus did he vindicate his solemn oath and hold aloft the banner of Śiva in the three worlds. By virtue of such achievements he was endowed with the encomium of innumerable Śiva devotees, both of the past and present generations. Lastly we may note here the significant circumstance that both Vira-Goggidēva and Virupareśa of the above two epigraphs lived in a period slightly later than that of Basavëšvara and that their spheres of activities too were confined to the northern parts of Karnata. This might have been responsible for the confusion of later writers attributing to Basavëšvara active hostility against the Jainas creed.

1 I have discussed this topic and illustrated it with extracts from Harīnāra’s above-named work in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karnataka, delivered at the Karnata Research Institute, Dharwar, in 1951. They are now published; see Kamadha Gouthya Parākārti Patrīka, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 102 ff.
2 The Śringas of Basavëšvara are replete with utterance that testify to these observations. They show that his chief opponents were Brahmanas of the orthodox school wielding influence in the society. The Brahmanas and their practices are criticized severely and more often in his utterances than the Jainas to whom only passing references are made. The following among others are a few passages criticism Brahmanism: Basavëšvara: Sat. Pāchakasūrya, (pp. 51), Nos. 376, 393, 588, etc.
3 The ‘Kalamunā of Karnataka’ referred to above: Kav. Śāh. Patrīka, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 113-14. Also see Gourī Parā Pāve Mārā Upaniṣadānta, pp. 79 ff.
5 Mārā Upaniṣadānta, pp. 29-32.
6 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff. and 17.
7 Bombay-Karnata Collection, No. 397 of 1929-30. The text of this and the following inscription are not published. Their short summaries only have been given in the Annual Report of the J. Epigraphy for the years concerned. But I have utilized their texts with the permission of the Government Epigraphical for India.
8 Ibid., No. 68 of 1929-30
A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatiyā, which lies about three miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. It was secured by Mr. Biswadeb Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. Mr. Sarma handed over the plates to his teacher, Mr. S. K. Datta, Barrister-at-Law, then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where they are now deposited.

The plates measure 10" by 6.2". They are held together by a ring to which a seal, similar to those found with the charters of the ancient kings of Prāgyāvahā, is soldered. The seal is oval in shape with its diameter measuring lengthwise 4.7" and breadthwise 4.3". It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on counter-sunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front, below which, separated by a cross-bar, is the legend in characters similar to those employed in the inscription on the plates. The legend is written in three lines and reads:

1. Souti [ || ] Srīmad-Prāgyāvahā-ādhīp-ānca-
2. ye māhāvijñāhārāj-aṛi-Vamām[5]-
3. lavirmaṇaśe[5] [ || ]

The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plates are raised; but the rims of the first plate are damaged and the last line of the inscription on its face is partially obliterated. The upper border of the obverse of the second plate is also slightly damaged towards the right. With the exception of certain akṣaras in the last line on the first plate as well as the vowel-marks of a few akṣaras in the first line of the same plate and also of line 1 on the obverse of the second plate, the inscription is in a good state of preservation. The akṣaras are neatly and beautifully incised. With the exception of the third plate, all the inscribed faces of the plates have one or more akṣaras in the margin opposite the ring-hole or in the space left out near about the hole. In the margin of plate I (reverse) there is the single akṣara ārī, while plate II (reverse) has similarly so. But in the space near the ring-hole of plate II (obverse) there are the array akṣaras ārī, ā, u, sā and ṣa || together with two indeterminable marks, which are all fashioned here and there without any order. They, however, do not appear to have been the akṣaras inadvertently omitted in the inscription on the faces of the plates in question. The akṣara ārī may of course be taken as a maṅgala; but the other akṣaras can hardly be accounted for.1 The plates together with the seal weigh 258 tolas, while the seal alone weighs 127 tolas.

The characters employed belong to the East Indian variety of the Siddhamātrikā or Kūṭā script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgari or Proto-Bengali.2 Indeed it is the Gaudi kīri or the East Indian script as known to Al-Birūnī3 and was the source from which the Bengali alphabet and the allied Assamese, Oriya and Maithili scripts gradually developed. The inscription employs several times the initial vowels a (lines 2, 5, 55), ā (lines 10, 19, 22, 23, 53), u (lines 41, 50) and i (lines 15, 28, 50, 52). Initial ā is of the ordinary type in all the cases.

1 For similar array akṣaras on the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālāvarman, see P. N. Bhaṭṭaṭhāraya, Kāman.
3 Some of the akṣaras (cf. u, ā, a, medial ā and u, etc.) closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms.
5 DCA/53.
except in line 23 where the lower part has a double curve instead of the usual one. Medial ā has no less than three different forms. In addition to the usual sign resembling a danda put at the right of consonants and generally joined above with their top mātra (cf. ‘Kulīnī in line 1), there are some cases where the stroke is a little curved towards the right and reaches only down to about half the length of the consonants (cf. śrīnā in line 2), while in others it comes only a little down and then goes up, leaving a sharp curve below and ending in a stroke curved towards the right above the head of the consonants (cf. parakāsā in line 1). Medial u and a are usually of the ordinary types; but the forms of chyus (cf. chyutus in line 2), vu (cf. dharati-bru in line 23), rū (cf. ‘ādhār in line 11) and others are interesting. Bṛā has been written in two different ways. The ordinary sign for medial ā has been employed in some cases (cf. ‘āhār in line 53); but often the ā sign is formed by joining the sign for u with a danda put at the right of bh; cf. lines 9 (‘bhār’), 12 (‘bhār’), 18 (‘bhūr’), 20 (‘ādāhār’ for ‘āhār’), 21 (bhūmīha) and 25 (bhārī). Medial ē is formed by lengthening the left end of the top mātra of the consonant in a curve forming almost a loop at the end; but it is yet shorter than the developed sign of the mātra reaching the bottom of the line. The ṛākṣara ə has not been distinguished from n. The consonant jh, which is of rather rare occurrence, is found in the conjunct jihi in line 13. The final consonants t (lines 5, 12, 54, 67, 59), n (lines 51, 53) and m (lines 4, 7, 8, 23, 25) occur many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The prose portion exhibits the quality called sūr in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of masters like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (cf. lines 33-46); but the versification is rather weak, there being several cases of metrical errors (cf. verses 8, 9, 19, 25, 27). The formal part of the charter from the beginning down to Vasamālavarmanākramaḥ kusalaḥ in line 48 is the same as in another record, viz., the Tazpur plates, of the king who issued the charter under discussion, except that two passages of considerable length have been omitted in the present inscription, perhaps inadvertently. As some mistakes are common to both the records (cf. ‘āsya in verse 9 and vyagriḥāḥ for vyagriḥ in verse 21), it seems that they were prepared from the same draft which was faulty. There are altogether thirty verses (actually 29 verses and only the first half of another stanza). Of the five verses in the latter part of the document, two are the common impressory stanzas, while the remaining three describing the dones are written in a style which is definitely worse than that of the stanzas in the formal part of the record. Weakness in the composition even of the formal part is exhibited by the repeated use of some expressions; cf. aghinākhatam in lines 7-8; mākṣaka in lines 16-17; aśṭha in lines 17, 20, 26; aṅgrikī in lines 9, 14, 30; vaśī-vaśa in lines 10, 12; prasādā in lines 13, 19; vṛāta in lines 30, 36. The number of orthographical errors, although not many, is not inconceivable. The conjunct ək has been written as ūk. The word puskāriṇī is found in the form puskāriṇī. Asvapati has been used instead of the final s in the impressory verses quoted at the end of the record. As regards other orthographical features, the consonants g, a and ḍā have been reduplicated after r; but n and m have been only occasionally reduplicated under the same condition, while th and y have not been subject to reduplication. T has been reduplicated when followed by r.

The inscription is not dated even in the regnal reckoning of the king who was responsible for its issue, although that was expected considering its age and locality. There is, however, no difficulty in determining the approximate date of the charter. As a record of the father of its issuer, viz., the Tazpur stone inscription of Harjaravarman,4 is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.C., the inscription under notice has to be assigned to a date about the middle of the ninth century A.C.

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The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *asati* and two verses of adoration, the first in honour of the Lōnita-vattha, i.e., the river Brahmaputra, and the second in honour of the god Pīnākī, i.e., Śiva. Verse 3 introduces Naraka, the son of Adīvarāha (i.e., Vishnu) and the goddess Earth, and the next verse says how Kṛpaṇa killed Naraka but allowed to go unpunished the latter's two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. Verses 5-6 describe how, when Bhagadatta obtained the lordship over Prāgyāyīśā, his brother Vajradatta went to the forest where he propitiated Isvara (probably the god Śiva) by his penance and obtained through the god's favour the lordship over Upāraipattana as well as the future lordship of Prāgyāyīśā for his descendants. Verse 7 introduces a later king of Prāgyāyīśā belonging to Vajradatta's lineage, whose name is given as Sālambha. The following two verses appear to say that, when Sālambha joined in heaven the past kings of the country beginning with Sālambha and ending with Harsha (i.e., Harshavarman), his brother Arathī became king. Verse 10 describes Arathī's queen Jivadēvi. Verses 11-12 describe king Harjara (i.e., Harjaravarma) who was the son of Arathī and Jivadēvi, while verses 13-15 say how Harjaravarma's queen Mangalā was an incarnation of the goddess Lakshmi on the earth. Verses 16-23 give a description of king Vanamāla (i.e., Vanamalavarmāna) who was the son of Harjaravarma and Mangalā. Verse 24 says how king Vanamalavarmāna rebuilt a fallen temple of the god Hētuka-Sūlin (i.e., Śiva) into a magnificent building. Lines 47-48 mention Paramasvara Paramahatāra Mahārajachātāja Vanamalavarmadeva who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (i.e., Śiva), meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of his parents and issued the charter from Hadupāśavara. Lines 33-46 give a lengthy description of the city of Hadupāśavara in prose. This passage suffers from the omission of a number of words at the end, although they can be restored from the Tarpur plates of the same king, referred to above. The description suggests that the city was situated on the bank of the Lōnita-bhāttāraka (i.e., the river-god Brahmaputra). The river is said to have passed by the Kāmakotí hill, on the top of which were installed the god Kāmakotí and the goddess Mahāgaurī. The following passage in prose and verse in lines 48-53 records the grant which is followed by two imprecatory verses in lines 58-59. The king made a gift of the village called Hapūsakrama which was attached to the sangala or district of Svapta-Maṅgāka situated in Uttara-kōla and was bounded by Akhāhānīkā in the east, the tank of Chaṅgikā (possibly the goddess of this name) in the south-east, Dhīgāhā in the south, a hanyan tree in the south-west, a bush of tumbho or reeds in the west, a sālārī tree in the north-west, a big sīl (possibly an embankment) in the north and the tank of Dharvala in the north-east. The gift village is said to have been made a-chaṭṭa-bhatī-praṇī (i.e., not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, or, more probably, by policemen and peasants) and mukta śāmīvāra (i.e., not endowed with the right to enjoy taxes from temporary tenants). There is no specific mention that the village was made a rent-free gift. The donor was a Brāhmaṇa named Chūdāmaṇi who was the son of Jōjja and was the eldest of four brothers, the other three being Dājībhā, Gargi and Śambhu. It is said that the brothers were all living jointly without separation, because they feared in that the loss of dharma. Apparently the grant was made in favour of the head of the family but was meant to be enjoyed by all the four brothers and their descendants. The grant is stated to have been made with a view to increasing the merit and fame of the king's parents with the request that it might be approved by all.

As regards the absence of any clear indication in the charter whether Hapūsakrama was made a rent-free gift, it may be pointed out that the śāmānas of ancient Indian rulers were of

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1 Various forms of the mother-goddess are associated with Assam and especially with the Śākta Pitā at Kānakya near Gauhati. Cf. The Śākta Pitās (JRAI, L, Vol. XIV, 1948, No. 1), pp. 11-16, 57-68, and notes.
several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free-gift and a rent-free holding. Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding. In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given'; but a specified rent was fixed for it. There were other cases (cf. the charter under discussion) in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free-gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold' and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions may have often been allowed to be enjoyed by the holders. In ancient India, often the sale of land was theoretically represented in the form of a gift. This is definitely suggested by the Mitakshara on the Yajurveda-epitome, II, 111: sthāvaraṇa vikraya-pranabhād, dāna-prakūrama-cha vikrayē-ja kartavya sa-harṣyamadakā daṇḍa dāna-rūpeṇa sthāvara-vikrayaṁ kuryat. That Hapōṣagāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold seems to be suggested also by the absence of the customary list of officials and subordinates who were usually addressed by the kings while making free gifts of land.

The reference to the joint family in which the four Brāhmaṇa brothers Chūḍāmaṇi, Dēśōdhā, Garga, and Šantika were living together is very interesting. It is said that they did not get separated for fear of the loss of dharma. This seems to acknowledge the right of the sons to demand partition of the family property (even during the life time of the father) as provided for in the so-called Mitakshara system of inheritance. It is interesting to note that some early writers on law (e.g., Gautama, 25, 4; Manu, IX, 111) favour partition because it tends to increase dharma. Manu says that "the brothers may stay united, or separate in case they desire an increase of dharma; by living separate dharma increases; therefore separation is meritorious." As indicated by Brāhmapati and Nārada, when the brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them, but when there is a partition those acts are separately performed by each, and this explains the reference to the increase of dharma by Manu. According to Śatikha-Likhita, however, brothers may stay together, since being united they would prosper materially. This view was no doubt shared by the members of the Brāhmaṇa family mentioned in our record. The fear of dharma-kakṣa referred to in the inscription points to the fact that such acts of dharma as the worship of the gods and names and the entertainment of guests were easy for a joint family with its undivided property but difficult for each of the tiny families partitioned out of it with the small resources at its disposal.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only legible record, besides the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, of the Miścchhika dynasty of Prāgyōṭiṣha, which was founded by Sālastambha and was preceded by the Nāraka or Brāhmaṇa dynasty, represented by Brāhkaravarman and his predecessors, and succeeded by the Pāla dynasty founded by Brāhmapāla, although both the dynasties of Sālastambha and Brāhmapāla claimed to be offshoots of the ancient Nāraka or Brāhma line. According to verses 9-10 of the Bargou plates of king Rataiapāla of the third dynasty of Prāgyōṭiṣha kings (i.e., the Pāla house of Brāhmapāla), the kingdom of the descendants of Nāraka passed to the Miścchhī-ālikānās.
Salaamambha, the twentyfirst king of whose line was Tyāgasimha; this king having died childless, the subjects, preferring a scion of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, made Brahmapāla their king. Of these twentyone rulers of the Mlechchha house of Salaamambha, mentioned in verse 7 of our record (cf. the expression _tasya-tānter_ indicating the relation between Vajradatta and Salaamambha) as a branch of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, we have inscriptions of three kings only, viz., (1) Harjara or Harjaravarman to whom belong the Hayungththal plate and the Tezpur rock inscription; (2) Harjaravarman's son Vanamāla or Vanamālavarman who issued the Tezpur plates, and the charter under discussion; and (3) Vanamālavarman's grandson Balavarman who issued the Nowgong plates referred to above. Of the four published records of the family, Harjaravarman's inscriptions, one (the Hayungthhal epigraph) of which is fragmentary as only one of the plates has so far been found, are both in a miserable state of preservation. The original of the Tezpur inscription of Vanamālavarman is now lost and its transcript, published as early as 1840 in the _Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal_, is palpably full of mistakes of all sorts. The late Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya made an attempt to emend the faulty transcript of the record with the help of imagination; but the result could hardly be satisfactory. The only published record of the family, reliable from the historians' point of view, is thus the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, although this epigraph also suffers from a few damaged letters. Under the circumstances, the Parbatiya plates of Vanamālavarman under publication remove a number of defects and doubts in the history of the Mlechchha or Salaamambha family of Prāgijyotisha.

In the first place, from the published wrong text of verses 7-9 of the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman, it was so long believed that king Prabambha was the father of Harjaravarman. The clear reading of those verses in our record shows that Prabambha was a wrong reading for Sālamambha and that Harjaravarman's father was not Sālamambha but the latter's brother (apparently younger brother) named Arathi. It further shows that the reading of the name Aratha in verse 9 is wrong. The theory about the existence in this dynasty of a prince named Aratha, regarded as the son of Arathi who is mentioned in the passage _chaksu-arathi_ (Chakra and Arathi) in line 9 of the indistinct Hayungthhal plate of Harjaravarman, is thus entirely imaginary. Secondly, it was so long believed, on the strength of the wrong reading of verse 9, that it was Bhagadatta who is said to have received the lordship of the territory called Uparratana. It is, however, clear beyond doubt from our record that, while Bhagadatta obtained the kingdom of Prāgijyotisha, his brother Vajradatta secured lordship over Uparratana through the grace of Īvāra whom he had propitiated. Thirdly, the name of

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Harjarnvarman's queen, who was the mother of Vanamalavarman, is given as Śrīmatārā in verse 15 of the published text of the lost plates, while the Hayungthal plate of Harjarnvarman (line 24) has it as Maṅgalā. The correct reading of the name in Vanamalavarman's inscription is now found to be Śrī-Maṅgalā. The real name of the queen thus seems to have been Maṅgalā or Maṅgalārī. Fourthly, the name of Harjarnvarman's mother was read in the lost plates as Jivadā (verse 10), although the Hayungthal plate gives it as Jivadē. The present record shows that Jivadā-rī suggesting the name Jivadā is a wrong reading for Jivadē. Fifthly, verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the rebuilding of a fallen temple of Hītuka-Sūlīn (Siva) by Vanamalavarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word bāḥāka in this context, Bhattacharya's emendation Hājapā-Sūlīn to indicate the god installed at the city of Hājapāvēra seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings was Hārōppēvāra. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however, be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two akṣaras of the name are not quite distinct; possibly sarā".

In line 21 of the Hayungthal plate of Harjarnvarman, Bhattacharya reads the name as Maṅgalāvāra (although not the slightest trace of a sign on a is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to Hārōppēvāra. In line 1 of the Tezpur stone inscription* of the same king, the reading seems to be Hājapāvēvāra, although Bhattacharya suggests Hārōppēvāra. The late Mahāmāhāpādhyāya H. P. Sastrī reads the name in this record as Hārōppēvāra. As regards the first akṣara, however, he says, "The a stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was Hārōppēvāra." In regard to the second akṣara of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of r." Hence the Government Epigraphist (H. Krishna Sastrī) read it as ṛa. In a note on the reading of this damaged inscription, that master epigraphist, F. G. Kielhorn, read the name as Hoṇḍapēvāra and observed as follows: "Of the name which follows upon rākṣatī, the initial consonant (h) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply ṛa, or ṛa or ṛa; and the second syllable, which I have omitted, is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 3 of Plate III of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmanśaṇa of Prāgyōtisha where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read Hārōppēvāra, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be sarā. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like rū, and in the impressions of our stone inscription to read rū seems impossible." It will thus be seen that the reading of the first two akṣaras of the name Hārōppēvāra is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably ṛa and not ṛa. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamalavarman, the name is found in the rough transcript published in the JASP as Hārāvēvāra, although, it may be pointed out, the letter ṛ has always been read by the transcriber as r as a result of the

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1. JASP, 1897, p. 291; note 23. See also Kielhorn's remarks on the reading of the name, quoted below.
3. Vito śūlīnu, plate facing p. 137.
6. Ibid., p. 496.
17 प्रथा १२१। सापित्व अन्तरणम् सापित्वमात्र तथा समानता:। तथा गुरुपरमेश्वरं सुप्रसादक
नीति(वा)गत: १२२। नादी(ही) प्रति सदायाते राजः।
18 दो रोपोरिति। कोटवङ्गम(खः) श्रीम(म) ततं: । भगवानमो(वा)पुरुषः १२४। संबंधितो
भूमिति: कुमारो राजामूलम् । इत्यह(व्य)सम्।
19 श्रीमलयसा(सा) तती गत: १२६। । बहुमार नूतित्यय चालार्य(र)महामार(ल)स्विता:।
राजामहा भूरे बंधेवी भूमिति: इह।
20 इत्यह । बहुमारंगे तत्प्रथमितस्विताम्। वस्तुधां (लुं(व्य)दंसिते(ह) कारितावामी
- भूमिति(ह)व(क)ली १२८। इत्यह । एका महामारी(ह)।
21 विभिन्तिता नथु(प)मलीसुनकारी । देव(प)मलयांस्याय: । क्राकालानी(त) भूमिति: १२६।
राजामहोऽहमेंस्य । भाषा: विष कः।
22 तुः:। महाराजाकृतार्थं सचिति(ह) नाम:।। इत्यह।। कालालयस्वते विद्वानं समुंद्र(मु)ता।
तथा सम(व)शिस्ते हन्ते राजेन रघुपुरुः।
23 रिष्या इत्यह । केसरीमयसिनाना। शुद्धा। राजेन भूमिति:। राठोरोपोपनावेि। भूमिति: राजपुरुः।
2४. राजाभिषेकः।। सहित: स्वामितवम् कर्त(क) हिलानैः।। इत्यह।। इत्यह।। योधन: सहभागः।।
भक्तिवादरावः।। संन्यासंहारः।।
25 यात्रियां महाराजार। इत्यह।। नमे पृथिविया प्रथमी विकृतत्वी प्रति।। ततस्य तुकुरा
राजी संगर कुसुमः।। इत्यह।। इत्यह।। इत्यह।।
2६ विकलिताराजानु: अचार(प)कालवं।। वेनगतानालीसिद्धांशुमुदकार्यः।। इत्यह।। प्रसादाचारु
- राजायार गुप्ता भुहीना शाहकारण(व)।।
2७ कुमारजमास्वयं अविवृतो नूतिते मरिः।। इत्यह।। अविवृत: कुमारोऽचारायाम सर्वः।।
कालबः(क)कालबः(ल)स्विता:।। भारतवर्षी।
2८ इति:।। शक्तिताल्पः नाटस्य केसरीमयसिनमः।। यवनवीर इतेवः कुमाराश्रीसविशेषः।।
इत्यह।। इत्यह।। इत्यह।।
2९ विस्मृतानुसंपादनं।। विस्मृतानुसंपादनानी राजेनाबृत।। इत्यह।। इत्यह।।
30 कब्रास्थन सत्य तहवरुण च [४२]। शासन संग्रह को शासनार्थमय [५]। उलटेंगा
देवस्वरूप ला(त) महानालि रतो(र)म: [४२]
31 धार्मिकानाथ श्रवण पुरुष गोविकम २। ब(व)कलालिकरित्रि घ(घ)रावं रेण अवानु
[४२]। रायवेश्वर कुमाररेख सम [३]
32 लिंगलिंग ब(ब)लादिनिर्देश [३]। प्रस्तावितो ब(व)तंगाम तड(ढ)पमपुरे महतु [४०]
राजाष्ट्र(म) कप्पमूर्ताकळ्लकरयापरि वा। तत्स(स)व भिन्न-
33 शं कामय सया राजन निविंदत [४३]। शराबासो दिलीशा उक्तवास [उ]प(प)तरं ।
विचे: कलावे(क)लाखावत परदव वधायह १।
34 नूँ [४०]। वीराजास्वतंसुसुंदरकु[४] वीरम(स)शतास: सुस्वतय शीरामवेष्ट्रदृष्टित समन: भीकर्ति-
सिंहोवर वा। पुस्तर राज-
35 जनकदर्द तन्यान्तर्भा(व)विश्रामस्था वा पुस्तर: भीकरतिह एष हुतमारिव: विलाले(क)किलि
[४०]। सु(स)सं सत्तवे शाले तपस्या वा
36 सार्वुसामायिकवें दिले विभागानवनतयाः सरयते: वीराजसिंहयोः। काण्ड राजसन्तु(स)विनरकतयों,
 सुधारतिषिक्षा(क)विचे: स्तू-
37 काव्य(क) राजामोहनरक्ति राजप्रभासया(अ)व [३]। युगम् । श(श)सीर्याकरुसत्
 माहोप(स)भोक्तामाभ(ब)इति: [८]। त-
38 तम(स)केवलः किर(क)किलिको कम्पाविनन्दसत(स)त:। तेज(स)गोस्य तु रा(र)विकुल(अ)श
 [क]ति वा काल्योम्य वा साधक: शुबोमयु-
39 सु(स)वनस्य इमम् श(श)कष्पेक्षियपुरस्त [१]: [४०]। दशान्त(श्र)मधुपूर्वसतु जनका(को) तेजसी
 च गोस्यविवाहपूर्वसता रणसिंहे पुष्मन्त् ॥[८]*] हस-
40 धानाजयवस्त्रयाः [५]। काण्डेन राजगृहाक्षयवर्णनमय वा(शत्र)रोकतिलस(स) महतुः [५]। दासिशोभवव
 स्तूः आदरोगः वाच्यमांगसंगुं(स)द्वारे: [२] [५][१]॥
41 [कलिन(व)शालाबहु द्वार्मण्डुस्वे सार्वुसामायिकः [४०]॥ हि वीराम[श]स्त(सती)। वीराजजगते(पर)वीरयत्व शीर्षगितिविधायैः [णः]

* We have probably to read pustam-adihika-nikramah,
* These two dandas are superfluous.
* A more correct form would be salanam.
* This danda is superfluous.
* Samhiti is not observed here.
* The portion of verse from chatusha to "samah is redundant here; it is meant for the twenty-fourth stanzas
wherein it occurs in the thirty-sixth stanzas.
* The meaning of this part is obscure; this line of writing in any way is superfluous.
1 Shriya\n2 Sala\n3 Shriya\n4 Sala\n5 Sala\n6 Sala\n7 Sala\n8 Sala\n9 Sala\n10 Sala\n11 Sala\n12 Sala

1 This pa is superfluous.
2 DOA/59
13 राॅधारुषनकशायः मानिति दशलहजरोजमव(क)पु. । विनाध्यक्षं मु(क)न्य राहुरुषन(क)पु. । विज्ञ(क)वि. । ।
14 सूर्यविवेकशालाकालात् जहाँ सहृदयां जो स्थानिको सुकृत्यः । ।
15 ते: । ।
16 रासामिति: । प्रभेदतो वि(मै)गच्छसि ज्ञातु: तेनेको मात्रायमिति: । ।
17 वथवंशम: । ।
18 यात्तमकः । परं: । नवते(वाव)नोक्ष्यते क(वी)सं जुडृत्याजरामांशां: । ।
19 स्थु तेनाय वारण: । ।
20 स्तवनेत्रः सहव(भ) कथामुहासतुलश्व(व्व)कारणे विज्ञातयो । ।
21 शारी सूर्यम: । ।
22 स्मालु वि(गृ)मूलो य(व)हुताहलात् । ।
23 जत: । वस्तुवंश(व) तेजमेव(व) नाथ सवयं स्रवः । ।
24 म(न) सुमुखः । ।
25 म(न) सुमुखः । ।

1 This pā appears like gha, while next to it there is a superfluous danda.
2 The reading of this latter half of the verb is not clear; possibly we have to restore it as follows: sārāsākha
3 Sādhistā is not observed here.
37 पत्नीवर्क(क)रे [10] हिदु(हिदु)सेना(क)महानोरा कामाक्ष: संवृक्त: सुंनित: [14(4)](4)
विलीणतीतः: स्वदेश्य अवस्थातः: समानतः: जयसरिहो विभाषात् दिशमा(सर)व्यस्मः-
38 शरण: [14(4)](4) तनः [10] भावित्तिकाः: पृथ्वीसेतु(4)कुरुवर्तः:: सरोज्वनननामा
स्वरूपस्यस्त्रेषु [10] निर्माण(प्र)प्राण(न)पुलवे[न] मुक्तस्वरोज्वननानुसरितमि(4):
39 सन(स) [10] महानायकः महासरिल(सर) महासहस्तः महामोतः(स) [14(4)]]
हिदु(हिदु)कुरुवर्ते(क)महानीतित्वभविष्यतस्मि(4): वमा(प्राणमा) स्वसुरुरणमानवेदंस्तमानानानो-
40 ए न्यू(4) दारानामयूपनाशुभदश्रु: श्रेष्ठस्तोऽपि: पुर्णः: प्रकरोऽयोगेपेः(स)
वेल(वेल)हमुनुक्षतरः [14(4)](4) एकादश: सनी(न)लक्ष्मि(स)क्षताविशेषस्मिनः:
41 नज्ञानः दारानामयूपनाणिनः(श्रु)गुर्णः(गुर्ण)कामाक्ष: सुन्धरपारः [14(4)](4) दारानायः: शुभमाणा
एका गदव्यिन(एका) महालस्तः हिन(4):: प्रस्थविविषयस्यवाचारस्यद्वारः-
42 नवी: [14(4)](4) संहिताल्लकातः मुखः(मुख) समूहः रत्नमुनिसभः(ब)
वेल(वेल) महामुखिः(4)
विलम्ब(विलम्ब) वनमौलस्य: [14(4)](4) लस्नातः वृक्षताः मुक्तस्वरोज्वननानोः:
43 सु मितः सापः(साप) वृक्षावनाने राजा शास्त्रिरोपिनः [14(4)](4) राजः सब(स)सतिरोऽहाः
शतीमानसारः: सोहायत: रणे बङः(बङ) शामिल(बङ) शताव्यायानाना(सा)
[14(4)](4) पः-
44 रमानायाः राष्ट्रसः(राष्ट्रसः) राजावत्सलमाः(सा)
रघु: सद(सह)हः पवस्ताः मार्गसुक्लमाः:
[14(4)](4) मुक्तपुरः(मुक्तपुरः) महापायः शालयं विस्तारं(बधे) हिदु(हिदु)धर्मः-
45 रथ: [14(4)](4) रथसः कुण्डः[14(4)](4) शास्त्राः(शास्त्राः) युक्तवग्नोऽश्रेयः स मंदिरः[14(4)](4)
इ(4) संदर्भः अभिविद्यः(अभिविद्यः) बलवानः इत्यादितारः(इत्यादितारः)
वेल(वेल)प्रविद्यः महामायः ओः-
46 रथ: [14(4)](4) विशवाक्षः शास्त्राः[14(4)](4) सीता(सीता) सर्व(सर्व) [समापतिरः]
[14(4)](4) पः[14(4)](4)

Slab XXV : Canto XXIV

[Metres: vV. 1-10, 16-27 Anushkod; v. 11 Upaniṣati: vv. 12-15, 33-36 Sādālavākśiśa; v. 28 Árya; v. 29 Usūkā; vv. 30-32 Gāti.]

I II सिंह(ड़े) भीमानावस्त्र(मस्त्र): [10] स्मृति: समर्थन(स)हत्यागमिश्रुताय प्रच(प्रच)ः:
रघुना: इत्याविसेषतः राजा वायुः संवृक्त: II II हेम्नो देव महापीरः(हेम्नो)दासीः

*The two sets of doasus and the figure 47 appear above the line.
*The reading of these four syllables is probably intended to be bhākā-a-jān.
*The sense is not clear here.
*This third pāda is too short by two syllables.
*The absence of nāttī here is in sentential and in favour of the metre.
2. सत्तः। पृथ्वीदेवे भूतः। सवास्य ब्रह्मचर्याय अनुसारायः। स्‌त्राः। महायोगिनी श्रीमती वासुदेविका।

3. क्षेत्रार्य सुरसुंदरः। श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेवै।

4. [पार्थ कोज़] परशुरामलिखितः। श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेवै।

5. युधिष्ठिराशियोजनः। भृगुवंशीयोजनः। ब्रह्मचर्यायः।

6. अन्तर्क्रिया शनाष्ट्रः। तन्नः। भृगुवंशीयोजनः। ब्रह्मचर्यायः।

7. [पार्थ कोज़] परशुरामलिखितः। श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले।

8. राजाः। ब्रह्मचर्यायः। वृहस्पतीः। मृतकः। कुमारः। राज्योदयः।

9. श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेवै।

10. श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेवै।

11. [पार्थ कोज़] परशुरामलिखितः। ब्रह्मचर्यायः।

12. रूढं भृस्मायायः। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेविका।

13. [पार्थ कोज़] परशुरामलिखितः। एवं ऐंशिकवाले। श्रीमती वासुदेविका।

14. श्रीमती वासुदेविका। एवं ऐंशिकवाले।

\[1\] In v. 28, Canto XVII, the quantity of gold mentioned is 12,000 talents.

\[2\] Perhaps we are to read तापुगुरी-रामचक.

\[3\] The absence of स्वादि here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

\[4\] सपिकेन्द्र has not been observed here.
15. काघ्व्य राजान(णु)शौचवियमनम [वैराक्यकुश्त] वहुरविवध्वीह शायकायें। इहांमुखुक्ति च चानोः।

16. नाटादलं रामाकिन्तुशास्त्रभक्तिसम्पादिता च। 

17. श्रवणश्रवणसुखसावर्णं। 

18. नारायणश्रृङ्गालं। भारतवर्शी। 

19. यथा। 

20. नास्त्य तत्त्व कितव [रे]

21. द्वैताम्। 

22. तद्वियर्द्विभिस्तोब्ज। तथा। देशवात्स्य। 

23. [केतुः]। 

24. [वी]। 

25. भव्यान्ति। 

26. भव्यान्ति। 

27. भव्यान्ति।
28. [२८] निमित्तेनसमिकात् पुरं दुषि(क)देवी ॥ २८॥ इवमुर्गान् तवं भयामलोक्षनाम्। निमित्तस्य नृपम् ॥ पञ्चायत्तः (द)जगाम(स)ग्राम(विष्णु) ॥

29. वछाया दल्वा(व) धिमोऽगुप्तसाहित ॥ २९॥ भीरणोवशसहस्रवर्तर्ता। भीराक्षम(प्रत)तापः ॥

30. भीरकर(र)संवह यथा । पुजो राजमान्यसत्रवं तन्त्रोप्यर्मानंसन्धिषोपयु वा। पुजः। भीरवयोग्य एवैह क्रमवाचनी।

31. शिमासासनजातम् ॥ ३१॥ पुजनं सुनवते शते तदन्ति वा सत्यसामन्याय को । धिनम् ॥ दानव(दश)शासनवाचन नरपते। भीरवसिद्ध।

32. प्रभोः। काळ्यं जयसुमयासासनम् ॥ ३२॥ पुजनं ॥ प्रतिनिधारिणिः सत्यसामन्याय को ॥ राजसामाय अविवाचनं ॥ ३३॥ युम्ब ॥ [३३]

33. भासिकोजसरसतु वा भासमवेशसासनमवर्त्तम् तस्यवहन्वरकः काल(स)कृतकृतमोऽविवाचनम् ॥ ३४॥ यस्यासीत्वानुवाचः

34. स्व नु राज्यं इति वा कृतकृतम हा सत्यसामन्याय प्रथम प्रेमार्गर्यप (द)त्रायं ॥ जयसुमयासासनम् ॥ ३५॥ पुजनं ॥ यस्यासीत्वानुवाचः

35. नस्तु जनको वेशस्य नि गोवणिवासामुग्नाता। राजस्य पुजः ॥ ३६॥ लक्ष्मीवासामुग्नाता। लक्ष्मीनामकोजसरसतु ॥

36. तुर्विच(स)धारयाय इश्वरान्न्याय समासीनाय (द)सत्यसामन्याय ॥ ३६॥ जयसु ॥ राज्यं कोशी। राजस्य सर्वं जेवं सा जायो ॥ [३] ॥ समुद्र एः

37. रणसुत:। राज्यं त्रिवेवराजसिद्धार्य ॥ ३७॥ ऐतो धीरों काह नेपाल मुग्न शर्माति।। राज्यं राज्यं राजस्य रजस्य भरीये। राजसिद्धार्य ॥ ३७॥ जयसु (कोशी) ॥ [३७]

38. संवतं १७५२ साहित्य नि नीरस्ववारो नभुरत हुमीती हन्तराधिकरे मेले क्रमं। ॥ ३८॥ राजसिद्ध नामावस्थानी रामसिद्ध।

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1 Sandhi is not observed here.
2 That is, Đmba, a couplet. From here onwards the composition is in the local dialect. It begins with two Đmbas which, however, do not conform to the usual couplet scheme. The text, however, is left uncorrected.
3 The sense of these two Đmbas in this verse seems to be:
4. 1 A great Rājput lady is the queen who gave birth to a son (a baba) — a son who could turn the ocean — and that is yourself, O Rājput.
5. 2 You kill all these Mughals of Auranqeb, O Rāpī, thou art the only way, as thou art, O Rājput, full of martial spirit. Duly Rāpī Rājanni, who is full of martial spirit, keeps the beautiful Mughals of Auranqeb under his control.
6. 3 Amā means so many, such and such.
7. 4 Same as Hindi मिल-हरे "together".
39 की राईयत नाईस[०]को । बुद्धि बङ्गाली मोहणसिंह[०]को । राजवत सुझावनी बुद्धि केरलीसिंही बुद्धि मोह-

40 शीघ्रती बोधिज(क)वत नरसिंहदासवत [मो]म(ज्ञ)पत धरिदासवत राठौद मोहजी राठौद रामचंद्रवत राठौद हमीजी राठ(शे)द मोकषसीय-

41 विराटर(विष्णु) || साह राय(रा)परंदे बेवापीतात हकळवळी राम(न)वरभाल ना मुखदर्शणवली हरराम[सिव] को लखु(शु) पंडो[सी] वाप

42 "गजयर मुखंद गजयर फिल्मानवुत जगनाय उदजनमुत लालो लालो असोहरवो जगनायमुत मेघोंवो [११०] संवत १६३२.

43 प्रिति(रा) हुड़ी गुट(बुंदु) नकु थुरुस्तु सु(बु)स्य(शर)पर मोहाव(शिं)गुल सु(बु)वापर मुखी सु(बु)म भा... वस:

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¹ The ekdama is shown here with two dots.
² A similar list of maxims is found also towards the close of Salam III, VI, VIII and IX.

MGIVC—81—RGIA/33—28,5.55–450.
resemblance between the forms of the two letters. The Parbatīya plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of Prāgyotisha kings (i.e., the house of Śalastambha) unmistakably as Hājapsēvara which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarma and Balavarman were Hājappēvara and Hājapsēvara respectively.

The inscription mentions a number of geographical names including those of a river and a hill. The adoration to the river-god Lōhitya-sindhu (cf. Lōhitya-bhasāraka also in the Teaspur plates), i.e., the Brahmaputra, is very interesting. The same river is also adored as Lōhitya-vārāga, Lōhitya-sindhu and Lōhitya ity-adhipatiḥ asitām in the records respectively of Balavarman who was the grandson of Vanamālavarma, of Ratnapāla who was the son of Brahmapāla founder of the Pāla dynasty (the third line of Prāgyotisha kings), and of Indrapāla who was the grandson of Ratnapāla. The kings apparently held the river-god in special veneration. But more interesting is the reference to the Lōhitya or Brahmaputra as a ‘sea’. This seems to be associated with the tradition about the existence, in early times, of the Eastern Ocean (i.e., the Bay of Bengal) near Dēvikōṭa which is modern Bāngarh in the Dinajpur District in the northern part of Bengal, and with the presence in the central region of Bengal of large bīs or lakes like the Chālan. Wide areas in the Mymensing District of Bengal (now in East Pakistan), through which the Brahmaputra at present passes, are spoken of as the ‘sea’ even today. It is a low-lying country which for six or more months of the year is under water; in that area, communication by boats of maunderage varying with the stream and season is always possible. The coast line of this ‘sea’ may be taken to be passing through Bharab-bāsār, Bājītpur, Nikilī, Dūmpārā and Tārālī and then towards the north-east. To the west of this line, the country is a bed of dead and dying rivers. Equally interesting is the mention of the Kāmākāta hill, on which the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgauri are said to have been installed. The same deities are also mentioned in the Guākuchi plates of king Indrapāla of the Pāla dynasty or the third line of Prāgyotisha kings. The land granted by this charter is described as Uttrā-kūla Mandēvēkṣāy-aṣṭāhistī-Pāngōri-hūmā-sīkthā-gosā-tuṣāhvaras-āsthā-khāmī, i.e., the land of an inferior quality yielding 2,000 [dravas] of paddy out of the area called Pāngōri (modern Pāngūr Mauza in which the Rangī station on the old Assam Railway is situated) in the Mandi district pertaining to Uttrā-kūla. This Uttrā-kūla (literally ‘the north bank’) was apparently a division of the kingdom of Prāgyotisha lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the description of the boundaries of the above land, the Guākuchi inscription mentions several times Mahāgauri-Kāmākāta-gāthārā-sūkha-or (or dēva-sakha)-āṅgana-Pāngōri-bhāmī, i.e., the land called Pāngōrī which was a gift land belonging to the deities Mahāgauri and Kāmēśvara. The names of the hill Kāmākāta and the god Kāmēśvara would suggest that the goddess Mahāgauri was no other than Kāmēśvari otherwise called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā (literally ‘the goddess with the name Kāmā’) whose temple stands near Gauhatī in Assam. According to the Kālīkā[3]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 73, 92, 117.
[6] DGA/33
Purāṇa,1 Kāmarūpa was one of the four main Śaktā Pithas where resided the god Kāmesvara and the goddess Kāmēsvari (installed on the Nila-parvata). Another passage of the same Purāṇa2 speaks of the hill, on which the Pitha was situated, as Kāmagiri, no doubt the same as Kamayā. The Pithāmaṅgala (Maṅgāpithāmaṅgala), a standard work on the Śaktā Pithas, also connects the Yoni-pitha with Kāmākhyā on the Kāmagiri.3

It has been suggested4 that the capital of the second line of Prājñātisika kings, called Hadapāravara in our record, was probably situated at Daha-Parbatīya in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. Although nothing can be said definitely on this point, the find of the present record in that area seems to support the suggestion. Hapōsagrāma, which was the village granted by the charter under discussion, cannot be satisfactorily identified. It was situated in the Svalpa-Maṅgāka (literally the smaller Maṅgāka) maṇḍala (district) pertaining to the Uttarā-kūla division which, as already indicated, is also known from other records of the ancient kings of Prājñātisika.5 Interesting in this connection is also the mention of another similar division called Daksinā-kūla, no doubt lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in Balavarman’s inscription.6 The name Svalpa-Maṅgāka suggests the existence of another maṇḍala called Brijan-Maṅgāka or the bigger Maṅgāka; but nothing can be said in regard to the territorial unit with the exception of the fact that it lay to the north of the Brahmaputra. Akṣidhākikā and Dirghānga, which are mentioned as boundaries of Hapōsagrāma and appear to have been names of villages, also cannot be located with any amount of certainty. The word Ṛtuṣa in the name of the god Ṛtuṣa-Śālīn, a dilapidated temple of whom was rebuilt by Vanamālavarmā, may be geographical or personal name referring either to the area where the temple was standing or to the man who was responsible for the original temple and the installation of the god. But it is difficult to be definite on this point, although persons named Ṛtuṣa are known from Indian literature.

Prājñātisika, famous in ancient literature, was the country, the heart of which lay in the modern Gauhati region of Assam. From the fourth century A. C., sometimes the name of the country is also given as Kāmarūpa, a designation possibly associated with that of the goddess Kāma, Kāmesvari or Kāmākhyā.7 According to Chinese sources,8 the boundary between this country and Purandaravāna or North Bengal was the river Karatoṭ, and to the east of Kāmarūpa “the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the south-west barbarians [i.e. China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao.” The territory called Upasaripattana in the records of Vanamālavarmā is not known from other sources. Since, however, the name seems to indicate literally ‘the town above,’ this region, which was apparently not far from Prājñātisika, may have been no other than the hilly eastern land mentioned by the Chinese and referred to above. In line 16, while showing his knowledge in the science of erotics, the author mentions the women of the Karna country which may be roughly identified with the Kaināja-speaking area of South-western India.

We are thankful to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabria who has kindly offered some suggestions for the improvement of the transcript and translation of the inscription.

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1 Chapter 14, verse 45: Kāmarūpa-mahā-pīṭha taḥa Kāmākhyānī Śālīn | Yoni cha pāraṇā-dīnakṣaṇa

2 Chapter 1, verse 42: Kāmarūpa? Kāmagirānasya pāṭaṇaḥ-pīṭha-mandalam.

3 Cf. The Śaktā Pithas, p. 47; Yoni-pīṭham Kāmagirān Kāmākhyānī Śālīn dhritā.

4 Kāmarūpa-mahā-pāla, introduction, p. 23m.

5 Vid. ibid., pp. 80, 116, 121.

6 Ibid., p. 72.

7 The Śaktā Pithas, p. 13.

8 See Watters, On Yuan Ch’eng’s Travels in India, Vol. II, pp. 185-37.
TEXT

First Plate

1. Siddham | Svasti | Śrīmat-Kailāś-bhūbhūt-prithu-kanaka-śilā-śaṅchay-śapīlaṅ-śotthair-śaṅkt-air-hēma-paṅk-śvīla-tu-

2. hina-jaḍaḥ | siktā-vaiṁāni-sārthāḥ | ambhāḥ-Śrīdā-Śrīsaktā-Sivā-vaiṁā-kēśa-hasta
cyutair-vaḥ nākē.

