EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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

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

The plates measure 15½" x 10½" each and are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced about the middle of each plate. They are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. They have highly raised rims which have protected the writing beautifully. There is a seal attached to the ring, bearing at the top the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi in relief, rather crudely executed. Below the figure is a legend in one line which reads Śrīmahā-Trailokya-malla. When the plates were received by me the ring was found already cut but there can be no doubt that both the ring and the seal belong to the plates under discussion. The seal measures 6½" x 1½" and the plates including the ring and the seal weigh 419 tolas.

Each plate has 11 lines of writing, the letters being approximately ½" in height. The engraver appears to have left too much margin between the lines in the second plate and had to engrave the last two lines in slightly smaller characters so that the record could be completed in this face of the plate. The engraving was done rather carelessly. Some of the letters are ill formed and while syllables have been dropped in many places, only in two cases the missing letters have been supplied at the top of the line concerned. The characters are Nāgari, the language being Sanskrit. The whole record with the exception of three verses in ll. 1-6 is in prose. Several mistakes in grammar and syntax show that though the record was composed by two Pandits, neither of them was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit. The script does not call for any special remarks but attention may be drawn to the following minor points. The anusvāra has sometimes been represented by a circle above the syllable to which it belongs, e.g., sva (l. 8), Śrīchanda (l. 9), pavītu (l. 11), etc., and sometimes it has been written in an ornamental way, e.g., ōm (l. 1), mān, māndalaka (l. 8), saṁdhi (l. 8), etc. In writing it sometimes a cross bar has been used joining the two limbs of the letter thus making it look like s, cf. Śivāya (l. 1), saravah (l. 4), tī, Malayasīkā (l. 8), Śaiv-āchārya (l. 11), etc. Due to shabbiness in writing it is sometimes hard to distinguish between c and ch. For the same reason pra in pravardhānā and tha in Jyeshthā (l. 7) look like rā and kā respectively. As
regards orthography the following points may be noted: (1) The same sign has been used for writing v and b, e.g., Kanyakove (l. 6). (2) While consonants in conjunction with a subscript r have never been doubled, those joined with a superscript r have sometimes been doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., Sarva (l. 4, 5, etc.), praavardhanam (l. 7), chakraavarti (l. 11), Dura-
vāśā (l. 12), etc., as against samartha (l. 3), Chatutumukha (l. 4), dharma (l. 9), kārya (l. 19), etc. (3) Anusvāra has invariably been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., nāmadā (l. 1), kāmalāngā (l. 2), Nilakantha (l. 2-3), -āmbhāja (l. 4), etc. (4) Repha has been wrongly dropped in Tāvura (l. 3) and visarga in Nilakantha (l. 2-3), tapa, kurkura (l. 11), Śivarāja (l. 14), etc. (5) While ś and ș cannot always be distinguished for reasons stated above, ś has been definitely used for s in hasā (l. 4), sāndha (l. 8), ąkāśā (l. 17) and vice versa in Śivarāja (l. 14) if it stands for Śivarāja. (6) Sandhi has not been observed in many places, sometimes not even between members forming a compound, e.g., rā-svapati (l. 5), Vāha-arthā-lēkha (l. 8-9) and wrong sandhi is found in -sūtu Śanī (l. 13). In l. 13 though honorific plural has been used in Śamantāvīrakṣā, all the qualifying epithets have been left in singular. The genitive in Dharikasya (l. 14), however, has been correctly used, as this person was not the recipient of a permanent gift. The term vitteva(tha)māha (l. 13, 19) which I have taken in the sense of 'mortgage, or pledge for money received' is of lexicographic interest. All the errors occurring in the record have been corrected either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

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

The record (l. 5-7) refers itself to the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious Trāliṅkya-malladēva, who was endowed with all the royal titles commencing with Paramabhaṭṭāraka (i.e., Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhikāra-Paramalīkāra), who was a devout worshipper of Mahāvīra (Śiva), who was the lord over three rājas (viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who was a veritable Vāchaspati in the investigation of the various (branches of) knowledge, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, and who was the lord of Kanyakubja. In l. 12 he is also called triśati-rājy-ādhipati, an epithet not met with elsewhere.

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

Lines 7-9 mention some of the officers of the king and the offices they held. Malayāsimha who bears the titles Mahāmahaṭṭaka and Manmadika was the minister (mantra) of the king. The other officers mentioned were: Thakkura Haripāla, the Sandhīcīraghika or the minister of Foreign Affairs, Vāhaḍā, the city-prefect (Kottapāla) and Sṛihaḍā, who was a merchant (śṛiḥāḥ), the writer of deeds (arthaśākhin). The last three among others appear to have been the members of the paṇḍukula and the dharmādhikaraṇa.

1 Cf. Tatthāvabhāzīn on the rule Karmāṇa yamabhīrapati sa sampradānam (Pāṇini, 1-4-32): dānam chaśūpamat\ngraññāya su-vottāta-mahattī-pāraśuarī para-śu-cate-śeśādānam.

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and 235 ff. For another inscription where the benefictory stanza of Kāli-
dēva's Saka-ṭāla is cited as an introductory verse, see above, Vol. XI, p. 