3. āś-dru-prasūn-air-arunīta-salī-śvīt-sa Lōhitya-simhāh | [1*] Sa pumātu Pūnakū vō yau
nātīyē svarādhī-

4. ni-jalām | kumgaṁ rēchaka-vātēna tāmākāpraṅāyīhama | [2*] Naraka iti sūnāṁ-śaṅd-Ādīvarākasya bhu-

tan-nihāya cha sri-

6. aṅtau Bhagadatta-Vajradatt-ākhyan | tasya santau tad-vanīt-karupā-vilāpa-hri-
hriyāyōnā | [4*] Saṃprāṭē Bhagadattē
da-

7. śrīmat Prāgjyōṭīśah-aḥhindāśatvam | vanam-itarō-pi tad-ōtya prūśādayad-Īsva
tapasa | [5*] Tushāṅ(aṅtējōnā
da-

8. tēna taama ātatham Uparipattan aḥhindāśatvam | Prāgjyōṭīśah-aḥhindāyana kālēna ta[da*]-
nvaya-āpy āpy | [6*]

9. Taṣy-ānvayē-ḥūrē-kṣhitipāla-maṅuli-māṣikya-raģa-sphurit-āḥhir-ḥīthaḥ | Prāgjyōṭīśah-

10. saṅha kāñcita-vairī-vaṅgha Sālambha ītī-vadha vāmaḥbhaya | [7*] Savāyē-vaṅpata-guña-
sampād-vaṅgha-rāga-ānu-

11. rājīta-dig-āntaḥ | Sālambhā-pranukha[ha]* | Śrī-Śaṅkta-antair-maṁbhāpālaḥ | [8*] Divam-āṅḍaṁ-śayasya bhūbhujō-śa-

12. ku-vairī-vaṅgh-ḥūrē | bhrāta saurya-tyagaṁ-saṁśe nāmā-Śrī-bhāt-iśi nripah | [9*] Śrī-Jva-
dēvi-saṅ[ha]*śrī rājī
du-

dōt janaṁ | [10*] Tyāsā-vadha tyā
tu-

svayam yah sampāgāhābāh | [11*]

15. [Dharmma-pravādēśhā]* [Yadhishthīrō yō Bhṛ]mō-ṛi-vaṅgh sa[marē] cha Jīṣṭ[guh] | śkō-
yē-saṅkāra-iti sad-[gu]gō-ṛi(ṣ-yu-

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* From the original plates now preserved in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, and impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The word śvōdaḥ has been used here in the sense of viṣṭāyā.

* The metre of verses 8-9 is Śrīyē. But both of them are defective from the metrical point of view.

* A word like yuktasva seems to suit the context better than adyaya.
16 ghair-nibhâsha-Kuntâ-tanayavram-śūla | [12*] Göpijau-śrānjitā-mānasasya s-te[r]jhy-ēva
vakaśalā pârhita[t]ya* Vîbhô[al]hô[̣j]hô[̣] [14*] nib-
17 śāha-râmâjana-dāha-sadhathan-ādâya samasyayam-sib-ājâgâma | [13*] Varop-ādy-asêshaguna-jñâtan-āyam-vā(m-b)hâms-patyu-
jano na khalu lâghavam-sahhyu-
19 paimi || [14*] Hī yasya mahâdevi viganâya mahâ-nug-abhava-Lakúnûh | Śrî-Mûgâl-
ânhidhânâ pramadâ-ratn-ûṭam-ûri-
t-sûnu-nripa-guna-mahârâta-mâlî-vibhûshâ[ha[~]*] || || tasyâtu(ṣ)ya[Ha]-śêvyam-skhilas-
hûvu-ûnânanda-
21 kâ yâh âsâ-Ìva àśimâ-khyâto jagati Vanamâl-âshâhânâh kashiti[t]-I-
22 sâh || [16*] Jalanidhi-tâsa-vana-mâli-sim-avâdhi-mûdini-patîvâsyâ | yûgâma iti nâma dhâta
êha-
23 krê Vanamânâ iti yasya, || [17*] Prachand-âriti-mattâbha-gata-dhvânt-ûrû-samhati
| divâkârîyâtmas-
24 yēnâ vidârya râna-bhumishu || [18*] Kàhit-tanava-nripa[-]va-mṛavâ-mahâvra-nândra-ûmal-
âvam[ha]rē yēnē [s]phû-
25 tēmâva niyyâkârîyam-utsâry-ûrîtī[u]mi[~]*]r-ûr(a)gahm || [19*] Bhûri-ûrîpta-ûripu-vîra-
vâhini-salâ-va-
26 jran-nru-vikram-ûnâû | yēnâ râjakam-âśishâm-asyata uûristû cihram-ûkha-hartikâ || [20*] Yasya pûタpa-ûhûyâ-
27 va(b)atu-ûripu-jînâcâ-sûmedârûlâh [14*] kēch india[~]*]dīsî vijagrihuh prasahham-ûraû cûma-sûnyayâ || [21*] Rûjânâ-anûyëshââu-
28 ye naìtûm-ûgây-îshâ[~]*]ûripi muñcâhu [14*] yasya ta ēva vibhûtyah bhûmin-dûran-nîpi-
vi,jahul || [22*] Yair-ûbahumkharîh ri[p]a[p]-
29 gâm-ûghatîta mattâ-kari-gata-va(b)âudhâh | tair-ûvikram-sûka-lêt[~]*]yasya-ûmê[~]*]-
julayâh krità[~]*] kàhitipâh || [23*] Dhûr-ûhê Nahu-
30 shasya yēna pâtînâm kîl-ûntarâd-ûlayân saudham bhaktî-nat-ûkalâm-ûraû-ûrûût-ûrîch-
ûrûhû pûnaû | Prâkâyâ-
31 châla-kûta-tângam-ûtulâ-grûm-ûbha-vîgâyajanârû-yuktâ[~]*] Hûtukâ-Sûlânîh kâhitôhu[̣j]-
bhaktiyâ nava[~]*] cûkrûsâû || [24*]

Second Plate : Second Side

32 Yasya-ûnanta-duyutim-ûtisâtâ nāga-lâkē hastantî | diu-nûguñâm âavasita-junâtûm ûkura-ûlûm-cha-
dikahû

* The word 'srîjati' would exit the metre letter.
* There is an ornamental design at this place to cover the space at the end of the verse.
(From a photograph)
As known from the Tepzer plates, this is merely the first stanza of a stanzic in the Kamakhya metre; the latter half of it runs as follows:

sampiya-tadarte-trapti varstra-vanda-madha-rictir  
parait-salpi vichasitarum kirtitre-yogstra-janam.

This verse is followed in that stanza by four more stanzas that are not present in the present record.

The amended text of these verses as given in the Kamaśreya-jana-vaṣṭi (pp. 62-63) runs as follows:

Satya-gāndhikya-taugunta-pralopa-tapga-vikamaśi  
yu-jayati-Dharmaj-ārdy-adri-kānna-Karṇa-muṇḍatitān  
yyastra-pañcha-dānsaka-daśarnā maṁatsara-bhuriṣṭi-dhū massaka dējō  
asaśāci uktaye-prālaya-maśaśi-nayaka  
dīna-āgama-sāgara-nāya-vaśādhy-ātmaśi-nāhauṣtidhā 
ghauṣuṣadhyog-pralopa-rangaka samputki dējō sānovaka gṛiva krittina  
bhām-gāndha-maṁatsa-gaṇja-ṣiva-mahi-pradhā-adi-rutva-nīkṣayam abhāyak  
pradūnte-arpaṇa-arpaṇa nūpān saṁsit kākāro-jo kākā-rogyamān.

The danda in this case as also in the following lines has been used as a comma, is done in English, and is really unnecessary.

The passage sakhā (lines 39-41) is found in the Tepzer plates after ubhaṣa... janaśpadāṇa (lines 41-44).

A passage has been omitted at this place. In the amended text of the Tepzer plates, as given in the Kamaśreya-dūṣaṇa-vaṣṭi (p. 64), the passage missing in the inscription under discussion runs as follows:

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success! May it be well (with us)!

(Verse 1) May that sea which is the Lōhitya protect you—(the sea) which wets the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers that rise from its striking the multitude of big golden rocks belonging to the glorious Mount Kailāśa (and) that are icy cold (and) mixed with golden mud;—(the sea) the water of which is reddened by the flowers of the trees (in the garden) of the lord of paradise, which are fallen from the hands and the (braids of) hair of the best heavenly damsels engaged in playing in the water.

1 There is an ornamental design here between the two stanzas apparently used to separate the prose portion from the following section in verse.
2 The danda is superfluous.
3 Possibly the reading intended is bhujāś as īk-bhujāḥ.
4 As the first half of the stanza ends here, a danda is unnecessary after grīhāḥ which is not required to be joined in sandhi with the following word.
5 The metre requires a short syllable in the place of ṛ. Was the intended name Dēbhātā?
6 The metre requires “ekasūtra.”
7 The word intended may also have been prakāśam (to go with grīhāma) or prakāśap (to go with sandhāta).
8 This passage may be taken as half of a stanza in the Anuvāśaṇ metre.
(Verse 2) May (the god) Pūnika (i.e., Śiva) purify you;—(the god), at whose dance, the water of the celestial river (i.e., the Ganges hidden in the god’s matted hair), being scattered by his exhaling breath, shines like the multitude of stars.

(Verse 3) A son, named Naraka, of Ādiyāraha (i.e., the Primeval Bear or Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation) was born of the Earth (goddess) at (the time of) her rescue;—(the son) who destroyed the prowess of Hari (i.e., Indra) as well in (the affair of) the carrying away of Aditi’s ear-rings.1

(Verse 4) After having killed him (i.e., Naraka), Krīṣṇa, his heart being moved by the lamentations of his wife, allowed his sons, named Bhagadatta and Vajradatta,2 to go (unpunished).

(Verse 5) As Bhagadatta received the lordship of the glorious Prāgjyotisha (country), the other (i.e., Vajradatta) then, having repaired to the forest, propitiatingīvāra (i.e., Śiva) by penance.

(Verse 6) The lordship of Uparipattana was granted to him (i.e., Vajradatta) by him (i.e., the god who was pleased); (the god also granted that) the sovereignty of Prāgjyotisha would belong to his descendants after same time.

(Verse 7) In his family was born one whose footstool was shining with the lustre of jewels on the heads of kings; who was the lord of Prāgjyotisha; who destroyed the warriors of the enemies; (and) who bore the majestic name ‘Śilambha’.3

(Verses 8-9) The brother, by name Arathi; the (very) fire to numerous enemies (and) unequalled in valour and munificence, of the king (i.e., Śilambha) who was joined4 with the monarch beginning with Śilastamihha and ending with Harsha, who had ascended heaven and dyed the horizon with the colour of the flood of the richness of merits of the good kings of old, became king.

(Verse 10) His (Arathī’s) queen, bearing the name Śrī-Jīvadēvi, became gratifying to his heart:—(the queen) who was adorable to a great multitude of people (and) was the source of great splendour as the morning twilight is of strong light.

(Verse 11) The son of that king, from her, was the king of kings the illustrious Harjara, whose two feet were worshipped by the heads of kings (and) who was embraced by the goddess of fortune of her own accord;

(Verse 12) who was (the very) Yudhishtira in religious discourses, Bhima to the host of enemies, (and) Jaihnu (i.e., Arjuna) in fighting; who, although one, acquired the onship of Kunti in its entirety (i.e., became equal to the three sons of Kunti) by means of the mass of good qualities (mentioned above).

(Verses 13-15) The goddess of fortune, having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Viṣṇu whose heart was amused by the milk-women, (and) having gathered (in herself) the beauty pertaining to the persons of all women, came here (and) became that king’s queen gratifying to his heart, by name Śrī-Mangalā, the best of jewels that were women, thinking thus: ‘He bears the mass of qualities in their entirety, inclusive of complexion, of the bearer of the dress (i.e., Viṣṇu), my husband, of unequalled valour; for that reason I have become the chief queen of this king; indeed I have not incurred disrespect in the world’.5

(Verse 16) The son of that king (i.e., Harjara), the stool under whose lotus-like feet was touched by the crowns of all kings, was king Yamaśāla by name, who was born of that queen; who

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1 Cf. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X, section 59.
2 The Mahābhārata (XIV, sections 75-76) makes Vajradatta a son of Bhagadatta.
3 See note on the text of this stanza.
4 For the 1st or Perfect Tense used here for the Present, see Kāmarāja-sūras-dviti, pp. 183-4.
was famous in the world; beautiful (and) the delighter of the whole earth like the moon; (and) who was adorned with the garland of big jewels that are royal qualities;

(Verse 17) whose name the god of destiny made 'Vanaśī' (literally, 'one wearing a forest-garland') saying, 'Verily he is fit for the lordship of the earth bordered by the row of forests on the shores of the ocean (around it)';

(Verse 18) who, having dispersed on the fields of battle the great mass of darkness that was the assemblage of the intoxicated elephants of the mighty enemies, shone like the sun;

(Verse 19) who, having dispersed the mass of darkness that was the enemies, shone distinctly like the moon in the clear sky that was the kings born in the family of the monarch who was the son of the Earth (i.e., Nara
daka);

(Verse 20) by whom, having destroyed completely with his sword of great strength the assemblage of kings who were the (very) thunderbolt to the hills that were the armies of the warriors of their excessively proud enemies, the goddess of fortune was made for a long time to enjoy only one husband (i.e., his own self);

(Verse 21) for fear of whose valour, some of the kings, though they were subduers of numerous enemies, fled inopportunely towards (different) directions while others readily took up the cowerie (to fear their conqueror, i.e., to become his servants);

(Verse 22) out of fear for whom, even the kings, who in a battle against (other) rulers shot sharp arrows, (themselves) left their territories far away (behind them);

(Verse 23) to whom, whose only weapon was his valour, those kings, who effected formations of the assemblage of intoxicated elephants against (other) enemies, folded their palms;

(Verse 24) who was the king that bore the burden of Nahu
dha by making new again, out of devotion, the palatial temple of Hē
tuka-Sālin (i.e., Śiva styled Hē
tuka) whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down through reverence—(the temple), that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, was as high as a peak of the snow-mountain (i.e., the Himālaya), (and) was endowed with incomparable villages, elephants and prostitutes (i.e., dancing girls styled dē
dāśī);

(Verse 25) whose excessively white (fame) exceeds the radiance of (the jewel of) Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (different) directions.

(Lines 33-47) From the illustrious Hadapēśvara which has the people of all the Varghas (viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kāshtriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra) and Āramas (viz. Brahmacarya, Gārhaṇthya, Vānaprastha and Bhāiksha) well contented; which is the abode of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men (or, merchants) and learned men; the big main roads of which are crowded by the great kings who are seated on beautiful elephants and horses and in palanquins and are going and coming with a view to attending on the lord of the earth (i.e., Vanamā); which has the whole of its space always obstructed by the armies of innumerable elephants, horses and foot-soldiers; (and which has the river Lavaṁya running by it)!

(the river) which has its water perfumed by the fragrance of the flowers fallen (into it) from the numerous creepers shaken by the hissing sounds produced by the host of serpents frightened by the cries of the peacocks resting in the woods of tall trees rising from the hills on both of its banks; which carries the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising

* It seems to have been believed that Nahuśa was a great devotee of Śiva.

* See note on the text of the stanza.

* The reference seems to be to the milky-way.

* See note on the text of the section in question.
from the smoke of the black sandal tree (at that time of year) being burnt by the conflagration of the forests near the gardens in it (i.e., Hadjapūravāra); which has its current filled by the waters that are purer owing to their constantly washing the slopes of Mount Kāmanāka, having its head made an abode by the glorious Kānāvāra and Mahāgaumi-bhūjākā, whose foot-stands are beautified by the foliage that is the matrix of the jewels in the diadems of all the gods and demons which has the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musk of the musk-deer that grazes on the shoots of the Granthaprāṇa plants in the forests on the hills on its two banks—here (some of the deer) die by themselves, there a hand of them killed by tigers (and) elsewhere some of them left by a group of wolves after having killed them and eaten up half of their flesh; which has its water smelted (as it is) mixed with the musk anointment applied to the sides of the pot-like breasts of the girls sporting in the water while taking bath; (and which has the lands adjoining both its banks adorned with boats)——

(the boats) which have their (upper) part open and adorned with numerous loads like the prostitutes having their limbs visible and adorned with many ornaments; which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like the young girls; the speed of which is enhanced by sharp strokes (of the oars) as the passion of the women of Karmātica increases at violent sexual enjoyment; (and which bear showries like the prostitutes).

(Lines 47-48) That Purānāvara Puramāhārttīrakā Mahārājākāroja the illustrious Vanamālayavarmadeva, who is a devout worshippers of Mahāvāra (i.e., Śiva), meditates on (or, is favoured by) the feet of his mother and father, (and) is in good health;——

(Lines 48-51) having made (the village called) Harīgrāma, attached to the Svalpa-Mahāgūra district in Uttara-kūla, a seat for the entrance of policemen and poons (or, regular and irregular troops), (and) unenowled with (the right to enjoy) the tax on temporary tenants——(the village) as far as these eight boundaries: Akaśājākhā in the east, the tank of Chauḍākā in the south-east, Dirghāṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-ush in the west, a Sāmāl tree in the north-west, a big embankment in the north, (and) the tank of Dhavala in the north-west——

(Verse 26) A great Bhuṭta (i.e., learned Brāhmaṇa), named Jōjāṭa, was born in the Kali age, who was munificent, exceedingly truthful, kind to others, honest (and) respected by the good people; whose mind was contented by (drinking) the nectar that is the meaning of the scriptures; who was the sole repository of the three Vedas; who was engaged in the study of the Vedas; who belonged to the shambha of the Sāman (i.e., Sāmakāśa) (and) the Sāmpīlīya gōṭra; who was a store of virtues; (and) who was esteemed by the kings.

(Verse 27) These sons were born to him, viz., Chūḍāmaṇī, Dājōhīkā and Garga as well as the noble-minded Śambha——(the sons) who were endowed with good qualities; who illuminated their own family (and) were skilled in the performance of ceremonies; who applied their minds to the good of living beings; who were modest; (and) who were united and did not separate from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

(Verse 28) The king, having delivered his order (and) being pleased, now granted by ordering especially the village called Harīṣ by an auspicious day to the Brāhmaṇa Chūḍāmaṇī, the eldest among them (i.e., the four sons of Jōjāṭa)——

(Lines 57-58) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself; therefore (the gift of the king) should be approved of by all.

(Verse 29-30) Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

1 See note on the text of the passage in question.
2 This sentence is incomplete, its end can be traced in verse 28 below.
3 [DGA/33]
The inscription1 edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied by me during my tour in the Telugu Districts in the year 1949-50. It is engraved on a neatly dressed granite slab set up in front of the small dilapidated temple of Surabhiśvara, the earliest among a group of temples situated at the confluence of the Gupplakamma and a small rivulet called Rājajāgū, about a mile north of the village Turimella in the Gundlupet taluk of the Kurnool Districts. Besides the group of these temples which range in date from the 8th to about the 16th century A.C., the extensive site at this confluence shows marks of early habitation like large-sized bricks, partially exposed brick structures, varieties of potsherds and old coins occasionally discovered; as I am told.

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab, the broad side and its adjoining narrow side, the lines of writing running one from one side to the other and the entire inscribed surface occupying a space roughly a foot and half square. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannada script of the period. The damage sustained by the edges of the slab has resulted in a few letters of the writing getting obliterated, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved.

The paleography of the record calls for some remarks, as it forms the main basis for dating it. This inscription, like most of the stone records of the early Chalukyas, does not furnish any details beyond the regnal year of the king to enable us to fix its precise date. Before taking up the question of fixing the date of our record, a few noteworthy features of its paleography may briefly be recorded. The initial ś occurs twice in śaḥandra (line 4) and Śaṅkumara (line 6) and the vowels a and i in Ujñiśi (line 7) and Ēruśi (line 8) respectively. It is worth noting that in u the ends of the line denoting the serif, instead of pointing upwards, point downwards as if standing for the c sign. But for this peculiarity, the form of this letter compares well with its similar forms occurring in the Alīhoḷe inscription of Pulakēśa IV. The vowel i is almost indistinguishable from the consonant ē as except that the latter has a broader and more pronounced base than the former. The medial ā usually inscribed by a downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side as in rā, sā (line 2), ṛ (line 3), etc., is in the case of ā denoted by a shaft at the top of the letter; cf. ṛ in Cākera (line 7) and bhāṭā (line 9). The Dravidian r has two forms; in one the circle forming the body of the letter is divided into four equal quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles as in r in Ēruśi (line 3), while in the other it is divided into three chambers by a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line as in r in ṛ-yāvaśa (line 8), etc. The forms bhājyamī, ṭuṇyaj-yaśa (line 6), cākāṭā (line 8) are to be obviously taken as the honorific plural forms of the corresponding expressions in the singular as bhājyam-ṇaṇḍa, etc. In cākāṭa śatam in line 10, the use of both the class nasal s with dh in the conjunct consonant sālha and the anuvāra in place of the one or the other may be noted. The cursive form of mute m occurs in puraṣāram (line 4) and ēkāṭa (line 9).

Of orthographical peculiarities, the consonant following the rūpaḥ is doubled in rulha in pravardha (line 3), but not in rta in carta (line 5); the form varekha (line 5) is used for varaham and the use of the ē sign in prīti in prīthvē (line 1) is redundant.

2 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, text lines 19, 18.
The language of the introductory portion of the inscription is Telugu and of the operative part of it is Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse svadattōṃ paradattāh vō, etc., attributed to Vyāsā. As in early Telugu records, we meet here with such archaic expressions as Bhatarukīnum, samutṣatānuvābul, catu, etc. The donnative part of the record consists of a single sentence in Sanskrit which is neither accurate in its syntax nor precise in its expression, using the nominative singular mātā in place of the instrumental mātrā and the expression Bhāṭṭārakā for Bhāṭṭāraka. The object of the inscription is a gift of 150 units of land to Gōvrisahāna-Bhāṭṭārakā by the mother of Ujjainipāsā, the dear son of Ākukama and the right-hand man of Goggi-Bhāṭṭāra, in the second augmenting year of the reign of Sātāśāraya Prīthivivallabha Mahārājādhirāja Vikramādiṭṭya Paramāṇavara Bhāṭṭāra when Ujjainipāsā was ruling over the Ėruva vīkṣaya with the city (nāgara) (Tūru)kaṭā as its capital (adhiṣṭhāna).

Among the Chālukyas of Bādami, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. The first was the son of Pulakēśī II, the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja and many other kings both of the north and the south, among whom were the Mālavas. There are as many as ten copper-plate grants issued by this Vikramāditya, of which some are spurious. But of stone records pertaining to his reign, strangely enough, there are incredibly few. Indeed the only stone inscription that could be definitely assigned to Vikramāditya I is the Dīnagudhi record, for, it is dated in the 27th year of the reign of a Vikramāditya Satyāśraya who could be no other than the first of this name inasmuch as his namesake and great-grandson, Vikramāditya II, reigned only for a little more than a decade, 731 to 747 A.C. This inscription, it is worth observing, gives the latest date so far known for Vikramāditya I, two years beyond the date (680 A.C.) hitherto assigned to him. A close comparison, in the formation of individual letters, of this record with the Turimeśa's inscription reveals certain interesting features. Apart from the similarity of the letters in general in both, a certain development in the palaeographic features of the Dīnagudhi epigraph such as the later and more developed form, in place of the closed archaic four chambered shape, of g marks it definitely later than the Turimeśa record, later at least by a quarter of a century. In other words, the record under review is earlier than the Dīnagudhi inscription by at least 25 years and therefore belongs to the early years of the reign of Vikramāditya I, to wit, his second year as the record itself states. That this is indeed so could easily be confirmed by a glance at the general get up and the forms of individual letters in this and in the Alhoj inscription of Pulakēśī II.

2 Bhāṭṭārakā, the nominative singular in Prakrit for Bhāṭṭārakā, would not fit in here; it should have been Bhāṭṭārakāṃ to convey the dative or the genitive sense in Prakrit.
3 The word expressing units of measurement seems to have been omitted in the text after āpā-purkāhā before kābhām.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 281. Most of the copper-plate grants of Pulakēśī's successors recount these exploits while describing the king.
5 Subsequent to Riehl's List (above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 5, Nos. 18 to 22), five more records have come to light and they are (1) the Madras Museum plate (C.P. No. 9 of 1906-07); (2) the Talarāfikā plates (C.P. No. 8 of 1906-07; above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.); (3) the Gudral plates (C.P. No. 3 of 1909-10, above, Vol. X, p. 109 ff.); (4) the Sāvanur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 150 ff.); and (5) the Honmar plates (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1939, pp. 129 ff.). Of these the first is considered spurious.
6 No. 364 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; SII, Vol. X, No. 24, app. p. xxx. An inscription on a stone block at Annavaram-aghāhām in the Nellore District has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this king (Mys. Rep. on S. L. E., 1023-24, p. 29 and plate). But the later developed forms of j and b found in this record make such an assignment highly improbable. The record may, on the contrary, be assigned to Vikramāditya II in whose inscriptions the later forms of these letters occasionally appear.
7 Plate opposite p. 163 below.
The inscription refers to a chief who is described as the righthand man of Goghi-Bhakāra and the dear son of Ālakumara. He bears the rather unusual epithet Ḫapēpāhaka (Ṽikramadītiya’s son). This sounds more like a title than a name, a title probably acquired by him as a result of a terrifying campaign that he must have undertaken against Ujjain (Ujjain). Who could this unnamed hero be? An inscription at Aṭhāje in the Hingugū ṭhānak in the Bijapur District of Bombay State mentions a certain Ālekomara Śīga (i.e., Ālakumara’s son Śīga) as the founder of a temple. This record which refers itself to the reign of Vikramadītiya I is inflated but could be assigned palaeographically to the period of Vikramadītiya I. If this Śīga, the son of Ālekomara could be identified with the unnamed son of Ālakumara of our record, it would not be impossible that this Śīga found an opportunity of following his successor in a campaign against Ujjain and of showing his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the spolia of the Kṛuva viśaya. It may be recalled that it was Pulakētṛ II who distinguished himself as the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānayakura. His conquests were by far the most widely spread and included among the conquered, the Māhāva. Whether Śīga abhū Ḫapēpāhaka obtained the spolia of Kṛuva as a reward for his valour from Pulakētṛ II himself or from his son Vikramadītiya I when the latter re-established his authority in the south after a temporary set-back following the defeat of his father, Pulakētṛ II, at the hands of the Pallavas, is more than what could be said at this stage. As regards Goghi Bhakāra who figures in the capacity of a master or liege lord of Ālakumara’s son, a chief of this name born of the Chālukya family and bearing the title Mahāśvētā accepts in stone inscriptions of the Māyore State. It is interesting to note that one of these epigraphs ascribes the title Ujjalākāra or apparently to this same chief. But all these records are assigned to the 10th century A.C. and therefore the chief mentioned in them must be different from Goghi-Bhakāra of our record.

Of the place names, [Turu]jātāka is obviously the present Turinella, the capital of the record. Legend connects it with the mythical story of the sage Jamadagni and his celestial cow Saraswati. The later inscriptions at this village refer to the place as Jamadagni śēna and mention the temple as that of Sarasvati. The story goes that king Kārtavijaya’s son, who had visited the village once with his retinue and was amazed at the mysterious powers of the celestial cow which granted anything that its owner wished for. Possessed with the desire to own this cow, the king demanded it of the sage and took it from him by force which resulted in dire consequences not only to the king himself but to generations of the Kārtavijaya after him at the hands of Parakrama, the son of Jamadagni. The word Turinella or Turinilla (Karu, meaning cow and maṇḍa corrupted into maṇḍa or drive?), as the village name goes, denoted the spot where the cow was driven.

The territorial division Kṛuva-viṣayya seems to find the earliest mention in this record. It was a small principality on the borders of the Kurumol, Nellore, and Cuddapah Districts and was

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 286 and plate, text lines 3-5. Dr. Fleet remarks that this record might belong to the reign of either Vikramadītiya I or Vikramadītiya II.

2 Among the early Teppa-Chadās figures a Sakāṭvēra. Except for a vague similarity of this name to Ālakumara, there is nothing to suggest any relationship between them.

3 Among the successors of Pulakētṛ II, neither his son Vikramadītiya I nor the latter’s great-grandson Vikramadītiya I claim any campaigns against the Māhāva. Vikramadītiya and Vikramadītiya I are fought with the kings of the north, but they do not specifically mention the Māhāva among them. The latter’s Vikramadītiya’s pre-companions seem to have confided themselves mainly to the south, especially to the Pallavas.


5 Ind., Vol. XI, Intro., p. 9.

6 Mr. M. Vakakarimayya suggests another derivation of Turinella from Turutākāra, Turutākāra would, in Teppa, correspond to Turunadu and this may have undergone changes like Turumadagala, Turunella, Turinjala and Turinella.
the dominion of one of the branches of the Teleng-Chóda chief who held sway over it about the beginning of the 15th century A.C. Members of this branch attached the name Eruva to their own names as a distinctive surname of their family to indicate perhaps their political sway over that territory, or, at times, to distinguish themselves from members bearing similar names but belonging to a different family. That their sway over this division could be traced to a considerably earlier period, almost coeval with the record under review, is proved by an inscription in characters of the 8th century A.C. on a sepantapadaśa panel at Turimella itself which mentions the name Eruva-Mahādevi. It is not unlikely that this Eruva-Mahādevi was the wife of Ālakumara and the unnamed mother of the chief who called himself Ujjendipācha and whom we have identified with Šinga, the son of Ālakumara of the Aihole record. A few later records copied in this region furnish some more details regarding this ancient division. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Kākatya king Gaṇapatiśāma dated in Saṅka 1164 refers to this tract as a Thrice-Seventy division with Krocchhena as its capital. Later still, in Saṅka 1324 during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harīhara II, it is mentioned as Eruva-nādu and as a division in Udayagiri-nāyika. A copper-plate grant of a later date belonging to king Anhyutaraśa mentions the same nādu as situated in Kochcheriśaśaśīna. It will be evident from the statements in these inscriptions that this division which originally covered a small area round about Turimella at the time of the record under review, later spread far wider, covering a considerable area of the western portion of the Nellore District from Kochcheriśaśaśīna in the Darsi Division right down to the river Pennār.

The gift as well as its recipient deserve a few remarks. The unit of land usually expressed by the word aṣṭaraṇa that was generally current at the period of our record seems to have been omitted here. Another instance where this term is similarly left out occurs in the Dommara-Nandyaśa plates of Puṇyakamāra. The recipient of the gift, Gōvraśāna-Bhāṭjaraka is possibly identical with the god Surabhāśvara, for surabhā is a synonym for gū, "cow".

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**TEXT**

1 Ōṅ[4]** Svasi[1]** aśramat [ Satyārāya Śri-Priyāchārīri-
2 vallabha-Mahārīśadhirāja-Vikrāmāditya-Paramē
3 śvara-Bhāṭjarukāṃ aśramad-unmatra-pravardhanāna-vijaya-
4 rāja-satvataśaśrāhulā-chandrasūra-parassārant(th)
5 dvitiya-varhaṃ-pravartaṃ mānapati kānu ( [ ] Goggi-Bhāṭamar dakkhiṇa-

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1 C. P. No. 8 of 1911-12; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.
2 As. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50, No. 36.
3 Ibid., No. 40. The relevant portion of the inscription reads Krocchhena aśramadunmaśa-mahādeva-dvāraśūtanam.
4 Ibid., No. 32; the exact wording in the inscription is Udayagiri-adnyānābhara Śrī-madhava ।
5 Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, C. P. No. 16, p. 47; line 21—Śrīva-madhava-śrī nagari-Kochcheriśana-
entoṇi.
6 Above, Vol. X, p. 102, the Gedvin plates of Vikramāditya I; ibid., Vol. XI, p. 339, the Mahāpāda plates of Puṇyakamāra, etc.
8 Represented by a symbol.
9 Danda unnecessary.
10 The i sign over the consonant is redundant. Read Priyāchārī.
Sometime before February 1891, the late Mr. Man Mohan Chakravarti secured two copper-plate inscriptions, on temporary loan for examination and publication, from the Rāghavādaśa Matha at Purī, Orissa. The results of his study of the inscriptions were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 123-27. Both the charters were issued by a king named Kulasambha belonging to the Sulî family which Chakravarti identified with the Eastern Châlukya dynasty. He even suggested the identification of the issuer of the charters in question with the Eastern Châlukya numarch Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III who began to rule about the middle of the ninth century and alternately with the Châlukya-Chôla king Kulottunga I who reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. and the first quarter of the twelfth, although the plates were assigned by him on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century. The identification seems to have been suggested to him by the occurrence of the name of Kalinga in his transcripts of the two inscriptions. Chakravarti further observed, "The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has been badly transcribed... The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision." As the two inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself", Chakravarti transcribed only one of the two grants (marked by him as A) but quoted the text of six lines from the other charter (marked by him as B), which give details of the grant recorded in the latter. According to him the legend on the seal of A reads krimāda Kulasambhabadha and that on the seal of B krimāda Kulastambhabadha. He also believed that both the grants mention kulastambha's son or governor (kâvîrā), named Kachchhādēva, and that while A records the grant of the village of Kâikanir in the Uḍâ-khanḍa sub-division in favour of the Brâhmaṇa Madhuvādina, son of Vēla, B records the grant of the village of Pâjâra in the same sub-division in favour of the Brâhmaṇa Vēlaka or Vēla.

Unfortunately the facsimiles of the inscriptions were not published along with Chakravarti's paper and it was impossible for scholars to verify the correctness of his transcripts and interpretations of the two Purī plates of Kulasambha. But his identification of the Sulî family with the

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1 This letter is completely damaged on the stone.
2 Both these letters are partly damaged on the stone.
3 These two letters are again partially damaged. A part of the lower portion of s and part of the s sign attached to it are visible on the stone; so also the right half of k is visible.
4 The stroke is redundant here.
5 The numeral is redundant.
Eastern Chalukya dynasty and of Kulastambha with Gunaka-Vijayaditya III or Kulottunga I has generally been discarded. On the strength of other inscriptions of the family since discovered we have suggested, while editing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha in this journal, that Chakravarti's Kōdālī-Kachchhādāva of the Sulki family never existed as the intended reading of the passage in question is undoubtedly Kōdālīkāt sa ṣasa (or, dēva).

Recently we had an opportunity to examine the second (B) of the two plates, of which a few lines only were transcribed and translated by Chakravarti. A careful examination, however, enabled us to trace numerous mistakes in Chakravarti's views on the inscription. In the grant portion of the record, he read a passage as karastari pla 10 and translated it as "with Karaha tree worth (or rent!) ten pāla". The actual reading of the passage is, however, kara-sāvva ru-pla 10 which shows that the inscription, like those mentioned in connection with the plates of Narinderchavala, records a kara-sāvva (i.e. a grant liable to pay a fixed revenue) for which the rent, apparently annual, was fixed at ten Pālas of silver. Chakravarti therefore could not realise the nature of the document. It was also noticed that a large number of errors that crept in his transcript and interpretation of the other plate (A), which he fully transcribed and translated, could be easily eradicated with the help of the inscription under review. It will be seen that most of his suggestions (including the one relating to the mention of Kaliṅga in regard to the two records, which have so long been troubling scholars, can quite easily be proved to be wrong.

This is a single plate measuring about 9 inches in height, 5 inches in breadth and 0·1 inch in thickness. A circular lump of metal (nearly 2 inches in diameter and 0·4 inch in thickness), soldered on a semi-circular projection in the middle of the top side of the plate represents the seal; on which are counter-seal the usual emblems of the Sulki family of Orissa. These emblems are much corroded, although the crescent above, the legend in the middle and the standing boar to proper right below can be made out. The legend seems to read either śrī-Kulastambhadēva or śrī-Ranastambhadēva. The preservation of the plate and of the writing on it (especially on its reverse) is not quite satisfactory. There is a break in the plate affecting the writing on lines 5-7 on the obverse and lines 24-26 on the reverse. The weight of the plate is 90 tolas.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the charter closely resembles other grants of the family including the Hindol plate (which belongs, as will be seen below, to the issuer of the charter under review), edited above. Although nothing requires special mention in these respects, a word has to be said now in regard to the date of this record as well as of other inscriptions of the Sulki family. It has been shown in our paper on the Hindol plate that the Sulki owed allegiance to the Bhaua-Karas and that the Talcher plate of Ranastambha (grandfather of the issuer of the Hindol plate and of the present charter as well) is dated in the year 103 of the Bhaua-Kara era. But relying on the suggested identification of the era of the Bhaua-Kara with the Harsha era, an earlier date was then assigned to Ranastambha and his grandson. It has, however, been shown recently that the beginning of the Bhaua-Kara era falls somewhere about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.D. The Talcher plate should therefore be ascribed to a date about the middle of the first half of the tenth century and the inscription under review about the end of that century.

The charter begins with the Śiddham symbol and the word ṣaṃsi, which are followed by seven verses forming the introductory part of the document. All the seven verses are found exactly in

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* Ibid., pp. 44 ff. See also JRAS, 1952, pp. 4 ff.
* See below, p. 181, note 2.
* At the era in question probably started from 834 A.C., the date of the Talcher plate (year 103) may actually correspond to 934 A.C. See IHQ, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.
the same order as in the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha and grandson of Rajastambha. But the language of the verses in our document is slightly different from that of the Hindol plate. Moreover, the important verse referring to the son of Rajastambha and father of the reigning king Kulastambha is defective inasmuch as the foot containing the name of Jayastambha as found in the Hindol plate is omitted in the record under review no doubt through the inadvertence of the writer. There is, however, little doubt that Kulastambha who issued the charter under discussion as well as the other Puri (Raghavadasa Matha) plate published by Chakravarti was no other than the issuer of the Hindol plate.

Another interesting fact worth noticing in this connection is that the text of the introductory part in our record closely follows that in the Bhimmagarigarh (Dhenkanal) plate of Kulastambha, although, where this latter mentions Vikramāditya and his son Rajastambha, the present record mentions Rajastambha and his son (name omitted through negligence of the scribe, but known from the Hindol plate to have been Jayastambha). The Bhimmagarigarh plate represents its issuer, king Kulastambha, as the lord of all the Gondrmas with Śākhājoti forming the borderland of his kingdom exactly as in the record under notice. Since the relation of Kulastambha, referred to as issuing the charter, with Rajastambha mentioned in the introductory part is not specified clearly in the inscription, the Bhimmagarigarh plate is generally believed to have been issued by Rajastambha who is suggested to have had Kulastambha as a second name. But we have elsewhere remarked, "The Bhimmagarigarh plate represents Mahārāja Rajastambha as the Śāmkasa (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word saha (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Rajastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Rajastambha". The close resemblance of the Bhimmagarigarh inscription with the record under discussion in regard to both language and style, however, now appears to suggest that the corrupt introduction of the former epigraph actually intended to describe, as that of the present charter, Kulastambha, grandson of Rajastambha. It further appears that the text of the introductory part of the Bhimmagarigarh plate was copied without proper adjustment from a grant of Jayastambha.1

Verse 1 of our inscription, found in most of the Śulki records, is in adoration to the god Girisa, i.e. Siva, while verses 2-3 introduce king Rajastambha of the Śulki family, favoured by the goddess Stambbhiṣavari, as having constructed some temples probably for the god Sadasiva. Verses 4-5 describe Rajastambha's son whose name is inadequately omitted, while the following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha, son of Rajastambha's son, as issuing the charter in question from Kādālīka.

The grant portion of the document, found in prose and follows the introduction in verses represents Mahārāja Kulastambha, called lord of all the Gondrmas, as in good health. A defective passage in the description of the ruler seems to attribute to him the feudatory title samudrigata-

4. Cf. the Mahade plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 223 ff.).
goes on to record the grant of the village of Paḍāra, attached to the Gālī khāyā (subdivision), in favour of Bhāṭṭapotu Velluka who was the son of Āqantī and whose original home was at Āviddhā. The village was given along with its boundaries and the space above the ground (a-ūddīkā); but it was not made a rent-free holding. It was given as a kura-śāsana (i.e. land granted as a rent-paying holding) with a fixed rent of ten Pulas of silver apparently per annum. It is not stated whether the village was sold or given away free of cost; but it was possibly purchased from its owner with the king's approval with the stipulation of an annual rent as in some other cases known from Orissan inscriptions.1

The charter ends with some of the usual imprecatory and beneficentary verses. The language of these stanzas is extremely corrupt as in the case of the kura-śāsana (the Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavalā) edited above.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the location of Kāḷaḷika has been discussed in connection with the Hindol plate edited above. It is probably modern Koalā near Talcher in Dhenkanal. The expression "all the Gōndramas" or "the eighteen Gōndramas", as indicated elsewhere, was possibly used to signify the same thing as Oriya athara-gada-jāta. The Šaṅkhaajōṭiḷā has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region of Upper Orissa. The exact location of the villages Āviddhā and Paḍāra is uncertain.

TEXT:

[Metres: Verse 1 Gītī; verses 2 and 4 Upajītī (Indranājra and Upendranājra); verses 3 and 5 Vasantaśilaka; verse 6 Upajītī (Vasāṣṭha and Indraśūkā); verse 7 Svaydhāra.]

Observe

1 Sūddham 2 Svakṣa(ati) 3 Jāyati sur-śaara-visvad-vidaḥdhara-makuta-
2 bhūtrieḥ-saṃśavam(bhāj)ai[|] 1sai(ai)-maṇa(ni)-mayūka-bhūṣaṇ(a)ja-
3 pīṅga-jāta-bhūra-bhūsam Girīṣh 4 13. Stambhāvaj-
4 rītra)-lavdh(a(bh)aka)-vār-prasāde Śukkī-kuṭe-bhūte-kahī-
5 tipal[|]* kahat-ūṛ(ri)|[|]* ārīmaṁ(maun) Raṇastambhādāva praśitaḥ
6 svatrat-paraṇ-śodvayā† tāpit-ūṛ(ri)|[|] 2) Bhāsvavī(ī)chitra-
7 rucir-ūḍvajja(bh)āra-bhūra-sūbhau(hm)āchāv(hchah) Sudāśiva-pu-
8 r-gāmanīya-mārgaśīr[|]* davālīaīry-naliya-yaśo-dhava-
9 dhavalaiv-anākṣair-yān-ātmanas-тр(i)-tr(i)dvam-udgamīt-ōru-kī(ki-
10 r dział(ri)|[|] 3) Tasya-ātmajō-bhū[|]*lajag-ēka-vi(ī)raḥ [1* ju yaśo la1]1

1 See JRAS, 1932, pp. 4-10.
2 From the original plate.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 The same seems to be the reading in the Hindol plate.
5 Better read "śatika" for the sake of the metre.
6 Read "depa-sūrā", or better "dēpa-sūrā" for the sake of the metre.
7 Read "gāmapana-sūrā", or para-gāmapana-sūrā as in the Hindol plate and other records.
8 Read "śitā-depa-sūrā."
9 Read "ākāra-sūra."
10 The akāra-sūra here are redundant.
11 The second śūla of the stanzas is omitted through inadvertence. In place of the double śūla, followed by the akāra ju, we have to read something like ārīma Jayaṣṭhāka slit ksālīkha as in the Hindol plate, line 2.
12 Read ākāra-sūra."

6 DPA/53
11 sat-khaṅga(dga‘)-nipāta-bhī(ḥītāḥ) smaṃṭaṭāḥ yāntīṇṇāḥ raṃṇī divaśā\[^4\] [[4\]]
12 Yō rāja-chakrā-tilikāḥ sa-vru-āṅguru(ṅ-ārṣu)-pātaḥ\[^u\] da-kāmini(ṇu)-
13 mukha-maṅgala-karpapūraḥ \[^u\] saṅgechit\[^u\]-aṅkāṭa-vadhū-va-
14 daṅ-āravinda\[^u\] dīśa-āṅgakāra-bhīduraḥ saṅubhāi\[^u\] ṣaṇi(bāźi)-
15 va [[5\]] Tasmāt-vāḥdī-bhakti-vairi-vārī(ṛ)tiḥ \[^u\] parākram-ākrā-
16 atā(tnta)-saṃsātra-dī-taṭal\[^u\] dāna-pravṛt-ārdu\[^u\]-kara-pratiti-
17 māṁ(mān) dig-vāraṇ-ēndru-praṇīmō bhavant-sa(t-st̄tal) [[6\]] Kōḍālōka(kāt) cchha(sa-
18 ḍeva-
19 dviṇa-guru-charaṇ-ārūḍhaṇ-āṣa(sa)kṣa-chāṭa\[^u\] śrīmāṁ(mān) durvārṇa-vairi-pra-
20 vara-kari-ghastā-kumbhas-kūṭā(tūṭa)ka-vāraḥ \[^u\] dātā satv-āti(ṛv-āi)ka-nābhāḥ jā-

\[\text{Reverses}\]

20 gāti Pri(Pri)thu-saṃa(h\[^u\]) ya\[^u\] pārthhivāsa(shu) pratū(tū)ta(h\[^u\]) ka(kṛ)chhṝpya-samālava\[^u\]-
21 khaṅga(dga‘)-prakāṣṭha-bhujā-valā-trāśitaḥśāśā[13] satru(h \[^u\] 7\]) Sa-
22 kṣa-Gṛṇirāmōddhitaḥ\[^u\] prama\[^u\]-māhēravah samudga-
23 mitāśeṇha-savda\[^u\]-mahārāja-ārī Kulastambhīdeva(h\[^u\] kuśali*]
24 Śākhhājō(kīkā)-valaya-parākaraṇa\[^u\]-paryantā ma-
25 pūṣābha-sūnma(sūnma) bhāṛiti(vi)n\[^u\] rājanka\[^u\]-[rāja]putra(tra)-mahāsāṃmanda-
26 nagur\[^u\]-aṅgā-sūapi yathā-kuladdhāṅga(h\[^u\] ṛt\[^u\] ṛt) viṣayapatī-midhika\[^u\]-
27 \(\text{ṛ}pāsēcha sa-karaṇa-kalāpa(pūn) yathākriṅ\[^u\] vṛ(bo)dhayatiḥ(tti) kuśala-
No. 23—BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA; REGNAL YEAR 8

(D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund)

Sometime about the middle of the year 1951, reports reached me that Mr. S. C. De, Curator of Archives, attached to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had found an inscribed stone in the vicinity of the well-known town of Bhadrak in the Balasore District of Orissa. I also learnt that the stone, believed to have been originally the lintel of the door of a temple, had been secured for the Orissa State Museum and brought to Bhubaneswar. I wrote to the authorities of the Museum requesting them to send me a few impressions of the inscription for examination; un-

[1] Chakravarti reads: gāthākaṁati vidhiṣum-aṣu bhavataṁ gūḍhā-khaṇḍaḥ, but takes the name of the subdivision to be Ukhānda.
[8] The sūtra is superfluous.
[12] The sūtra vāhakati is preferred apparently because Vāluka received the village (possibly by purchase) as a hero-dāna and not as a revenue-free gift.
[14] Read śāntān.
[16] The reading intended is yanu yanu yadā bhānicc-āvasya tayam taddā phalaṃ. The first half of the stanza is inadvertently omitted.
[17] The intended reading is Mā bhānicc-āvasya, etc.
[18] The intended reading is bhānicc-āvasya cintā-satātā, etc.
[19] The reading intended is Sva-dattāna phalaṃ-dattāna satā, etc.
[20] The second half of the stanza could not be completed owing to want of space.

[The text is a transcription of an inscription found in Bhadrak, Orissa, relating to the reign of a king named Gana.]
fortunately no impression reached me as a result of the correspondence. About the beginning of November in the same year, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra happened to visit Bhubaneswar in the course of a tour that side. He inspected the Bhadrak stone inscription in the Oriya State Museum and copied it. After his return to Calcutta, Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal all the impressions of the above inscription for examination. He also permitted me to edit the record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. C. De for information regarding the discovery of the inscription. "I discovered the inscription", Mr. De subsequently wrote to me, "in the courtyard of the temple of Bhadrakali in a locality about five miles from the town of Bhadrak in the Bhadrak Sub-Division on the 17th of March 1951. I noticed the stone buried in the earth and learnt that pilgrims used to wash their feet on it. Certain scars on the stone attracted my attention. I then dug it out and found the inscription. In the month of June we managed to bring the stone to the Museum. Its upper part is damaged as the villagers used to sharpen their axes on it. I was told that the stone had been brought to the Bhadrakali temple from an adjoining village some years back. The temple of Bhadrakali is an ordinary thatched cottage. So the stone was probably the lintel of some other temple."

The stone bears an inscription in three lines and is unfortunately broken here and there. The state of preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters in all the three lines have either completely or partially broken away, while some akṣaras in line 1 have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. This corrosion is apparently due to the stone being used as an axe-sharpener. The writing covers a space about 44 inches in length and about 7 inches in height. Individual akṣaras are about 12 inches in height.

The characters resemble those of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, of which the test letters are u, a and k. Of the three letters, m and k in our record are almost as developed as in the Allahabad pillar inscription1 of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A.C.), although in one case m seems to exhibit an earlier form. The letter s has its earlier form found usually in the inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The form of i resembles that of the same letter as found in the Allahabad pillar inscription, while letters like e, o, etc., show pre-Gupta forms. The letter a resembles in form the same letter as found in some Mathurā inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.C. and reproduced by Ojha in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, Plate VI, i (cf. the fourth form of s). In a few cases medial a and e seem to be written by lengthening slightly the top part of the consonant respectively towards the right and the left. The inscription exhibits the initial vowel u and the symbols for the numerals 3, 8 and 80. On grounds of *palaeography*, the inscription may be assigned to the period between the age of the Kusānas and that of the Guptas. I am inclined to assign it to a date about the second half of the third century A.C. This date seems to be supported also by the language of the record.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. We know that originally the epigraphic language of the whole of India was Prakrit, that Sanskrit is first found in North Indian epigraphs about the beginning of the Christian era and that it gradually ousted Prakrit from the field of Indian epigraphy. The suppression of Sanskrit by Prakrit in the epigraphic records of the lower part of South India took place as late as the middle of the fourth century A.C. In the early Prakrit inscriptions, double consonants are found to be represented by single letters; but gradually the influence of Sanskrit became noticeable in the Prakrit records, not only in their use of double consonants, but also in the occasional inclusion of Sanskrit words, words and passages. From a study of the Prakrit inscriptions of the various dynasties holding sway over South India, we find

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that double consonants began to appear in such records in the third century A.C.\footnote{For the points raised, see Simar's *Successors of the Sāñcārīkhaṇas*, 1939, pp. 57 and notes, 106; *JHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 88 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 391-2.} As our inscription shows - the use of double consonant only in one case (cf. *aṇā* in line 2, for Sanskrit *āṇa*, instead of the earlier epigraphic Prakrit form *aṇa*), it may reasonably be assigned to the same century. That it has to be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century is suggested again by the Susam inscription\footnote{See Kāmānīyaśekhara, p. 51. Harivarman flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.C., as one of his inscriptions is dated in the Gupta year 510 (828-30 A.D.).} of king Chaudvarvarman who ruled over South-West Bengal (adjacent to North-East Orissa in which Bhadrak; the findspot of our record, is situated) about the middle of the fourth century A.C. and was defeated by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The language of the Susam inscription is Sanskrit and suggests that Prakrit was quoted from the inscriptions of that area at an earlier date.

The Bhadrak inscription begins with traces of a short horizontal line which appears to stand for the nasal *siddham* symbol. This is followed by the word *Mahā[rāja]*. The following two *akṣaras* read: *sṛ[ṇ],* although traces of the vowel-mark are not distinct above the second *akṣara*. This is because the stone is broken here. What comes next has to be read as *Gaṇa*. The tops of all these three letters are damaged owing to the breaking away of a piece of stone as well as to corrosion about the upper parts of the second and third *akṣaras*; but there is hardly any doubt about the reading. Then comes *Śrī [ṛ]a 8 [ṛ].* Traces of the *meṣāra* above as are faintly visible; but the upper right side of the letter is completely corroded. The symbol for *ṛ*, which here resembles the *ṣ* sign reproduced by O'Flaherty from the inscriptions of the Kuṇāśaṇa, in his work, Plate LXXI, (cf. the third symbol for *ṛ*) is partially corroded, traces of the last part being fortunately still slightly visible. The *dauḍa* that follows the numeral is indicated here by a short vertical line. The first half of line 1, besides the *siddham* symbol at the beginning, thus reads: *Mahā[rāja]-sṛ[ṇ]-Gaṇaśa Śrī 8,* in Sanskrit *Mahā[rāja]-sṛ[ṇ]-Gaṇaśa Śrī 8 (śrī[ṇ]a)[ṛ]ṣeṣasva (aṃśvatanār avahāra).* The inscription is therefore dated in the eighth regnal year of a king called *Mahā[rāja] śrī-Gaṇa.* The name cannot be read as *Gaṇa* as there is absolutely no trace of any *u-mātā* attached to *g.* With the name of the king mentioned in our record, we may compare that of *Mahāśrīṣeṣa[ṛ]ṇa śrī-Gaṇa,* known from the Huynhthai copper-plate inscription\footnote{Cf. Nonier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* s.v.; *Buddhaliteratur,* s.v.} of king Harivarman of Assam. In both these cases, *śrī* appears to be an honorific and not an integral part of the name. That the name of the king mentioned in the Bhadrak inscription is most probably *Gaṇa* and not *Srīgaṇa* seems to be suggested by the fact that, unlike *Srīgaṇa,* *Gaṇa* (literally meaning the god *Gaṇeśa* or an attendant of Śiva)\footnote{Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 403.} is actually known to have been used as a personal name in ancient India. *Gaṇa* is the name of the author of the celebrated work entitled *Āśvāryavāsa,*\footnote{Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, 1, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gaṇa.*} while the *Māyā Parāṣkā*\footnote{Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, 1, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gaṇa.*} speaks of a *gṛtā-kāra* named *Gaṇa.*

The second half of line 1 of our inscription reads: [M]aḥ[aṇa]p[ī]ne [ṛ]a 3 [d[a]]n. The upper part of *mā* is corroded. Although the traces now visible would rather suggest a slightly earlier form of *mā* than that of the other cases of the letter in the record, the *akṣara* in question can hardly be read as anything else than *mā.* Parts of *na* are much corroded and the letter is really unrecognisable. *Māhaṇa* (literally meaning *a* mutterer of the *māṇa-mantra, i.e., a particular sacred text or sounds*) is a personal name, while the word *dēva* has been apparently used in the sense of *an image of a god* as in the *Manasasrīt* (VIII, 87) and other works.
of the inscription says that a person named Mūlajapa presented three images for worship to (or installed them in) a particular religious establishment. The name of the establishment is not specifically mentioned in the inscription apparently because the inscribed stone was in view in the temple which housed the images. The temple was probably situated in the modern Bhadrak area which is the findsport of our inscription. Unfortunately the deity or deities represented by the images have not been named and cannot therefore be determined. We know that there was a practice according to which the installation of one or more images of one or more deities would be promised by a person in distress with the hope that he would be relieved of the suffering. Numerous such images, styled dēya-dharma or dēva-dharma in the records on later speciments, have been discovered. In the terminology of similar dedicatory inscriptions, the three images referred to in our record were the dēya-dharma or dēva-dharma of Mūlajapa who installed them in a temple in the vicinity of Bhadrak within the dominions of Mahārāja Āri-Gana in the eighth year of the latter's reign.

In regard to the reading of the second half of line 1, we have to admit that, since this part follows the regnal year, it is tempting to take pa (read pā) before the traces of a damaged sign (tentatively read as) as a contraction of paktē and dāva (read dēva) before as meant for disease. In that case, however, we should expect immediately before pa the name of one of the seasons (viz. grīṣham, cāka and hāmasa) or less probably that of a month. But the reading māda is fairly certain, although the sign read as ū may possibly also be ृ. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out here the name of a season or month; inspite of the fact that one of the twenty seven mahatvaas bears the name Mūla. The name Jyēṣṭhamula is sometimes applied to Jyēṣṭha; but māda is never used as the name of a month.

Line 2 of the inscription begins with cāpa 80. Before this, there are traces of a letter partially broken away along with a piece of stone. Judging from the beginning of the first line of the record, marked by the traces of the sādhā symbol, it is apparent that one or two letters have been completely broken away at the beginning of the second line. A word ending in cāpa and followed by a number would suggest an expression like kulaśāpa, kūrēśāpa, dēyaśāpa, ādiśāpa or nālīkāśāpa all of which were the names of some of the different land-measures of ancient India. Thus the section no doubt refers to eighty measures of land which was apparently granted by Mūlajapa in favour of the temple for the continuation of the worship of the three deities installed by him therein. The partially broken letter before cāpa cannot be satisfactorily read; but it may be a damaged śā. In that case the reading intended may be ādiśāpa.

The rest of the second line of the inscription reads: Mahākūlāpatī-sūpa-Agūṣarmā Pāndaṇa varidamā padekhisāna. Padekhisāna is the same as Pali paticchhitā meaning 'accepted,' while varidamā seems to be the same as Sanskrit varita meaning 'an apportionment'; i.e., an apportioned piece of land in the present case. The sentence thus indicates that the eighty measures of land referred to were apportioned in a locality called Pānda and that the land was accepted by Mahākūlāpatī-sūpa Agūṣarmā apparently on behalf of the temple or religious establishment in question. Agūṣarmā was probably the head of the establishment or less probably the priest in charge of the temple. The epithets sūpa, 'venerable,' and Mahākūlāpati point to his high rank. The expression kulaśāpa, which usually means the head or chief of a family, also indicates a sage who feeds and teaches ten thousand pupils.\footnote{\[It looks more like ka.--K.C.C.\]} See Apta. Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.
in both the cases) remain. Only the upper parts of the next seven letters are visible and they suggest the reading: adhyasa Bhaḍa. The second half of the line, in which some of the letters are damaged, seems to read: Āpavasam [Mahāśaṇa]a Ghaçi Adasama [1]. The last two letters, so far, suggest a Brahmamic name ending in the word āsama exactly as Agiasma-Agnāsama. 

Adasama may be Sanskrit Anasrama. It is thus possible to think that this name is preceded in the record by other names, viz. Bhada (Sanskrit Bhaḍa). Āpavasa (possibly Sanskrit Āpavasaka), Mahāśaṇa (possibly Sanskrit Mahāśaṇa) and Ghaçi (cf. Sanskrit Khalaśa). The possibility of the existence of the word adhyasa(s)ka in the damaged first half of the line would suggest that it was preceded by the name of the locality where the persons mentioned resided. But what their relation was with the grant recorded in the inscription cannot be determined with certainty. If they were merely witnesses to the transaction, they were probably residents of a locality near the gift land at Pānida.

Mūlaśaṇa Gaṇa, during whose reign the inscription was engraved about the second half of the third century A.C., is not known from any other source. He seems to have been a ruler of the ancient Utka country bounded by the rivers Vaitaraṇi and Kanṣāi (ancient Kapiśa) and lying between the lands inhabited by the Vṛcchikas and the Kaliṅgas. He was probably an independent monarch like the kings of Pusikaraṇa (modern Pokharna on the Damodar in South-West Bengal), who are known from the Susa inscription. As already indicated above, king Chandravarman of Pusikaraṇa was overthrown by the Gupta emperor Śamudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.C. Whether the Utka country was also conquered by Śamudragupta about the same time is as yet unknown. The Susa inscription of the Gupta year 290 (569 A.C.), however, show that imperial Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in Kaliṅga and presumably also in Utka. Although it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe the conquest of Kaliṅga and Utka to a particular Gupta monarch, it is possible to suggest that the event took place before the death of Kumāra-gupta I, grandson of Śamudragupta, in 455 A.C., as the successors of that monarch do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the annexation of such far off territories. These conquests should better be attributed to Śamudragupta II or to his son Chandragupta II Vikramaditya described as krūṣa-prathā-jay-ārtha in one of the Udyanāgarī inscriptions (cf. also the reference to his dig-ajaya in the Māhāraṇi inscription). As however Utka is not mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription in connection with the victorious campaigns of Śamudragupta, the second alternative seems preferable. Whether the rulers of Arjuna, mentioned in that record as overthrown by the Gupta monarch, included a ruler of Utka cannot be determined.

We have said that the eighty measures of land granted by Mūlaśaṇa were apportioned in a locality called Pānida. The place may not have been far away from Bhaḍrak, near which the inscription has been found. I have not succeeded in identifying the locality.

TEXT:

1 [Siddham]" ["]* Maḥāśaṇa Gana sa[ri] 8(1) [Mūlaśaṇa] diśvā 3 daśā

---

1 Cf. Mahāśaṇa, III, 114, 2; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179.
2 Cf. Rājaguru, IV, 38; above, loc. cit. Utka seems later to be known as the Īdra country, no doubt after the name of an allied tribe of that name. The Īdras may have originally inhabited parts of Northern Utka.
3 Rājaguru, loc. cit.
4 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
5 Cf. Schott, Inscriptions, pp. 272, 275 ff.
6 In this connection, it may be noted that the Māhāraṇi inscription attributes to Chandragupta II the conquest of a country on the Southern Sea.
7 From the impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Chelton.
8 Expressed by a symbol which is faintly visible.
TRANSLATION.

May there be success! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious Mahārāja Gopa. By Mūlajapa are given 3 idols (and also) 80 āgṛha (of land). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Pāṇida is accepted by the venerable Agnamsa (Agniśarman), the Mahākulaṇḍi Bhadra (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apavarsaḥ), Mahāśara (Mahāśāraḥ), Ghali (and) Ajasama (Ajaśarman), residents of...

No. 24—HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIBHURAJA; YEAR 3

(M. Plate)

Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Sughar

This copper plate grant is from the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samāhōdbhaka Maṇḍala, Poonā, where it has been deposited for the last 27 years. It is reported to have been found in the possession of a Brahmin at Hingni Berdi, a small village on the bank of the Bāmā river, near Dhond in the Poona District. It was obtained by Śri P. K. Alegaonkar who passed it on to Prof. Datto Waman Poddar for the purpose of decipherment and publication. At the request of the latter, Mr. P. M. Chaudrkar read a short note based on this record before the Sixth Annual Session of the B. I. S. Maṇḍala in 1928. As the reading given by him is not altogether satisfactory, I re-edit the plates here with the kind permission of the secretaries of the said institute.

The set consists of two sheets of copper, each measuring about 5 inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The weight of the two plates is 14 tolas. In the upper margin of each plate there is a small roundish hole, about 2½ inch in diameter through which a copper ring is passed for holding them together. The two ends of the ring are secured under a lump of copper which is flattened and bears on it the incised figures of a ṣaṇḍaṇā, consisting of eleven beads, a samādalar-shaped spouted vessel on its left and a daṇḍa on its right, apparently the requisites of a saṃagāda. The ring weighs 11 tolas. The inscription on the plates consists of 22 lines of writing, of which 2 are engraved on the second side of the first plate, 10 lines on the first side of the second plate and the remaining 3 on the second side of the latter. As the rims of both the plates are raised, the engraving has remained in a fair state of preservation.

The characters are of the mail-headed variety of the southern alphabet current in the fifth and sixth centuries A.C. The record is very carelessly engraved and exhibits certain peculiarities which deserve close attention. We see mostly mail-headed or acute-angled letters in the first plate, while the second plate shows small circles or pin-heads on the top of certain letters. These

1 The reading may possibly also be ṣaṇḍaṇā, but I am inclined to ignore the traces about the tail of ṣ in both the cases.
2 What I have read as ṣt may possibly also be 3 or 3, although that would hardly give any sense.
3 The first letter in this name may possibly be also read as 6.
4 Full-stop in this case seems to be indicated by a slanting line.
5 Śaṅkha, Samudra, Vrīhā (B. I. S. Maṇḍala), pp. 63-63.
6 [What has been described as 3aṇḍa represents possibly only a blade of iron grass according to Mr. M. Venkataramana. Ed.]
resemble closely the forms of letters found in the Añjaneri plates of Prithvijehnra Blāgaśakti. The writing on the second side of the second plate shows a very crude hand. It is strongly doubted if all the three sides of the two plates were engraved by one and the same person.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose and is full of mistakes, but the sense can be clear, if proper restorations are made in the text.

The inscription refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which is styled Rāṣṭrakūṭaścārdapīśa-anvargī in the initial portion. It is stated that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Śyāvalaṅgi Mahađāvī, the Queen-consort of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dēvarāja and mother of Mānarāja, donated an agrahāra called Kamalibhūhaka to a Brahmin called Nannavāmin, belonging to the Agnati gōtera, for the purpose of carrying on religious duties. In addition to this land a dakkhīṇa of fifty bars (bālakā) of gold was given to the Brahmin with the consent of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vibhurāja. The grant was made on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja.

The plates refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty thrice (lines 1, 9 and 10) and from the find-spot of the plates it seems certain that the family must have been ruling somewhere in Mahaśāstra. The royal persons belonging to this family are described in the usual panegyric and as such do not yield any historical information. King Vibhurāja is mentioned twice and there is no specific reference to his period, except that the palaeography of the grant, which as stated above, places it in the 5th century A.C. In the absence of these details it would have been difficult to identify this king Vibhurāja, as none of the branches of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty anywhere refers to him.

The mention of king Dēvarāja, however, affords some clues. Recently Principal V.V. Mirashi, in his article entitled: "The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura", has suggested that there was a minor branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty ruling in certain parts of the Satara District during the 4-5th centuries A.C. Hitherto only three copper-plate grants of this family have been found, viz., Uṇjikāvaśī grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu, Pāṇḍurangapalli plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Avidhēya, and Gokāl plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dējja Mahāraja. From the identification of the place names recorded in the first two of these grants, it has been shown that the members of this branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty were ruling in the Māṇa tīḥak of the Satara District. The genealogy and the approximate period assigned to them is given as follows:—

Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māṇipura (375-400 A.C.)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dēvarāja</strong> (400-425 A.C.)</td>
<td><strong>Avichēya</strong> (420-435 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Son</strong></td>
<td><strong>Shavēśya</strong> (425-470 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(name not known)</td>
<td><strong>Abhimanyu</strong> (470-500 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Dējja Mahāraja</strong> (530-560 A.C.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. DGA/53.
Since the donor of the present plates is described as the wife of Dēvarāja, it seems plausible to suggest that the Dēvarāja referred to by them is no other than the second person mentioned in the pedigree given above, because the palaeography of the record does not go against the age assigned to that ruler by Prof. Mirashi. In the Upākavātīkā and Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli plates, this Dēvarāja is stated to have had three sons, but the names of only two of whom, viz., Abhimanyu and Bhavishya, are known from the inscriptive data available. As the queen of Dēvarāja is also called the mother of Māṇarāja in the present inscription, it is clear that Māṇarāja is the name of the hitherto unknown (third) son of Dēvarāja and he was probably the eldest. And this is quite in keeping with the ancient practice of naming the child after his grandfather, because the name of the father of Dēvarāja is known to be Māṇaka, who founded the Mānapura branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The grant was issued in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja. His exact relationship with Śyāvalāṅgi Mahādevi is not explicitly stated in the record. But since the plates are issued in the early part of the career of that king, I believe that Vibhurāja is an ally of Mānapāja and that the plates were issued by the queen-mother Śyāvalāṅgi Mahādevi after the death of her husband Dēvarāja. Whether it was actually so needs further corroboration. In the light of the details at present available, the genealogy of the family can be reconstructed as follows:

Māṇaka
(Founder of the Mānapura family)

Dēvarāja m. Śyāvalāṅgi Mahādevi

Mānapāja
or (?)
Vibhurāja

Avādhya

Bhavishya

Abhimanyu

The present plates were issued on the Vaṭākha paurānāi day in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja; but these details are not quite sufficient to verify the date of the grant.

The mention of golden bars (vārthuṇa-vākṣa) given as daśahara is also very interesting. It cannot be said if these bars bore any marks as on the bent-bar silver currency, so frequently noticed in ancient sites like Taxila on the North-Western borders of India. At any rate, no currency of the above description is known to have been current in Mahārāṣṭra in the period in which the plates were inscribed.

For want of adequate data, the geographical position of Kumārāhāka mentioned in the grant cannot be located. It is likely that it was the name of some plot in Hingi Beri itself where the plates were discovered.

**TEXT**

_First Plate_

1 अ32 स्वतः सौमता चु ( ? ) नित्यानुमान ( ? ) नां राज्यसूक्तेश्वः

2 राजामन्त्ववार्तियत्विवर्ति विवक्षाकारण धीमता महाराजः

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1 From the original plates and ink impressions.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 I am not sure about the reading of this akṣara. [Possibly vārthuṇa-vākṣa-bhūkṣa is intended. —B.C.O.]
3 विश्रामाणुभि त्वादिन्ते नभृतस्तालंकारणी (?) (व्या)
4 त्वान्तः त्वालमीत्वा (व्या) मातापित्रोऽपि वभन्नविशुद्धे अः
5 त्वान्तः बलिवर्देवदेवीन्त्वान्तः शत्रुत्स्योऽपि योश्यां (व्या) ना
6 त्वान्तः (व्या) चन्द्रकार्तिचित्रितिस्य (रिख्) निषिद्धकार्तित्र (व्या) ना: पुप्पी
7 त्वान्तः बलिवर्देवदेवी (व्या) तद्विश्वामुखसमरात्मेवते
8 इं श्रीमाणराजस्व श्रावः सतीमाणराजचयवर्ते
9 नरोत्सु (त्वान्तः) तस्मानरालाव्य (व्या) श्रीमाणो श्रीमाणस्व (व्या) वेतारा

Second Plate : First Side
10 जस्य पतिः (व्या) [रा] ज्ञात्वमोभोपस्वस्वोद्विशिष्टिविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवि
While dealing with the stone inscription containing portions of the Sanskrit drama entitled Harivihāraśāhāna, composed by king Vigranya (1183-64 A.C.) of the Chālamāna or Chauhān dynasty of Sambhavi, F. Kielhorn2 depleated the strange vicissitudes of fortune that led the stones, on which the royal author made the products of his muse known to the people; to "have been used as common building material for a place of Muhammadan worship by the conquerors of his descendents."

Portions of the above drama as well as of the Lollata Vigrāhaśāhāna nātaka, composed in the honour of the Chālamāna king by his court poet, Mahākavi Sūmatā, which were edited by Kielhorn,3 were copied from stone slabs embedded in the walls of the Ārāhān-dīn-kā-Jhāaprā, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tarāgarh hill at Ajmer. The mosque, as it is well known, was built out of the spoils of Hindu structures by Qutb-ud-din Aibak (first Sultan of Delhi, 1206-12 A.C.) in 1200 A.C., while Sulṭān Ilutmish (1211-36 A.C.) subsequently beautified it with a screen.4 Impressions of another inscription on a stone slab from the same mosque were recently supplied to me by Mr. U. C. Bhattāchāryya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It appears that all these inscribed slabs had originally belonged to some temples or public buildings raised by the imperial Chālamānas, the materials of which were later utilised in the construction of the Ārāhān-dīn-kā-Jhāaprā.

The impressions of the Ajmer Ārāhān-dīn-kā-Jhāaprā inscription, received by us from Mr. U. C. Bhattāchāryya, had a printed slip attached to them. It assigns the inscription to the twelfth century and mentions it as exhibit No. 256 of the Rajputana Museum. It further says, "This inscription forms the beginning of a Sanskrit poem engraved on slabs. It contains invocation to Nārāyana and various other gods and states that the Chauhāns belonged to the solar race." The description of the contents is, however, not strictly accurate.

The inscription under discussion covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9½" in height. There are altogether 27 lines of writing, each letter being a little above ½" in height. The engraving is neat and beautiful, although the stone is damaged in several places and some letters have broken away. As, however, the engraver is sometimes found to have avoided a damaged part of the stone (cf. the damaged space between sīha5 and [a6] in line 2, between sīha-rūdhā and gada in line 4, between jambāla6 and deśāhāja in line 24), there is no doubt that the stone was defective in laces even when the inscription was incised.

The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other records of about the twelfth century found in the same area, and nothing calls for special mention. As the mosque, to which the inscribed stone belongs, is known to have been built in 1200 A.C. with the spoils of local structures, it is possible to attribute the date of the record to some time between the accession of the Chālamāna king Ajayaraj (circa 1110-35 A.C.) who is credited with the foundation of Ajayamur, now known as Ajmer, and with beautifying it with many temples and palaces, and 1200 A.C. when the Ārāhān-dīn-kā-Jhāaprā was constructed, that is to say, somewhere in the twelfth century.

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1 See IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff., Gottascher Festschrift, 1901, pp. 16-30.
The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the passage अज्ञ नाव मानायत्व, preceded by the symbol for Śiddham at the beginning, the whole record on the stone is written in verse. There are in all 37 stanzas, all of which, with the solitary exception of the last verse, are consecutively numbered. Considering the want of space at the end of the last verse and the fact that the poem was probably continued on other slabs, it seems that the number of the last verse (i.e., 37) was put at the beginning of the first line of another slab. As is the case with numerous other epigraphic records, a short space at the end of some lines in our inscription (cf. lines, 2, 4, 6, 13, 15-17, 19-26) has often been covered by an unnecessary single or double दशा usually endorsed with a mark of cancellation.

Out of the 37 verses, which form the text of our record, the first 32 stanzas eulogise the god Vīṣṇu. Ten out of these (viz., verses 12-21) refer to the ten incarnations of the god, viz., (1) Kurma, (2) Māra, (3) Kūla (Vairāja), (4) Nrisimha, (5) Vamanā, (6) Jāmadagnya (Parsurāma), (7) Daśāyutakaśit (Dharmadasa Rāma), (8) Kuśa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki. Verse 33 of the record introduces the Sun-god as the right eye of lord Vīṣṇu and as the progenitor of the solar dynasty which is itself introduced in the following stanza (verse 34). The next two stanzas (verses 35-36) speak of the glories of the solar dynasty and mention certain ancient rulers of the Sūrya-vamsa such as Ikshvāku and Rāma. The concluding stanza (verse 37) introduces king Chāhamāna, mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna or Chaunāna clan of the Rājputs, as a scion of the solar dynasty. The nature of the inscription supports the conjecture that it formed part of the introduction of a कृष्ण, the theme of which may have been certain achievements of a Chāhamāna king. The principal one of these exploits described in the कृष्ण may have been the construction of a temple in honour of the god Vīṣṇu.

The inscription is not of exceptional importance from the historical point of view; but it has considerable interest as a literary composition of a Chāhamāna court poet of the twelfth century. The author's style, although it is not free from defects, is not poor. He has often shown his skill in employing देशा or double entendre. In composing the 37 stanzas, he has employed no less than 14 metres, of which Sāradāvarāṅgī (13 verses) and Vasantaśahadā (8 verses) are used in more than half of the cases. The metres Mālīṅga, Śīkharī, Amuktabh and Upajāti have each been used in 2 stanzas, while one stanza has been allotted to each of Prāthī, Śrīdharā, Vasantaśahadā, Seupāta, Harsī, Mandakārtī, Indravarū and Upendrunātū.</p>

As regards the eponymous Chāhamāna being represented as a scion of the solar dynasty, it may be pointed out that this is in partial agreement with the tradition recorded in the Prithivirajśāyana of Jayānaka (12th century) and Hammira-mahākātya of Nayachandra (13th-14th century), according to which Chāhamāna sprang from the Sūrya-mahādāla; but it can hardly be reconciled with the other imaginary accounts regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas, such as the creation of Chāhamāna himself or the Chāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasishtha or by the god Indra. The well-known story of the creation of the progenitors of the Paramā, Chāhamāna, Prathī and Chaunūki dynasties by the sage Vasishtha on Mount Abu was unknown to the Chāhamāna court poets as late as the fourteenth century.

The reference to Kuśa as the eighth of the ten avatāras of Vīṣṇu is interesting. It is well known that the doctrine of the avatāras underwent several stages of development and that their number, originally unsettled, gradually came to be recognised as ten. It should, however, be noticed that, even as late as the twelfth century, the same list of ten avatāras was not definitely fixed for the whole of India. Thus the author of the record under discussion, who was a twelfth

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1 Cf. verses 5, 8-9, 11, 22-23, 25-26, 25.
2 Ray, op. cit., p. 6055.
3 The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III (The Classical Age), pp. 414 ff.
century court poet of the Kathamunias of Ajanta, regards Krishna as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, while the author of the Belava plate of king Bhujavarmann (12th century) of Eastern Bengal, recognizes the same divinity merely as *anāhaṅgita-varṇā, i.e., a partial incarnation. Another contemporary author, Jayantī, who was a court poet of king Lakshmanaśēna (c. 1179-1206 A.C.) of Bengal putes Harihara (i.e., Balarama-Saṅkarāha) in the place of Krishna as the eighth incarnation of Vishnu in the list of the ten avatāras in the *Gītāgīrīda.*

**TEXT**

[V. 4, 5, 10, 14, 15, 21, 24, 32-33, 36 Jātālāsīrakāśita; verses 7, 17 Māliṇī; verse 11 Yamakshuriti; verses 23, 37 Sākhariś; verses 23, 26 Anasahubhi; verse 23 Sādhuki; verse 25 Upadrunājay; verses 29, 30 Harī; verse 30 Manadāvā; verse 31 Tālakṣetra; verse 34-35 Upajāni.]

1 Siddhāṃ | On namō Nārīyāṇyā | Xāṭhāniyānmaniś-arpir-śītā | pātu yuḥiṃ-p ād-śa-pāṃśu-kīhāra-yagānān Gāruḍajñāvajāya | vihāma-saṃkālābhāmāṇiṃ-śrī-śārīrī-vaṃśya Lakṣmahā-nāhā-śūna-khauchānibhājāṭā khirān yat | 1 | Jagaj-jāmanā-pālana-prālaya kālī kīrō muhurāmahā-dānava-nilka-


5 vai sa-śivāra-lāh, vah | 5 | Vakṣaḥ-bhāthāl-śeṣeḥśaśīlā-kamāla-kāraṇātim[pi-tam] pāṃ- 

7 pi ra(ha)hīva yah stē bhagū-śrīmuṇḍ-apā-skrīya yē bītām-śrīmuṇḍāya | yah [Śājha-śhōga-
adharān kūḍān-vapur-maḥchakān | (ā)ṣṭarāmā (ā)ṣṭarāmā.
9 t-paṭaḥdhan dūṭādhī-vīdraṇā-salīlā jāḷā-śāyaṇā yah | avya-saiva mūrtṣīf-alparā hata-yōga-śātrum aḥūkītī vijayatē sa Murāri-minaḥ | 12 || Yasaya tattuḥbhāv-avatāhara-tādā-
ānēbhī yādō-gaṇaie udara-pāḍa-talā nīlīnāḥ | pīṣhaṇa-maṃṭhana-vijanu-maṭīrayat-āv-
10 kū ṭa sa Harīc-astu vihaṇtāya vah | 13 || Śūrya-śhākṣīḥita-dakṣīn-ākṣī kīraṇa|māḥ sudvartī-
vītyā śīva-yānti sa[bōja]-māntaṃ cha sūtra-sāṃ-āk-discī, gachchhatā | pṛthvīnī |
phuṇa-kriṭ-ātitya-iva śīla[ṃ]ḍa-ṭhīnā jīvita diṅhārī. Harīc kūṭ-āṭmā vītaraṇa-sūpa-
śīla-prīṣṭha vah śūvaḥ [vam] | 14 [|| 8]
11 Viṣṇuḥ-dhīrārātyaḥ sadā-kavaṇhāḥ śuḍdha|hīnāḥ uṭaśīh-ārūdhātāḥ śīyaṣuḥ [ka]rapata-
vaṃśa-muktaḥ sūtra-sahāṅ vō mahāḥ | yair-vakṣalaḥ-kamata Hiranyakasi(p)por-
tanānā Jāṅka-beḥūdā ratanam-uṭaṇītaḥ chagayōr-mūlā Marūt-sūna mā | gūpma-sa-
na-āsṛtām-uṭyad-ṛpaṇ-āntiṣṭḥṣa-aṉya[ḥ] yā kīṃ jātām-ṛti pramṛjya pālaḥ sva-
va-aṭṭaṇiś-ānchalāḥ | yam rūm-āṇcbhitām-s-khāl-[s]īngam-api cha vṛtāīkāṃ gōpyo mūdā 
vahunā sva-hāṃ-sa-bolām-ūn aḥāśa-rai.
15 ta-ṣīriṣh Kṛṣṇah sa manuṣyā vah | 19 || Vāda-ku[p]ya-śhūvu[hu]-rahu[na]ḥ [ka][rṇa]*-ṭīp-aṅgha-
che[ḥ]hānu-śvānuma Sugata-dārmaṇ-nimkāpo[maṃ] | pāṭya vah kāli-yug-aikā-sukhrh-
chakṣa Karaṇa[va] (V[a]U[hu]dha)ri ti kṛauḥu vah sa Viṣṇyaḥ | 20 || Tārthakārāṇa-nāṣtpṛṣṭhāya		
tūrngāṇ-śhāstaya[ḥ]va[k]a[ha]h[au]-vīt['[ha]m vi].
16 nā kaḷī yaṣya koṛi sahaṭhaḥ kali-samruḥbhūdām kūṭaḥya-saḥ[li] || ḡ̣̥o-saṃstya-vīṣhāh-
(haṃ) yīdhyāya kṛitam śrīṣṭīyā prakṣāntam yugām Mlehchhānām-avasāṇ-kṛit-sa bhagavan-Kalki Harīḥ pāṭā vah | 21 || Śubh-ākhyānaḥ ghoṛ-āhava-ghatita-bhīmām 
śakunīn prahlādaḥ-ōpām vijayi-bhui]a.*
17 nīḥput(nīḥput)pījita-vrishaḥ[naḥ] | kram eldrechchha(ā)-ṣaṃgha-pithəka-mahāyaṇaḥ | Mura-
ripūḥ svā-ṛupaḥ saṃpuṭayai bhavatah bhavatāḥ | Bhūrata-maṇḍaḥ | 22 | Pṛuta vṛ ṣaṭapabitbhur-mahiṣa-śaṇir-aśṭiṣṭaḥ | Harir-Indra-Hara-Vra(Bra)haṃ-Matḥaśaṇa-āśir-āsitaḥ | 23 | Vaiḥaḥ-pāra-pāitra-jaṃghaṇa-kahara-†
18 pruddhutā-maṇḍir-āraṇaś-śal-āṣi-ṣvataṇīḥuḥ prachalatām-[nai]bhi-saciṣe gatē | trau-
stōn śvajña(bha)huvī śristīya-savasāṇo-āmāniḥ pāṭhaḥ kriṣṭe prāg-udvij(du)jaśa-payo-
dhīja-dhīpaḥ-paṭaḥ bhūtyai pravāḥ(bh)diṇo-stu vaḥ | 24 | Padma-yuktaḥ sa-padam-pi vrishaḥ-āpi vrishaḥ| yaḥ | hat-ari-arī-
19 saṃpannāḥ-puṣṭe vaḥ śrīyāse Harīḥ | 25 | Śṛṅgat saha-ga[la]ḥ | sa-supaṛṇāh-ṣhāhayāya-
śi-ganayā ramanvayāḥ | sthāṇānaṃ dādaḥ-alaṃkṛta-kāmāḥ kalpa-vrīkhaḥ iva pṛuta Harir-vah | 26 | A-bhūr-yaṃ nūnaḥ yadd-jaṅkā-kūḍā-si tad-aṃjugh [ṣṭāya] tvaś-
vidyāntāyai kṣhamam-va-
20 pi vakham vayam-am(a)m(ān)aṃmah | Harir-jaṭ-śācharyāḥ kṛita-aṣuliḥ| brahā-śrīrītaiḥ pramuditaśr-
hasam-uktō gopar-inti ṣayiḥ hriśrā-giri-varaṃ(ram) | 27 | Anāṣiṭaṃ yō ḍaṃjhoḍa-
yoḥṛd-vilōcana-krītakarāgaṇa yānaḥ(ṇaṃ) | vi(bī)hratii dhār-āṃv(du) Ha[ṛē]
kaṃtaḥ(jo) jumātdu (duḥkhāṃ) 
21 sa māṅkaḥ vaḥ | 28 | Na navān-laṣda-yāṣaṃ yad−yan na kaujastuḥha śhōḥtaḥ na jaladhi-
ṣi-śrilkaṭukhaḥ yan−yan Gauṣuṇa-dhvaṣaijnaṃ | na ya−an(a)n)-gadā-ṣaṃkh-śhū-
ḥājoñ-nirudhiḥ-karaṇaḥ Harēr-jayati gatīnaṃ tad-Voḍāntaḥ pravāḥ(bh)dhamañyati vāpuḥ | 29 | Dāitya[nīgma[nān]a-ams(ś-Βa-Ba)ard-)]
22 k-śriya-kumbhāṃ tapasṣamā-ṣi-saṃlāḥ-ṣtāvam-anubhavaṃ-pālayan-vishtapīnī | tat-tat-
kīnduśī-ṣanman-ṣtākṣe-ḥchṛme pongha-saṃjna-ratnaḥ | 30 | Vā(Βa)hraṃ-viṣhṭhitān bhavataḥ śriyaḥ sa [Kona-
ja-tvishas Ḍēkā-fraja-vāṃ-āntaḥ] | vichī-
23 vīcitrasya dīnena-putṛ-pūrasya dūrāḥ ṣayati śriyaḥ yaḥ | 31 | Niṅkṛ((sin[krā)mat-
Kamal-ṣiṇaḥ-ṣiṇu-nipataṇe-ṇetrasya pāṛte Harēr-udbhūnāḥ saha manmattēna bhavataḥ pāṇu-
āḥ śrām-āḥthar-kauṇāḥ | maṇṭhet-khōjish-ṣhātī vaya-karād-utthāya pāṭhōn-
ḥār-vaṅgaṇāṃ vina-
24 na-tvishāḥ adhati yē muktā-maṇyaṁ bhramam(ān)aṃ | 32 | Kaḥdō vṛ a(ma)r-paḍapasya kumud(i)kā-utthōhājaḥ kauṇāḥ śriyaḥ nirmatēnaḥ pratidhī-ṃragāṁhaṃ mukrasya-
āṃbhāda-kāś-āṇiḥ | śrā-pāṛa-patra-virpūṣāṃ | hūt(ah) | kōṣṭha-ṣhākṣi-adhikṣam-r-. 
25 kaśiṇaḥ Munā-ripōr-dēvō Ṛaviḥ pāṭu vaḥ | 33 | Taśmān-sa[m]ikaṃ na-[ba-ga]ṃ ṛtiṣṭaḥ | sva-magge(r)gāt | va[h]āḥ | sad-aśv-ōh-sasō uḍāḥ-saṃ-
udava-iñāḥ-ṛgha-kiṭa-ṛaṇḍhral | 34 | Samuttithē-kāśi-saṅkṣaṇa-yōś-utpanna-
pānagā-kadaṇ-. 
26 va(b)ā-sākhaḥ | śācharyam-aṃtāḥ-prasarat-kūḍā-yauḥ vaḥ-ṛṣhṭiḥ śrōtaḥ śrōpatāḥ pravāyī | 35 | Ādū-vaṅdā-kvṛttva-durgāti-parityaḥ-paṛjā-tatra tē sapta-dvāpaḥ-haṭaḥ uḍāḥ samahavānaṃ-Ilkavāko-Rām-ālayaḥ | yōśhāṁ durjaya-dānāvindra-jayinfamī) tair-Im-
ḍra-mu-
27 khyāṁ-ma[h]ēshv-śhātār-vipapīṭhā śvāṃ prabhālaṇaḥ tri[palte] hraṣaḥ | 36 | Taśmān-
akth-ḥrī-ṛjavṛtiḥ śvāṃkāṇāḥ rāj-ṛaṇaṇīja-jān-eṃ Chāhamaṇāḥ | sahāpurpaṃ-čandruḍa-
iṣa evahārīkāyā śrīyāmānāḥ kṛṣṭi-viṣa[jjya]lāvam-anayad-bhuṃvam-truṃyāḥ yaḥ | 37]
About the beginning of October 1952, I received for examination two copper-plate inscriptions from Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. I was informed that the inscriptions had been found in the old Daspalla State, now merged in Orissa as a sub-division of the Puri District, and that Mr. Satyanarayan Bajaguru, Assistant Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had prepared a paper on them for publication in the Orissa Historical Research Journal. Mr. Acharya, however, was kind enough to permit me to edit both the inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indica. I am extremely thankful to him for this kindness.

A.—Daspalla Plate of Devananda: Year 184

This copper plate, as I learnt from Mr. Acharya, was found early in 1951 in the course of the re-examination of an old tank in the village of Chikankhandi in the Jorou Pargana of Daspalla. The Pargana is situated on the right bank of the Mahanadi while the town of Daspalla lies on the left bank of the river. The plate was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Dasarath Manna, who is a teacher of the M.E. School at Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division.

The inscription is written on both sides of the single plate measuring 10"×7½"×13½". A bronze seal, having the shape of an expanded lotus and measuring 3½" in diameter, is soldered about the middle of the proper right end of the plate. It resembles the seal attached to the charters of the family to which the issuer of the grant under discussion belonged. The border of the pericarpial portion (about 2" in diameter) of this lotus-shaped seal is raised. In the hollow thus formed, the seal proper is countersunk. The central part of the space on the surface of the seal is occupied by the legend in one line: sri-Devananda-devasa, the subscript y in the last ahara being considerably lengthened towards the left so that the entire legend looks as doubly underlined. Above the legend is the figure of a couchant bull to proper right, with the emblems of a conch and a crescent above it. Below the legend there is the representation of an expanded lotus. The seal is fixed to the plate by means of two knobs running through holes made in the usual projection of the plate. These are covered by a lump of metal forming the back of the seal. Some eight or nine lines of writing about the middle of the plate on both its sides are shorter owing to the encroachment of the lower part of the seal. The plate together with the seal weighs 13½ tola.

In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the present record closely resembles the published charters of the family to which its issuer belonged. In a few cases (cf. suroda in line 11, sava in line 23) the superscript v reminds us of a similar form of it in the inscriptions of the Parties of Bengal and Bihar. The chariter is dated in the year 100 60 4, i.e., 184 (the symbol for 100 resembling the ahara of an unspecified era which appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhanja-Karas of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. This era is now often identified with the Harsha era of 606 A.C. and in that case the year 184 of our inscription would correspond to 792 A.C. But it has been noticed that the palaeography of the inscriptions dated in the era in question points to a considerably later epoch for it. As will be seen in our discussion on Satrubhunja's plates edited below, the beginning of this era now seems to be nearly two centuries later than that of the Harsha era.

1 See above, pp. 2 and 49.
5 DGA/63
era. This would suggest a date about the beginning of the eleventh century A. C. for the inscription under discussion and such a view seems to be supported by palaeography. The use of numerical symbols instead of figures appears to point to a date not considerably later than the tenth century.

The charter was issued by king Dévāṇanda II of the Nanda or Nandādhava family of Jayapura in the present Orissa State. This ruler is already known from his Baripad Museum, Jurispur and Narasingpur plates, none of which, however, bears any date in an era as the record under review. The seal of king Dévāṇanda is found attached to the Talmul plate of king Dhruvāṇanda who belonged to the same family and was apparently a successor of Dévāṇanda II. Like the present charter of Dévāṇanda, Dhruvāṇanda's record is dated in the year of an era. This date is usually taken to be the year 293; but, as we have suggested above, it may be really 193. This conjecture seems to be supported by the date, year 184, no doubt of the same era, when Dévāṇanda II, who appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dhruvāṇanda, issued the charter under discussion.

The Baripada Museum plate of Dévāṇanda II and the Talmul plate of Dhruvāṇanda have quoted the same introductory verses. These verses, with the omission of only one, are also quoted in the Jurispur plate of Dévāṇanda II. All these records begin with a prose passage referring to Jayapura which was the capital of the Nanda or Nandādhava kings of Orissa. The verses that follow speak of the following rulers: (1) Jayānanda, (2) his son Parānanda, (3) his son Śivāṇanda, (4) his son Dévāṇanda (I), and (5) his son Vilāsatuṅga. The above verses are followed in the Baripada Museum and Jurispur plates by a prose passage which introduces king Dévāṇanda (II) as the issuer of the charters in question, while the same passage substituting the name of Dhruvāṇanda for that of Dévāṇanda (II) is found in the corresponding section of the Talmul plate. It was therefore quite natural to suggest that both Dévāṇanda (II) and Dhruvāṇanda enjoyed the virudo Vilāsatuṅga and were the sons of Dévāṇanda (I). But the introductory verses of the charter under discussion clearly state that the reigning king Dévāṇanda II was the son of Vilāsatuṅga. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the Sandhisivagrihā of the Nanda king, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family, which is full of errors of various kinds. It seems that verses describing the reigning kings are omitted through confusion in the above records of Dévāṇanda II and Dhruvāṇanda. The correct genealogy of the Nanda or Nandādhava rulers of Orissa from Jayānanda, founder of Jayapura, to his fifth descendant Dévāṇanda II is thus supplied by the record under review. But the relationship between Dévāṇanda II and Dhruvāṇanda still remains uncertain. Dhruvāṇanda seems to have been either a younger brother or a son of Dévāṇanda II. The genealogical tree of the Nandas of Orissa may therefore be drawn as follows.

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9 Dhruvāṇanda appears to have utilised an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already.
The Narasingpur plate of Dēvānanda II is a spurious document containing only certain fragments of two genuine charters of the Nanda king. As noticed above, the fragments of verses found in this spurious record suggested the existence of some genuine grants of Dēvānanda having a set of introductory stanzas which were different from those known from the published records of the king. Happily this conjecture has now been justified fully by the discovery of the present inscription. The introductory part of the charter under discussion consists of ten stanzas none of which is found in the common introduction of the Baripada Museum and Jurfurpur plates of Dēvānanda and the Talaul plate of Dhrurvānanda, although fragments of most of them can be traced in the spurious Narasingpur plate of the former. Lines 1-3 and 8-19 of the Narasingpur plate contain fragments of the verses forming the introduction of our charter in the following order: 1, 6, 7, 8, 4, 5 and 6. Lines 16, 18 and 19 of the same plate contain respectively the numbers 4, 5 and 6 which, as we have already pointed out, were meant to indicate the end of the fourth, fifth and sixth verses of some genuine records copied in it. It is now seen that the number 4 is put there actually after the concluding passage of the fourth verse of the present charter, while 5 is placed among certain passages of the fifth verse and 6 between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth stanza apparently through confusion.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Śūkham. Verse 1 describes the city of Jayaṣura, capital of the Nandas, while each one of the following six verses describes respectively the rulers Jayaṇanda, his son Parṇanda, his son Śivānanda, his son Ṛṣivānanda, his son Vilāsītupā, and his son Dēvānanda II, although the description of the reigning monarch Dēvānanda II continues in the following three stanzas (verses 8-10). This introductory part of the record contains hardly anything besides conventional and vague praises of the rulers described. Next follows a prose passage (lines 22-26) introducing again king Dēvānanda II as desirous of making...
a grant. This description is substantially the same as found in the Baripada Museum andJurupur plates of the same king and the Talmil plate of Dhruvananda and has been already
discussed by us.\footnote{1} As regards the slight modification of the language in our record, it may be
noted that the king is here called samadhipatiprasadhamahasudha-mahasamundhisthipati-vanditaparam-
usahaisalya-Nanda-Maherya-Rupaka-sri-Dhruvanandadeva instead of paramusahaisalya-samadhig-
ata-prasadhamahasudha-mahasamundhisthipati-sri-Dhruvanandadeva as found in the other charts. In
connection with the second passage quoted above, we remarked that "the ambiguity (as it may
also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a Paramakha(uru)) may be intentional" and
suggested that the rulers of the Nanda family may have "originally owned allegiance to the
Bhima-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline". It will be
seen that the epithet applied to Dhruvananda II in the present record (cf. lines 3-4 of the
spurious Narasingpur plate) are similarly ambiguous as they may be taken to be a mixture of both
imperial and feudatory titles, which is often found to have been adopted by subordinate rulers
to indicate their newly achieved semi-independent status.\footnote{2}

Lines 26-33 of our inscription record the grant of a village called Inda\footnote{3} situated in the
Jiloda valley of the Airavat-mandala, made by the king by means of a copper-plate
charter in favour of Yasodatta, son of Mabha, for the increase of his own merit as well as his parents'.
The donor was resident of Vaniggu; but his family is stated to have hailed from a locality called
Rahyava. He is described as sata-sahini, das\- 

\footnote{4} Shakthihuka and kasyatha, while verse 16 in line 38 of the inscription suggests that he was the
Saddhivraha (minister for war and peace) of king Dhruvananda II. The fact that Yasodatta's gstra,
charyya, shakthi, etc., are conspicuous by their absence in his description may suggest that the
donors of our record was not a Brahmana and that his epithet Kasyatha possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste. But it is stated to have been not only a sastra-sahini, i.e., "a virtuous householder", but also a Brahmanshiva, i.e.,
teacher of the gstra, although what gstra is particularly meant is not clear. Since Yasodatta seems to have been a minister of the king, it is not impossible to think that he was a teacher of the science of politics. If these suggestions are acceptable, the inscription being
reviewed, gives us valuable information regarding the crystallization of the professional community of
scribes into the caste of Kasyathas as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.\footnote{5}

Lines 35-38 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed
by another stanza saying that the pratisi or eulogy (apparently referring particularly to the
introductory verses discussed above) was composed by Yasodatta who was serving king
Dhruvananda II as Saddhivraha. Line 39, with which the document ends, gives the date, year 153,
and says that the eulogy was engraved by Logaya.\footnote{6}

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the name Airavat-mandala, which
appears to have comprised the kingdom of the Nandas, is believed to be preserved in that of modern
Ratagarh within the Banki Police Station in the Cuttuck District, while, Jayapura, capital of the
Nanda kings, has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District. The name
of the district called Jiloda reminds us of modern Jillon in Daspalla. It is difficult to identify
the villages of Inda\footnote{7}, Rahyavana and Vaniggu.

\footnote{1} Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 429.
\footnote{2} Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1555, etc. In the charter under discussion, the king is called mahasamundhisthi-
patipratvaparamahimaka-para`jakan (i.e., a paramount king worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates)
or mahasamundhisthi-patipratvapramahimaka (i.e., a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his
overlord).
\footnote{3} The word ‘apaka means ‘a teacher or preceptor in general. Sometimes it is used to indicate a sub-
teacher who gives instructions for wages only in part of a Yoda. An apaka is often regarded as inferior to an
TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 Śrong analysts; vv. 2, 4-10 Śāradāvatikrīṣṭa; v. 3 Mālini; vv. 11-13, 16 Anushtubh; v. 14 Sālini; v. 15 Prakṣipātiāra.]

Obverse

1 Siddhām[1] Svasti prōttanāga-mādyat-kari-karaṭa-tāta-prasrava-dāna-tōyaḥ samākta-prāya-mārgud-ghana-samaya-

2 vaśa-prāptvā-vṛṣṭiṣṭa|prachārāh |vibhūṣṇu| vēda-sāstra-dhānān-jānita-sukhāt-sarvva-lakṣhiṃ[2] dávā(duḥ)mād-ratmanī(tna)-prākara-bhi-

3 tī-prachāra-Jayapurāt-sārthakāt-sarvād-aiva ||[1]|| Āśīm-Nanda-kul-śodbhavaḥ kahitiścā khyātaḥ vasi(ṣu)ddānāvāḥ bhūpālār-nāta-pāda-

4 padma-yungalāḥ sat-kṛttī-lakṣhyāḥ vṛitaḥ |vā(bā)bhrvā-avikrama-lavdhā(bīha)-śuddha-vi-bhāvā vidyā-vinīta mahan-raja rajita-lōka ē-


7 chhāp-Parānanda-nāmā || [3] Aṭyant-ō-

8. nta(mna)ta-śatru-paksha-timira-pradhvamśakṛṣṇa-nirmalaiḥ sa[ṛ]vva-śā[ṣa]-paripāraṃ-sikṣa-

9 chaturāḥ saṃtyakta-dōṣh-ānyayāḥ | tasy[3]-

8 bhūt-tanayaḥ prasidhi-mahīna mitra-ōdayo bhūṣurā bhūbhāriḥ-bhūnur-iv-apar[raḥ] prakā-

9 tiṭah śrīmān[3] Viṃśaṇandaka-


10 sudarāḥ | jātaḥ sacheharīḥ vinita-nilpūḍ bhūpālā-chhālamanāt [Dāvananda-nipāti-ṣu][5]-

11-12 dilā-mati-

11 māna(mnā) khyātaḥ kṣamā-maṇḍalā || [5] Sa[rvva]-prānahṛtām-abhiścita-vishyāḥ chint-

12 tāmanāḥ sarvadā nītau


13 Dhanadāḥ sad-vikra-


14 mbha-dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayaḥ kṣmahpaḷ-ānani(ta)-maṇi-ratna-nikara-pradūṭīt-āṅghri-

[dyayaḥ | tyāga-

1 From the original plate.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read "kāraṇa-kēlā-śana.
4 Read "kārṇe-
5 Read "kārṇe-
6 Read "kārṇe-
7 Read "kārṇe-
8 Read "kārṇe-
188


17 bhavāḥ | tulye-ra[ū]-jālādṝ̄-manohar-mahā-matt-ḥhā-vājī-śpadā Devāṇanda-nārēsva-(śv)a-rō-[t]jyimālāḥ svahcchh-āsa(ā)ya

18 h-aiva saḥ || 8<sup>6</sup>|| Nāṇā-ratna-parikshapaṇi kīla manāktrāsā-kramā dáśyāṭi vāṃpuṇām-śa lōpa ṛva kathitaḥ sā(ā).

19 strī cha sāvī-kārayā n[ī]h*|śvatva[ś]ī munī-puṣaugāśhν nīyataṁ u-śayatra saubhāvyātē
tasmina (emin) bhūbhuji pā[rītī]h[ī]-vendōndūndu-Pri-

Reverse

hīna bhāvāva-pūrṣa-sa[a-m]gāka μahīnā

(Ś)na Devāṇanda-apīpahṣ-trīloka-viṣayī jāyā


23 ta-varṣa-chaṇathayaḥ sa[p|hṛ]ṛ-śa[ś]cha-praṣāya[śa]-manārathah sarva-sajjana-

śi-[a]ja-chachhātā-śvabhāṣaṁma[Ś] sitadhāta-


26 hāsamantādhipati-vānsita-paramahā-āṇapaka-Nanda-ḥ[ā]raṇa-ṛṣi-Devāṇanda-
āśvah kusa[Ś]alī || Aṛavāṭa-śa[ma]ṇḍala-

27 mva[tma]nḥda[ddh]a-Jūndā-vishayo bhavishyād-yathākāla-ḥbāvino rāja[Ś]na[Ś]kātra-

sarvan-yathāram mānyati vābō/dhaya-

29 tī kusa[Ś]a[Ś]layati-aḍīśa[Ś]ṣṭi ch-śṇyād-vidina[Ś]m-śtur bhavatām-ṛād-vishaya-samva-

gata-Vaniṇḍāra-vās(ṣa)ṛṛvāya sa-

śāmanā-ḥena punya-yaśo[Ś]bhirvidhāh-

<sup>1</sup> Read ścchā-dārayā.</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Originally ṛ with a rather long top, mātri was engraved in place of śdhī.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be grāsa.
According to information kindly supplied to me by Mr. P. Acharya, this set of plates was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Krishna Chandra Misra who is a clerk in the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector of Daspalla. Nothing is known about its exact find-spot or the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The inscription is written on three plates, of which the first and third are inscribed only on the inner side. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates measure 5.7" x 4.75". The hole in the plates for the seal-ring to pass through, which had been made apparently before the plates were engraved, is 4" in diameter and is 75" inside from the proper right margin of the plates. The copper ring which is 37" in thickness and 2.7" in diameter has its joint covered by a lump of bronze, on which the seal (1.5" in diameter) is countermarked. It resembles the seal found with other charters of the family to which the issuer of the present record belonged. Its upper part is occupied by the figure of a lion to proper right, having its face to front, its left paw raised and its tail curved above its back. Below the above emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) Sri-Sa(Sa)trabha. (2) ajadAyasa. The three plates together weigh 107 tolas; but, as they vary in thickness, their individual weight is not the same. The weight of the first plate is 49 tolas and that of the second and third plates 37 and 31 tolas respectively. The ring with the seal weighs 38 tolas. Thus the weight of the three plates together with the seal-ring is 145 tolas.

In respect of palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription under review resembles very closely other charters of the Bhanja kings of Vañjulivaka, two of which have
been recently edited in this journal. But unlike the known records of the family, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings issuing the grants in question, the present charter bears the date in the year 198 (written according to the decimal system of writing numerals) of an era. As already indicated above, this era seems to be no other than that used by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and their feudatories in dating their charters. The chronology of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas has so long remained a disputed problem. But as the exact date of the present record can be determined almost with precision, it seems to throw welcome light on the above problem. We shall see below that the issuer of the charter under discussion flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The epoch of the era in question may thus be assigned to a date in the first half of the ninth century A.C.

The charter was issued by a Bhaña king of Vañjulvaka, whose name is given as Šatrubhaña II alias Tribhuvanakalasa. He is stated to have been the son of Šilābhhaña and great-grandson of Vidyādharaḥhaña. As it stands, the description of the issuer's ancestry in our grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of the king's grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word pārata is a mistake for pārata so that Vidyādharaḥhaña was really the grandfather of Šatrubhaña Tribhuvanakalasa or that the name of the grandfather of Šatrubhaña was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. But the more important fact about this genealogy is that, while Šatrubhaña Tribhuvanakalasa (issuer of the charter under review) and his father Šilābhhaña are as yet unknown from any another source, Vidyādharaḥhaña, grandfather or great-grandfather of Šatrubhaña Tribhuvanakalasa, is already known to us from several of his own records as well as of his son Neṭṭabhhaña Kalyāṇakalasa II. I have elsewhere discussed the genealogy and chronology of these Bhaña. It has been shown how Ranābhhaña, who was the great-grandfather of Vidyādharaḥhaña, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. I have also shown how the successors of Ranābhhaña, viz., his sons, Neṭṭabhhaña Kalyāṇakalasa I and Dīghabhhaña and Dīghbhhaña's son Šilābhhaña II and grandson Vidyādharaḥhaña, had all very short reigns so that a Brahma named Bhaña Stambhadāva is known to have served all the four kings while a goldsmith named Durgadāva not only served all of them but also Neṭṭabhhaña Kalyāṇakalasa II, son of Vidyādharaḥhaña. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadāva and Durgadāva probably covered about half a century, the reign of Neṭṭabhhaña Kalyāṇakalasa II may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century. Šilābhhaña, father of the issuer of the charter under review, may not have ruled. Šatrubhaña Tribhuvanakalasa, as he was the grandson of great-grandson of Vidyādharaḥhaña, may have flourished about the second quarter of the same century. In any case, the date of our inscription does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. Certain dates in the latest decades of the second century of the era in question (cf. Dīvānanda's plate edited about and the grants of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādāvi) are written with numerical symbols instead of figures according to the decimal system and the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived considerably long after the end of the tenth century. Moreover the major part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled from Jaipur for about two centuries (i.e., up to about the year 200 of the era, so that the date of the present charter, year 198, fell about the latest days of Bhauma-Kara rule), appear to have been included in the empire of the Sāmavāhās during the rule of

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9 The first king of this name in the family was Šatrubhaña Gandharva of Bhūpāla.
10 See Bhānadāka's List, Nos. 1900-02.
That Śatrubhaḥaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa, who issued the charter under review, flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century (so that the Bhauma-Kara era started about the corresponding period of the ninth century) is further indicated by another interesting piece of evidence that has recently come to light. The unpublished Bandi plates of Prithvi-maḥādevi, which were examined by me some time ago, are dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and state that this Bhauma-Kara queen was the daughter of king Svabhāvatunaga of the lunar dynasty of Kōsala (South Kōsala). One of the grants of the Śomavānāi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāṭi I (circa 970-1000 A.C.) of South Kōsala seems to apply the name Svabhāvatunaga to that monarch. There is therefore no doubt that Prithvi-maḥādevi alias Tribhuvanamaḥādevi II, who was on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the year 158 of the era in question, flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century A.C. This would also point to the beginning of the era about the second quarter of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham and the expression Oṃ svasti, which are followed by three verses known also from all other records of the Bhaṇjas of Vaṇjula. The third of these verses introduces the reigning king under his coronation name Tribhuvanakalasa. Next comes a long passage in prose (lines 19 ff.), in which the Paramasamshana Kōṣaka Satrubhaṇja (i.e., Tribhuvanakalasa), son of Śilāhāraṇa and great-grandson (possibly a mistake for ‘grandson’) of Vidyādharabhunaga, is represented as making a grant of the village of Kōṅkāli in the Paśichāna, known as Western (i.e., Western) Kṣ ogólna in the Ramalaya, Kṣīrīna (district) in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Ājapāl (or Ājapāla). The donor is stated to have belonged to the Mandgalya gōtra, Vaiśamāya vaṁśa and Muhyarindra tākha. He was the son of Bhaṭṭa Nilaśvarāṇa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Madhumālana. The original home of the donor’s family is stated to have been the Bhaṭṭajāraṃga Khaṇḍuvāvallī in Mahāvadēśa; but he was settled in a locality called Saṃbhavāṇisāhava. The gift village was made a revenue-free holding on the occasion of the Vishvā-śaṅkrānti falling on a Sunday when the maṅkāṭra was Mrgāśīra and the tīrtha the fifth of the dark or bright fortnight of an unspecified month.

Lines 27–39 quote several of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. They are followed by certain endorsements indicating that the document was śāchaita (registered with the seal) by Prithvi-maḥādevi (apparently a queen of king Satrubhaṇja), annanāla (approved of) by Bhaṭṭa Rājāṇa, praveśita (entered into the document’s possession, i.e., executed) by Prabhaṭa Prabhākara ।

2 See JPAAS, 1929, p. 151. Also IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 79–81; also Vol. XXII, pp. 900 ff. Elsewhere (IHQ, Vol. XXVIII, p. 237) we have seen how Mahāśivagupta Yayāṭi I probably ousted the Bhaṇjas from Dūrjīpurana and drove them to Vaṇjula. These Bhaṇjas appear to have been feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara. This fact points to a struggle between the Bhauma-Kara and the Śomavānī. The success of Mahāśivagupta Yayāṭi I against the Bhauma-Kara is further demonstrated by one of his charters (above, Vol. III, p. 325–323) which is dated in his ninth regnal year and records the grant of a village in Paśichāna-Tōṣaka (within the Bhauma-Kara kingdom), in the year 690 of the era in question. In this charter the king is stated to have been engaged in a war with the Bhauma-Kara, and may have been supported by his father. In any case, the grant of a village in the Bhauma-Kara territory by the Śomavānī king does not appear to be unconnected with the above events. If the ninth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāṭi I fell near about the year 158 of the era in question, it is therefore clear that the Bhauma-Kara era did not start any other date in the period in question. It is therefore safe to assume that the Bhauma-Kara era started from 831 A.C. ।
and amujān (witnessed) by Vāgulī Ratna. The document is stated to have been written by the Sandhīvāghanī Śākara while the plates were engraved by the akhasālin (goldsmith) Napa, already known as the engraver of the plates of another king of the family, named Netjspānje III Tribhuvanakalasa, which have been edited above. The charter ends with the date, year 198.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Vaiśjuvala is well known from many other records of the family, although its exact location is as yet unknown. The Ramalava district and the villages of Kōkāra and Santōshamādhava are difficult to identify. The Bhātuprāna Khāduvāvali in Madhyādeśa (roughly identical with the modern Uttar Pradesh) cannot be identified.

TEXT

[Metres: V. 1 Māliṇī; v. 2 Sārdulavikridita; v. 3 Gīṭā; v. 4-9 Anushṭabh; v. 10 Pushpitāgūrā.]

First Plate

1 Siddham Śāna Svasti [19*] Jayṣtu kumavā(ḥ)a-prāsa-vikshobha-daksham svā-ki-
2 cāpa-parivāva-anunjityā-jiriny-ṭhūmba-kathā J tribhuvana-bhava[va]-n-ānta-r-ty[O]-
3 ta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṃ kanaka-nikala(}|ha|-gaṃvāṃ vibhru-nētrai Harasya[|19*]
4 Śrī Śriḥ-ahāra-iva-yā phañāḥ pravilasan-yudbhāsvad-indu-trighaḥ prālī-
5 yācchala-śriṇga-kōṭaya iva tyagati(tuti) yā-ty-umattāḥ | nṛṣya-āṭa-
6 pa-vighaṭṭhā iva bhūja-rājanti yā Śrī Śrī-mbhavāś-tē sa-
7 rv-śgha-vighaṭima[9*] sutamati[t*]-tōy-ṛṣumayaḥ pānta vaḥ [29*] Svasti | Vīja-
8 ya-Vaiśjuvala-asti Śrī-vijaya-nilaya[h*] prakaṭa-gupta-gaṇa-grasta-side-
9 nasta-ripu-varagha[|9*] śrī-Trī(Trī)bhuṇakaṇaka-sāma-rājā-jā nirāhāta-kali-kalva-
10 aha-kalmasa[h | 39*] Śrī-Śrī-vidyādharabhāṣajadēvasya prapantrah śrī -Śrī Śrī-lā)bhaṇḍa.-

Second Plate; First Side

11 dēvasya sutaḥ paramavaiśavaṇvā mātā-pitṛ-pād-āṃśhīyātō Bha-
12 kā-śrīnala-kula-tilaka-Rāgaka-śrī-Śa(Śa)trubhaṇa[jā]dēva|h*| kusa(ka)-
13 V Ramalava-viśhaya-Paśchima-khaṭa-yathāniśva-sa-kara-
14 ṣa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān yathārthasaḥmānayatī voh(bh)bhāya[9]*pi

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1 See Vol. XXVIII, pp. 278 ff.
2 From the original plates.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 The letter 3 had been at first omitted and was later inserted below the line.
5 It is interesting to note that in some records of the family the word asṭi forms the first word of the third stanza while in others (as in this case) it does not form a part of the verse.
6 The intended reading may be paṇtrah.
7 The tkhaara kā had been originally omitted but was later engraved below the line.
TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA (II)

DASPALLA PLATES OF SATRUBHANJA TRIBHUVAÑAKALASA: YEAR 198

SCALE: FIVE-EIGHTHS
TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

15. Samādīsa[sa]ti [cha | *] viditam-astu bhavatīm sarvata[ha][*] śivam-a-  
16. smākun[ka]mu-sa-nayat śūdha(tad)-vishaya-samva(na)dhi Kāṇkhatrā-grā-  
17. ma[ha][*] chatu[ha]* sa[sa]ma-parinçhathina(naḥ), mātā-pitrō-ātmanaḥ-cha puny-ābhivpihitam-  
19. Vaidhvaya-pravarawya Vājaśna-charaṇāya Mādhana-sākṣa-Ādhyāya-s-  
20. ni Madhyadēśa-pratīva[ha]dhi-hāta[sa]grāmas-Khaduvāvalli-vinirgata[ha]-ta-  

Second Plate : Second Side

21. Santōṣhamādhava-vāstavya-bhāta[ta]-Madhun[sa]sū-danaśya nāptā(pitrō) bhāta[ta]-Nila-  
22. kaṭṭhasya suta[ta]-yāya bhāta-Ājāpatāh Viśu[va]kha[va]-sankranti-pañchanyā[ha]* Ra  
23. vi-dīnā Mṛgajā[ra]rā-nakshatṛā capāmā-yamā tāmvra(mra)-śāsana(nā)kṣītya prada-  
25. varjiṭēnākaraṇām bhūjādhi[ha][*] dharma-gauravaḥ pratipāla-  
27. dam-samad-anumōnani[yan]am[ya] ukta[ta]-cha dharma-sāstra[sa]la[ha]-shu[sa] Va(Ba)lubhir-  
28. dhi dattā rājabhī[sa] Sagar-ābhibhi[ha][*] yasa yasa yadā bhūmī-tyasa  
30. sva-dānāt phalu[mam]-ānanta[n]as[sa] para-datt[ta]-tt-āmunāpan[na] [5*] Sva-datt[ta]-[sa] para-  

Third Plate

31. dattāmavā(ttān vā) yō harēta vasumāharām[ta]m | sa vishṭhāyam kriḥr-bhu[r]-bhūtvā  
32. bhū[ha][*] asa pachyati(tā) [6*] Satyaṃ yajja-hutaṃ ča-siva yat-kīchhi[ha][*] dharma-saṅchaya-  
33. ārdhā-aṅgalena śāmāyā hampēna pramaṇaṣaṣa[ya]ya[ty] [7*] Sa(Sh)a[sa]bhit(ah)Β-va[sa]-  
34. uṣārānī svargē vaṃta bhū(ḥū)mitāḥ | śaḥēptāḥ ča-ānumāntā cha tāṃsa(na)ya-vā  

1 Read Maundupā.  
2 Read tvā-sāyogāya-praśarēya. The Maundupā gōtī has three prasena, viz., Āṅgīra, Bhāmpāva sa  
3 Mudgala.  
4 Read Vājaśnāgīya.  
5 Read Māṇḍignāda-ānkha-āṣkṣa-āṣkṣa.  
6 Originally śālā was inscribed.  
7 Read bhai-āṣkṣa-āṣkṣa.  
8 The context does not require this expression.  
9 Read bhārādhi-bhiṣaṃścita-cha.  
10 Read arūd-dāṇquānā smeā.
In September 1940, three sets of copper plates were unearthed from a field at the village of Pauni, about three miles from Bilaigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. One set was passed on to the then zamindar of Bilaigarh. It belongs to the reign of the Kalkhuri king Pratapamalla and is dated K. 969. Another set which fell into the hands of a sadhu, was subsequently recovered by the same zamindar. Proceeding on this information furnished by Pt. L. P. Pandeya, the plates were secured for examination in April 1945 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, through the good offices of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Raipur. With the kind permission of the former, I edit the inscription here.

The set consists of two oblong copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring passes through a hole cut at the centre of one of the edges of the longer sides of the plates. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and their rims are slightly raised to protect the writing. The plates measure 11½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth each approximately. The inscribed faces of the plates contain marginal decorative designs on three sides save the upper one. The diameter of the ring is about 1½ inch. The ring is flattened at the top and given the shape of a round thin disc. This disc comprises the seal which has marginal decoration all around. In its upper half it is carved in relief a crude figure of Gajalakshmi in the usual fashion. The lower half contains the following legend engraved in two lines in Nagari characters: 1 Raja-rama-2 Drividevah. The seal measures two inches in diameter. The weight of the two plates together is 137 tolas and the ring with the seal weighs 3 tolas.

The inscription consists of 36 lines which are distributed equally on the two plates. The average size of the letters is ½ inch. The characters are Nagari of the 12th century A.D. The dandas and other punctuation marks are used in their proper places: for instance, to mark the halves and ends of verses, etc. The awasana sign is generally indicated; e.g., | awasana bhut

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1 This epigraph is edited in this journal, above, pp. 97 ff.
2 For more details about the discovery of these copper plates see above, p. 97 n. 5. It is not known what happened to the third set referred to above.
3 This is registered as C.P. No. 20 of the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, for 1945-46, p. 12.
in line 3. The sign for $g$ is invariably the one made up of three vertical strokes, the first being curbed at the lower end. $y$ as the second component of a conjunction looks more like $p$. The use of $b$ proper is detected in two places, viz., \textit{bhbh\udhr} in line 6 and \textit{bhbhs} in line 13. This $b$ is almost like $p$ except that its box is more angular at the bottom. In regard to orthography, with the exception of the two instances noted above, $b$ is invariably substituted by $c$, $k$ is used for $g$ in some cases; e.g., \textit{kshyati} and \textit{nrmats} in line 34. The consonant following $c$ is generally doubled, there being a few exceptions; e.g., \textit{kastavr\udya} in line 3, \textit{sau(sau) s\udra} in line 6 and \textit{sirya} in line 27. The language is Sanskrit and the composition, except for the salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, is in verse. There are 24 verses in all and they are duly numbered.

Like other inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratapuri, the epigraph opens with an obeisance to Brahman and recounts the genealogy of the family commencing with the sun god. \textit{Prithvivid\udya} II, son of Ratnadva II, is the last king eulogised (verse 11), and to his reign the record pertains. Verses 1-10 with the exception of one narrating the exploit of K\udhravirya against R\udha, which is omitted, are identical with those in other charters of the family. Next comes the description of a distinguished family of learned Brahmanas of the Vatsa g\udra (verses 12-15). Three members of this family are described: viz., H\udr\udha, his son Jimitav\udha, and the latter's son D\udhr\udha. In regard to D\udhr\udha we are told that he was a master of the S\udhranv\udrav \textit{vidya} and that learning the secret of this lore from him, the famous feudatory chief Brahmad\udva vanquished all his enemies on the fields of battle. The object of the epigraph is to register the gift of the village \textit{Pan\udhrata} situated in the Kva\udja \textit{m\udna\udla}, made in favour of D\udhr\udha by \textit{Prithvivid\udya} II (verse 16). Verses 17-22 contain the usual exhortations for the protection of such gifts and the imprecation. The charter was drafted by Maha\udya son of Subhankara, who was learned and had earned reputation on account of his many compositions (verse 23). The copper material was put into shape by \textit{V\udhr\udha}. The record was written on the plates by the son of K\udri and engraved by the son of Lakshmidhara (verse 24).

The date as cited in the last line (line 36), is \textit{Svam} 896, evidently referring to the Kalachuri era. After these numerals are engraved the three \textit{ak\udra\udvas, a} may be the significance of which is not clear. In line 27 there is a statement to the effect that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse. If we take 247-48 A.C. as the beginning of the era, K. 896 would correspond to 1144 A.C. In this year there was a solar eclipse on December 22, Tuesday, in the \textit{Pu\udra\udma} month of M\udga. We may note the occurrence of solar eclipses in the \textit{Pu\udra\udma} month of \textit{Ab\udha} in the following two years, viz., on June 22, Friday, 1145 A.C., and on June 11, Tuesday, 1146 A.C. The Raj\udmu inscription of this king's reign is dated K. 896, M\udga at 6, Wednesday, and this date has been shown to correspond regularly to January 3, 1145 A.C. by K\udrihorn. In view of the identical Kalachuri year cited in these two epigraphs, it seems reasonable to assume that December 26, 1144 A.C. is the date of the present inscription.

Verse 11 narrates an historical event relating to \textit{Prithvivid\udya} II, when it states rather poetically that, by crushing Chakrad\udta\udha, he made the illustrious G\udra king feel frightfully anxious, since the

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1. Compare similar form and use of $b$ occurring in the \textit{Bhik\udha} plates of the same king, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 146.
2. Ibid., p. 153, verse 3.
4. To venture a conjecture, the expression \textit{ud\udra\udva maybe taken to be a contraction for \textit{Ab\udhr\udha} or \textit{Ab\udhr\udha} \textit{ud\udra\udva}. But this presumption would not solve the difficulties in the calculation of the date.
5. \textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XVII, p. 138. In the Raj\udmu inscription M\udga at 6 is mentioned as "rat\udhras\udha". The significance of this name, as noted by K\udrihorn, cannot be explained satisfactorily. We may incidentally note another tradition according to which this \textit{r\udhras} is termed \textit{Bhik\udhras\udha}; \textit{Indian Epigraphs}, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 64 and 67.
only measure of safety now left to him was to cross the waters of the sea. From the Rājim stone inscription noticed above, it is known that Prithvirāja II conquered the country of Bhramaravadra, otherwise styled Bhramarasākṣeya and identified with Chakrakōṭa or modern Baestar District. The same vistory must evidently have been referred to in the above verse. The Ganga king who is said to have been terrified by this conquest which he apparently considered to be the precursor of the Kalsenchuri king’s expedition against his own kingdom, might be Jayēvara, son of Ananta- varman Chōdagānja, mentioned in other inscriptions of the family. Another piece of historical information is contained in verses 10 which incidentally alludes in general terms to the victories of the renowned feudatory Brahmadēva. This chief is obviously identical with his namesake figuring in the Ratanpur stone inscription of this king.

Two places are mentioned in the record. One is the region called Evāli-mandala wherein the gift village was situated. I am unable to identify this tract. The other is the gift village Paṇḍāratala. It appears to be fairly certain that this is identical with the present-day Pandēratala in the Mahassanmūn Tásīlī of the Raipur District.

Lastly, we may note the relationship between the writer and the engraver of this inscription with those of the two sets of Amōda plates of this ruler. The scribe of the latter, as stated therein, was Śrivatsasāra, son of Kirtiśhara, of the Vāstavya family. It is not unlikely that the son of Kirti of the present record, whose proper name is not mentioned, was identical with this Śrivatsasāra. In like manner it is probably that Lakāshmīkara who engraved the first set of Amōda plates was the father of the engraver of the present inscription.

TEXT

[Metres: Vr. 1, 8, 16-22 and 24 Amākti; 2 and 5 Ugrā; 3, 9 and 12 Sārādāsviśott: 4, 6, 7, 10, 13-15 and 23 Vasantaśīkā; 11 and 12 Amākti]

First Plate

1 सिद्धः [10] श्रमो ब्रह्मक्षेत्रे ॥ निर्मृणेण व्यापके निज सिन्धु परमार्गारणं (प्रम) । भावानां पर व्यविस्तरसं श्रेण- ॥

2 जी नम: ॥ ॥ ॥ यदेवदिवसारमणि(ब) स्वन्त्योक्ति: स पूर्वा दुर्ग: पूर: ॥ अभ्यासः पुषो मंडुरा- ॥

3 दिराजस्वदत्वेऽव्रुद्धिवेष कार्यविषयः ॥ ॥ ॥ तदाक्षरमभवा तर्कप्रत्यक्ष: क्याला: दिती हृदयः- ॥

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 137.
3 Chakrakōṭa, as the name of the country, not have been derived from Chakrakōta, its chief town. It may be compared with Chakrakōṭasārślītra mentioned in the Tenak inscription: above, Vol. X, p. 39.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 297.
6 List of Villages in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 126.
7 This Kirtiśhara is apparently identical with his namesake of Jamāla-ghruśa, who writes Sārūḥi plates of Ramādeva II., above, Vol. XXII, p. 167.
9 Ibid., p. 411.
10 From the original plate and impressions.
11 Expressed by a symbol.
Seal

From a Photograph
4 स्तोत्रमन्यस्यमुणियमपुष्पमनस्यक्षणतापर्यात्त:। वस्मविनाजतनामनुस्मरणितः। सं(श)-
व(श)सता सजस्य—
5 सर्वप्रारम्भसूक्ष्मतत्वामित:। वस्मववच्छामायसी कोकलः। ॥ ॥ अश्वदावसरिकरिकुम्र-
विभंजसिः—
6 ॥ पुष्क मृणुवर्तिसि(श्री)पंचराश्च। तथा। तत्रायोजनो। नूरस्वरसिन्धुप्रीय असी-
लयार्चं(व)च मंडलपतिः—
7 चकार। व(व)भुः। ॥ ॥ स्तोत्रमनुस्यः। वालिकार्यः। वस्मवल्लभपितारिराजः।
जातोज्ज्वये धी—
8 उत्तरपुष्पमोदप्रियानांभोक्तपर्यक्तेषु। ॥ ॥ तस्मादिपि। प्रत्तिनिर्मलकीकोकनाते
ज्ञा—
9 तः सुतः। कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः।। यस्य। प्रत्तिपटगर्भसुविद्रे। रघुनं यातां। युक्त—
10 वनानि विकासमाने इश्वरः। लेनाय वनवनोस्यति। शराप्री। विवेकोपाकवर्णमार्णी—
11 तपश्चार्यः।। ये में विषया(व) हुयुगिनिर्मितिमिर्मिबये नैते। शास्त्रसुवशृणुनु विनिहृत्य
शः—
12 पूर्णः। ॥ ॥ मोनलाल्या। प्रिया। तथा। धूरस्तेवः। धी। शूरतः। तयोः। सूतो। नूप-
प्रथेत्ये। पुष्पीवेद्वी—
13 समुहः। ॥ ॥ पुष्पीवेदवसमुहः। वस्मववच्छालल्यायतः। शूरः। सज्जनयी—
वासिण्य(व)तापस्ततः—
14 ॥ कल्पुमः। शीतः।। सर्वोपज्ञायतः। सुमन्तां तीक्ष्णाविश्लेष्टः। पर्य—
(श्व)तकारः—
15 तराराजानावदनो। जाजवल्लेदो। नृपः। ॥ ॥ तस्मिनः। सकलकोलससंवेदना।
श्रीमा—
16 स्माहारसम्मतनरसिद्धिः।। सर्वविद्वेदवल्लेर्विसिद्धिः।। सागरसातः
नि—
17 खिस्सी। मूवः। रल्लेदः। ॥ ॥ पुष्पसर्वस्य प्रतितमहिमा। सोभववदुपपातीम्।
पुष्पीवेदि—
18 श्री। उपपुष्पमिर्बंपिनिधानिहिः।। श्रीमण। नूयुपसिद्वरक्षकों। कोटोपतः—

—These two dots denoting verses go with the akshara ad in the previous line.
—The akshara ad in the expression अश्वदावे here is obviously lengthened for the convenience of meter.
19 देवराकालं जलनिश्चिततालं धनबध्यक्षयामांसे। एँ० १११। गोमेरे
कस्मातुग्राहायमांहा।
20 रुग्नामा पुरा विप्रोज्यमूलवनसिर्या। भूतिविमा योजनकोलनिक्ता। ए०
भियवोमिः।
21 रान्ति।। १२।। रत्नार्कारात्मवर्षशुरूवर्षाणीर्विधान सदा निज सम्बादीयः
ए० १२।। जीमूर्तिः।
22 इति प्रचितसादिय: पुजाः पवित्रित्वचरित्वा दक्षचरित्वा (नमः)।
आतीदसीमणगौरवम्।
23 दित्वः शारीरयः। राज्य सुमित्र सिर चलताः (लम्)।। १३।। देशः
अहमवक्षः सूती मनोहरी बे।
24 वाणिज्यवर्षा (वा) निरुपिया विसर्या कविया। स्पष्टः स्मृतास्वरुपमा महिमा
न वयः विश्वासकार्याकरेऽ(गा)।
25 चतुरोत्तरस्या।। १४।। सरसे(गा) केमदरस्तुपमा। भूतेनु विभा शर्भा यती युथि
विशिष्ट वसमसतः।
26 कविता [१४] में श्रेष्ठैव इति क्षुद्रमाटिकी जानाति निकृतमुखः (क)।
प्रभुप्रगतमुक्तः।। १५।।
27 द्वारस्त्राभ्राम म्वातसमीमित्वते।। पुष्पविकृती दृशी तस्मि सुर्योऽपनार्वणिः।। १६।।
28 मिति।। रत्नभवस्वरूपा यावजसे महीमि।। तावताभ्रामिं पल्यसेतन्वयजनमिः।। १७।। कै।
29 चतुरोत्तरे श्च कवितामुपीमयायोजकं भवेत्।। पालानः प्रवलेन धर्ममयं मम तृप्ति
30 ए० १८।। ब्रह्मवेद्यकशु मृत्ता राजसिः समारदिमिः।। यस्य यस्य यस्य
भूषितस्य तः।

¹ The floral figures and the double doublets here are significant. They show that one topic is over, viz., the
genealogical account and the praemes of the king.
² A top mark is engraved above this verse i., which has perhaps to be ignored. Or it may have been used
to make the letter long ē.
³ As to line 19 the floral design and the double doublets here indicate that the topic dealing with the grant is
over.

MGPS-३१-६ DGA/६३-९-५३-४५०.
31 स्य सर फल(समु.) [136] पुक्कावली दिनायिप्याळा सन्याद्वी पुरुदेर। मही नहीमूत्सा क्षेत्र वना।
32 फुले हि पालं(तमु.) [137] त्वद्वा परद्वा व यो हृद वसुधारा स विष्णुवी कृमिमुखवा पितु।
33 मि. तह संयज्ञ (128) तपायानो सदुशीन वाजपेय(व)तेन व। गयं कोन्दप्रदेश भूमि।
34 हलि व नु(पु)चवात। [129] ताम्रपञ्च(व)स्तरवन्यमकारि तेन भीमतू(प)भंकर-मुतेन व(व)हुए।
35 तेन। भीमल्पेगे काव्यकेशपुरपुदेन भूरिकृष्ण(व)गरचिवर्भलम(म)पदेन 129। पाठन सा।
36 मनं त्व विविन कौन्तिनुयूरा। लक्षमीधरमुदेशन भूरिसुषुम्ना ताम्रामुल्लाम(स)। 128।
37 संयुक्त 166। संयुक्त।

No. 28—TWO Jaina INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

P. H. DESAL, OOTACAMUND

While surveying the epigraphical sources for my work on Jainism in South India, I had to go through the Jain inscriptions in the Tamil country critically. In the course of this study I noticed certain peculiar features regarding the religious history of Jainism in this region, which had a characteristic development of its own. One of them is the evolution of the Yakshi cult. With a view to illustrating this particular point I select here two typical inscriptions and try to explain their significance briefly.

INSCRIPTION I

This inscription is engraved on a boulder of the hillock called आंजिनाली near the village Chōlavāṇḍīpurām in the Tirukkovilur taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras State. It was copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in the field season of 1936-37. The boulder containing this inscription leans against another boulder thus forming

1 This verse makes it clear that the record was first written on the plain with ink or similar material and then engraved.
2 This volume comprises a detailed survey of the Jain inscriptions selected from the three main regions of South India, namely, Andhradesa, Tanjāvūr and Karnātaka. The book which is now in an advanced stage of printing is being published as the third issue of the series 'Jātaka Jaina Granthakalī', Shaligram.
3 My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to edit these records here.
4 It is registered as No. 251 of the year's epigraphical collection.
a cavity which may be considered to be a natural shrine. On the inner sides of these two boulders facing each other are carved the figures of two Jain deities, Gommates and Parveshvanatha. "In the recess between them is found a loose slab about 4 feet high with a fairly archaic sculpture of the Jain goddess Padmavati cut on it in high relief." 1

The inscription comprises four lines. The letters in the first line of the record are bigger and the medial signs of the aksharas sr, sr and ri are extended above their tops. In spite of the rough surface of the boulder the inscription is neatly engraved and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are Tamil of about the 10th century A.D. They stand fair comparison with those of the Tirukkovalur inscription of Krishna III, dated in his 21st year. 2 The tripartite form of y, which is sometimes looped in the inscriptions of the earlier period, 3 may be noted herein. The form of the letter t in the expression 'tevaram' in the 4th line is peculiar. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the medial sign, which is normally separated and placed before the main letter as in the in the same line, is joined to the bottom of the letter t, the left side loop of which is consequently dropped. Sraus and sri in the first line are inscribed in the Grantha alphabets.

The language is Tamil. The epigraph states that the tevaram was caused to be made by Sreevai Koilargaiyar Pattdigal. No date is mentioned in the record. We may, however, assign it approximately to the 10th century A.D. on paleographic considerations. The epigraph reads thus:

TEXT

1 Svaati [ \* ] Sreevai
2 Koilargaiyar
3 Pattdigal
4 Sraus and Sria (in the first line are inscribed in Grantha alphabets)

The main component of the rather longish name of the author of the tevaram is Pattdigal. He appears to have been a person of some importance and the suffix m[gar] denotes his respectable status. A good number of Jain inscriptions similarly carved on the rocks of hills have been found in close association with Jaina sculptures in the Tamil districts. 4 A study of these in comparison with the present one, the Jaina associations of which are quite marked, should leave no doubt in our mind in regard to the nature of the record under study and the identity of Pattdigal who might be a Jaina devotee.

An expression of some interest in the epigraph requiring comment, is the word tevaram. Its two familiar meanings are well known, viz. 1) worship and 2) a collection of devotional

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1. As. Rom. on S.T. Epigraphy by 1936-37, p. 61.
4. From an impression.
5. It is interesting to note that Pattdigal is the Tamil version of the Sanskrit name Buddhi. This does not necessarily mean that the individual should be a believer of Budhism. Buddhi is one of the terms denoting the higher state attained by an enlightened soul according to the Jain philosophical concepts. Vide Panchasara (edited by A. N. Upadhyay, Bombay, 1939), Introduction, p. XXXIV.
songs in honour of Siva, composed by Appar and others. But here it appears to have been used in a somewhat different sense, viz., a group of sculptures for worship as indicated by the context.

Having examined the meaning of the term teertham, we may now ascertain its nature as described by Pattaigal. As seen above, the two boulders meeting each other with intervening space, have themselves improvised a natural shrine. Then we have to turn to the Jaina vestiges therein. These are the figures of Gommateswara carved near the present inscription on one boulder, and of Pārīvanātha on the other, and the fairly big sculptures of Padmāvatī placed in the intervening hollow. From its very nature, size and the central position, the form of Padmāvatī assumes the principal role among these Jaina relics. We can now see the part played by Pattaigal in the making of this teertham. Being a natural formation, he, of course, had nothing to do in its creation. He simply imitated the figures of Gommatesa and Pārīvanātha on the adjoining boulders to represent the side statues and installed the main image of Padmāvatī in the intermediate spot. It is for doing these things that he takes credit in the epigraph as the maker of the teertham. We may note here with interest the position of vantage enjoyed by Padmāvatī; for she is the Yakshi of Pārīvanātha and thus occupies a subordinate place in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.

Happily, another similar instance has come to our notice. It is an inscription at Vallimalai. This regard, which is styled ‘A’, is similarly carved on the rock of a natural cave, below a group of sculptures, and speaks of the foundation of the Jaina shrine (māsāl), evidently referring to the same itself with Jaina relics, by the Gaṅga prince Rājarāma.

**INSCRIPTION II**

This epigraph is inscribed on a beam of the mahāstūpa in front of the central shrine in the temple of Ādiśākhā Trāiśākhāra at Pounir, a village in the Wandoor taluk of the North Arcot District. The inscription is slightly damaged and comprises two lines. The script is both Grantha and Tamil. The characters are late. Medial short and long e are distinguished. Medial m is denoted by placing either single-looped two spirals or one double-looped spiral behind.

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2. At the precise significance of the expression teertham used here is not certain, we may take into consideration other possibilities. According to the lexicographer Sāravakāra this means ‘daily worshiped privately in a house’; further, it may not be unreasonable to connect it with the Sanskrit śārīra, in which case it would mean ‘a shrine’. Use of the word śārīra in the sense of ‘a shrine’ is found in an 11th century Kānkeśa inscription in the Bellary District: *AH*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 414. The expression śārīra is current in the Maññā language in the sense of ‘a shrine for private worship’.
5. This was one of the peculiar aspects of Jainsm in the Tamil country, as I have noticed in the course of my survey of the Jaina antiquities. The hill tracts with natural caverns and rocky caves had a great attraction for the Jaina teacher and the devotee who transformed them into sacred shrines and centers of religious practices. Besides the two places dealt with above, a large number of hill spots associated with Jaina relics line up to light so far; see *Ac. Rep. on S. T. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 3; above, *Vor*. IV, p. 126; *Med. Rep. Rep. of 1887*, p. 27, etc. From the association of the śārīra umbrella, which is a characteristic emblem of the Jains, with the rocky beds at Śrīnāmūrthi in the North Arcot District (Ac. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1923, 43 (1924-25), p. 11), it may be safely assumed that at least some of similar tombs, popularly known as the "Pādmapūjagapu," found in a large number in many parts, near the coasts of Jains make a maze pleases of the faith in the Tamil country. For a detailed description of these Please on *Proceedings* and *Transactions of Third General Conference*, pp. 275ff.
6. This was copied by the Madras Epigraphists’s office in 1929. It is registered in No. 418 of Appendix B in the year’s collection and briefly noticed on p. 88 of the year’s Report.
the consonant. The language is Tamil, though a few expressions like Kalyana and Satakha are used. One may note, if the sentences are similar. Occurrence of familiar abbreviations for varisamānakam, etc., may be noted in more than one place. The date is cited thus: Kali year 4831, Sālhērama Saka 1655, year 46 starting with Pavavāra, namely Pramādika, Valiśa 17. Though agreement prevails among these details, the date is not capable of verification, as the week-day, the tithi and the sakalātra are not mentioned. The said day corresponded with Tuesday, May 13, 1733 A.D. While engraving the above date the symbol for ten is consistently omitted.

The inscription purports to lay down a rule for the guidance of the Jaina community residing in the village of Svarpurma. It is thus specified: The Jains of this locality should take in procession the images of Viśvaśravana and Jvalāmālinī from the temple of Adilēvara (i.e., Adinātha), every Sunday, for being worshipped on the occasion of service to Hālāchārya on the Nilagiri hill in the north-western quarter. Svarpurma is evidently identical with modern Ponnūr. The Nilagiri hill, which also figures in the legend of Hālāchārya, has still retained the name, being three miles away from Ponnūr. The images of Viśvaśravana and Jvalāmālinī mentioned in the epigraph are probably the metallic images preserved in the temple of Adinātha to the present day; or their earlier substitutes. These are evidently intended for being displayed on ceremonial occasions. The specific mention of Jvalāmālinī alongside of Viśvaśravana in the inscription is noteworthy; for the former was originally the Yakshi or the attendant deity of Chandragūpta. Tirthāhāsika and attained unusual importance in later times. Judging from the earlier Jaina inscriptions found here and the tradition connecting it with Hālāchārya, Ponnūr appears to have been a renowned stronghold of Jains from earlier times.

**TEXT**

1 Svasti i.[*] Śilāvāham-Śak-ābōdha 1655 Kaly-ābōdha 1834 ku māḷ śēllā nga Pravārī ṣa(Śa)k-ābōdha varusamā 16 [k] ku Pramādika varusamā Vaigāśi mālām 17 [U]śūkliya śāsanaḥ āsvadu [*].


We might in this context take note of one more epigraph, as it is helpful in our study. This is an archaic inscription from Paṇḍhapūravamal, dated in the 50th year of the Pallava king Nandgamottaravar, which speaks of the creation of an image of a Golden Yakshi on the hill. It is significant to observe that neither the epigraph nor the sculptures that illustrate its contents have any place for the Jainas.*

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2 *Jaina Inscriptions* (op. cit.), p. 92.
4 From an impression.
5 Familiar abbreviation is used here for this expression.
6 This sign is the symbol C denoting abbreviation for the expression ītī.
7 Page here stands for the Saṅghatī. Fāgara.
8 There is a syntactical flaw here. An expression like sarasvatī is necessary to connect this word with the following.
9 This latter index must be 34.
These facts are revealing. They show that the Yakshi had gained popularity among the followers of Jainism from very early times and that her images, like those of the Jinas, were installed independently in shrines created for the purpose and placed under worship. This should appear strange if we examine the original status of a Yakshi in the Jaina pantheon. A Yaksha and a Yakshi are the devotees of the Jina and their function is to attend on him. These are depicted in sculptural representations in small figures at the corners of the pedestals adorned by their masters, the Jinas. It thus becomes clear that the Yakshi is a subservient deity and can claim no independent place for herself. The above epigraphical notices therefore go contrary to the original conception of the Yakshi and provide instances of the characteristic evolution of the Yakshi worship.

Inscription II contains reference to Hīlāchārya, which name devoid of phonetic accentuation would be Hīlāchārya. Hīlāchārya was an eminent teacher of the Dravida-gaṇa and he is regarded as the innovator of the cult of Jvālānātim. This deity, though a Yakshi, in the beginning, was, with the passage of time, attributed mysterious powers including those of the fire-goddess. She was involved in the practices of Tantric worship and works like the Jvālānātiḥkāya were composed around her. It is of interest to note that in an inscription at Sāljūm in the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State, the Mukhājaras of the place are described as performing mystic rites for propitiating this deity.

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No. 29—TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

(1 Plate)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, GUGAMUNDO AND D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, MYSORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at Tālāngārē near Kāsrągod, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the South Canara District of the Madras State. It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1932-33 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in Sāndhyākṣerōṭiḥā metre and are engraved in Grantha characters. The rest of the inscription is in Kannada characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. The script does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, a (lines 9, 23), ã (lines 16, 21), ı (line 7), i (line 20), u (line 9) and ë (lines 9, 26). The shape of the long ë is particularly noteworthy. The form of final i (line 6) may also be noted. The specimen of Grantha and Kannada scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayāśūriśām Plates of Bāṇa Vikramaditya and the Kannada inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Devīśatr inscription of Saka 884 and the Sogal inscription of the reign

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1 Jaina Iconography, pp. 92-93.
2 Prasanta, Introduction pp. 4 and 12.
3 Author's own epigraphical collection. This epigraph which belongs to the 12th century, is under publication in my Jaina in South India mentioned above.
4 Above, Vol. XVI, p. 265 ff. and plate.
of Taila II; Saka 902. That the Brahmi and the Kannada scripts of the inscription, under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the 10th century A.D., leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period. Except palaeographical indications the record does not afford any clue for fixing its date; it bears no date nor does it refer itself to the reign of any king, whose dynasty is specified.

Among the orthographical features may be noticed the use of a superfluous amsa in the following cases: taksasa (line 18), prasukha-sa-nandasa (line 24). The close nasal is used in kanda (line 7), makkha (line 12), etc., while it is replaced by the aspirated in akkha-sanda (line 9), pandha (line 17), etc. The consonants following the ṛṣṣa are doubled in -a-chandra-ṭṭhaṅka (line 8), dharmaṇa (line 17), ārām (line 26).

The chief importance of the record lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the state of Kannada language and prosody in the period to which it belongs, i.e., 10th century A.D. Consequently, the special linguistic and metrical features and peculiarities found in the record are discussed at some length here.

The language of the inscription, except that of verse 1, which is in Sanskrit, is old Kannada interspersed with a few forms of middle Kannada, viz., -me (line 7), ṛppa (line 10), ṛrpe (line 13). Of these ṛrpe comes from the older morpheme -me and ṛrppa is derived, through assimilation from ārppa, of old Kannada. The accusative morpheme -an of old Kannada has dropped its final nasal in ṛrpe. The retroflex m-al-palatal l characteristic of Dravidian, is correctly employed. The retroflex r occurs quite regularly. In betpā (line 12) the nominative is used instead of the accusative bhutt-an. Ṛkholam = ṛkholam towards the end of line 1 is a case of back-formation based on analogy and is obviously not correct. Such wrong usages are frequently seen in inscriptions as well as old Kannada manuscripts. Kādrāja (1260 A.D.) expressly prohibits the pronunciation of ṛ + consonant as ṛ + consonant while admitting that older poets have used the two for the purpose of rhyme. This suggests that there was a widespread practice among the common folk of pronouncing the r + consonant cluster as ṛ + consonant and it may be this that has prompted the compiler, the scribe or the engraver, or possibly all the three, to use the form ṛkholam in the present record.

For and -an, the conjunctive morphemes of old Kannada are seen here in more than one context. One of them attaches itself to all the members entering into a conjunction and the last one takes on the required case suffix: the rest being in the nominative. While interpreting, the case suffix must be deemed to be present in all the other members also. As instances (1) mara-ya mallaṃ-samvarṣa-ma vaddhi [l. 12-13], (2) mallaṃ-balumvarṣa [l. 19], (3) palukkana, atira-dhāna m-śa-vakrama-bīḍaḥōla [l. 24] may be quoted from the inscription. In the first two the particle -an is used and in the third the particle -an is used in atiraddha and is absent in bīḍaḥōla, the second member. Such usage as this is rather rare in Kannada, more so in verse than in prose. According to the grammarians, though not expressly as stated, all the members in conjunction must have the conjunctive particle also as the case suffix.

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1. Ibid., pp. 1, 6, and plate.
3. Subhadara-bhāpati (Ed. Rāma, Rev. 1890) sūtra 34.


In the sentence "Urama Jāgavasya vahādūdīn pyāgāṇīdīn uddādī gāṇīdīn vāgāṇīdīn uṣhādavatādīn uddādī", the second uddādī appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of vāṇa (meaning "are") and later on 'and' occurring in the sentences given below: (1) "vāṇa vāṇa uṣhādādīn vāṇa." (2) "pyāgāna pyāgāna pyāgāna vāṇa." (3) uṣhādādīn vāṇa uṣhādādīn vāṇa", wherein the use of vāṇa twice is analogous to that of "either" and "or" occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study: (1) maṇis (line 9) seems to be connected with maṇi and maṇi (Tamil) both meaning "a hillock". (2) uṣhādādīn from the context (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean "brackish". It appears to be related to the first member vāṇa of the Tamil compound word vāṇa-maṇi, vāṇa-maṇi, meaning "salty or brackish soil"; (3) uṣhādādīn (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit chatau-granam; (4) uṇa (line 26) has been translated as "excellent". This seems to descend from the Dravidian root uṇa meaning "to increase," by the addition of the suffix -a used to form abstract nouns. As the final -a of the root is unstable and not radical the noun uṇa is directly formed, meaning "increase, abundance". It is in this sense that Pampa has employed the word in the phrase vilakṣa-urē κau-vişa. The reading here with short u in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading urē found in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of the meaning deduced above. (5) Adhīrā (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word adhīrā.

The importance of this record to the student of Kannada prosody cannot be overstated. The Śrīkāśi rāvīrī in the first verse and the Kannada following are quite familiar in Kannada metres; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called utāḥka by the composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgavarman has defined the metre and the definition itself is the illustration. According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting of seven Brahman-gānas plus one ārya, with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of the Brahma-gāna (— — —, — — —, — — —) only two containing three syllables or saṃsūtra are used here and the other two containing four syllables or saṃsūtras are eschewed altogether. The tāmāi variety (— — —) though containing 3 saṃsūtras does not enter into the scheme of Brahmar-gāna. The utāḥka of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st, 3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scanium of one of them: viz., the first line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>tadi</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>maṇi</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The śaṭa or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra long syllable in the first foot:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Putrā</td>
<td>polo</td>
<td>t-śapa</td>
<td>Śāri</td>
<td>y-svā</td>
<td>niśa</td>
<td>ṛṇa</td>
</tr>
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<td>---</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Kaviśājendra (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), X-134.
2 Ibid., 1-135.
3 Pampa-Bhārata (Kannada Saṅhita Parṇdhān ed.), VI-20.
4 Kittel has spelt this word with a cedilla or silvered "ś" in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janne, a famous poet and composer of the Tarkāve inscription of 1197 A.D. has in verse 22 definitely used the word with a retroflex "ś" in the rhyming place.
5 Pampa-Bhārata (Kannada Saṅhita Parṇdhān ed.), 1-136.
6 Ckāramānulā: Kīrya Kalpaśīlī edītēk, verse 288.
Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nagavarma. Instances of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Pampa (941 A.C.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Naṇaṇa | kauya | ṭaḷiña | māṃkata | sānka | ṭā ṣa | kāṭa | ṛīnah

1 2 3
Prasūṇa | ṛajāna | paḷiṅa | ṛīnah

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudandha (c. 1275 A.C.) has composed a rasasūra comprising 49 such couplets. The following is a sample:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Janaṅga | ṭaṅya | ṭāga | ṭogna | ṭaṅga | ṛīva | ṛasaha | ṛīnah

1 2 3
Mudāṅga | pūrṇa | ṛasaha | ṛīnah

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the rules regulating this metre; his is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannada metrical and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gautama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Saradvat. Saradvat's brother was Santam whose son was Kripa. After many kings born in the lineages of Kripa down to Salva had passed away, Jayasimha, the crest-jewel among the Keshatris, is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttur to Mochabbarasa as kanyādāna, i.e., gift to a daughter. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile land by Mochabbarasa. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a mast dog around the place. After the usual impression on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent Jāgavva and not on the male offspring and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasimha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasimharas whose inscription is found at Kariangala (Ammusna) near Mangalore. He bears the titles Mōkabardhara, Pālanga-Mahākāyabheriṇa Paramesvara and Paramabhaktarāja. As these titles are usually associated with the later Alupas, the chief Jayasimharas of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call... 

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1 Pampa-Bharaṇa, I.ii.
2 Kuṇḍāloka Rāṣṭrapa IV—after 98.
3 SHI, Vol. IX., part i, loc. No. 399.
him an Āḷupa. Since Taļāṅgere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Karṇāṅgaḷa, the findspot of Āḷupa Jayasimha’s record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasimha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasimha of the Karṇāṅgaḷa record did. But, on account of the fact that the Karṇāṅgaḷa record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Taļāṅgere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Vijayāditya of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bāḍāmi the Āḷupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered it would appear that the Āḷupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Āḷupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kuns sands-Mahādevī, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the Jinaśāstra at Purigore constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Āḷupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavasi to visit the Āḷupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gāvinda II it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Āḷavakṣaṇa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Āḷupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing. This was about 800 A.C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasimha is, as suggested above, an Āḷupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Āḷupas continued to be vassals, either of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of their power after overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasimha’s of the Karṇāṅgaḷa inscription, i.e., 11th century A.C., the Āḷupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.

Besides Jayasimha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., Mōchabbarasi and Jōgavva. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasimha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how Mōchabbarasi and Jōgavva were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that Mōchabbarasi was either the sister or the niece of Jayasimha. If she is to be considered the niece, Jōgavva might have been the king’s sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of abīya-sādāna is in vogue even today in that area.

The only place mentioned in the record is Puttār. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Taļāṅgere, the findspot of the inscription.

2 C. P. No. 49 of ARRE for the year 1945-6.
3 Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, 3b. 16.
4 Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.
5 A later Jayasimha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Drāmas teacher Madhavakshya in the literary work Madhavanjangiya (Sarga 15, verses 21 ff.). He was a ruler of Kunjāḷa. Madhavakshya is stated to have visited a place called Vēnuvēmannagā, about three miles from Kēnārāgāḍ, where Jayasimha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasimha of Kunjāḷa. Perhaps he was also an Āḷupa chief.
69-DGA/33
1 *Svasti Śrī [†] *Āśekha-pātālakhaṇḍaśu tēi-bhūvana-khyātō munīr-Gautamaṣa-tat-sūnō-chha
2 Saṃsvaṇaḥ Kṛjpa iti bhūra[tej-sa]ūra-Saṃsvaṇaḥ [†] tad-vamaśīṣha-adhunā ga-
3 *āśekha-amarastān Śāky-ānta-hadr-ālīha śrēṣṭha-srī-Jayaśimha
4 śita jayati khaṇḍa-aśa-chūdamaniḥ || [1*]
5 Śrī chāpa[āleya[ān] Vachana-Śrī Chaturāsana-virūmāmaṇa-biṣṇu-Jaya-Śrī-chāru-
6 nātre-y-oḍa-ācār-ā-chāna-ārkaṁ vīrāj-sāl Jayaśimhaḥ || [2*] Vachana [†] [†] Kanyādāna-
7 maṁ nīna
8 g-ittana-endode puttu Māchāhārasi Santos[ti]-buṣṭ-int-endode | Kanda | Inn-appa bhūpā-ella
9 nannoreg[a[n] doreg-vārtra-adarūṇa-āraṁ maṁisad-āraṁ guṇa-saṁpamaṇa samant-śvad-
10 ena[ga] kanyā
11 dānaṁ || [3*] Akkun-sūṇdu || Ustāhaṁ || Uṭṇa-kadhya toreyα kātiya kāla mōjādāṁ
12 Puttārā polejan-āpā kāriy-ovation niira-bhūmiyānā śāra-bhūrāṇaṅgaḷ-ōḷīy-olaḷa nēr-
13 da keśeyan-āntiḥbhāṅkari tanaṇ dhanadān-oppo maḍīs-liḍādoṇ || [4*] Vachana ||
14 *Nītārum-śalāda kalkūda beṭṭau sava-talān mādīy-ōḍāla manṣya nendana-
15 vanavamati mūdīśi keśeyan kāṭṭāi toreyα sāyeṣṭi-ovation nela-
16 naḥ pārδum-śīṣaṁśi muktiṁśi adu maṇṇaḥ mūḍe
17 y-ōḷkuva-ovation-uppa-ṇelaṇā bhūmiyān-okaḷaṇa[ga]ḥ
18 ni śāmaṇa-śhāṅgāmga[ga]-st ārya kanyādānaṇa-gotṭa bhūmiyān
19 kāla-kālaṁraḷaḷa-śāruṇaḥ i śharmāmaṇ-āśaṇu koḷaṇ-āśiṇḍa paṃcama-mahā-pāṣa-
20 kaṁ tanaṇ tāyaṇ koḷaṇ-endo ṭaṃmaṇa taṇdeyaṁ kondo ṭaṃmaṇa maṅkali-netram koṇi-
21 do pasvāṁ ṛhmanamāṇaṇa Kūrankeśṭraṇaḷ-ālī-ātana pugvā ṛsa
22 kamāḥ pugvāna-akke [†] kanyādānamāṇa kooṭaṇa alpāyuṣhitamum-an-
23 putrānunum-appan-akke || [Kanda] || [Āśekha] akke ihāṭi-bhārma-
24 n-āśekha-āntara kavya-śūntā biranam-irad-āt bēōden-śṛṇhit[a] kāvya-
25 d-o vayavetṣηraṁ-ūrāṁ || [5*] Vachana [†] [†] Aśkaṁ-kadže [†] [†] Arumalgaḥ-ūrāna pokkaraṇa
26 phuladakkan-ētavoḍañcun[am]-ētānūvannā-ājīvādaḥ, koḷega ṛṣatarṣento-appa
27 drōhaḥ-geyḍu baṁci-ēnaṁ pokkōṇi saṁapanā mūrī-dvīvasaṁ sarva-panīhārama kādu
28 kaluprunu[†] [†] [Ū] jūmaṇe Jyāgavvoṣa vamadāḷa-śaṅga-ב allade gaṛṇa-gū-
29 sugala vamakāk-aḍēhāram-allade sallaḥ paṇ-ǵuṣaṇa-illadoṣa gaṛṇu-makkaḷga[sa] salkumā-
30 [lghu] [†] [†]

* Floral design.
* Metro: Śrīdālanākṣi. Line 1:4 are written in śrībala characteristics.
* The modala's sign of it is written at the end of the previous line.
* Read: aśīṇaṁ.
* Read: suṣṭaṁ.
* Read: daṇḍaṁ.
* Read: aśīṇaṁ.
* Read: aśīṁaṁ.
* After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.
* Read: caṇāṇaṁ.
* Read: caṇāṇaṁ.
* Read: saktiṁ.
Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitraśikhaṇḍuṃi there existed Gantama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kṛupa, son of Sāntana who was the brother of Śraddvat, the son of Gantama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śaiva had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasimha, the sole crest-jewel of the Kahiåriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-6. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken (her) fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up (her) resting-place in Chaturānana (i.e., Brahmā) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun (endure); Jayasimha, having said to Māchabharana “I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl (of the family),” she received (it), felt glad and said thus: “All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! (you) rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift [called] kungāḷas a locality which none would value.” He replied “Be it so.”

Lines 9-11. The brackish water-logged land (adjoining) the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttur (which was situated at some distance) from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees—(these two) the lotus-eyed (lady), by her own wealth had caused to be finally constructed;

Lines 12-23. thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired (to have), having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug (around) the land, comprising the brackish salty soil (used for) keeping bundles of grain, made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of (endless) times, whoever having destroyed this pious (deed), desires to appropriate it (it) for (himself), may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children (and) by destroying cows and Brahmaṇas in Kurukṣetra enters; may he who takes over (to himself) this gift to a damsel become short-lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth (in future), I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., prevents) those who carry away (the gift), to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 25-26. If it be asked how it is (the reply is): When the king’s men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters (it) must be protected for three days after exempting him from all impostes and (then) sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jēgavha the right (of succession) goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issue it goes to the male children.

1 These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marichi, Attri, Vasishtha, Aigirasa and Kratu.
2 Kungāḷas is a compound word which is usually taken to mean “making over an unmarried girl to a bridegroom in marriage.” In this case the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.
3 This seems to be the meaning of the word 'atī'
No. 30—TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUUMANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

Two single copper plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa were received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud, as exhibits for the Historical Exhibition organised on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress in December 1949. They were discovered some years back in a place near the town of Baud and were lying in the treasury. The exact place and the date of their discovery could not be ascertained. I propose to edit them here, with the kind permission of Mr. A. Das, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud.

Of the two plates, one is bigger than the other, the bigger one, to be termed hereafter as plate A, measuring 14.2" x 11.3", and the smaller one, plate B, 12.7" x 9.8". Both of them are in a fair state of preservation. A circular seal of the form of a full-blown lotus is submered at the centre of the left side of the plates. The counter-sunk surface enclosed within the rows of petal is circular in shape. The diameter of the counter-sunk space is 3.3" in plate A and 3" in plate B. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double-petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it, the legend Tribhuvanamahādevī (yādā) is neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript y in yādā is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the figure of a couchant bull with the symbols of the crescent, couch and sun above it. There are two floral designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull.

The characters closely resemble those of the Dhenkanal plate* of Tribhuvanamahādevī and the Talcher plates* of Sivakarndā (III). As a matter of fact, the Dhenkanal plate and our plate B were both inscribed by the same person, Harivardhana, while the Talcher plates were engraved by his father Rahusvaridhama. On palaeographical grounds the plates may be assigned to the 9th century of the Christian era at the earliest. Both the plates are dated in the year 10050 8 (i.e., 1538) of the era which is known to have been used by the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of both the plates is practically identical, except for the grant portion. The composition is a mixture of prose and poetry. The descriptive portion consists of fifteen verses in addition to the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. There are a few orthographical or grammatical mistakes and these have been corrected in their proper places. The words yādā, jēta, vaikuṇṭha, etc., occurring in the grant portion, seem to be Sanskritised Oriya expressions.

The documents open with the description of the charms of Guhāvara, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Next follows the genealogy of the family. In the Kara dynasty there flourished a powerful king named Umaṭanikha. His son was Śubhākara who erected many lofty vihāras. His son was Gāyāda who was succeeded by Kusumahāra. Gīvāmikādevī succeeded Kusumahāra who had left no son. The kingdom thrived under her rule, people lived in peace and prosperity. On her grandson, Lāghahāra, attaining majority, she retired making over the charge of the kingdom to him. Lāghahāra was blessed with two sons, Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra. The two sons succeeded their father one after another. But, both of them having died childless, Prithvimahādevī (the wife of Kusumahāra), whose father was Śvāhavatunāga of Kōhāla and mother Śrīgīvāmikādevī, the daughter of Yaśovīrāda, ascended the throne, and was known to the world under the name Tribhuvanamahādevī. She is styled Pāramahāsītikā, Mahābhārata-vigraha, Paramāsītikā and Paramamahādevī. At the request of Śaṅ-

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1 The plates are now preserved in the Orissa Museum.
3 Khara, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, pp. 40-50.
lēkhā, the moon of the Vṛgadī family of Virāta lineage and wife of Mahānaṁśaṅkārīpati Mahānakulaśa, Uṛthvīmaḥādēvi made the following grants in the year 158 for perpetual offering of ablation, sandal paste, etc., to the deity Umāmaḥēvara installed in the temple constructed by Śaṅkérā and named Nāmēvara after her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to Brahmaṇas and for the maintenance of the family of the dīnavatī.6

The grant in plate A consists of a village named Kōṭṭapuru together with the Nāmēvara taloṣṭaka in the district of Tamālikhaṇḍa in Danṣabhuṣṭi-maṇḍala located in Uttarā-Tōsaḷa. The grant recorded in plate B is a plot of land called Uṛthvī-khaṇḍakṣētra in the district of Daṇḍahūmāṇḍa in Danṣabhuṣṭi-maṇḍala of Uttarā-Tōsaḷa.

I may here point out that some portions of the text of the records under discussion occur in others as indicated below. Verse 6 of our plates occurs in the Telcher plate of Subhākaradeva of the year 141.8 Again verse 15 of our records is in the same plate with reference to the mother of Kusumāha or Subhākara III. The hīrakas of Tribhuvanamaḥādēvi as given in the Dhenkanal plate9 and in the plates under discussion are identical and the issuer is called Śivaṇguri in both. The passage dealing with the boundaries of the gift land in the present plate is almost the same as that in the Telcher plates of Śivakaradeva III of the year 149.4

Mahākṣayaṇaṭṭhadiḥkīra Rājakeśa Śrī-Malvāḍa acted as the dāka, mahākṣayaṭṭhadiḥ dhārīṇa Śakunāṭa as the writer and pataḥkārī Ṛgveda as the heater in case of both the records under study. Plate A was inscribed by the brahier Amrītavardhana, son of Dvāravardhana, while plate B was inscribed by Harivardhana, son of Rāhavavardhana. From the four copper plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, viz., the two Telcher plates of Śivakara III, the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamaḥādēvi and our plate B, we learn that Harivardhana was the son of Rāhavavardhana and the grandson of Rāmavardhana.

These plates are very important for the study of the history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa as they bring to light many new facts. Firstly, they reveal that Danṣabhuṣṭi-maṇḍala was included in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. Secondly, they throw new light on the genealogy of that dynasty. Thirdly, they reveal that the later Bhauma-Karas were matrilineally connected with the Śemavanāi kings of Kōsaḷa.

The genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas obtained from the present plate and that obtained from other plates are given below for a comparative study.

Plates under discussion

1 Umattasaṃhāra
2 Subhākara
3 Gayāda
4 Kusumāha (I) (died childless)
5 Gōṣāmīnī (relation with No. 4 is not mentioned)
6 Lōṣahāra (grandson of Gōṣāmīnī)
7 Kusumāha (II) (childless)
8 Lalitāha (childless)
9 Uṛthvīmaḥādēvī alias Tribhuvanamaḥādēvi (wife of No. 7)

6 I.e., a Brahmaṇa in charge of all functions connected with the making of grant by the King.
7 Minn., s.v., p. 33.
8 Hid., p. 30.
9 Hid., p. 46.
A study of the above two genealogies would show that there are certain points of wide and uncompromising difference between them. Firstly, it is stated in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless and Gosāvāni took upon her the burden of the realm until she made it over to her grandson Lōpabhāra. In the Talcher plates of Subhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there is no mention of Subhākara (III) alias Kusumahāra (I) as having died childless. They simply state that after the death of Subhākara (III) his mother took up the charge of the kingdom. In the Talcher plate of Subhākara (IV) it is definitely stated, in the same way as in the present plates, that Tribhuvanamahādevī made over the charge of the realm to her own grandson Lōpabhāra on his attaining majority. But in the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III) Lōpabhāra is not mentioned and so the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādevī and Lōpabhāra is not ascertainable. It is simply stated that Gayāda became king after her (tasyā bhūhāra....sripati-Gayādh, lines 12-13). It would appear to mean that Gayāda was born to her; but it was probably meant to convey the sense that Lōpabhāra-Gayāda succeeded Tribhuvanamahādevī. In the two Talcher plates of Subhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there are no details explaining the reasons for Tribhuvanamahādevī’s assumption of the government after her son; in the present plates it is definitely stated that Gosāvāni succeeded Kusumahāra (I) as he had died without leaving any issue (lines 8-9). So far it was believed that Tribhuvanamahādevī assumed the reins of the government during the minority of her grandson Lōpabhāra. But that assumption is no longer tenable in view of the clear mention of the fact in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless. This fact conflicts with the relationship between Gosāvāni and Lōpabhāra since the latter is described in the present plates as the grandson of the former. Since Subhākara (III), identical with Kusumahāra (I) of our plates, was childless, Lōpabhāra was either the son of a brother or sister of the former; otherwise he could not have been called the grandson of his predecessor. It,
however, appears more probable that Lōpabhāra was the son of a brother of Suḥhākara (III). This brother had probably predeceased Suḥhākara (III), after whose death his nephew became the sole heir. Tribhuvanamahādevī ruled the kingdom on behalf of her grandson who was still minor at the time of the death of Suḥhākara (III). This assumption alone can explain away the inconsistency of the facts stated above.

As regards the identity of Gōsvāmīnī it may be noted that she is stated in the present plates to have succeeded Suḥhākara (III) alias Kuṣumahāra (I) and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōpabhāra on his attaining majority. In the Talcher plate of Suḥhākara (IV), the mother of Suḥhākara (III) is described as having succeeded her son and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōpabhāra. She was also known as Tribhuvanamahādevī. Thus both Gōsvāmīnī and Tribhuvanamahādevī were successors of Suḥhākara (III) and grandmothers of Lōpabhāra. So they cannot be identical. Gōsvāmīnī was probably the original name of the wife of Sāntikara (I) alias Gayādā and mother of Suḥhākara (III), and Tribhuvanamahādevī was her assumed name. This assumption is corroborated by the allusion to Gōsvāmīnī as having ruled in the past in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī.

I may here point out that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate is not the wife of Sāntikara (I), as assumed by Pandit Misra, for the following reasons. For one thing, nowhere is Sāntikara (I) called Lalitahāra. As pointed out above, the name of Sāntikara’s wife was, in all probability, Gōsvāmīnī. Tribhuvanamahādevī was an assumed name as is evident from the passage: yā jayata Tribhuvanamahādevī ēśi-virata occurring in Suḥhākara (IV)’s Talcher plate, the same passage being employed in the present plates with reference to Prīthvīmahādevī. Thus, both Gōsvāmīnīdevī and Prīthvīmahādevī had the assumed name Tribhuvanamahādevī. The date of the Dhenkanal plate is clearly 160, as it is represented by the letter symbols lu and ch which stand for 100 and 60 respectively.1 Sāntikara (I)’s wife was the first queen in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to rule over the kingdom, and the reference to Gōsvāmīnī as having ruled the kingdom in the Dhenkanal plate proves that another queen had reigned prior to Tribhuvanamahādevī of that plate; hence she must have been the wife of Sāntikara (I). That Gōsvāmīnī is not a fictitious figure but the grandmother of Lōpabhāra is proved by the plates under discussion. As stated before, the incisor of the Dhenkanal plate and the plate B under discussion is the same person, Harivardhana, son of Rahaśvardhana. In view of the above facts, Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate cannot be regarded as the wife of Sāntikara (I). She was the wife of Śivakara (III) alias Lalitahāra. So it would be quite natural to identify Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal plate with Śivakara (III), the younger brother of Suḥhākara (IV) alias Kuṣumahāra (II). Thus there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādevī. Sāntikara (I)’s wife was Gōsvāmīnīdevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī (I), Suḥhākara (IV)’s wife Prīthvīmahādevī was Tribhuvanamahādevī (II) and Śivakara (III)’s wife (original name not known) was also Tribhuvanamahādevī (III).

After Suḥhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) their wives ascended the throne under the names Tribhuvanamahādevī. The former was ruling in the year 168 and the latter in 169. This gives credit to the assumption that, after Śivakara (III) there was a quarrel for succession. Prīthvīmahādevī ascended the throne probably with the aid of her father Śvabhāvataṃga and, after her, Śivakara (III)’s wife became queen. Her claim was probably backed by her father Rājamalla. The hints of a state of chaos befalling the Bhauma-Kara family are there in the Dhenkanal plate (lines 9-10). Further, it is stated therein that Tribhuvanamahādevī was approached by the ministers for her accession to the throne (line 20). These hints confirm the belief that there ensued a civil war for succession after Śivakara (III) alias Lalitahāra, and the two queens of Kuṣumahāra and Lalitahāra ascended the throne one after another. Then came Sāntikara (III) and Suḥhākara

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1 Sūkla’s Teukts, Pl. 19.
(V). Between the year 149, the date of the Tālicher plate of Śrīvaka (III), and the year 189, the date of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī, we get four rulers, viz., wives of Kuṣumahārā and Lalitābā, Śaṅkikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). Each ruled for about 8 years on average. This quick succession corroborates the suggestion of a civil war.

The most unpromising point of difference between the two genealogies given above lies in that, while in the present plates Kuṣumahārā (II), i.e., Śubhākara (IV), and Lalitābā, i.e., Śrīvaka (III), are said to have died childless, in the copper-plate grants of Daṇḍimahādevī and Daṇḍimahādevī, Śrīvaka (III) is said to have had two sons, viz., Śaṅkikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). This difference can be reconciled if it is assumed that Śaṅkikara (III) and Śubhākara (V) were sons of Śrīvaka (III) by a second wife of his, the legitimacy of their birth being either not acknowledged by the queen of Śubhākara (IV) and by at least one of the queens of Śrīvaka (III), or was deliberately ignored. However, there can be no satisfactory solution to this mystery until further discoveries throw more light on the later history of the Bhāuma-Kara dynasty.

Some scholars refer the dates in the Bhāuma-Kara plates to the Harsha era. The date of the present plates calculated according to that era will be 764 A.C. But on palaeographic consideration this date will be rather too early. As already noted, the present plates cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the 8th century. Similarly, if the Neulpur plate is referred to the Harsha era and the numerical figures in it be read as 54, the date of the plate will be 660 A.C. The forms of the signs of medial vowels in this record, as also of some letters like s, s, bh, etc., are more developed as compared with those of the Ganjam plate of Madhavarja of G. K. 399. As such the plate can be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century at the earliest. R. D. Banerji assigned it to the latter half of the 8th century on palaeographic considerations. Thus the date arrived at by referring the plate to the Harsha era seems too early for it. Hence we may examine the possibility of referring the dates in the Bhāuma-Kara record to a later period.

From the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara (I) we know that he was ruling over Northern Tōsālā. The same region was governed by Śāmadatta on behalf of Śaṅkikā, the celebrated king of Karṇa-savārpa. Since the plates of Śāmadatta and Bhānumata are assignable to a date earlier than the Neulpur plate, it may be presumed that the Bhāuma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsālā and Daṇḍabhukki was established subsequent to the rule of Śāmadatta or Bhānumata. In order to ascertain the time of the establishment of the Bhāuma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsālā we have to find out the probable date of the end of the rule of the Datta family in that area.

Śāmadatta was a feudatory under Śaṅkikā. He or his successor, if there was any, must have remained in the feudatory status till the death of Śaṅkikā who is presumed to have maintained his empire to the last. We do not know for certain when Śaṅkikā’s death took place; but, from certain references to his anti-Buddhist actions in Magadha as found in Hiuen Tsang’s account, it is believed that Śaṅkikā died shortly before the year 637 A.C. So up to that date, or thereabout, the Bhāuma-Kara rule had not been established in Northern Tōsālā. After Śaṅkikā’s death Bhāskara-avarman and Harsha conquered his dominions in and outside Bengal. Harsha led an expedition against Kōngōda in 642 A.C. On his way to Kōngōda, he would not have left the Northern Tōsālā and Daṇḍabhukki regions unconquered. The rule of Śāmadatta or Bhānumata in the Northern Tōsālā-Daṇḍabhukki region might have come to an end in this way. Whether Harsha appointed the Bhāuma-Karas as his agents in that region or they acquired the kingdom with their might following Harsha’s departure cannot be determined. But it seems fairly certain

3 History of Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 66.
that their rule was established in North Orissa region in 642 A.C. or thereabouts. Thus the era used in the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings probably started from the date of the establishment of their rule in Northern Tosali, that is, from about the year 642 A.C. The date of the Neulpur plate and the present plates calculated from 642 A.C. will be 696 and 800 A.C. respectively. These dates are quite in accord with those arrived at on paleographical considerations.

Svabhāvatāngas is mentioned as the father of Tribhuvanamahādevi. He was the ruler of Kōsala, evidently South Kōsala, and belonged to the lunar dynasty. In the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yavāṭi, his father is said to have acquired the title of Svabhāvatānga by his valour (Svaṃkutābja-bhūtaaś Svabhāvatāngō viṣṇu-pauruṣhe). Svabhāvatāngas of the plates under discussion and of the Patna plates seems to be one and the same person: as such Prithvimahādevi ulas Tribhuvanamahādevi was the daughter of Mahāśivagupta Janamājaya, king of Kōsala. From this we know for the first time that the Sūmavādāl kings of Kōsala and the Bhauma-Karas of Gahāvarapāṭjaka were trimonically connected.

In regard to Mahāgalakalasa, we have so far not come across any such name. We only know that some members of the Bhaṭṭa dynasty had surnames like Kalyānakalasa, Amoghalaka, etc. In view of this we may tentatively assume that this Mahāgalakalasa belonged to the Bhaṭṭa dynasty. It may be pointed out here that one Satrubhāja had the surname Mahāgalarja. Palaeographically his Jangalapāḍu plates, in which the above surname occurs, are assignable to the same period as that of the present plates. It is possible that the fuller form of the surname was Mahāgalakalasa. Saṭālākā, the wife of Mahāgalakalasa, is stated to have come of the Vṛagodī family of the Vīraṭa lineage. The village of Koinari in Mayurbhanj is still known as Vīraṭapura. The Nāga family of Mayurahāṇa was known by the name Vīraṭa Bhujanga, or simply the Vairāṭa or Vīraṭa family; the power of Vairāṭa Rājas of Mayurahāṇa dates from the seventh century A.D." The Koinari was probably the capital of the Vīraṭa dynasty of Mayurahāṇa. The whole tract from Koinari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Vairāṭa family. Some descendants of the old Vairāṭa family are still living and they call themselves Bhujanga Kshatriya. Vṛagodī might have been a section of the Vīraṭa family. It is not improbable that marriage connections between the two royal families of Mayurahāṇa, the Vīraṭas and the Bhujanges, were established in course of time.

I have not been able to identify the districts Tamālakāpaṇḍa and Dakšinakāpaṇḍa and the village Kōṭapura. I may only suggest that the first may be identified with Tamluk, headquarters of a sub-division of the Midnapore District, and the second with Daknuni (Dakshin Maha), a pargana in the Contai sub-division. Tamluk and Daknuni are mentioned as parganas in the Mughal revenue accounts. The Daṇḍabhukti mapalā probably comprised the major portion of the Midnapore District.
Obverse

1. "Some text...

2. "Some text...

3. "Some text...

4. "Some text...

5. "Some text...

6. "Some text...

7. "Some text...

8. "Some text...

9. "Some text...

10. "Some text...

11. "Some text...

12. "Some text...

1. Expressed by a symbol which is also regarded as indicating a cardinal.

2. [In the names, Kasavanaka and Lakkakara, occurring several times in both the places, what has been read as it seems to be really bā,—D.G.S.]
TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD
29 स्वार्यवस्त्र(ि)तया भूमिच्छायापियानार्ययेतान्त्र्यकृत्तिविद्वासमाले महामंडलाचिति
धीम ज्ञानकलाशय र-
30 हाथेवा: । विद्वांसहितो(बंहो)ज्ञानग्रहगोकुलकुमुदविशेषस्वामी: श्रीशालिनि
बिहाया स्वामीसुनिनन्दनात- ।
31 स्व धीमाशिशास्त्रविधा धम्मवी धम्मकारित्वधीनस्त्रेष्यभुवनामात्मके धम्मध्याविद्वालि
भगवत उमासहेशबाबु- ।
32 रक्षय सत्त्वनापनमात्म(४)मायीपूजनविवेधब(५)सिद्धहृदयाध्यंत्रनाथे शंभरुकीति
स्तरक्षपक महारावारात- ।
33 यां तयवस्त्रानं धर्मन्यातस्य दिनायो भाग: । पादमु(म)लादीवान जीवसमुनितविद्वात्मावरं तृतीयो भाग: । त्वरते चतुर्थोऽभागे ताँ- ।
34 झ(क्ष)दशीयो भाग: । पादमु(म)लादीवान जीवसमुनितविद्वात्मावरं तृतीयो भाग: । त्वरते चतुर्थोऽभागे ताँ- ।
35 नयस्तत्ततानारं परमाश्वरासृवंद(६)समायह(७)धामास्त्राय(८)श्रासानीकुण्याक्षायकमणकक- 
रवेन श्रीपदाविद्वात्स्व-अर्थ- ।
36 विद्वांसहिती: धम्ममुग्धवात्म: विशिष्ट: परिततानीया ॥ सम्बु १०० २० ॥ कारिक-
मुदान \\ । उस्तव धम्ममुग्धवात्म(ि)वे \\ । व(व)हमयवंभु: वा राज- ।
37 भि: सागरविद्वि: । वस्म वस्म श्री भूमिस्नितस्थलय वस्म नदा फल(लम) ॥
[८४*] शा मू(म)दफलायहा व: परवतेन(े)तिपाधिया: । स्वदानतः ।
38 कमालयो परदत(ि)पुरायो ॥[१६*] ॥ स्वदानस्करवान्याय(ि)पुरायो वा) तीरे बुधवर(रम) । स विद्वायो: कृतिविद्वार्य: शिलिति सह ।
39 ताते ॥[२०*] व(व)हमया मित्तो गंगाभियो औषदिवानुसारेता । स्वप्नम्याृतार्रतेन भोग धम्मोऽलोकवामार: ॥[२१*] धीत कमल- ।
40 दलामाम(म)विष(ि)कुतौला विष(ि)यमुक्तितस्य मनोवृजीवितव: अंकिलमिद- 
मुडायहातथा दु(व)वुट्टव [५] हि पुस्के: परकल्लेलोऽवि- ।
41 लीला: ॥[२२*] । याबामोलौकिलोकोञ्जितुसुरचित्रविहारवालीभीतंत्रेन स्मार- 
देवत्ततपितरामसुमि: का- ।
42 फळानि(कितम) । अाग(ि)पक्षकृतमाणिरि: तर्कवालेकिते पाकुचर्चेद्या: 
कृतिविद्वार्योऽऽभोग भवतु मू(म)कसे गामन सहक- ।

*The chapter is superfluous.
43 देवको (॥२३॥) महावर्तराविविष्ठराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। देवको
महावर्तराविविष्ठराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः
44 पितामहःन्तःकालदेवदेवविदे(न)। उत्तकाण्ठन्तःकालः अभिवर्ततेने
भद्रेनेवतीका। प्रास्व शीमा
45 देवको। पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।
46 पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।
47 पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।
48 पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।
49 पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।
50 पूर्वविविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। देवको। स्वीमेलोकोः। नाभाः।

Plate B:
Observer

1—24 ...
25 सिद्धा।स्थानान्तरिता। राजस्वारिकान्त महानायकचारक(न) वर्षमाणि
वत्रकाण्ठविदेने। प्रत्येकमाणि
26 वर्षमाणि। महानायक(प)। गौणित्तकालचारक(क) महानायकिना
वत्रकाण्ठविदेने। प्रत्येकमाणि

Reverse

27 वर्षमाणि। समायापिति । विविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः।
(महाद) महाद्वाराणकस्वीमेलोकोः।
28—44 ...
45 देवकोः। उत्तकाण्ठन्तःकालविदे। नाभाः। कालन्तःकालविदे
स्थलोः। पु(प)विविष्ठरावर्तराणकस्वीमेलोकोः।

1 The text of these lines is the same as in lines 1-25 of plate A with negligible variations.
2 The text of these lines is the same as in lines 27-44 of plate A.
3 The doṣa is superfluous.
No. 31—NOTE ON TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

Mr. S. C. De's paper on the inscriptions in question has been published above. We find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. De's suggestions. In the following lines, some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the Bhuuma-Kara queen who issued the Dhenkumal plate.

In the Hindol and Dharakota plates of Subhakara III, both dated in the year 103 of the Bhuuma-Kara era, the said king is described as the son of SantiKara I from Mahadevi Tribhuvanamahadevi who was krishna-Niyatbhava-bhutala-bhavé, i.e., 'born in the eminent family sprung from the illustrious Nāga.' All the three Talcher plates of the great-grandsons of this queen, viz., Subhakara IV (one grant dated in the year 145, usually read as 141) and Sivakara III (two grants both dated in the year 149), clearly state that Tribhuvanamahadevi ascended the Bhuuma-Kara throne after the death of her son Kusumahara or Subhakara, i.e., Subhakara III. The Talcher plate of Subhakara IV further says that, when Tribhuvanamahadevi's second son, named Ladhahara alias SantiKara II, became sufficiently aged, she abdicated the throne in his favour. The corresponding portion of the Talcher plates of Sivakara III, which seems to be corrupt in the original and mime so in the published transcript, does not specify the relationship between Tribhuvanamahadevi and her successor GayaKara II, i.e., SantiKara II.

The Dhenkumal plate, issued by Tribhuvanamahadevi as a ruling queen, bears a date which looks like 160 but may also be read as 120. The queen, whose other name is given in her record as Sindurauri and who was the queen of Lalitahara, is stated to have been the daughter of Raja-malladévi described as the ornament of the southern quarter (dakhina-daka-madra-talaka). It is further stated in the record that the queen ascended the Kara (i.e., Bhuuma-Kara) throne after the circle of the Maháshántaras (feudatories) had pointed out to her the case of an ancient queen.

1 I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Pandit Banambar Asharya in editing the inscriptions.
2 See pp. 210 ff.
3 Ibid., pp. 22 ff.
4 Ibid., pp. 12 ff.
5 Ibid., pp. 21 ff.
6 Ibid., pp. 52 ff., 50 ff., 51.
7 See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 81, note 3.
named Goevamini and requested her to assume the reins of government in the manner of that old ruling queen. Mr. Misra identifies queen Trihubvanamahaddevi who issued the Dhenkanal plate with the Bhauma-Kara queen of the same name mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 103, 145 and 149, referred to above. Mr. De on the other hand thinks that Trihubvanamahaddevi of the Dhenkanal plate ruled in the year 100 immediately after Prithvimaahaddevi alias Trihubvanamahaddevi who issued the Baud plates in the year 108. We are inclined to favour Mr. Misra's identification as Mr. De's suggestion appears to be doubtful in view of the following facts.

In the first place, the fact that the fundatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Goevamini to induce Trihubvanamahaddevi of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Had there been two other queens previously ruling in the family within less than half a century before her age and had one of them ruled immediately before herself, the reference to an earlier queen's rule by way of illustration was certainly uncalled for and meaningless. Even if such an illustration was necessary at all to induce a third queen of the family to the throne, it is no doubt strange that the ruling queen who flourished immediately before should have been passed over in silence and the case of another reigning more than quarter of a century earlier would have been cited.

Secondly, according to Mr. De, Trihubvanamahaddevi of the Dhenkanal plate was the wife of Sivakara III who issued his grants in the year 149. If she was thus the mother of Sivakara III and Subhakara V, it is only natural to expect a prominent mention of her name in the grants of queen Dandimahaddevi who was the daughter of Subhakara V. But her name is conspicuous by its absence in the later records of the family. This difficulty has been explained away by Mr. De who thinks that Trihubvanamahaddevi of the Dhenkanal plate was a step-mother of Dandimahaddevi's father and that she, like Prithvimaahaddevi, did not recognise her step-sons' title to the Bhauma-Kara throne. If such was the case, Trihubvanamahaddevi of the Dhenkanal plate is expected to have been a partisan of Prithvimaahaddevi in her struggle with the lawful claimants of the throne and the non-mention of the latter's name in her record becomes doubly inexplicable.

Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Trihubvanamahaddevi, mother of Subhakara III of the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated 103), was born in the Nagas family and (2) that Trihubvanamahaddevi alias Simulagauri of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rajaillagh of the southern country appear to suggest that the two were one and the same person. The name Simulagauri (i.e., Sindu-Gauri or Gauri of the Sindas) shows that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was born in the Sindas family while it is well known that the Sindas who originally belonged to Karakasa claimed Nagas origin. We are inclined to believe that Trihubvanamahaddevi, who was the mother of Subhakara III and has to be identified with the ruling queen of the Dhenkanal plate, was the daughter of a Sindas king bearing the name or birula Rajaillagh. It has to be noticed that Prithvimaahaddevi...
nāhādēvi in her Band plates not only assumes both the names as well as the epithet Paramavāmā started enjoyed by the earlier queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi alias Sindsagnī but refers to the latter not as Tribhuvanamahādēvi (as in the Talchier plates of her husband and the latter's younger brother) but as Gāvāmīni. The foot of the statue applying the name Sindsagnī to the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate has been actually appropriated by Prithvimahādēvi in the similar verse quoted in her Band plates. This attempt on the part of Prithvimahādēvi to pass herself as the shadow of and at the same time to distinguish herself clearly from the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi, whom she represents as Gāvāmīni, is not entirely unintelligible. This may have been partly due to her eagerness for strengthening her position against the lawful claim of the sons of her husband’s younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne. Apparently, she claimed her position on the Bhauma-Kara throne to be exactly similar to that of her earlier namesake although she felt the necessity of avoiding any confusion between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis. It is interesting to note that Prithvimahādēvi is silent in regard to Gāvāmīni’s relation with her predecessor. The facts that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was induced by her feudatories to assume the burden of government by citing the instance of Gāvāmīni and that Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Band plates applies the name Gāvāmīni to her earlier namesake (apparently in order to make a distinction between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis) to avoid confusion) appear to suggest that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was called Gāvāmīni II after an ancient or legendary female ruler of Orissa probably having nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It may be pointed out that the assumption of the name Sindsagnī, pointing to an association with the Sinda Nāgas, by Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who is known to have been born in a royal family other than that of the Sindas, seems to be explainable only by the suggestion that she adopted it rather arbitrarily just to pass herself as the shadow of an earlier ruling queen of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. It seems therefore that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was the real and original Sinda-Gauri and that she flourished before the imitation Sinda-Gauri who issued the Band plates.

Fourthly, Mr. De thinks that the real names of the mother of Śubhākara III and the wife of Śubhākara IV were respectively Gāvāmīni and Prithvimahādēvi and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi, although he cannot say what the original name of Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate, whom he regards as the third ruling queen of that assumed name, was. We find at least two difficulties in accepting this suggestion. The first is that, if the mother of Śubhākara III assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi when she ascended the throne after her son’s death, she could not have possibly been mentioned by that name, as she really is, in the records of her son who preceded herself on the throne. In the second place, if Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, it is rather strange that she, unlike Prithvimahādēvi, did not feel the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes. This no doubt looks especially dubious when she is supposed to have been immediately preceded by another ruling queen of the same name, because the possibility of confusion in such a case was greater. If her real name was Tribhuvanamahādēvi, it must be regarded as a strange coincidence that she succeeded another Tribhuvanamahādēvi. But if her real name was different, she would have hardly chosen Tribhuvanamahādēvi as her coronation name, because that would lead to a confusion between herself and her predecessor on the throne. That the female rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family had no special liking for the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi is shown by the fact that none of the four latter ruling queens of the dynasty (viz., Gaurimahādēvi, Dangimahādēvi, Vukulimahādēvi and Dharmamahādēvi) assumed that name. If the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate flourished immediately after Prithvimahādēvi, she could have hardly called herself only by the name assumed by her predecessor without any attempt to distinguish herself.
Fifthly, the Band plates of Prithvimahādevī alias Tribhubanamahādevī give the genealogy of the Bhau-ma-Kara family in which the long line of rulers from Unmaṭṭaśāliha (the second king of the dynasty) down to the ruling queen herself are named and, in the description of the earlier ruling queen, Tribhubanamahādevī alias Gōsvāminī, they actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher plate of her husband Subhākara IV. The Dhenkanal plate on the other hand mentions only Unmaṭṭaśāliha and Gayaśa I (the second and fifth rulers of the family) in the reference to the past monarchs of the Bhau-ma-Kara dynasty and gives the impression quite clearly that the issuer of the charter has to be placed in the earlier part of the genealogical tree. This no doubt goes in favour of the identification of the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate with the mother and successor of Subhākara III who was the great-grandson of Unmaṭṭaśāliha (śīla) and the son and successor of Gayaśa alias Sāntikara I. If the Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 160, that is to say, shortly after the reign of Prithvimahādevī of the Band plate; it is difficult to explain why the description of the Bhau-ma-Kara genealogy quoted in it does not resemble in any way the same as found in the Band plates of the year 158 as well as the Talcher plates of the years 145 and 149. As already indicated above, the fact that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate does not mention Prithvimahādevī, who was her immediate predecessor according to Mr. De, but states that the queen was induced to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an earlier female ruler named Gōsvāminī is inexplicable and renders Mr. De's suggestion unconvincing.

One of Mr. De's arguments in favour of assigning the Dhenkanal plate to the year 160 seems to be that it was engraved by the brazer Harivardhana, son of Rahassavardhana, while the two Talcher plates of the year 149 were engraved by the brazer Rahassavardhana, son of Rāmavardhana, and one of the Band plates of the year 158 by Harivardhana, son of Rahassavardhana. His identification of Harivardhana, engraver of the Band plate of the year 158, with Harivardhana who engraved the Dhenkanal plate appears to support his contention assigning the latter record to the year 160. But considering the difficulties in ascribing the Dhenkanal plate to such a late date, which have been detailed above, as well as the fact that several records of the Bhau-ma-Kara dynasty mention the Varthamana family of brazer and the very same Harivardhana occurring in the Chaurasi plate assigned to the year 73, it does not appear improbable that the engraver of the Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved one set of the Band plates.

It may be noted here that the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhubanamahādevī I, named Sūla-gaṇuṛi and Gōsvāminī (II), as given in the records of the years 145, 149 and 158, which have been discussed above, are not clearly described in the Dhenkanal plate. The Talcher plate of the year 143, as we have seen, says that Tribhubanamahādevī ascended the Bhau-ma-Kara throne after the death of her son Subhākara III but abdicated in favour of her grandson as soon as the latter passed over his minority. This gives the impression that the queen ruled for a short period during the minority of her grandson, although, in ancient India, minority was never a bar to one's accession to the throne. On this point the Band plates, which are silent on the relation between Gōsvāminī (Tribhubanamahādevī I) and her predecessor Kusumahāra (Subhākara III), add that Subhākara III died without leaving any heir. It seems therefore that Sāntikara II, sur-

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2 The two may also be one and the same person. The case is similar to that of Vimayachandra, son of Rāhunakandra, who engraved some, but not all, of the Eastern Ganga charters bearing dates between the Ganga years 28 and 91. See IIQ, Vol. XXIX, p. 238; JAHS, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.
named Lōcabhāra and Gayāśa, may have been adopted as the son of Šubhākara III by the latter's chief queen sometime after his death and his mother's accession to the throne. Mr. De's speculation in regard to the relation between Trilhuvanānamahādēvi I and her successor does not appeal to me.

In our opinion therefore the known inscriptions of the Bhāuma-Kara family reveal the existence of two and not three ruling queens named Trilhuvanānamahādēvi. Queen Trilhuvanānamahādēvi I was the mother of Šubhākara III and ruled for some years after her son's death when her Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 120. She was the daughter of a Sinda king enjoying the name or bīrata  Bājamalla. Queen Trilhuvanānamahādēvi II was the daughter of the Sūmavamās king Svabhāvatūrga of Kosala (South Kosala) who, as we have seen elsewhere, seems to be no other than Mahāśrīgupta I Yayāti (circa 970-1000 A.C.). It has also been noticed how Prithvīmahādēvi secured the Bhāuma-Kara throne in a temporarily successful contest against the lawful claims of the son of her husband's younger brother with the active help of her father sometime before the year 158 of the Bhāuma-Kara era and how this fact helps us in locating the commencement of the said era about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.² We have also shown how the Ĉaukula plates of Śatrubhāṣja of Vaṭājīrakka, who was a descendant of Raṇabhāṣja of Dhrītipura (about the third quarter of the tenth century) and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century, bear the date: year 198 (apparently of the Bhāuma-Kara era), Vishnu-saṅkṛanti, Padhamsa; Sunday and Mṛgāśīra-nakhatra, suggesting March 23, 1029 A.C., and how this fact helps us in tracing the initial year of the era in 831 A.C.³ The date of the Baud plates of the year 158 thus appears to be 938 A.C.

The epithet Vīṣavasālībhūva-Vṛīṣvaha-sūkha-mahākalyānīkāhī, applied to the lady Śaśīkāhā at whose request the grants recorded in the Baud plates were made, seems to suggest that she was born in the Vīṣavas dynasty but was married into the Vaiṣṇa family. Her husband Mahāgakalasa therefore does not appear to have been a Bhāja prince of the Mayurbhanj region as suggested by Mr. De. The identification of Mahāgakalasa, taken to be a Bhāja prince of Mayurbhanj, with Śatrubhāṣja Mahāgakalasa of the Ĉaukula plates is unlikely as the findspot and style of this record show that the chief ruled in the Gajam region and belonged to the house of the Bhājas of Vaṭājīrakka.⁴ In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to connect him with the Bhāja of Mayurbhanj. The facts that the temple built by Śaśīkāhā was called Nāṉneśvarāyutama after her deceased father Nāṁla and that a village granted in its favour included a locality called Nāṉneśvaraaśayaśaṭaka appear to suggest that both the temple and the gift village were situated in the same area of the Ĉandhabhūkti maṇḍala (modern Bantam region of the Midnapur District, West Bengal). As Śaśīkāhā may have built the temple and arranged for the gift of land in its favour in the area under the jurisdiction of her husband who enjoyed the gubernatorial status of Mahāśrīgupta under the Bhāuma-Karaa, it is not improbable to think that Mahāgakalasa was the ruler of the Ĉandhabhūkti maṇḍala.

³ See above, JASL, loc. cit.
No. 32—NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA : SAKA 1091

B. V. Krishna Rao, Rajahmundry

These plates were found in the village of Nanduru in Bapatla tahal, Guntur District, about fifty years ago and were forwarded by the Tahsildar of Bapatla to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, early in 1917. They were examined and numbered as C. P. No. 23 of 1916-17, and were reviewed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1917, pages 118-119. The following description of the plates appears in the Annual Report: 1

"The plates are 5 in number and are hung on a big ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a seal which bears the legend "śri-Tridhuvanāṅikūla" between two lines with the symbols of the sun, the moon and star, two parasols, the Chōla Tiger, ækāra, lotus and the sunākāra (ि) above, and the Chālukyan bear, the disc (chalan), sandal, drum, double-comb, lamp stands and a few other unintelligible symbols below" 2.

It is said that the ring was not cut when the plates reached the Epigraphist's office. The Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrī, observed, therefore, "it is curious how despite this the set is incomplete commencing as it does with No. 3, marked on the second side of the existing plate and stopping abruptly with the mention of the donor, omitting the usual imprecations, etc." He, therefore, assumed that the plates had been examined sometime before that and that the now missing plates were lost on that occasion. I am, however, of a different opinion. The two outer plates must have been completely worn out and corroded on account of their extremely bad preservation. They would have crumbled down to pieces and powder at the first touch when they were discovered. The worn out condition of the writing on the inner plates must be due to the bad preservation of the plates. Whatever that might be, it is true as Krishna Sastrī observed, "the information conveyed by the existing plates is very interesting, giving us, as they do, an account of the later Chālukya sovereigns who held sway over the Vēṇī country down to the time of Rājarjhī (II) and of their subordinates the Velanāṇṭi chiefs down to Rajendra-Chōda". The importance of the plates is further enhanced by the fact that it is the only copper-plate grant of the kings of the Velanāṇṭi family who controlled and guided the destinies of the Chōla-Chālukya Empire and the fortunes of the country of Vēṇī for nearly a century and half, from about 1070 to about 1210 A.C.

I undertook the editing of these plates several years ago but continued preoccupation with other matters from time to time had prevented me from carrying out the work entrusted to me in 1927 by the then Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastrī. I now edit the inscription from the ink impressions supplied to me by him. As the ink-impressions are not clear in some places and as the original plates were not available to me for examination, the reading of the inscription in some portions had to be supplemented with the help of some lītic records of the family found at Darjiharīma and other places.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the five plates which are roughly 9½ long and 3½ wide, and rectangular in shape. The writing on the plates is very clumsy. Often the letters are found crammed into one another; they are also irregular and much worn out on account of the bad preservation of the plates. The number of lines on each plate is not uniform; the number varies from twelve to fourteen and even to seventeen lines. The available text of the inscription runs into 137 lines; out of them, however, the last two lines on plate F-5 (lines 108-9) are wholly unintelligible.

1 The Annual Report states that the original plates were returned to the owner through the Tahsildar. I have tried in vain to trace them.
2 SII, Vol. IV, No. 1182.
The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry is fairly good, though the language contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. Thus for instance: line 4 has pāmā-Pāṇḍava-dharmarāja; line 9 has pāṃtamañcavatē; lines 14-15 have cañcbar-snebhara-garbha-bhūram; and line 27, sāmakṣa. The inscription is written in characters which are regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 12th century A.D. According to Dr. Burnell, such characters belong to what he called the "transitional period". The following orthographical peculiarities may, however, be noticed. Vowels a and long ā, short i and u and long ō occur in the inscription. The long ā is distinguished by a vertical stroke at the right side. Vowels i and u have reached their final forms, and are fully developed. No distinction is yet drawn between e and ū long. Both are written alike. There is no vertical stroke on the head of ō to denote the long ō as we find at the present day. There is not much distinction between ō and ū; ē and ū are used in the inscription. The vajravānīka is substituted by the umāśā which is denoted by a bindu throughout. Sometimes words like saimā and dayāt are written as saimāya and dayātā, which is apparently in accordance with the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words in the Krishna and Guntur Districts, where the syllable ā is always joined with ō. The scribe has not followed any principle in doubling the consonants.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Inumgaru as an agrahāra to a learned Brāhmaṇa, on an auspicious occasion by king Rājendra-Čhōja II, who is stated to be ruling over Andhra-śāmpala as commissioned by Rājaraṇa, i.e., Rājarāja II of the Chāḷukya-Čhōja family (lines 133-134). The name of the donor and the district in which the village was situated have unfortunately been lost on the missing last plate. The village Inumgaru granted in the record may be identified with Inumgarapādū, a village in the vicinity of Nāṛagur, the findspot of the present plates, in the Rājaraṇa toluk, Guntur District. At the time of making the grant, Rājendra-Čhōja is stated to be staying in his capital, Dhanadapuri, i.e., Chandrapura in Rājaraṇa toluk, Guntur District. The date of the grant is given as Šaka 1091 (śaṁkara-viṣaya-chanda-gaṇita) and as the 23rd year of Rājarāja, i.e., Rājarāja II (lines 133-134). The Šaka year which is an expired year corresponds to 1169-70 A.D.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part (lines 1-67) contains the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chāḷukyas, treating of Kulōttunga-Čhōja I and his successors down to Rājarāja II as Chāḷukya and not as Čhōja. The second part (lines 68 ff.) describes the history of the Chiefs of Vetaṇḍu or, members of the Vetaṇḍu family, who enjoyed the position of subordinate kings under the Čhōja-Chāḷukjas. There are many new statements in the account relating to the Eastern Chāḷukjas, which differ from what we know hitherto. Some of them may be explained as errors committed by the scribe who engraved the inscription on the plates. Thus, for example, Āṇādita, i.e., Āṇāndranga-muṅgarja-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya II is called the son of Vijayāditya I, or Vijayāditya-Śrīśāraka (line 33), while in fact he was the son of Vishnuparishāna IV. In a similar manner a Vishnuparishana is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya II, and is given a reign of thirty-six years (lines 39-40). This king must be Vishnuparishana IV, the father of Āṇāndragarjapādū, and not his son as wrongly described here. Apparently the order in the narration is confused. Again the son of Vishnuparishana IV is called to be Kāli-Vishnuparishana or Vishnuparishana V, and is given a reign of half a year (line 41) while it is known from other records of the dynasty that he reigned for one and a half years, or twenty months according to some, and that

1 Usually when a village is desolated and disappears for a period, the site is denoted by the term pāta; and when a new village springs up on the spot after an interval, it is called with the suffix pāta super added to the old name. So it must be with Inumgarapādū, (lit. the pāta of Inumgaru, or Inumgaru).
he was the son of Narasimhranga-Vijayaitya II and not of Vashnuvardhana V. It would seem that the engraver, while copying the grant on copper-plates, got confused and changed the order or sequence of the verses on the plate. He should have written verse 19 after verse 17; in other words, the proper order of the verses should be, first, verse 17, then verse 19 and lastly verse 18. If the inscription is read in this order the apparent confusion disappears. Krishna Sastri’s observation, viz., that “The reign of Vashnuvardhana IV is altogether omitted and a new Vashnuvardhana, a son of Vijayaitya (I), is mentioned with a rule of 30 years, followed by Kal-Bashnuvardhana”, need no longer be held as complicating the genealogical position. Another discrepancy is in respect of the reign of Dhanaraja who is said to have ruled for 30 years (line 50), instead of 3 years. The reign of Vira-Vijayaitya or Vijayaitya VIII, younger brother of Rajaraja I is altogether omitted. Yet another erroneous statement is that Kulottunga-Chola I is said to have ruled for twenty-five years (line 58) instead of fifty as known hitherto. Except for these errors the genealogical account is accurate. It is noteworthy that the historical account contains some new information about a few kings. Chakravarta-Bhima I is said to have destroyed his enemies on numerous battlefields, and to have built several temples of Mahadeva (Siva) at sacred spots (lines 42-43). His son Vijayaitya IV who is well known by his surname Kollabhiyanga from the records of the family, is stated to have obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Vira-Japuri, captured the city and went to heaven (line 44), a statement which may be taken to indicate that he died shortly after the battle, a fact not known hitherto. Vira-Japuri may be properly identified with Japuri (which is apparently a variant of Vira-Japuri) the chief town of the Japuri taluk of the Cuttack District, Orissa. It lies on the Balitani, a tributary of the Mahanadi situated about fifty miles due north-west of Cuttack. During the ancient period, it was a great and renowned “cirka,” a place of pilgrimage,” according to the Mahabharata. Viraja or Vira-Japuri was for a long time a provincial capital of the Bhumara-Kara kings of Ukala and the Somavamshi kings of Dakhina-Kosala who bore the epithet, Trisalabhiyapati. Kollabhiyanga’s son was Anuma I who is said to have performed many Tulabhamsa-dinam (gifts) year after year during his brief rule of seven years (line 44). Vikrama-Chola, son and successor of Kulottunga-Chola I, is given the correct period of rule, viz., seventeen years (lines 60-61), which is in conformity with the regnal years recorded in some of the inscriptions of the Andhra country and in Tamil inscriptions as well. His son Kulottunga-Chola II is said to have reigned for fifteen years in succession (lines 64-65). Lastly, the relationship between Kulottunga-Chola II and Rajaraja II, which has not been hitherto correctly known, is clearly stated in the present record as that of father and son (lines 65-66).

The second part of the inscription contains a brief account of the Velanangi family. It gives a complete genealogy which in some respects supplements the account given in the Pitambaram inscription of Velananti Tryivvalavara. The following genealogical table represents the information that is contained in the present inscription.

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* ARSIE, 1917, p. 118.
* Dr. Fleet was not aware of Badege the engraver, who was also a Vijayaitya and therefore would be Vijayaitya VII. *Inst. Ant., Vol. XX., p. 276.
* "तन वल्लाम्बिणा मुक्त समि श्लोक पारस्मिक साधनि।" Vira-Japuri shravanamadaga viragita sakti sami.
* Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 22.
Chaiturtha-kula

Malla-bhūpa (Malla I)
(Obtained the rulership of Valanändu from Tryashhaka-Pallava with all the insignia of a subordinate king)

Malliya (II)
(Servant of Narāṇḍra, i.e., Narāṇḍranágarāja-Vijayāditya II)

Piṭuvrāditya

Eriya (I)

Malliya (III) m. Kotyarcmpāñhā, or Koḷḷəḷaḷpāñhā
(Foremost among the subordinates of Chāḷukya-Bhīma II)

Eriya (II) m. Kaṭṭāñhā
(Varāḷaṅkarā)

Kōrupa

Malliya (IV) Kṛṣṇiya (I)
(Obtained Udravāra-rasikāya from Vīma-lāditya).

Gaṇḍa (I) Paṇḍa (I)

Nāna Kāpāna

(Commanard-in-chief of Vīṣṇuvardhana, i.e., Kāḷaśāḷa I)

Paṇḍa (II) m. Guṇḍāñhābikā

Vedura Gaṇḍa (II)

Malla (V) Paṇḍa (III)

Goṅka I m. Saṭṭāñhābikā

(Obtained Saṅhaḥāra-rasikāya from Kūḷaṭṭaṅga-Chōḍa I by assisting him on battlefield)

Chōḍa I m. Guṇḍāñhābikā

Goṅka II m. Saṭṭāñhābikā
(Set up golden pinnacles on temples which looked like jayastambhas)

Rājendra-Chōḍa (II)

(Obtained the Andhra country surrounded by the sea on the east, Kāḷahasti on the south, Śrīśaila on the west and Mahendragiri on the north, from Kāḷaśāḷa (II) and ruled it as his subordinate. Destroyed Kolaṇḍaṅγti Bhīma (i.e., Māṅgaliṅka Bhīma of Kolaṇḍa-saṅga or Kolaṇḍā Bhīma and his entire family). Donor of the present record, dated Śaka 1091, 23rd regnal year of Kāḷaśāḷa (II).)

1 The present inscription is damaged at the place where the name is expected to occur. The name, therefore, is restored from other records of the family which give the genealogy.
The account given in the Pithāpuram inscription differs slightly from the pedigree given above. The differences are discussed below. Besides the Pithāpuram inscription there are numerous other inscriptions on stone found particularly at Drākṣārāma in East Godavari District, at Siripuram and Chēbrōli in Guntur District and other places which give additional historical information about the family. A stone inscription at Drākṣārāma gives a genealogical account which not only completely agrees with the present record but gives additional information. The historical details found in these inscriptions have not been arranged so far in their proper perspective which I now propose to do.

The first known historical person in the Velanāḍu family, who may be regarded as the founder of the line in the rulership of Velanāḍu is Malla-bhūpa or Malla I. Velanāḍu or Velanāḍu is the name of the region now covered by the Repalle and Tenali talāks of the Guntur District. The region acquired the name probably because it lay on the sea coast (vādu), the Sanskrit word being pronounced as vada with short vowels by the inhabitants of that region during the early period. The term Velanāḍi is the genitive form of Velanāḍu (nominative form) and means "of Velanāḍu" in Telugu. Malla I, it is stated, received as a reward the rulership of Velanāḍu with the insignia of a vassal king from Tryambaka-Pallava who was pleased with him for military services rendered for a long time on battlefields. Malla I was probably a soldier of fortune, who came from the north in search of a kingdom, and thus acquired a small kingdom for himself. Several Durjaya chieftains, too, similarly claimed to have obtained from king Tryambaka-Pallava, military fees on the southern bank of the Krishna river as rewards for their military services. King Tryambaka-Pallava, Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkanti-Kāšyapa may not, therefore, be a doubtful historical person as some scholars opine; he need not be regarded as a mere fictitious person, bearing aside a large volume of historical tradition embodied in numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates and scattered all over the country. Elsewhere Tryambaka-Pallava has been identified with the powerful king Vijaya-Samudramarun IV, and allotted a reign period of thirty-five years (c. 660-735 A.C.). Malla I, therefore, would appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Malla-bhūpa I, until we come to Malliya II who is described as a renowned soldier. It is said that he was a follower of Narāṇa, who may be identified with Narśendramunigarája-Vijayāditya II. Malliya II, it is stated, rendered great assistance to king Narāṇa (on the battlefields) with the sharp edge of his fierce sword which was like a thunderbolt (v. 36: lines 72-75). According to Dr. Foest, Narśendramunigarája-Vijayāditya II reigned from 738 to 843 A.C. for forty-four years, while according to my Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas, the king's period is only forty years, from 828 to 847 A.C. Malliya II would thus appear to have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. In the lineages of Malliya II was born Pijuvurāditya, or Pijuvullakṣita as the Drākṣārāma stone inscription calls him. The son of Pijuvurāditya was Eliya (I), and his son was Malliya III. In the Drākṣārāma inscription the name of Mall or Malliya is lost in the lacuna. It is stated in that inscription that Mall III (Malliya III) was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhima who may be identified with Chālukya-Bhima II (923-945 A.C.). Mall III married Kollapūlī according to

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1 See SII, Vol. IV, Nos. 1041, 1096, 1113, 1147, 1188, 1149, 1144, 1153, 1194 : 1132, etc.
2 SII, Vol. IV, Nos. 177, etc.
3 SII, Vol. IV, Nos. 109, 123, 124, 144, 181, 224, 239, 1200, etc.
4 See SII, Vol. IV, No. 1182.
5 [This derivation is doubtful.—Ed.] A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhravas, p. 231.
6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 100.
8 SII, Vol. IV, No. 1182.
the present plates but the Drākṣhārāma inscription gives her name as Kotyāpāñhā. The reading of her name as Kollaspāñhā (line 77) in the present charter seems to be rather doubtful, for the second letter in the name is indistinct on the plate. It is probable, therefore, that her name as written there is Kūtyāpāñhā. There is a marked divergence in the genealogical portion between the account of the Pithāpuram inscription and the information given in the present plates. According to the Pithāpuram inscription, the founder of the family was No. (1) Mallā I, his son was No. (2) Epyiyavarmā and his son was No. (3) Kuṇiyavarmā. The son of No. (3) was No. (4) Mallā II surmounted Piduvārādītita and the latter's son was No. (5) Kuṇiyavarmā or Kuṇiyavarmā II, who was a vassal of the emperor, Vimalāditya (1011-1019 A.C.). The Pithāpuram inscription thus omits three or four generations, and mentions all the princes from No. 1 to No. 7 Nannīrāja in the relationship of father to son. Its information is thus rendered comparatively less probable and not so trustworthy. Its evidence may, therefore, be rejected in preference to the information furnished by the present inscription which agrees in full with the accounts given in the Drākṣhārāma record that belongs to a period much earlier than the Pithāpuram inscription. Mallā III, who was foremost among the followers of Chakrākya-Bliṁa II is altogether omitted in the Pithāpuram inscription. The Drākṣhārāma inscription is contemporaneous with the present record.

To return to Mallā III of the present record. He married Kotyamānī (Kotyāpāñhā) and had two sons by her, Epyiyal II who is described as Jayāšīla 'the elder' and Varisakti, 'the progenitor of the family', and Kūrṇa. Epyiyal II married Kuṇiyāmāna and had six sons by her, Mallā IV, Kuṇiyā, Gaṇḍa, Paṇḍa I, Nanna and Kāpuni, every one of whom resembled Saṃbhuka, the six-faced war-god. Kuṇiyā, it is said, was a vassal of the emperor Vimalāditya, and received from him the rulership of the province, Gudravāra-vahaya. This prince is evidently the same as No. 5 Kuṇiyavarmā II or Kuṇiyavarmā, of the Pithāpuram inscription in which he is stated to have rendered assistance for a long time on battlefields to Vimalāditya who then having been pleased bestowed on him the territory, Gudravāra-vaṇa, 'the two provinces of Gudravāra' (vv. 16-18). The two Gudravāras may be identified with the Gudravāra corresponding to the Gudravāra talukh with the Pallava-Gudravāra, 'low lying Gudravāra', corresponding to the Kukkali-vaṇa talukh, of the Krishna District. Nanna, the younger brother of Kuṇiyavarmā, is described as a great hero and as a prince of praiseworthy character. It is said that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Vaiṣhavardhana, i.e., Rājārāja-Nārāṇḍra or Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.). Nanna's son was Paṇḍa I whose wife Gaṇḍāmānī resembled Kunti, of epic fame. While in the present record Paṇḍa I and Gaṇḍāmānī are stated to have had five sons, Vedura, Gaṇḍa II, Gedda I, Mallā V and Paṇḍa II who were like the five Paṇḍavas, the Pithāpuram inscription, on the other hand, makes these five princes the children of Nanna. There is another discrepancy between the Pithāpuram inscription and the present record. Kuṇiyavarmā II, it is stated in the former (v. 29), had a son named Epyiyal to whom he transferred his kingdom after having ruled the earth for a long time; and the latter, however, does not mention any son of Kuṇiyā, vassal of Vimalāditya. It is, therefore, probable that Kuṇiyavarmā II or Kuṇiyā was succeeded by his younger brother Nārāṇāja in the rulership of his vassal kingdom. The Drākṣhārāma record, too, does not mention that Kuṇiyavarmā II transferred his kingdom to his son Epyiyal, a fact mentioned only in the Pithāpuram inscription. Nanna, the Pithāpuram inscription states, had destroyed a crowd of

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1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 35.
2 All the records of the family beginning with the reign of Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.) state that Vimalāditya reigned for only seven years. The date of his coronation is known to us from his Rajasatiṣṭi grant (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 344-361). Hence it is assumed that his seven year's rule came to an end in 1019 A.C.
4 U. P. No. 6 of 1877-78; Kalīnāḍu grant of Rājārāja-Nārāṇḍra. See above, p. 69 text-line 75.
enemies, and ruled a kingdom which he acquired by the strength of his arm. There is no agreement, however, between the Drakshārūma inscription and the present record with regard to the order of the five sons of Pāpda I. The former record mentions Malla V as the second and Gopad II as the fourth arm, while the latter makes their position vice versa. This small discrepancy may be ignored. Of the five sons of Pāpda I, Gōkha I was the most distinguished and is also described as the cmn-

kṣavātī. The Drakshārūma inscription calls him a great hero. He was a trusted vasal of the emperor, Kučottamaka-Chōja I. The Pithāpuram inscription (v. 27) states of prince Gōkha I that he was the most distinguished of his brothers and that he ruled the Andhra-mañjala as a vasal of Kučottamaka-Chōja I. The present record, too, corroborates that account by stating that Gōkha I having pleased that emperor by his services on the battlefields and by destroying hosts of his enemies, obtained as a reward from him, the rulership of the province known as Śatāśāhārantaka, the Six Thousand District on the southern bank of the river Rājaṅga (v. 10). Gōkha I was appointed Samanta-samādhapati by Kučottamaka-Chōja I according to a stone inscription at Chāhākūla in Guntur District, dated Friday, the 12th February, 1077 A.C.

Rājendra-Chōja I called merely Chōja in the present record, son of Velanāṇi (Gōkharu) I and Sabhātābikā, was the next illustrious prince of the family. Though the present plates do not mention much about him the Pithāpuram inscription on the other hand states that he was adopted as his own son by the Chāhākūla-Chōja emperor, Kučottamaka-Chōja I, who furnished him with emblems bestowing his own sons and made him the ruler of the kingdom of Vāngmanḍala-sixteen-thousand (vv. 35-36). The reason for the Chōja king’s adoption of a prince of the Chāhākūla, apparently a well grown up person, himself being a full-blooded kṣatriya emperor, would seem to lie imbedded in the history of that troublous period. Perhaps Kučottamaka-Chōja I had no grown up son at that juncture to take up the burden of ruling the disturbed kingdom of Vāng, apparently in succession to Vira-Chōja. This event would seem to have taken place in 1094 A.C., immediately before the expedition against Kalinga was undertaken. And it would appear that within a short time Rājendra-Chōja had brought the Kalinga war to a successful close. In the words of the Pithāpuram inscription prince Chōja "resembled the terrible Bhima in uprooting crowds of hostile kings (v. 36)." While the Karīgantapparagga makes the Pallava chief, Karunakara Topḍaimūrti, the sole hero of the Kalinga war, the inscriptions on the Andhra country on the other hand reveal altogether a different story. There are reasons to believe that the supreme command of the imperial forces was assumed by Rājendra-Chōja himself. All the inscriptions of the Andhra country which refer to the war with Kalinga unhesitatingly bear testimony to this fact. The stone inscription at Drakshārūma of the vasal chief Pallavarāja surmounted Pranavāmanas, gives a vivid account of the Kalinga war. It states that Pallavarāja who bore the secondary name Pranavāraja had obtained prosperity by his devotion to the feet of king Rājendra-Chōja who rewarded him with the insignia of royalty and made him a vasal king. The inscription states that Pallavarāja who is also called Chōjaśachandra, having reduced to ashes the whole of Kalinga, subdued the Ganga king in battle, and having destroyed Devāndravarmman and others together with their vast armies

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1 SII, Vol. VI, No. 109. There seems to be a slight error in the date. There was no eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārga, Saka 988, when Gōkha I is stated to have made a grant to the temple of Nānakshānāmra at Chāhākūla. If, however, we assume that Pāṅgūra was intended and that the latter was a mistake supposed Magha for Pāṅgūra, the date would be regular.


3 SII, Vol. IV, No. 1259. This has been published with notes and translation. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 138 ff. In my opinion MR. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not properly interpreted the inscription. He has made many doubtful identifications.

4 Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer thinks that this Pallavarāja was the same as the hero of Jayangondā’s Karigantapparaṇa. The identification is improper. These might have been several Pallavarājas in the Chōja army. Moreover, Jayangondā’s hero does not bear any of the names, Pranavāraja, Panḍavrāja or Chōjaśachandra.
from Kōshala, planted a pillar of victory (paṇḍavaśālā) at the meeting place of the boundaries of Ośra and Andhra countries in order to proclaim the glory and fame of his overlord, Rājendra-Čoḷa. Dēvendravarman may be identified with Dēvendravarman the usurper who, taking advantage of the infancy of Avantivarman-Čoḷa-gajapati, on the death of Rājendra-Dēvendravarman in 1077 A.C., occupied Kāḷīgac; he was the donor of the Kāḷībhāṣyā prasāda, dated Śaka 1003 expired; 2 and he was the same as king Dēvendravarman mentioned in the Gūra stone record. 3

It is not known when Rājendra-Čoḷa I died; he was certainly living on the date of the Drākshāraṁ inscription of Pallevarṇa, wherein he is referred to as living at that time. His death may have occurred, therefore, about 1104 A.C. Rājendra-Čoḷa ruled over Vēṭggamandala from about 1094 to 1104 A.C. He was a devotee of Mokṣa-deva according to the present record (v. 49) and the Pāṇḍavaṇa inscription (v. 36), unlike his natural father Goṅka I and his adoptive parent, the emperor, who were both purva-mālāstva, i.e., staunch worshippers of Śiva. Rājendra-Čoḷa I married Guna自习kāh and had two sons by her, Goṅkarāja II, who resembled Goṅka or Kumaṇavāmin, and Pānda IV. 4 On the death of Velanāṭi Rājendra-Čoḷa I the emperor was once more confronted with the problem of finding a successor to administer Vēṭg. Kulṭūṇga-Čoḷa I did not, however, nominate Goṅkarāja II but appointed another trusted and powerful vassal, Kōna Rājendra-Čoḷa, 5 the Hāṣyav ruler of Kōnamandala, the territory that lay between the two branches of the lower Gōḍavari, the Vīṇāśīhl and the Kāntamī.

The next important member of the family, perhaps the most illustrious of all, mentioned in the present plates is Velanāṭi Goṅka II, or Goṅkarāja II, Kulṭūṇga-Čoḷa-Goṅkarāja, or Kulṭūṇga-Čoḷa-Goṅkarāja-Goṅkarāja as he is also called in some inscriptions. He appears as the foremost soldier and powerful vassal in the kingdom during the viceroyalty of prince Pāṇḍavat. A stone record from Tripuriyakālam, dated Śaka 1028 in the cyclic year Sarvaṣyati, of Mahāmāyākāsaka Velanāṭi Goṅka II, registers the gift of the village of Čoḷa-pāṇḍavā in Kāṇamandala on the banks of the river Gūtra, to the god Tripūraśāhavīravā, Śiva, on the occasion of the full-moon day of Kāṭṭika. The record is interesting: it gives Goṅka II the title Čoḷaśvāra-śvāra-maṅkalabha, "the chief pillar supporting the edifice which is the kingdom of the Čaḷukya", and the epithet, saṃsāra-pāṇḍava-maṅkalabha, "one who has attained (the status of having) the five great sounds", and speaks of him as the ruler of the Trīūtōri-sahā-no-bhāva-bhūma-vīlāya, i.e., "the six-thousand and three hundred country". The date is irregular: the cyclic year Sarvaṣyati did not coincide with the Śaka 1028 expired, but with the following year 1029 expired, corresponding to 1107-08 A.C. By that as it may, from this date roughly till the day of his death half a century later, Goṅkarāja II remained the most important person in the kingdom. He was the de facto ruler of the kingdom which extended from the Mahēndragiri on the north to Kāḷābati on the south, though he acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the Čoḷa-Čaḷukya emperor. The kingdom of Vēṭg which almost slipped out of the hands of the Čaḷukya-Čoḷa after the death of Kulṭūṇga-Čoḷa I would appear to have been re-conquered by Velanāṭi Goṅkarāja II from the commanders of the Western Čaḷukya emperor Tribhuvana-malla Vikramādiya VI who had earlier occupied the country, after a protracted struggle, towards the close of the reign of Vikrama-Čoḷa.

1 Perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned in SHI, Vol. V, Nos. 1391 and 1392.
2 Phārics, Vol. VII, No. 8, pp. 116, 6., where Mr. V. Komancharla Sarma edits the record, C.P. No. 9 of 1937-38. The chronogram recorded in the inscription has to be interpreted as yielding the Śaka 1093 and not 1107 as Mr. Sarma believes.
3 No. 304 of 1922-33; ASRE, 1922-33, p. 56, para. 9. See also ASRE, 1926, p. 64.
4 SHI, Vol. IV, No. 1387, text lines 1 and 16, and the present plates.
5 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 83, text line 43.
It would appear that during the last years of Kulottunga-Chôla I almost every one of the vassals of Vêngi became hostile to the Chôla-Châlukyas, opposed the policy of the emperor and only eagerly waited for a favourable opportunity to overthrow the Chôla-Châlukya suzerainty. On the other hand, the Durjaya and other clans of the Chaṅdrâsunistha holding feudatory and military holdings in the region lying to the south of the Krishnâ river would appear to have remained loyal to the imperial throne of the Châlukya-Chôlas and proudly called themselves, Châlukya-vêja-bhurasaṅgata-stambhasamânu, Vêngi-Chalukya-nâkikâra, "the champion warriors of the Châlukyas (of Vêngi)," and lastly Châlukya-vêja-amrâthährâu, "the upolders of the sovereignty of the Châlukyas." Those who proved retributory and sought opportunity to put an end to the Chalukya-Chôla domination, were the Telug (Tenvugu) Chôla clans of the Southern Andhra country, the Ambilikaya feudatories and other Kshatriya vassals including the descendants of the junior branches of the Imperial Châlukyas who held principalities all over the country.

Shortly before the death of the aged emperor Kulottunga-Chôla I, it would appear, Parântaka, his surviving eldest son, returned to the Chôla country. The Pithâpuram inscription of Malikâpâci states that when Vikrama-Chôla, whose other name was Tyâgasamudra, had gone to protect the Chôla-mandala, the country of Vêngi became devoid of a ruler. At that juncture, the kingdom of Vêngi, it would appear, was divided against itself. The Châlukya emperor, Tâlakuvamallâ, who was evidently watching the turn of events in Vêngi despatched armies to invade and occupy the country. There are reasons to believe that some of the powerful Kshatriya vassals in Vêngi openly joined the invading armies, now led by Mâkâmântâkâtâpitâ Mâhâprâkhâpya- dâpyâmâna Anantapâla, and welcomed them. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably Mâkâmântâkâta Kolam-Bhima or Bhâmarâyâka, the Haikâm ruler of the Kaldaru vishaya, or Sagara vishaya, which was the other name for the region round the Kollâra lake. He and his confederates, particularly the Haikamah of Palmah and Kumbamâna, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Châlukyas and quoted the Châlukya-Vikrama year in their records. But Velanântâpan Gâlakarajya II, as the commander-in-chief (sâmanata-sâmâdhipata) of the king of Vêngi, soon assumed the authority of the ruler of Vêngi and stoutly opposed the invading armies. The Western Châlukya invasion resulted in the temporary occupation of the kingdom, from about 1117 to 1130 A.C., for a period of two decades.

During the period of confusion and anarchy an Eastern Chalukya prince, Vâsāhu-dhana, probably lord of Niravadiyapura (modern Nijâlahvâla), or Râjâmahâdravaram, crowned himself king of Vêngi and assumed imperial titles. His coronation would seem to have taken place about Saka 1046 corresponding to 1124 or 1125 A.C. It would appear that he was soon brought to subjection and pardoned. Yet another prince, Vijâyâkâtra, lord of Pithâpuram and a descend...
dant of Kanṭhikā-Bēḷa crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chāḷukya title Sarvalokārāyana-Sri-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja.¹ His coronation took place on the 14th February 1128.² He was the son of Mahapâdaḷa; and his mother Chandallâḍâyí was the daughter of Kolana Brahmârāja³ and probably, therefore, a sister of Mahāmaṇḍapâḷa Kolana-Brahmarāja, the lord of Sāgara vihâra, whom the Tamil inscriptions call Tulaḷa-Bhima.⁴ It would appear that Vījāyāditya was defeated and reduced to submission after a short time, but restored to his principality by Velnâḷḷi-Gotkhârâja II.

It would appear that at this period the operations against Mahāmaṇḍapâḷa Kolana-Bhima or Kolanâḷḷi-Bhima⁵ as the present record calls him (v. 55 : lines 111-14.), who was the most formidable opponent of the Chāḷukya-Châḷukyas, were directed by princes Râjendra-Châḷôḍha, afterward Râjendra-Chôḍha II, sun and successor of Gotkhârâja II. Unable to oppose Râjendra-Chôḍha in the open field, Kolanâḷḷi-Bhima would seem to have taken up his position inside the famous jala-bâṛga "fortress in the water", of Kolhanpura or Kollâḷḷi-kîrva as it is called even to-day, in the middle of the lake, Kollâḷḷi.⁶ Râjendra-Chôḍha II invested the impregnable fortress, captured Kolanâḷḷi-Bhima alive and put him to death instantaneously together with all his sons and other near relations (vv. 55-56). The Pithâparâma inscription of Pithâparâma⁷ gives a graphic description of the storming of Kolhanpura. It is stated that Râjendra-Chôḍha II dried up the water of the lake Kollâḷḷi and presumably, by constructing a causeway across the water, reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhima and killed him just as Râjendra Bhâga killed Râvaṇa who terrified the worlds. The present record speaks of Kolana-Bhima as nagaḥyENA and ärul, full of pride, as a thorn to the gods and Bīrâmaṇas, a man of massive strength, of great prowess and force of frame of body and as resembling Râvaṇa. The slaying of Kolana-Bhima would seem to have taken place about the beginning of Šaka 1065 corresponding to about April 1131 A. C., which was the thirteenth year of Vîkrama-Châḷôḍha's reign.⁸ This event paved the way for the final victory of Gotkhârâja II. It enabled the Velnâḷḷi chief to crush the enemies of Vîkrama-Châḷôḍha completely, put an end to the Western Châḷukya occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Châḷukya-Châḷukyas in Vēṅgi (c. 1160 A.C.).

Mahâmaṇḍapâḷa Kolanâḷḷi-Gotkhârâja was a great soldier, perhaps the greatest military genius of his day. He is said to have defeated and slain a certain Siddhi-Bēḷa and acquired the title Siddhi-Bēḷa-Chîṟṟupâ-Câḷiṟṟiya-maṇḍapaṇḍaṇa, "a lion to the deer Siddhi-Bēḷa of Chîṟṟupâ.‖ Siddhi-Bēḷa would appear to be a Tâluṇa Chôḍha prince of Chîṟṟupâ in Râmaṇâ and a subordinate of Tribhuvamalâla Vîkramâditya VI. Chîṟṟupâ (now called Chippillâ) is an obscure village in Chittoor

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 236 ff, verses 35-36.
² Ibid., verses 23-34. The data is expressed as siddhi-jaḷaḷḍha-iśvaṇk-kaṇḍanaṇ. Dr. Huttmann shows his preference for 7 his 8 instead of as the intended meaning of the numeral jaḷaḷḍha, on the ground that if he (Vījāyâditya) had been crowned in 1049 his reign would have lasted for the unusually long period of 75 years. Dr. Huttmann's view need not be taken as conclusive. For the word jaḷaḷḍha is more often used to denote number 8 in preference to 7. Moreover two inscriptions found at+i dikhaḷkârâma (SIH, Vol. IV, Nos. 1261 and 1201) dated the 2nd and 6th regnal years respectively of his son Râjendra-Châḷukya-Vishnuvardhana, show that Vījāyâditya ruled for about 50 years and that his death took place in or about 1175 A.C. Vījāyâditya was perhaps 20 or 25 years old at the time of his coronation in 1128 A.C.
³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 236 ff, verse 32.
⁵ Kolanâḷḷi is a Tâluṇa expression meaning Kolamâṇḍapâḷi, "of the subdivision of Kolana. To meet the exigencies of more the poet distorted the word into Kolanâḷḷi dropping the intermediate syllable.
⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 1, verse 29. Here the poet distorted the word Kolana into Kanaḷla.
⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 3, verse 49.
⁸ SIH, Vol. III, No. 68.
District, lying within a distance of two miles from Madanapalli. In the numerous inscriptions found at Nājurbanā, Drākshārāma and other places, Velananti Gokārāja II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Mrāṭa, Āṭa, Karnāṭa, Kuntala, Andhra, Kaṭaka and Tribaliṇa, and acquired the rulership of the Andhra country with the insignia of a paramount sovereign (sūnāyasa-sūdana) and enjoyed it. A Drākshārāma inscription states that Kulōṭūnga-Chōda II raised Gokārāja II, who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the Tri-sūtra-saṅkha-saṅkarāṇi-vihāra on the south bank of the Kṛiṅgā river, to the rulership of the Andhra country which was bounded by the Mahāñcandagiri on the north-east and Śrisalī on the south-west, with the insignia of a subordinate king. The former statement is also borne out by the Telugu poem, Kāyirabāhu-charitraṇam of Mahāūchhā.

Gokārāja II married several wives but the chief queen was Śabbālābhikā. To them was born Rājendrā-Chōda who is described as resembling Kumāravāmin, the leader of the armies of gods.

It would appear that the latter part of the reign of Gokārāja II was peaceful and prosperous, i.e., from 1135 to 1161 A.C. Gokārāja II was a great builder; he founded temples, established sattālāna ‘charitable feeding houses,’ he encouraged learning and granted innumerable agnībāras to the learned and the twice-born, i.e., Brahmāṇa. He placed pinnacles over temples all over the land. He set up a massive golden pinnacle for the āgama of the temple of Bhūmanātha at Drākshārāma, which he had built in 1133 A.C., evidently after he became the king of Vēnī. Gokārāja II made a rich offering to god Bhūmanātha for a perpetual light of camphor and for five perpetual lights of ghee; for that purpose and for the purpose of bhūtakṣhāśchēna, or ceremonial bath to the god with milk, every day, he gave away 600 cows to the temple.

Roughly ten years later, in Śaka 1084, corresponding to 1142-43 A.C., he made a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Drākshārāma, accompanied by his wives, younger brother Paṇḍarka, his son, prince Rājendrā-Chōda II and other members of the royal family. On that memorable occasion, every one of the royal household placed four perpetual lights in the temple. And roughly six years later, Gokārāja II visited the temple of Bhūmanātha again and made a grant of 25 gold coins to be paid annually from out of the royal treasury to the temple for the celebration of the annual festival damačērma for three consecutive days ending with the full-moon day of Chaṭtra. On that occasion, probably he built a gopura (a globular roof) studded with various kinds of gems in the inner shrine of the temple, a kāśṭhāsavā, ‘store-house’, and a beautiful māndapa assembly hall for the god Bhūmanātha. Further, for burning 25 perpetual lights more, with ghee, Gokārāja presented as many as 1000 sho-hullakes to the temple. The occasion for these priceless gifts was the Karkataka-vaṃśavāti, which occurred on the 25th June 1158 in the sixteenth or the closing year of the reign of Kulōṭūnga II. Gokārāja II also placed pinnacles of gold on the temples of Purushottama at Pur in Orissa and Śri Mallākṣīrāja-Mahādeva at Śrisalī in the south-west, which shone like jayastānabhas proclaiming his victories. On yet another occasion, Gokārāja II gave away unlimited number of golden utensils for daily use in the worship of the god Bhūmanātha, and covered the roof of the temple āgamas with a plate of gold.
The successor of Gotikaraja II in the rulership of the Andhra country was his son prince Râjendirachoda II, the donor of the present plate. In the records of the family as well as in the present inscription (lines 102 ff.) it is stated that emperor Râjaraja II was pleased to appoint him ruler of the Andhra country which is said to have extended at this time from Mahendragiri on the north to Kâlabasti on the south. It would appear that Râjendra-Chôda's accession took place towards the end of Saka 1082 or the beginning of 1101 A.C. For, the last known date on which Gotikaraja II is said to be alive was the Ucchâsena-sukhârâha, Saka 1082, corresponding to the 25th December, 1100 A.C., according to a stone record of his minister at Bânapâla, Guntur District. It would appear that Râjendra-Chôda II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom from about Saka 1088 corresponding to 1106-07 A.C. The subordinate and other vassals of the Châlukya-Chôdas in the Andhra country would seem to have recognised Râjendra-Chôda as their future sovereign even during the rule of Gotikaraja II and frequently made grants to the temples in the country for his merit as well as for the merit of his father. A stone record from Pâmâtpâda-agradhâra, Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur District, dated Jyâtishta, su 5, Saka 1077 expired, corresponding to 8th May, 1159 A.C., records the grant of a piece of land for the temple of Chennakesava at the village for the merit of the kings Gotikaraja II and his son Râjendra-Chôda, and incidentally states that the latter granted the torts of the village Pâmâtpâda (Pamâtpâdu) and the tax on marriages for the benefit of the temple.

Though the reign of Râjendra-Chôda II appears to have commenced in peace, within a short time it soon became troubled and engulfed in internecine wars among his feudatories and wanton incursions by hostile neighbours. About the beginning of Saka 1085, i.e., about March 1163 A.C., it would appear, a civil war broke out in Kûna-mañjâla, between the two rival branches of the ruling family, which soon threatened to assume large proportions. Kûna-mañjâla is the ancient name for the region of the lower branches of the Gôlavari, comprising the taluk of Amalapuram and Hazole, in the East Godavari District. At the time of the civil war, Kûna-mañjâla was ruled by a powerful clan of Hâlayas of the Atrâa gosha. After the death of Kûna Râjendra-Chôda I which would seem to have occurred shortly after 1137 A.C., his elder brother Kûna Mûmadehûra II and his younger step-brother Kûna Satyârâya I, according to the Pithâpuram inscription of Mallidéva and Manna-Satya II, divided the principality among themselves but ruled it conjointly in peace for a long time. Mûmadehûra II was succeeded by his son Lôka-Bhûpa, who died apparently without leaving an heir to succeed him. Lôka-Bhûpa's death would seem to have taken place just about the same time as the accession of Râjendra-Chôda II. There are reasons to believe that Bhûma (III) the younger son of Kûna Satyârâya I occupied the whole of Kûna-mañjâla to the exclusion of his cousins Iata and Mallidéva, sons of Kûna Râjendra-Chôda I, who would seem to have succeeded to or claimed the principality held by Lôka-Bhûpa. This led to a civil war which necessitated the intervention of Râjendra-Chôda II. A large army was dispatched under the command of the Brahmâpa general Dêvâna-prâggâla of Amrîtârum, early in Saka 1085 corresponding to 1163 A.C., with instructions to put down the insurrection and
NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA: SAKA 1091

restore peace. The military operations in Kōna-mpañḍala lasted about two years. The fragmentary record at Drākshārāma dated Saka 1087, i.e., 1163-66 A.C., reveals that, "having been commanded by his overlord Kulāttunga-Rājendra-Chōda II, general Dēvana-pragada burnt down the dis namespaces of the enemy with the flames of the fire that was his valour. It would appear that he defeated and killed Būma (III) and once more restored peace in the region by settling the country between the lawful claimants. The poem Kēyūrubhācārīrūpa which has been already referred to and a number of inscriptions reveal the fact that an army of the Śaṅkara of the Kāṇkā king, apparently taking advantage of the political unrest in Kuntala and the rise of Kākati Prāla II, in the western Andhra Country, made incursions into the kingdom of Vēṇi, and that the invaders were completely defeated and forced to retire in a sangunary battle that was fought at a place called Krottacheyuvulakōta, Chepувulakōta or simply Chepuccherakōta, a village in Vinukonda taluk, Guntur District. These events may be placed about 1164-65 A.C. The king of Kāṇkā was doubtless Kalachuri Bījāla who usurped the Western Chāluṅkya sovereignty overthrowing his overlords, Nūrānā Taliapa HI (1149-1161 A.C.). Some inscriptions refer to Chauḍāra, a feudatory of Chauḍāra, who was slain in the battle of Krottacheyuvulakōta, who may be identified as the Sinda chief of Yelburga, who was husband of Sīvariṇā, a daughter of Bījāla.

The Telugu poem, Kēyūrubhācārīrūpa gives a vivid account of the reign of Guṇākāra II and his illustrious son Kulūttunga-Guṇa-Rājendra-Chōda II, and of the greatness of their successive ministers Nandārī Gōvinda and his son Nandārī Kommana and the prosperity of the Andhra country. According to a stone record at Bāṇḍāla, and the present plates (v. 50) the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōda II extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kālōgrama on the north to Kālākasti on the south and to Srisailam on the west and was bounded by the sea on the east. It appears that the province of Kāniga was governed by the Bṛāhuspa general, Meṣṭana-pragada under the orders of the king, Rājendra-Chōda II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōda in Kāniga. It would appear that on the death of Anantavarman alūme Chōda-gōla, c. 1142 A.C., the king-dom or at any rate the southern portion of Kālīnga extending as far as the Mahānāgarī was annexed to Vēṇi. It is stated in the poem that the king's treasury always contained nine stores of gold (raasa), that ninety-six elephants which looked like huge black clouds roamed about the city of Chākavyā, that a cavalry force of forty-thousand was always ready for service on the field and that seventy-five canopies of rice were cooked every day for the army and king's household. Such was the prosperity of Rājendra-Chōda II. The poem gives an account of the king's chief Bṛāhuspa minister Komdna-muntron of the Kāniga gōla who was a great soldier. Komdna was a worshipper of Vishnu: he built thirty-two temples of Vishnu, at the beautiful towns of Sēkkārima, Gourūrti, Krottachēla, Tripuranstambha, Kotyadona, Bogōra, Yalamōkhi and other places. Every day he fed a thousand Brahmans guests with pāya (rice cooked in milk and sugar) at his house, throughout his life, with a religious zeal and devotion. He governed in addition to his office, the province of Pāka-nilā twenty-one-thousand. On the battlefield at Krottachēla-kōta, it is said, he displayed marvellous strength and heroism.

1 SII, Vol. IV, Nos., 1086 and 1082.
2 Ibid., No. 1082.
4 JBRAS, Vol. XI, p. 299; Firth, Dynasties of the Konarese Districts, p. 477.
6 Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 129. The inscription is dated Saka 1097 (1175-76 A.C.)
7 One cubic of bōra is equal to 600 lbs. in weight or as a measure of capacity, roughly 14,000 cubic inches.
Like his illustrious father Goṅkaraja II, Kalōṭṭunga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chaṭa II was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva. He made liberal grants to temples of Śiva all over his vast kingdom. He made even richer gifts than his father to the god Bhumimāthēvaram at Drākṣhārāma. He presented golden utensils for the daily worship of the god in commemoration of his victories over his enemies. He gave away on one occasion a prabhā (sacred) made of solid gold to god Bhumimāthēvaram and covered the huge lātya with a splendid armour of massive gold. On another occasion he presented a maharaṇa of gold, studded with priceless gems. He built a temple for Śiva under the name of Kāmēvāra-Mahādhēva at Siripuranam in Śaka 1093, i.e., 1171 A. C., and granted the village of Siripuran together with its twelve hamlets and some more land as devahāga for the worship of the deity. On the banks of the Tungabhadra, a small stream flowing by the side of Appikaṭa, a village in Tenali taluk, Guntur District, he built another temple for Śiva under the name Veṅvēvāra-Mahādhēva and made large grants of land in Appikaṭa, Mahāgiriṇḍi and other villages in the sub-division known as Omēyamārga, for the worship of the god.

Rājendra-Chaṭa II would seem to have reigned till a very ripe old age and died about the beginning of 1182 A. C. The last known inscription which mentions the king as still living on that date but indicating his impending death is a record of his Brīha Mahāraṇa officer Mahārāṇa-matrī of the Śrivatasa gōta at Drākṣhārama. It is slightly damaged; it registers the gift of a perpetual light to god Bhumimāthēvaram on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full moon day of Pūṣya in Śaka 1093, which corresponds to Monday, the 22nd December, 1181 A. C., when there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Rājendra-Chaṭa’s death may, therefore, he placed sometime in January or February, 1182 A. C.

Rājendra-Chaṭa II was also called Vira-Rājendra-Chaṭa. According to the family records found at Drākṣhārama and Pālasale (Pālokalanu) Rājendra-Chaṭa had at least four queens, Guṇḍāmbikā, Kuppanā, Paṭāmā (daughter of the chief of Kōna-Kaṇḍravādi) and Akkaṃmatēvē or Akkaṃmatēvē; the first would appear to have been the consort during the early part of Vira-Rājendra-Chaṭa’s life. Akkaṃmatēvē was the daughter of Mahāśaṅkaleśvara Kōṇḍapaṇumati Manma-Moṭa or Maṭḍaṛājī II who took a heroic part in the war against Kāṇiga as a follower of Veḷanuṭi Rājendra-Chaṭa I, and the younger sister of Mahāśaṅkaleśvara Kōṇḍapaṇumati Budhaharaja III. To King Vira-Rājendra-Chaṭa and Akkaṃbikā was born Goṅkaraja III. His son was Prithvīvāra of the Pīthapuran inscription.

TEXT

Second Plate; First Side

1. नामातिरिक्तपुनःप्रियुक्तकुम्: अद्वैतानिन्द्रियप्रभोपत्तिस्वरूपज्ञातादि

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* Ibid.
* SII, Vol. VI Nos. 124 and 125. Omēyamārga appears to be the ancient name for the region lying between Tenali, Guntur, and Bapatla taluks extending towards south as far as Omēy, Guntur District.
* SII, Vol. IV, No. 1206, Ibid., No. 1037. The last digit in the date of the record is lost but may be read as 3.
* The details of the date then would yield the equivalent, viz., 25th December, 1181 A. C.
* No. 161 of 1897.
* SII, Vol. IV, No. 962, Vr. 7-8.
* Above, Vol. VI, p. 274.
* From the ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Himnanda Sastri.
* The first plate of this set is lost.
* Mutra = Vṛjāṅka. The first pada is lost on the first plate.
2 तो यो असुम्मुख्यति। \(\text{[[111]*]}\) ततो धिनिनविवर्योऽहुतमसामालंकारः
3 जायत। येनेवं वुष्ट्यको सवयं पालित सुभोम। तुरा \(\text{[[112]*]}\) वृत्तिति—
4 राधी। पूज्य गवेशा \(\text{[[7]}\) भद्धोऽऽसये।
5 देवद्वारातिन्द्रमलोऽऽसये। \(\text{[[112]*]}\) तेवु वसस्य कर्मसीधुऽऽसयंसारजन्विये।
6 सुमूहित। गुप्तेशरव तीतिप्रसारणसंस्वय। \(\text{[[111]*]}\) तुमारू ये—
7 सम परामोके। भगवान्येशुऽऽसये। वृत्तित सूचनामयकमु—
8 सुमसमर्कव बालेशुऽऽसये। \(\text{[[1]}\) वास्तवरकथराधिराधिवस्य—
9 स्त्रे सं विषय। वर्य। को वा तत्त्व धन्यवशस्ति मवर्या वशस्ति। *प्रकुल्लरः
   \(\text{[[111]*]}\) तु—
10 स्माविहितमये। \(\text{[[1]}\) भविष्युऽऽसये। परीक्षित । \(\text{[[1]}\) ततो अन्मेय। ग्रंथ वचुद्वे—
11 धिम्क्षितमऽऽसयं दुर्गुर्वस्य विशेषार्थस्वतत्वकर्मसङ्गतंसः—
12 पू एकोमालसेवसुमाळापिपेयु तदः शेयु शेयु तक्त्वो विजलोपु—

Second Plate: Second Side

13 विवश्यादित्यो। नाम महन्तदिनश्वतत्वकल्लेवन। युध्य नथिनः—
14 वोगान्सिवः वा जनाम। \(\text{[[1]}\) यवाकनतंस्कल्लेवन प्रणानं तक्त्वांमाल्लि।
15 \(\text{[[3]}\) राजमभोराम | \(\text{[[1]}\) तन्माप्रकीयम। मुखं विचलमुरत। मुदेवमुक्ष
16 वरम्महाराम | \(\text{[[11]*]}\) तद्यास्मायुः खलु विषयारुः। लुकस्मूऽऽसये। नवः—
17 विश्वासं \(\text{[[1]}\) शान्ता वाट्य। बलसुभष्टिः। वृषमापल्लाक्रमः। थिरिसाभल्लिम् \(\text{[[11]*]}\)
18 *रक्षिता तेन। विशेष। कुमार लक्षणाष्टितम। \(\text{[[1]}\) सुपुष्ये वाक्षवस्य—
19 वस्त्रां वशाकर वर्म। | \(\text{[[11]*]}\) जातकमालिकं सव्यसिनमये। कर्मक्षेत्रः।

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1 This and the two following verses are in dwadhasak metre.
2 Rule of samādi is sacrificed here for the sake of the metre.
3 *Metre*: Sāndānakrīṣita.
4 *Read*: "प्रकुल्लरः नरः"
5 *Metre*: Upajjīti.
6 *Read*: "तदेक्षमं निर्ममं"
7 *This verse and the next two are in dwadhasak metre.

29 DGA/53
20 किरो नृषुमार्त्य कुमारस्य श्रृव्य ॥[115]॥ अश्व जनमो मुलाकः स्वः ोः
21 तां निश्चित तपःपुलिकायम कुमारस्यानुपुत्रानि विश्रामारोऽहस्तेषु.
22 हृ। तत्र देवस्तानाय कुमार द्विकारम्(र) भगवतीनि गीरी चारागीरा
23 [ँ] वराहलोचनकविष्णुकुपर्वमहावाक्यः एककारकस्तोत्रादेवः
24 [ँ] जगितामर्कपालिकेल्लेभिर्महापालिनः नकालितिन्भ्यायाय

Third Plate : First Side

25 विष्णुमार्त्य विष्णुपालकः (ः) परिपातवामः ॥ अश्व पल्लववरण
26 समग्र या गुणलकारकविष्णुवर्तमानस्य महिमः ॥ सूची गुण ॥
27 नेशा विष्णुशिल्पमात्रा भगवज्ञातिमियः ॥[110]॥ ततः पुलकेशी तस्मात्तिष्ठाति
28 तस्मात्तिष्ठायों विष्णुवर्तमानस्य वभृत्यः ॥ ततः अश्व वहः
29 मनोकुमारो गृह कुलानामः [ः] साधारणनि मानिस्यमेव सम्पर्कः पु.
30 धर्म शासन अधि(वि)तप्तानां ॥[111]॥ तस्यावरों व्यापी विनिमयः
31 करः [ः] रक्षास्तादस्य समा विष्णुवर्तमानस्य: ॥[112]॥ अश्वमहाप्रसा
32 विश्वासार्द्धसंस्कारों वधानानांके: [ः] भूमालस्य भगवामिदि[ः] रजोः विच्छेदः
33 त् ॥[113]॥ नववर्षाणि तस्यो विष्णुवर्तमानस्य: [ः] [तस्योः] महिलयुगराद प.
34 ति कल्पम । ॥[114]॥ वयोशास्निकां स्युतानुपुराणविदनां वलोः [ः] गृहविधिकाः
35 पण्डो नयसिद्धि महाभुवः । ॥[115]॥ ततहोिवाणुः चिति दीर्घेः रसम
36 श्रवणान्तकोकिलम् ॥ पृथ्वीमत्तपालान्तकिनम् । ॥[116]॥ द्वीपोश्या(स्य)
कोकिलत: पृथ्यो विष्णु

1 Read "इक्का".
2 रसो = आप्सरांकः आप्सराणांकः.
3 Read सुप्रेमा.
4 रसो = उप्पोति.
8 तस्मि तष्ठ श्रवष्टि वर्तमानि ज्ञाति यो रस विनिमयानां.
9 Read "अश्वमहाधिकाः".
No. 32 | NANDURU PLATES OF VEILANTHI RAJENDRA CHODA: SAKA 1001 | 241

37 बदेधममुपति | पदर्शिराज्याच्या भुख्रीत्यांकारुपक्रक्ष | [113:31*] | तत्तुषी(विः)

Third Plate: Second Side

38 जयाकित्ति | लामाकाळसाखलराय | [18] | तत्तज्ञ | नरेन्द्र | रूपानायक चक्वार्न-शेताराम (विः)

39 सामाजिक | [वैदिककर्त विख्यत] नावित धर्मितेवरांगनालिका | । [113:31*] |

40 ने: पदर्शिराज्याच्या मन्त्रविषयवरून | [18] | संग्रामसने | रिसोमितिररण: | लोणमाराठिकितिदिन | [प्रोव्य] | [113:31*] | [तः]

41 हुजुळ विनिवेगुणविनायक वर्णम | तत्तज्ञों पुणामालिखितज्ञाच्या मन्त्रासहाय्याने |

42 नीलसंविकावितिनामान्य: पुणामालिखिताङ्ग | सशब्दपान... |

43 ने: पुणामालिखिताङ्ग विनिवेग | महाशिवाच्यासावसाळीसमें | तत्तुषी | विज्ञान | विलकम जितम.

44 परिशिल्य | विराजमानपुरी | विख्यत | धिवंसवातमु | [18] | तत्तत्साहस्रतम | गतिः-

45 कुर्जेनसतहावनमवनमाललु | [18] | तत्तवार्थत्या | ऋषामेकमन्तर | [3*] | जाः | [10] | चालुः | बसी-

46 मत्तीता | विविधादित्यस्तत्तत्त्व | तत्ता(तत्ता)ने विलाक एकार्थमनान्त सितिर रक्ष | [18] | तत्तवार्थतंत्रो गुहम-

47 तल्लसहस्तलसारानु | ऋषामेरम्माराठिकितिदिन | युवमलण परितित झारी

48 काय वीचली समास | [18] | तत्तवार्थतंत्रो दीर्घमुखवेश्वरां दानाण्यायमाग्रितिदिन गुहमो | [18] | पंचो-
49 तरामिकानिमत्व सोव्यानु ०००० शारास्वामनुपूर्व कन्यायानु । [१२३१२] १देशांतरोद्देश 
राजस्थ विभेद(वि) दानायकी नुपुर [११२] र- 
50 रक्त क्षिप्रस्थार्थविवाहशस्त्रसरानु विमिति । [२१२२]* तस्मानु दानायकासामाजस्वं व्यस्तवर्षं 
रहितव म- 
51 ०००० [११२] रिपुचमापालकुलवालायोजनि वस्मास्थिपि । [२५२२] ० तत्स्मयो 
दानायकस्वय पृथ्वी अधिकारशर्माः 
52 विशिष्टाचलकैः [११२] संबंधार्थ म संज्ञ्य श्रावस्वतस्त्रासन दादश संबंधासि। [२क२२] ।* 
अनुजस्तस्मि वर्षाणि सतपि सन्ताति 
53 त्वस्मिन्दि: । विवर्ताव्यूपलोकाव्यस्तकलामिनाः। [२४२२] ।* तस्मादविद्वद्र- 
राजस्त्रीजो राजिवज्जो 
54 निर्मितावतात्तारः [११२] कौशिक शुद्ध दिनु [सम्बधासङ्गेष्य नक्ष्मा युक्त] ।* 
काचार्यः 
कल्यनः: [२५२२] ।* 

Fourth Plate : First Side

55 १तकादवाकाक्षविवेदपायिणी। [११२] पालवासस वलवामिला- 
56 मुदविकेशलाम् [१२४२] ।* तस्मादविद्वद्रताव्यस्त्रासस: पादाकात्ताविवेदपायिणी- 
57 चूँकः [११२] नानार्तुवेयविपायस्ववः श्रीलक्षी[११२] श्रीकुलोन्तनागोः। [२५२२] ।* 
हि- 
58 मकसेतुविद्यो दक्ष्विवेददत्तस्त्रासन। [११२] ।* वसुधार्ष वसुधानाय: श्राव 
59 रिपुवासनः [२५२२] ।* तद्यत्रो निषादमधे जोड़देवर पराक्रमे शरास्वाममाणि- 
60 तुलः। [२५२२] ।* दिनमुप्पालविलोवाक्षपिमिलिष्टामातिप्रवाहीरः। [२५२२] ।* 
अं सन्त- 
61 दश वर्षाणि देवे भारतेऽसुवः प्रभुः। [११२] उवाह ब्रह्मविव्यय निर्तातानि- 
62 महतः। [२५२२] ।* तदनु दशाविवेददत्तस्त्रासेनेन कलावातुद्वादसमस्तम्- 
63 दत्तारथाकारः [११२] अधिकारविलोकनस्त्रासनयेणीसहजात्यम्- 

* Metro : अनुजस्तस्मि 
* This and the next verse are in उपायस्त्रासन metre. 
* Metro : अनुजस्तस्मि 
* Metro : निर्मितावतात्तारः 
* बृहस्पतिः 
* बृहस्पतिः 
* बृहस्पतिः 
* बृहस्पतिः 
* One letter was written and erased before र-.
No. 32] NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA: SAKA 1091 243

64. सूर प्रेमकुलोकजनकोऽ: [II.11]\* [सतन्त्र बन्धुराधिकवर्][घु]धर्म [बुधप्रायन्][घु] स प|-
65. नवम राधाणिन्द्रानासनं: [II.32]\* [तनास्मात्वन्][घु]धर्मवेदमालय: बन्धुराधिकवर्|-
66. प्रतिप्रक्रमः[घु] श्रीराजराजे रज्जिपाननसराजराजीसमाननेन: [II.33]\*-
67. कर्मीत्वेन: [घु]धर्मपाहवन्नाद्यावधामप्रवाहः इव कार्तिकः [घु] नित्मः[घु]-
68. सीतलोकजनकस्य: अतुत्वेवः: (1) पादार्चिविपुलाकुमः-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

69. सन्त्व [II.32]\* [बासिस्मुप्रतीय:निलोकल्पितोऽस्य:][घु]धर्मान्तित: एकोः-
70. [घु]धर्मपाहवन्नाद्यावधामप्रवाहः इव कार्तिकः [घु] नित्मः[घु]
71. मय्यान्त्वतांशीलसह: [घु] तंत्रमालकालवाप्रस्तावितः [घु]-
72. हस्यम्प्रतीतित्तः [II.33]\* नेथुः लघुमपकवेशकः नित्मः[घु]
73. मंदलेशुः पूर्विकोभागस्तः प्रायः[घु] न्युर्याः[घु] नित्मः[घु]
74. स्माहे मल्यम्यवर्तः [घु] बालानाथिश्चिन्ताविध श्रवणः-
75. बैरिष्ठ [II.32] तत्त्वसान्तुरालिविनामास्य: [घु] नुपरिवेशु: [घु] नित्मः[घु]
76. लघुः जस्म नारायणमल्यम् मुः: [II.33]\* नतुम्ब्राह्मानल्यवर्तः-
77. मुख्य: य: कौन्तेयांकाः बिंतितनेष्मे [घु] ताष्मावमुला किनियय[घु]
78. [घु]धर्मपाहवन्नाद्यावधामप्रवाहः इव कार्तिकः [घु] नित्मः[घु]
79. कर्ताः सुकीनः: [घु] तन्त्रिवित्ता: [घु] ताष्मावमुला किनियय[घु]
80. ठुङ्ङुः यन्मुक्तिप्रतिमा: सुनिति [घु] मल्यम् कुड़ीयोः नम भक्ति: मनस्तः-
81. कार्तिकः [II.32]\* [घु] कुड़ीयाः वद्री तेपु विमलालितमृपितः [घु] महत्त्

\* Read: ची।
\* Metro: असस्खलः।
\* These two letters लिंग are written beneath the line.
\* Metro: इष्पाटः।
\* Metro: प्रहारः।
\* Metro: सूरसत्वश्रव्यः।
\* Metro: सूरतसुश्रव्यः।
\* Read: शत्याः। Here the letter म is written below the line after the letter य।
\* This name may also be read as कौन्तेयांकिनि।
\* This and the next four verses are in असस्खलः metre.
\* Two letters are wanting in this pāda.
82 तर्कश्राव्यतिति मेहलमण्डन्म् [1421]° नरोणि मूलतारिणः …

Fifth Plate; First Side

83 मदन: [1°] विष्णुवंदनरूपे[भ]पालोनापनिस्मृतिम् [11421]° पंडो...
84 [..]पाठिता[अख] गुदाविकामयत् [1°] दिनता । पाहुरक्षस्य कुलीनतयः
85 तस्मिदः [11421]° तमोरथासः(वा)सन्नरक्षकाद्विधेन्द्रां यव पाठः
86 [पुष]° पंडकला बेदुरस्त मंडी मंकल मल्लव तथे पंड: [11421]°

87 वंशकरता तेषु तु शुरु शथारामकुरुः; कुलाण्येश्वरक-
88 लक्ष्मीकृष्णकृष्णकीर्तिसम्मुद्योक्तकृष्णपतिमुः(मृ)गांक्: [11421]° वदसः-
89 इथानकीर्त्व श्रीकुलोत्तमाणांक: [1°] वेन संप्रभुसाः
90 हरिनुधशाल्यत नितिरिणा [11421]° तन्य माकलितिनेत्रणम् पूव्याः-
91 कववना वरा [1°] संवधिकामसुहक्षित्व: सल्लकमनलिता [11421]° यसरकस:-
92 सत्त्वोपतिमृत्व: श्रीकोपसुः कुलरत्नीय: [1°] जातसातः
93 राजमहासिप? [प्र]वाहुमुक्तवालिकितवविवृत: [11421]° तन्य किरतप्रला-
94 अनन्त मंकेश्वरसम: [1°] मुदाविकामृतिया वारिताकुष्याः-
95 निर्माता [11421]° अवृजन तकतककेश्वरकोशावराविक्षयभजन:-

Fifth Plate; Second Side

96 [नन्दिता] तलस्मृति मंगलम् [1°] [विवेचन]जितप्रवेश: पाठितविवाहेऽदेवः
97 [स]मरसमृत्युस्मृति [दद्य]रातिरिज्...[11421]° . . . . . . . . .
98 'विमानिषुक्षितेऽ व: (1°)प्राताक्रमम्यमाण्डिन् गमये(सं)महित:-

1 Dvada unneccessary.
2 Read: "सुदरी°".
3 Matra: "अम्पा°"
4 Matra: "युगलहवी°"
5 This and the next verse are in Amabhak metre.
6 Matra: "नमःवरारी°"
7 Matra: "अम्पा°".
8 Read: "हिमाला°".
9 Matra: "मातिरति°".
10 Read: "कुमार°".
99 वाकरोल् [१२.११]¹ तदनम् सकलतदुप्रणांतनोद्भव सद्वाविका विकससंद- \\
100 बुज्जननेवा [१०] लभोरीविन्दुर्वहीलक्षणमनवद्वा — — — [वो]—
101 मलवन्तनांतथवा [१२.२]² तत्स्यामुमांलककस्वतां जुमानात्मुः \\
102 प्रमुक्तपुः [११] वंतो महायम्यात्मकतर्त्तिकंहो राजयव्यवस्थितुः
103 तत् वन वृक्ष [१२.३]³ [पृथ्वीस्तम्भकस्तम्भकुलमृत्तिकं वृक्ष तरस्यतम्यम्]
104 कर्तवतपण्यात् [११] पद्मचन्दरसिद्धायुक्ततापननेत्रस्यपुरैः [पृथ्वी]स्
105 रत्नसामानवकः [१२.४]² परमसश्च तु सुविष्कर्तरो वृक्षमुः
106 श्च वृक्षमन्त्रितविविकपराश्रये। [१२.११]² ⁵सासुः को- \\
107 देहिन्ता। विपिनवाणीभूमि यत्करे[१९] सत्तीमेवति
108 चीरतत्त्व यानसन्नित। [१२.६] \\
109 \\
110 त्यादृश यस्माध्यम [११] प्रमोदिष्टायांवृकसनेत्रस्य नमः
111 न बलासादिः। [१२.५]⁶ देवराजस्वकः पुडरृत्[शोध]यम् मानो इ- \\
112 लो हुर्मात्रिहितयो भयंकरवृकः [ग्रं] श्रीरामनुजीसोऽ[१०]¹ वेणासी- \\
113 कोलनाट्यमनोविन्यतः। [१२.६]⁷ पुड[ृ]ष्ट्य मिश्रसह भुजुः। राजस्मिन्यो मुखः
114 कवलोविष्कारत्रविष्कार्य[ब्रह्मसं] [१२.३०]² पुरुषप्रमाणिकाविविकपरा[ब्रह्मसं]—

¹ Metre : Paumatochakā.
² Metre : Uṣṇāṭi.
³ Metre : Anasakāṭhā.
⁴ The missing letters may be read as 'गमुः.
⁵ This may be a verse. Metre cannot be distinguished.
⁶ The reading is doubtful.
⁷ Metre : Indramāṇḍikā.
⁸ Read 'कवले लोः'.
⁹ Metre : Śraddhanapsanikāṭha.
¹⁰ Read 'कवले लोः'.

Sixth Plate : First Side.
115 एह जानवरोंसे से ज्ञानकर्मनिधिगत स्थापिततीसमानतातिज्ञासह धोम-  
116 ये [१५] यामी विकामविनिमित्तमलितमदिलिपिसंततिज्ञासह धोम-  
117 कविमयुमस्थरकविकविगीतक्रियायत्वविद्ययुमक [भ.६२५५५] प्रकाशयमिल्लु-  
118 रगुस्युईत(१५) सुरासमस्व कित्वरपुर्णज्ञान [१५] सामसमांतत्त्वममबाद-  
119 चुदं(१५) श्रवणमण्यं वस्त्र जयत्रायणं [१५६५५५] कविधियं युद्धसंयोगो-  
120 सतयुत(१५) हारे अवरोधकता तंत्रव गमने वरीदितस्वयोंसविवर्ये-  
121 त्यस्वे ाहयात्त (१५) वायवं श्रवणमण्यं गुणस्वयं समुपस्वम्या - -  
122 विविं श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]  

Sixth Plate : Second Side  
123शीत वक्षने भुजघए योरुपिति या तिर [१५] नाने चाव [युगळ] -  
124 में [जनभावा वादेशतामामूले] लहुल्यः नकारण्या - -  
125 घरस्तवत - - - विप्रमानम्यारवंकामन-  
126 पुरवक्ष्यस्तर साण [१५९५] आपावंदेव महाप्रहारिन्फर संज्यश[०] -  
127 लागुमुत्त विशेष्योऽकरिपुड़ीरीकानिकरप्रयोगतनन्दनगुन्धु [१५] भ[नघी] -  
128 राजविभागमणा वितिमिञ्ञा श्रवणसङ्गडो अन्नमैषंतान  नम-  
129 निश्चेत(शास्त्रों ने) सकरक्षीमस्थरुपो कवा(वाण) [१५६२५] सातार वस्त्र समाग-  
130 [ताबि] मनवतायारिहितविणण(ण) शीर्षयं वस्त्र विरोधराजविनि-  
131 तावदत्येवद्यामुक्तः [१५] कौन्तितित्वमिदं वस्त्र विनमरा अवस्थानिकोकी-  

* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
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* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"
* Read "श्रीयोद्योशिरालकीर्तितिर्मणा विस्मितियं श्वासि [१५६५५५]"

132 [विषय] यूननक्षितिपल्य तत्स्य महामा नखाइवंगोंगरम् [II.31.*]
133 लम्बोध पर्युर्रज्जय: [I*] नियोगाप्रान्तराज्य गायक्ष्रमंडलम् [II.31.*]
134 इत्युतह राजविरोधगायोगसंगते [I*] श्रीमतो राजराजस्य बलोविलिकसंगते [II.31.*] रक्षादिनिश्चि
135 न्ये(न्ये) हृति अनन्तम्यह एक्षत् [इमेडिएट] नामाम्रम [नामाम्रम] वेदेवङ्गासुरागः
136 व भीमांसा .. . . . . . . . .. निजमान्तम यद्यपि
137 [Damaged. The rest is lost.]
INDEX
By A. N. Lahiri, M.A.

(The figures refer to pages and a. after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used: - au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; ci. = city; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = family; fe. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; ins. = inscription; k. = king; l. = locality; Lm. = linear measure or land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office or officer; pers. = people; pr. = prince or princess; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; t. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; t.k. = taluk; t. = town; v. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>170, 209, 328</td>
<td>a, initial</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>Áditya-bhātta, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44, 144</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td>49, 43</td>
<td>Ádityadēva, engr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203, 226</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td>116-118</td>
<td>Ádityaśakti, Śivārāṇa ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 122, 180</td>
<td>a, initial</td>
<td>147, 153, 157</td>
<td>Ákālara, k.s. Vishnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 177</td>
<td>a. medial</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>Álipi-Sakti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>a. medial, denoted by a sāle mark.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Angal coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>a. medial, having three forms.</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Aggaḍya Hooni Tamde, s.a. Agni Hoonnıyaa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>a. medial, peculiar use of</td>
<td>174 a.</td>
<td>Ágiasma, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>a. medial, short type of</td>
<td>174 a.</td>
<td>Agni Hoonnıyaa, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>a of the modern Oriya type.</td>
<td>175-174</td>
<td>Águlasman, mahākālāvanṭi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>a. of the modern Oriya type.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Alisichbhātra, ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 a, 143</td>
<td>abhāyānaśaśvita, etc.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ahmad Niyālīnga, gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Abhāyānaśaśvita, etc.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Abunadabode, dī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 48</td>
<td>Abhīnāmya, epīc hāra.</td>
<td>90,96</td>
<td>asc. initial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96, 239</td>
<td>Abhīmānya, Rājśikēśa k. of Mānaya.</td>
<td>163-163</td>
<td>Abhebe, t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173-76</td>
<td>Abhūtra, f.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Abhebe ins. of Pulaskīna II, 34 and n. 112, 160-161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>abhūtraśekha, etc.</td>
<td>188, 198</td>
<td>Abhūtraśa-māndula, Ld.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 a, 8, 12, 56</td>
<td>Abūmā plates of Sakhāraga,</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Abhūtraka, legendory k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109-10</td>
<td>Abūr, v.</td>
<td>73 n.</td>
<td>Abhūtraka, legendory k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130, 140, 142-43</td>
<td>Abūr ins.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Abhūtraka, legendory k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 a, 143</td>
<td>Achalapura, s.a. Klichpur, L.</td>
<td>101,103 and n.</td>
<td>Ajapāla or Ajapāla-bhātta, dēcas,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111, 114</td>
<td>Achāyaka, k.</td>
<td>6, 36</td>
<td>Ajapātra, legendory k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189-200</td>
<td>Achāyaka, Agāvaka, k.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Ajay, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Achāyaka, Atakarma, k.</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Ajayamāni, s.a. Ajmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Ádānapura, t.d.</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>Ajayapraka, (Abārānāna k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172-74</td>
<td>Ádānapura, L.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ajimy, s.a. Ajre, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 88</td>
<td>ákāśāraśaśvita, etc.</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Ajmer (Ājāla-dīna-kā-jhāpaka) ins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ádānāsya Tirthānākara.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Akālaravah, Rājśikēśa k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-202</td>
<td>Ádānāśara, k.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>Akāmakālāvātra, V Dānava t. k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59-34</td>
<td>Ádānāśara, s.a. Ádānāśa,</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>Akāmakālāvātra, V Dānava t. k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398</td>
<td>Ádānāśa, dī.</td>
<td>109, 111, 118-14</td>
<td>Akiot, dī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159, 157</td>
<td>Ádītī, m.</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>akāsahaśātra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ákasmālā, goldsmith,</td>
<td>60, 40</td>
<td>Ákasmālā, dī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åryavarta, co.</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsattigrama, vi.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åshodhâya, vi.</td>
<td>90 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsya Minor</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsikârapura, l.</td>
<td>94 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asila or Sila, do.</td>
<td>29, 42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsana, prov.</td>
<td>56 n., 145, 147 n., 134-32, 171</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsana plates of Vallabhasena,</td>
<td>32 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsraya, vi.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ådavghôsa, m.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsapeka, Gûrjara: Parthôra 3,</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åstvagosthâ, sch.</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åstya, do.</td>
<td>56 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyagarman, m.</td>
<td>173-74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åttâ Dipankara; Sûr-Jåma, Bihari Buddhist monks</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åttâ, m.</td>
<td>59, 61, 209 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ånabharâja, m.</td>
<td>72 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åna, r. A. Avukâ, vi.</td>
<td>72, 78 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsporya, off.</td>
<td>83, 88, 217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsorya, n.</td>
<td>39, 42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsanâ, m.</td>
<td>107-08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsaça, vy.</td>
<td>44, 40, 50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsopakâ, vyam.</td>
<td>19, 08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsopaka, non-name of Avukrû, vi.</td>
<td>62, 64, 70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ås-varman, Chalukya ca.</td>
<td>21-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ås-varman II Yôgarâja, Chanda k.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyosã</td>
<td>56 and n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åvidhô, l.</td>
<td>167, 169 and n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åvîdhyâya: Ráshtrakûta l. of Mânupura</td>
<td>172,79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åvukku. vi.</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avâka or Akâ, do.</td>
<td>72, 73, 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyâsîkhata, Sûtikâthera k.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyâsîkhata II, do.</td>
<td>33, 37, 46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyâsîkhata II Madhyâmaraka, do.</td>
<td>33-34, 35, 36, 37, 39</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyôshâya, co.</td>
<td>59 and n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Årya, legendary k.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åsira, m.</td>
<td>8, 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Åyahâsita, do.</td>
<td>38, 47, 39, 247</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayyâyavyayangar, m.</td>
<td>75 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, indicated by v</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
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<td>B, substituted by x</td>
<td>80, 122 and n. 140</td>
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<td>Bâdîpa-Vijayaâlita VII, m. Chalukya k.</td>
<td>227 n.</td>
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<td>Bâghârâva, ins.</td>
<td>3 n.</td>
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<td>Bâgmatâ plates of Indra III,</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Bâgmatâ plates of Vikramaditya XI, 116-17, 118 and n.</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Bâhrawin, x.</td>
<td>53, 88</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâlakshadhavala, Chanda k.</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Bâlism plate, do.</td>
<td>6 n.</td>
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<td>Bâlîha, m.</td>
<td>52 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâjîtpur, l.</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balarâma-Sukiarâman,</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balarâman, l.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bala, vi.</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâla, vi.</td>
<td>105-06</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâla-varman, l. of the Indrâkshita vi.</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâla-varman, pâhïpa,</td>
<td>49, 42</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâliha, vi.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâhlis, m.</td>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâhlis, vi.</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Bâhupur, l.</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâhun, do.</td>
<td>128-37</td>
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<td>Bâhunyâ ins.</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>Bâka, vi.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâmayâh, m.</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâmavasi, vi.</td>
<td>204 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâmaprava:panmirachhali, l.d.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bânapâma, m.</td>
<td>204-49</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bângam, vi.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bânur, vi.</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Bângâ-mâmâliins.</td>
<td>10 n., 31</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bângârâ, l.</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bângârâ pillar ins.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bângâruh plate of Multapâla I, 3, 4-9, 10</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Banki Police Station,</td>
<td>35 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâpîpur, l.</td>
<td>35, 35</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâpîpur plates of Ayadhâkhipa II Madhyamaruka, 29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâpîpur plate of Dejuvamahâdeva, 79,80, 82-83, 87 n, 88 n.</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâpîrik, l.</td>
<td>233-38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâpîrath, l.</td>
<td>94, 233-38</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâppa-Hastinâra</td>
<td>92 n., 93, 90 n. 96</td>
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<td>Bâppa-petram, deser.</td>
<td>117, 120</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâppa, Chalukya ca.</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Bâppan plates of Ratnapâla,</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bâppan temple ins. of Saharâ, 20, 21 n.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barah, l.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barahika Museum Plate of Devârâma II, 184-88</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barahika, x.</td>
<td>142 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Barahika:padâra Râpala, do.</td>
<td>143</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barahira, rel. teacher, 142-44</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Basukâ, Tâphulas,</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Bâstt, x.</td>
<td>190</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâstt, l.</td>
<td>83, 210, 220</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâtân plates of Prîthva-stûbhâra, 82 n., 83 and 1, 191 and n. 210, 221-23</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>Bây of Bengal,</td>
<td>180</td>
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<td>Bâyika plate of Bâypannâmâra,</td>
<td>180</td>
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<td>Bâyika, x.</td>
<td>201 n.</td>
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<td>Bâyika:sa-nârûra, l.d.</td>
<td>216 n.</td>
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<td>Bâyika, vi.</td>
<td>1, 9 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bâyika plate of Multapâla I, 9-11, 39</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>Bijađala, Kukadbhūti, k.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bijađala I, s.</td>
<td>100 and n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bijađala II, s.</td>
<td>100 n., 145-44</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa, i.</td>
<td>97 and n., 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa plates, first set,</td>
<td>97 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa plate of Prithivikṛṣṇa,</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa pur, k.</td>
<td>100, 125</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa i.,</td>
<td>22 and n., 22 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Billaśa i.</td>
<td>21-23</td>
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<td>Billaśa i.,</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>Billaśa i.,</td>
<td>139</td>
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<td>Billaśa plates, second set,</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>Billaśa plates, second set,</td>
<td>134</td>
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<td>Billaśa plates, second set,</td>
<td>237</td>
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<tr>
<td>Billaśa plates, second set,</td>
<td>1, 6, 53, 86</td>
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<td>Bombay, s.</td>
<td>130 n., 200 n.</td>
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<td>Bombay State</td>
<td>116</td>
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<td>Bomai, i.</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>20, 59, 182, 209</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>158</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>195-96, 198</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>92, 98</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>187</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>168</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>148, 151, 151</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>2 n.</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>137, 151, 153</td>
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<td>149</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>40, 44, 83-86, 217, 219</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>132</td>
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<td>148</td>
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<td>151 n.</td>
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<td>5, 8, 10, 12, 50, 56, 63, 81, 134, 228 n.</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>179, 181</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>133</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>109-10, 112</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>34, 111 n.</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>25, 25, 28</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>176, 182</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>178-80</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>149 and n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>195, 196 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>190 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>198 and n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>4, 9</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>34 n., 111 n., 207, 240</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>29, 118, 118 and</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>n., 109-11, 207</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>57-60 and s., 62</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>59, 100, 233</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>233-37</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>66, 240</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>235-38</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>104, 236, 236-238</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>343</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>13, 36</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>226, 227</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>21, 22</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>147, 158, 160</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>73 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>73 n.</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>3 and n.</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>2, 9</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>173 n.</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>202</td>
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<td>24 n.</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>171, 173</td>
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<td>Bhrāmaṇa, s.</td>
<td>8 and n., 9, 12, 58, 115</td>
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<td>Chālīśvara Śiva,</td>
<td>121-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattingari, 6.,</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturbha-kūta, f.,</td>
<td>231</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaturmukhtatāmanta, v.,</td>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chānḍeravānapāla,</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chānḍikūla, e.a. Chānḍikūla, d.</td>
<td>178-79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chānapāla, d.</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍaśa, e.a. Chaṇḍaśa, d.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍaśa, e.a. Chaṇḍaśa, r.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍaśa, do.,</td>
<td>21 and a., 22 and a., 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍālī, d.</td>
<td>220, 231 and a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍālīrī, d.</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, d.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, s.</td>
<td>206 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>72-74, 76-78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, c.</td>
<td>34 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>208-69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>5.35, 33 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>59, 234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>208-69</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>5.35, 33 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>59, 234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
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<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>208-69</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>5.35, 33 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>59, 234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>208-69</td>
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<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>5.35, 33 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>59, 234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaṇḍāla, e.a. Chaṇḍāla, r.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Part VIII

Dakshinakrip (Daksharath Rama), incarnation of Vishnu 179, 181
Dakshavandana, s. Ravana, 135
Daksapala, vaibhavika 183, 186, 189
Daksapala plate of Dvaramanada 183
Daksapala plates of Sattruthashira 224
Dharmadakshina, off. 5 n., 7, 12, 50
Darsa, lunar:
  dark fortnight:
    2nd, 60, 68
    3rd, 101 and n., 193
    4th, 117, 120-21
    5th, 106, 108
  bright fortnight:
    4th, 17
    5th, 91, 189, 236
    6th, 142
    7th, 44, 47, 71, 78, 218
    8th, 193 and n.
    9th, 29, 32
  12th (Praayu), 92, 96, 110, 115, 178-79, 233-32, 235, 238

Days of the fortnight (mapasreni) 224
  Pañcama,
  Days of the month:
    Bhadra, 19, 9
    Sravana, 26, 8
  Days of the week:
    Sunday, 61 and n., 193 and n., 195, 202, 204
    Monday, 71, 78, 91, 109, 198, 282
    Tuesday, 195, 202
    Wednesday, 91, 195
    Thursday, 44, 47, 69, 61 and n., 68
    Friday, 193, 231

Dhemam 14, 18
Dhilla Makhārāja, Vasukiśvara k., 178
Dilch, el. 73 n., 178
Dilchuka, m. 100, 103
Dījāthia, do. 147-48, 150-159
Dhrādha, do. 211, 219
Dēvagana 99 and n., 109
Dēmath 65
Dēvānanda, Nacha b. of Osree 192
Dēvānanda I. do. 184-85, 187
Dēvānanda II. do. 183-85, 187-89
Dēvāna punggada, poa 226-37
Dērapala, Gāyura-Pratihāra k. 23 n.
Dērapala, Pola k. 3, 6, 9, 34
Dēvarāja, Rasikānanda k. of Manjara 175-77
Dēvarūparvarman, Ganga k. 231
Dēvī, devīsa mother 20, 37
Dēvīsvarūpasara 203
Dēvīśri, do. 151 and n.
  da and a having no distinction in form 226
  da reduplicated after v, 148

Dhānū, ri. 14-14
Dhanada, āgh 187
Dhanadapati, ca. 229
Dhanānaya, s. Arjuna, 229
Dhanlīka, s. Kuvera, 214
Dhānag, Mahādevī 25
Dharaṇī plate of Sāhīkaśa III 229-21
Dhārasaṇaya-Jayasinhę, ca. 118
Dharmendra-model 1-49
Dharmaja, s. a. Yuddhiṣṭhira 153-54
Dharmadeva Mahādev, Bhavas-Kavas 81 n., 22-33, 214, 222
Dharmapāla, Polā, ca. 3-6, 44
Dharmapāti, k. 23-29, 39
Dharmarāja Mānabāli, Śailāśvara, 39-34, 39-39
  and s. 39-34, 39-39
Dharmaspatra, s. a. Yuddhiṣṭhira 246
Dharmvar, 44 130, 144
Dhātuk, s. a. Brhamā, 129, 127
Dhāuli, k. 127
Dhāuli care mo. of the time of Śaṅkara, 80
  82-83, 138
Dhavals, 147, 156, 160
Dharmaka, a tributary of the Kāśi 48
Dharmakāl, k. 186-67
Dharmakāl, k. 189
Dharmamal plate of Jāravatī, 82
Dharmamal plate of Jāvartamā, 165 n.
Dharmamal plate of Tribhuvaneswara, 210-11
  213, 220-24
Dhūtra, 231, 236
Dhūvatrāśvadāravīma 4, 9
Dhumb, 84, 174
Dhūrup, ca. 190 n., 191 n., 224
Dhūrunganda, Nacha b. of Osree 194 and n., 188-80
Dūdūla, k. 116
Dughila, Nacha b. 199
  s. viṣaya 4
Domināya, s. of Vīrakānanda 101
Dvārapāla, k. 147, 152, 153, 159
Dvārapati, off. 44-47 n.
Dvārapāla, as. 44-47
Dvārapāla, ca. 249
Dvārakā, k. 109, 103
Dvārakā, s. 75 n.
Dumāvar-Nandikāya Plates of Puyakumāra, 163
Dūravārā 183
Dukṣahārī, ca. 228 and n., 229, 233 n., 234
  229, 227-28
Dukṣahārī, ins. of Pāllavārāja, 230-32
Dusmi, ca. 30
Dvāraṁkhaṇa, sp. of Bhīṣma-Chātra 1, 63, 68
Dvarāja-gana, 203
Drūka, api.hera, 21
Page

4, 10-14, 151
21
19
64, 70
139
39
190
110, 112, 114
233
65
20, 28
5, 9-10, 13, 40, 42, 51, 211, 219
5 n., 8, 12, 55
242
93, 96
226
160
90, 100, 122, 145, 160
116
49, 146, 179
46-47, 104-67
131
92, 96, 98, 103, 238
193, 198
134
123-39
49
140 n.
140 and n., 141, 143
60, 240
60, 43
20, 29, 27
111, 114
109, 111 n.
228-29, 243
228, 230
228, 230
103-62, 163 and n., 164
103 and n.
163 and n.
75, 73 n.
193-96, 198
49
40
49
69
92
113, 161 n.
54
194
194
58
21 n.
58
243
244
8, 182, 243
10
171
171
171
171
4-6, 7
34, 44, 47, 60, 105, 123, 193-97
8, 13, 36, 41, 56, 59, 130-20, 132
180, 234
63
40
125
34
68
2, 4, 5, 10, 50
22
54
54
39, 46, 47, 79 n., 85, 111 n.
73-80, 83, 88
87 n., 88 n., 212, 214
34 n., 214
292
147-48, 156, 159
168
137
15
31-35, 56-57
8 n., 8, 12, 26
4 n.
82-88, 88
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20, 27, 63, 221, 240-41</td>
<td>Goaft, godhara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Gauramahadevi, Bhasma-Kave q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204, 208-09</td>
<td>Gantama, epic k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Gantama, jau-gier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Gantamputra Satakarni, Satakarni k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 a.</td>
<td>Gayi, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Gayida I, Bhasma-Kava k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-83, 87, 210-213</td>
<td>Gayida II, s.a. Saksiara II, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210, 222</td>
<td>Gaylapara, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Gayejanma, Tuspa ok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>gh, used for 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ghali, s.a. Khaliu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173-74</td>
<td>Ghantilla, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-52, 57</td>
<td>Ghantikasalaman, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-51</td>
<td>Gita:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Brahmachari,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Dhar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Goshaara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 a.</td>
<td>Humsakarti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Hiranyakarthaka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 a.</td>
<td>Hiranyakshadhana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Hiranyaksha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Hiranyakshartha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Kalapata,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Kalapadapa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Mahabashaghatata,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Painchakopala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Rasinalidora,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Saptanagara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Vrishachakra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 a.</td>
<td>Girja, godhara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166-67</td>
<td>Girisa, god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166-67</td>
<td>Gopalgonda, ok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Gyra-ud-din Tuar, Bengal Sultan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Godhvar, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223, 226</td>
<td>Godhvar, E. ok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46, 229, 236</td>
<td>Gogia-bhatka, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-03</td>
<td>Ghoshana, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 57</td>
<td>Githlo, sale-sivaram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107, 109</td>
<td>Gokak plate of Rashtakuta Dejia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Gokara, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Gokhati-dhokak, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, 26-27</td>
<td>gold, s.a. Sales, valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gomka I, Valsanis ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Gomka II, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>Gomkalla, Sikkhara, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gumata, Jain siviva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-01</td>
<td>Gonda, &amp;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53, 86</td>
<td>Gondarama,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166-68</td>
<td>Gouka I, Valsanis ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229, 230, 231 and s.</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228, 229, 230 a.</td>
<td>Gouka I, s.a. Gouka I, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Goukarasa II, s.a. Goukarasa II,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232-33</td>
<td>Goukarasa III, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Gopala I, Pata k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 6</td>
<td>Gopala II, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 7</td>
<td>Gopala dvipa, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 7, 54-55</td>
<td>Gopala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Gopakaduma,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316, 221-23</td>
<td>Gopakaduma, s.a. Tribhuvanamahakshat. I, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, 83</td>
<td>Gopakaduma, s.a. Tribhuvanamahakshat. II, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, 83</td>
<td>Gopakaduma, s.a. Tribhuvanamahakshat. III, d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>175, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10, 12, 29, 35, 89, 91, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17, 44-45, 47, 117, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 and s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93, 95-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50, 55, 155, 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>124, 195, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>123-24, 129 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110, 112, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101, 163-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>114-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8, 12, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>243-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81, 82, 232, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>210-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>210-11, 213, 229, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-20, 27</td>
<td>147, 149 and n. 153.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69, 67, 164-65</td>
<td>140-47, 149 and n. 150-51, 171 and n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>228, 230, 222, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373, 368 and n. 37, 238 and n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233 n.</td>
<td>147, 151, 159, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>147, 151, 159, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151, 168</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101, 236 n.</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-38</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72-73</td>
<td>162, 159-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 n.</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-36, 164</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 151, 159, 159-69</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159-69</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159-69</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229, 212</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8, 10</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127-129</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136-139</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142-144</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>203 and n. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāmādevī (Parabrahma), incarnation of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśṇu,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambudvīpa</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamāla-grāma, vi.</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagātika-Saravati, i.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāṅkī</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janaṇāyaka, epic k.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janāśhāna-hata, m.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janapādu plates of Satrubhāṣa, i.</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāngir, tabeili</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jāṃśavara, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jātiga, Siddhākā, k,</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, poet</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaṭāvra, Gaṅga pr.</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jñāna, 24
Jñāna, f., 220
Jñāna, s., 183
Jnāna, 23 a.
Jn pedestal of Krishna III,
Jn pedestal of Devakumāri II,
Jñāna, m. 59
K.
Kālīkunda, 203
Kālīkunda, m. 372
Kālīkunda, 37
Kālīkunda, 66
Kālīkunda, 29
Kālīkunda, 42
Kālīkunda, 51
Kālīkunda, 142, 152, 154
Kālīkunda, 22
Kākṣikā, 162
Kākṣikā, 235 a.
Kākṣikā, m., 21 a.
Kākṣikā, 22 and n., 23-24,
Kākṣikā, 37, 112, 118
Karachhās, 30
Karachhās, 39
Karachhās, 28
Karachhās, 22, 232, 233, 234
Karachhās, 244
Karachhās, 245
Karachhās, 31
Karachhās, 31
Karachhās, 131 a.
Karachhās, 35, 38-35, 75
Karachhās, 38 a.
Karachhās, grant of Kārakṣikā-Narakarsa, Karakṣikā, 230 a.
Karachhās, 131
Karachhās, 25-35, 41, 43-47, 53, 51, 123,
144, 152, 173, 231-32, 237-38
Karachhās, 68 a., 173
Karachhās, 46, 237
Karachhās, Karachhās, 101, 107
Kālīkunda, m., 231 and a.
Kālīkunda, 117, 119
Kālīkunda, 118
Kālīkunda, 119
Kālīkunda, 119
Kālīkunda, 119
Kālīkunda, 84, 79
Kālīkunda, 215
Kālīkunda, 215
Kālīkunda, 222
Kālīkunda, 59
Kāma, god, 27
Kāmā, n., 151-52
Kānagri, m., 152 and a.
Kānagri, m., 152 and a.
Kānagri, m., 152 and a.
Kānagri, m., 152 and a.
Kāmā, god, 147, 151-52, 153
Kāmare, god, 147, 151, 152 and a., 153, 155
Kāmarājā, Karachhās, 107
Kāmalṭhānaka, upahāra, 173-77
Kāmah, stone ins., 137
Kāmā, n., 174
Kāmā, n., 44-47
Kāmā, m., 33, 151 a., 152 and a.
Kāmā, m., 292
Kāmā, m., 3
Kāmā, god, 147, 153, 152 and a., 155, 159
Kāmā, god, 151, 152 and a.
Kāmā, m., 232
Kāma, epic, 182
Kāma, m., 68
Kāna, m., 202
Kāna, g. d., 182, 203
Kāna, g. d., 107
Kāna, m., 50, 54-56
Kānīchāpura, 92, 93
Kānīchāpura, 140
Kānīchāpura, 74-75
Kānīchāpura, 48
Kānīchāpura, 36
Kānīchāpura, 144
Kānīchāpura, 173
Kānīchāpura, 234
Kānīchāpura, 234
Kānīchāpura, 36, 316
Kānīchāpura, 266
Kānīchāpura, 33, 161-62
Kānīchāpura, 228, 230, 245
Kānīchāpura, 44, 47
Kānīchāpura, 143
Kānīchāpura, 113
Kānīchāpura, 228, 230, 245
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Part VIII</th>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Kāpiḥa, r., a. Kannāl, r.,</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Kāpiṭa, r., a. Kannāl, r.,</td>
<td>45; 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Kēدادpur plate of Srīchandra,</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Kēsshā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Kērāla, ṇ.,</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21, 23-27</td>
<td>Kēśamīn, ṇ.,</td>
<td>19-21, 23-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Kēśāva, ṇ.,</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kēśāva, ṇ.,</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Kēśāra, ṇ.,</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22, 246</td>
<td>Kēśārvavālī, Kannāl, ṇ.,</td>
<td>22, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190-92</td>
<td>Kēśārvavālī, Kannāl, ṇ.,</td>
<td>190-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138-39</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>138-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-19</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>110-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54a, 8, 13, 35</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>54a, 8, 13, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10n</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>10n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70, 73</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>70, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195-98, 199</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>195-98, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-19</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>110-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 12, 60</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>8, 12, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163, 237</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>163, 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166-69</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>166-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a, 23</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>22a, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67, 246</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>67, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Kēssatlā, ṇ.,</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koka-ka-shiṣṭamā, do.</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koka, ri.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolti, ri.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koltiṭhara, muk.</td>
<td>50a, 9, 12, 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koltiṭhara, offic.</td>
<td>211, 215, 217, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Kollapānā, Velamāṇi pr.</td>
<td>228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Kollapānā, do.</td>
<td>29, 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, vi.</td>
<td>73a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, vi.</td>
<td>95a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>95a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>73a, 74 and n. 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, do.</td>
<td>21, 225, 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>179-81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, vi.</td>
<td>20-21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>20, 21 and n. 22, 23, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>51-52, 53 and n. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>58a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>23a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>237</td>
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<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>138, 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>81 and n. 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>5m, 8, 12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Köttamā, s.a. Köttamā, tv.</td>
<td>59-60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karavačč, et.,</td>
<td>93-94, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korkhār image im.,</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrma, <em>innskrinarion of Viṣṇu</em>,</td>
<td>179, 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrno, d.,</td>
<td>73, 160, 103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrno, d.,</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrulakāhāra,</td>
<td>208-09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūrulāhāra, d.,</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauśamhāra, <em>Bhasma-Kara</em> k.,</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauśamhāra (<em>hāra</em>) I., s.a. Suhākara III., d., 82-83,</td>
<td>210-12, 216 and p. 229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauśamhāra, s.a. Kauśamhāra II., s.a. Suhākara IV., d.,</td>
<td>82, 83, 210-211, 214, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauśamhāra, s.a. Kauśamhāra, d.,</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālakāra, off.,</td>
<td>83-88, 88, 217, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauya,</td>
<td>170, 203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktakāvya, et.,</td>
<td>33a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktamamra, s.,</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktamānasaljī, <em>Kauśamhāra</em> pr.,</td>
<td>24-25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktamamrasalāna, s.,</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīnt, goddess</td>
<td>6, 39, 34, 97, 128a, 129a, 147, 154, 180-81, 188, 245, 246 and p. 229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra, s.,</td>
<td>5, 9, 14, 193-96, 199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntikāra, s.,</td>
<td>81 and n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntikāra, <em>Suhākara</em> k.,</td>
<td>83, 212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntikūma, <em>Vaiśnava</em> et.,</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntipati, s.a. Viṣṇu,</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra II., s.a. Sūkhāra III., <em>Bhasma-Kara</em> k., 82-83,</td>
<td>213, 216a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra, s.a. Laktshīntiḥāra,</td>
<td>210-12, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra (<em>hāra</em>) I., s.a. Sūkhāra I., s.a. Cakṣusa</td>
<td>1, <em>Bhasma-Kara</em> k., 81, 83, 97, 239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra II., d.,</td>
<td>210-12, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra Vaiśravāna, s.,</td>
<td>178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra, i.e. Vaiśravāna-mālakā, et.,</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra, i.e. Rāvaṇa,</td>
<td>40-43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laktshīntiḥāra, <em>registered with a seal</em>,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungali</td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada,</td>
<td>261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marāṭhī</td>
<td>158-09, 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya,</td>
<td>172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālī</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīrātraita, off.</td>
<td>9 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālī, m.</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsīla, sū.</td>
<td>211, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīkara, sū.</td>
<td>3 a., 8, 12, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīkara, sū.</td>
<td>19, 16-17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsūta, n.</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsūta, sū.</td>
<td>85, 86, 217, 219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsūta, sū.</td>
<td>85 a., 211, 218, 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsaṃdāṅgīvīra, tit.</td>
<td>13, 16, 70, 75, 222, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsaṃdāṅgīvīra, tit.</td>
<td>228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākālīsāra, sū.</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākāma, r.</td>
<td>96, 185, 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sk.</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>5 a., 7, 12, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>4, 7, 10, 11, 50, 55, 69, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>78, 82, 112, 147, 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>129, 161, 163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>219, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>109, 116-17, 142, 176, 176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>74, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>85, 86, 182, 190, 198, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>5 a., 7, 12, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>188 a, 34, 233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>5 a., 7, 12, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>39 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>101 and s.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>215, 234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>6 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>12 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>35, 36, 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>245-46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>228, 232, 235-37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>24 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>91 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>95 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>95 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>228, 232, 235-37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>41, 85, 85 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>35 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>55 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>55 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>186, 188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>22 a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>39, 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>2 a., 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>175-76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>175-76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>175-77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>152, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>45, 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākapānītārapana, sū.</td>
<td>223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
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<td>122</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 144, 157</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150, 154</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 83 n., 211, 212, 218, 224</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>215 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
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<td>94</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98, 131 a., 148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 a., 172, 180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128, 132 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 n., 24, 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
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<td>200 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 7, 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-30, 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 21-23, 25-27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 n., 171</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 12, 16</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>173 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93, 96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, 124, 132 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 a., 101, 121 a., 179-80, 187, 192, 196, 210, 242 n., 243 n., 244 a., 245 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8, 27, 34, 65, 134, 125 n., 153, 166 n.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>216</td>
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<tr>
<td>60, 153, 167, 192</td>
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<tr>
<td>125, 179-80</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6, 36, 40, 63, 153, 167, 179-80, 244 a., 245 a.</td>
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<td>205</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12, 13, 54, 63, 87, 101, 125, 179-80, 187, 192, 216, 243 a.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>244 a.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6, 12, 54, 63, 125, 163, 179-80, 198</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>244 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8, 12, 40, 63, 125, 187, 192</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>216</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 n., 142 n., 143, 205</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12, 15, 54, 187, 243 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 12, 15, 37, 30, 40, 54, 65, 87, 101, 125, 183, 179-90, 187, 192, 196, 203, 204, 206, 210, 243 n., 245 n., 246 a.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>63, 179-80</td>
<td></td>
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<td>12, 34, 101, 125, 179-80, 216</td>
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<td>237, 36, 40, 54, 101, 125, 183, 187, 193, 196, 210, 243 n., 244 a., 245 a., 248 a.</td>
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<td>15, 27, 83, 101, 125, 163, 167, 179-80, 196, 238 n., 242 a.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>243 a., 244 a., 245 a., 260 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107, 179-80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 123, 107</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>179-80, 216</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6, 15, 27, 36, 40, 54, 63, 87, 101, 125, 163, 167, 179-80, 186, 216</td>
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<tr>
<td>243 a., 245 a.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>244 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 a., 88, 216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12, 50, 96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 n.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83, 212</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month, lunar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambikā</td>
<td></td>
<td>99-99, 103, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśāyana</td>
<td></td>
<td>56 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āshina</td>
<td></td>
<td>195 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhādra</td>
<td></td>
<td>9, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td></td>
<td>116 and a., 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeshtera</td>
<td></td>
<td>189, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārttika</td>
<td></td>
<td>2, 29, 32, 218, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha</td>
<td></td>
<td>44, 47, 105 and a., 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalguna</td>
<td></td>
<td>43 a., 71, 78, 118 and a., 117, 121, 221 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td></td>
<td>13, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvana</td>
<td></td>
<td>2, 8, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśāspa</td>
<td></td>
<td>3, 6, 92, 96, 175-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month, solar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>61, 106, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simha</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśāspa</td>
<td></td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māntra</td>
<td></td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mṛgāṇāvali, Chālukya gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārgasheṣṭra</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MāṬrūya-agrahāra, l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍola, of</td>
<td></td>
<td>107-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍūra, l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍūrapīṇa, Kalachārya gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍūrā</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍūrā-Kaṇḍuṣṭi, s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tryambakā-Pallava</td>
<td></td>
<td>182, 222, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍula</td>
<td></td>
<td>172-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍula</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 m, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṇḍūkhaṇḍika, god.</td>
<td></td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulai plates of Nānjarāja</td>
<td></td>
<td>111-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mummadi-Bhima, s. a. Vimalaḍikya, K. Chālukya k.</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mummadi-Bhima II, ch. of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrīma-mandala</td>
<td></td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muddaḷkaḷ, s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muddarāṣṭrā, l.d.</td>
<td></td>
<td>91, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlṣa, s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>30, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrja, Paramārā k.</td>
<td></td>
<td>30-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrja, god.</td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrsi, god.</td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsali ins.</td>
<td></td>
<td>100 a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsallapura, l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mynaṣmadiag, l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. final</td>
<td></td>
<td>99, 146, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. having two forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>80, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. of the Tālūka type</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. reduplicated after s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. reduplicated nos. after s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. used for s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. used for s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nākṣaṭṭha, l.</td>
<td></td>
<td>23-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāga, f.</td>
<td></td>
<td>215, 220-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāga plates of Aṭṭamukar</td>
<td></td>
<td>117-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarā, s. a. Kalingana-ga</td>
<td></td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarā-dhan plates of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāṁkara</td>
<td></td>
<td>112-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāguri plates of Anangakhaṇa III.</td>
<td></td>
<td>44, 46 a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Nāgūra | | 123 |
| Nāgūra-jau hiff | | 137 |
| Nāgūrājan, k | | 137-38 |
| Nāgura, s. | | 32, 110 |
| Nāgura, s. a. | | 113 a. |
| Nāgaravinda, k. | | 108, 113 and a. |
| Nāgaravarman, s. a. | | 208-69 |
| Nāgaravāy, l. | | 110, 114-15 |
| Nāhraka, episc. | | 65, 154, 158 and a. |
| Nāilkos, k. | | 114 |
| Nāmakṣaṭṭha, s. a. | | 356 |
| Nāmakṣaṭṭha, s. a. | | 61 a. |
| Nāmakṣaṭṭha | | 191 and a., 195, 224 |
| Nāla, | | 172 |
| Nāla | | 238 |
| Nāla, god. | | 76, 78 |
| Nāla, ha. | | 61 a. |
| Nāla, s. | | 60, 68 |
| Nāla, episc. | | 89 |
| Nāla, episc. | | 258 |
| Nālānādi plate of Dharmapāla | | 8 |
| Nālāṇāsa ma. of Mahāpāla, l | | 52 |
| Nālanī-arāyaṇa Jyot, s. | | 71-75, 77-78 |
| Nālārāja, l. | | 71 a., 75-78 |
| Nāna, a. a. | | 66, 240 |
| Nāna, a. a., Nāmālābhava, dy. | | 188-88 |
| Nānapāla, goddess | | 240 |
| Nānapāthrapa, l. | | 93-94, 96 |
| Nānapāthrapa grant of Rājarāja I | | 38, 60 and a. |
| Nānapāthrapa, l. | | 194 |
| Nānapāthrapa, l. | | 159 |
| Nānapāthrapa, l. | | 108 |
| Nānapāthrapa, s. a. Nānapātika, l. | | 107-45 |
| Nānapātika, l. | | 353 |
| Nānapātika, l. | | 353 |
| Nānapātika, l. | | 112 |
| Nānapātika, l. | | 91, 92 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nandodhava, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandurber, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachdura, v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandura place of Vasanapru Rajend-Char.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naljyarr, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nam, Vasanapru ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namarchi, Bhakakatla k, of Bonen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namarchi-Varadhshrnu, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nameva, dono.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namdara, god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napa, okshakthi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara, low-giver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naraga, Sunu ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naraka, nupk. k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naraka or Bhunna, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsamapeta, et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha, udhara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha, Chaklurkopa ch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha, Sudra k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narashina II, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narashina IV, Gaju k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narashinacharya, e.g. Singaracharya, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimharvarma I, Pellama k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimharvarma II, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naravanhru, legenda k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayana alias Gajakundu, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayana, god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayana, e.g. Kura-Narayana Jyarr, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayana Jyarr, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayananpali, Pola k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayanasarma, m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narayanspur k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narashan, e.g. Vija-yaditya II, K, Chalukya k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narodaravala, k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narodaravala, dy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narada, et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsingpur plate of Devananda II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsikendra, orkhalakthi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasa, et.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasaghar image ins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasara plates of Srikanya Shaktitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NevesalasaMakarkird, ur.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nasara branch of the Chalukya, dy.</td>
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<td>Telugu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu-Kannada, Chālukya variety,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālam, ins.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālammapattu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sālavakalā, s.o. Sauñjita, et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāna, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāpā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāravat, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātra, ins.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātra, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirāri-Dī, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivasāthādeva, Kadamba k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sātakakarivar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūmadakaraśiva, t.d.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūpākārya, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūrimā, t.s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūrimā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūredana, expressed by symbol, 2, 6, 9, 33, 24 and s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūriaṅgatavara, god,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūriaṅgatavara-Jenā, off.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūrhakaravara,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūkhī-Bīra, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlabhārā, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlabhārā, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlabhārā, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlavā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlāra, s.o. Sīlabhāra, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlīda, or Anūlida, l.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūmak, with division,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūmraka, Sēhara s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndaryakavan inscription,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndaryakaṇa, Sūndaryakāṇa, s.a. Sūndarya III,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārana-Kura k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndarā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndarā, s., royal insignia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndarā, s., royal insignia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndaravarna, Padāna k.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūndaravinnu, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtra,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtragauti, Bhārana-Kura g., 211, 218, 220, 221 and v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtragauti I, s.a. Trīṣhuravamahābhirā, I, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtragauti II, s.a. Trīṣhuravamahābhirā, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtra-Gārinda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtra-Nāgā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīloka, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīmaprakāra, s.o. Narasimhaṭāraka, dy.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrvā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīrvā, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītrīkāvyā, Kollākuri ph.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sītrīkāvyā, s.t.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirvā, s.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sirvā, s., royal insignia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītrīkāvā, royal insignia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sītrīkāvā, royal insignia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīru, god,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sīrī, god,</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīru, s., royal insignia of the realm of Tātka II,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<td>Sīru, s.,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Page</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
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<td>215</td>
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<tr>
<td>116</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-40, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106-108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71, 73, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228, 238, 237, 218 and m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72, 72a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-12, 214, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-12, 214, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-12, 214, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-12, 214, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214-12, 214, 216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

T

90
122
166
80, 146, 226
116
97
123
89
67, 241
64, 65, 79
110, 114, 116
14, 10
74
89
80
80
15
161
203, 207
203, 207
85, 107
165 and n.
83, 85, 210, 212
214, 220
32, 33, 211, 13
220, 222, 223
144
68
184-88
81 k.
88a, 211, 210, 217
64, 79
109
215
80
85, 86, 88
90 n., 94
89
78, 78
42, 72, 73, 28
70, 23, 28
48
178
131
3: 12, 96
12, 30, 36
75
53, 86
86
78
77-78
31
110, 116
176
109, 112
146, 192
143
102
102
234
110 a
114
78 a.
114
80 a., 82
80 a., 82
145
136-147, 149-50, 170 a.
146, 140, 20
140, 121-13
30, 40-43
10-11, 13
111 n.
50-52, 54-55
76, 78
47, 71
280
100
74
78
78
73 n., 73
72, 73, 74
78
67, 73, 74
72, 76, 78
221
74
76, 78
78
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>203, 226</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, s.</td>
<td>w and s, medial, centrum between</td>
<td>79, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, s.</td>
<td>q, medial, 90, 100, 122, 134, 146</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, s.</td>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111, s.</td>
<td>100, 146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 244</td>
<td>110, 114-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210, 212-14, 229-24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, s.</td>
<td>4, 10-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, s.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82, s.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163 and s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59, 66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-84, 87, 216-12, 216, 223</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186 s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 149, 152-53, 167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70, 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75, s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-91, 93 and s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91, 128, 127, 131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178, 79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52, 70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62, 68, 70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147, 151-52, 156, 168</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-82, 211, 217</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211, 219</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part VIII | INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

146. 150, 158
140
140, 150, 158

239
172, 200, 210
232
17
56, 59, 60, 61
196
8
110, 111, 112
8
1
170
121
228, 230, 231
343
223-25, 228-29, 343
223-27, 228
10-12
167, 188
94
96
90
240
32
22, 23
223-32, 233
234-50, 237
231, 232
76-77
21
84-70
22, 36
20-23, 37
113
24
33
130-92
10-11, 64-65
32
178
233, 234
231
30-62, 66, 207, 341
29, 30
162 n.
45-18
57, 226, 241

varṣa-ṛcma
Varm, yd.
Vamaka, chaṭakavādī, m.
Varma, dy.
Varma, kh.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
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Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
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Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
Vaṇḍika-yāṣṭikā, t.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Vijayāditya II, E. Chālukya k.</th>
<th>226-27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayāditya IV, do.</td>
<td>67, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayāditya V, do.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayāditya VII, do.</td>
<td>61, 63, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayānagapra, do.</td>
<td>71-72, 73 and a, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijaya-Nandirekramavarmā, Pallava k.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayāraka, s.n. Vijayāditya II, Kadamba k.</td>
<td>29, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayārakalaśa, s.n. Vijayāditya, Śālikāra k.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijaya-Skandavarman IV, Pallavi k.</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vijayāśati, ro.</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādeva, Chālukya-Chālukya k.</td>
<td>227, 232-33, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādeva Chālukya-Chālukya, s.n. Aryanāra-rajāya, ro.</td>
<td>63 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi, s.n. Jayaśakti, Kālakura k.</td>
<td>117, 18, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi, a.</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi, E. Chālukya pr.</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi (I), Eruki Chālukya k.</td>
<td>67, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi (II), do.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādeva, son of Bhumā, E. Chālukya pr.</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi, Sullāk k.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi I, W. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>92, 112, 118, 160-61, 162 and a, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi II, do.</td>
<td>161 and a, 162 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mahādevi V, do.</td>
<td>69 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṅgara-mūru, a.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa s.n. Bihārī.</td>
<td>22 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśapātana s.n. Vīṣṇu-pātana, t.d.</td>
<td>20, 22 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃapātana, do.</td>
<td>4 n., 10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃaṃatsunga, Nanda k. of Orissa</td>
<td>134-50, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃaparaśāla, valmikī, t.d.</td>
<td>76, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, E. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>58, 59 and a., 61-62, 65, 67, 235, 239 and a., 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, Chālōka k.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, ambara.</td>
<td>220 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, s.n. of Mangalāraka</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, W. Chālukya k.</td>
<td>112, 118, 162 n., 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita-Mangalāraka, k.</td>
<td>100, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, s.n.</td>
<td>39, 42, 112, 121, 125, 127, 128, 131, 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, Tānpī ch.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, Pāiyāpālita, do.</td>
<td>8, 12, 43, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, k.</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla-Chālōka-Chālākya pr.</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla-Chālōkya-Chālākya, k.</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla-Chālōkya, ch.</td>
<td>227 and m., 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, l.</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, ch.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, Kadamba pr.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapāla, s.n.</td>
<td>76, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, Harshākha k.</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṃmapālita, Chālōka k.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, s.n. Vulasāpi Rājendrā</th>
<th>228</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, ch.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, pr.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, k.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, do.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, l.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, s.n. Viśa-Rājendrā</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, ch.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, pr.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, k.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, do.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, l.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, s.n. Viśa-Rājendrā</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, ch.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, pr.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, k.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, do.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa-Rājendrā-chāhī, l.</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**W**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Wadreamah, ch.</th>
<th>201</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wadreamah, l.</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>52-53, 83-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Chālukya, k.</td>
<td>111 n., 118 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Chālukya, do.</td>
<td>111 n., 118 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western Chālukya, l.</td>
<td>111 n., 118 n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y, in Grantha character.</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, looking like p.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, hooked form of</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, not reduplicated after s.</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, tripartite form of</td>
<td>200 and s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y, two forms of</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vākṣeṣāṭikā-Rhima, pres.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pujāṅkāyi-purīl, etc.</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yajurveda, Black.</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakshi (v.)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamagraśa-nepāla, i.e.</td>
<td>65-66, 132 and s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamuna, i.e.</td>
<td>85, 86, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yauvanāśī, Kañcaḥūrī pr.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaśākṣara, Kañcaḥūrī k.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaudāttra, āne.</td>
<td>186, 188-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaśōvṛata, Chandalla k.</td>
<td>21, 22 s., 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaśōṣikhadi, s.</td>
<td>210, 212, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakṣīnīsī, s.</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamyam-adān-ādṛt.</td>
<td>124, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavīki, epic s.</td>
<td>65, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavītāmgara, s.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years—</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyclic—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phāsa</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prahasra</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praṇādhi</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvajit</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subhakgit</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikrīn</td>
<td>29, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrēkaṇa</td>
<td>72, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 of the 60-year Cycle.</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅka</td>
<td>44, 109-09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| of era—      |      |
| Bhāma-Kara, 84 s., 168, 169, 165, 191, 211, 214, | 218, 224, 233 and s. |
| Chānd or Kalachuri, 97 s., 98-99, 118, 195 | 233 s. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gupta, 34, 146, 171, s., 173, 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harsha, 81, 195, 183, 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalashūrī, see Chānd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāva Samvat</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saka, 13-14, 17, 23, 32, 53 s., 58 s., 60-61, 71-72, 78, 110-111, 117-118, 124, 153, 205, 225-26</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228, 231, 232 and s., 233 and s., 235, 236 and s., 237 and s., 238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāivāhana-Saka</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvat or Vikrama Samvat, 6, 8, 10, 12, 33, 80, 98-99, 106, 108, 194-95, 199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| reignal—    |      |
| 2nd | 109 |
| 3rd | 174-77 |
| 4th | 1 |
| 5th | 60 s., 169, 171 |
| 6th | 9 |
| 7th | 51, 52, 98 |
| 8th | 22 s., 34-36 |
| 9th | 49 |
| 10th | 51 |
| 11th | 51 |
| 12th | 51 |
| 13th | 33 s., 51 |
| 14th | 106 |
| 15th | 33 s. |
| Unspecified, 117, 120-21, 184-85, 188-90, 194 |      |
| Yeṣavāchhili, k. | 237 |
| Yeṣavāchhili, k. | 237 |
| Yāgarāja, Chāndē k. | 24 |
| Yāgarāvāsīn, m. | 50, 56 |
| Yāgārêha, do. | 51, 57 |
| Yuddhahamalla, S. Chāndē k. | 541 |
| Yuddhahamalla (II), do. | 67 |
| Yuddhāra, e.p. of Kāśyapakāśa Namavīra | 110, 114 |
| Yuddhāra, epic k. | 18, 85-86, 121, 130 s., 155-157, 239 |
| Yuvārāja, e.p. | 22-23, 80 |
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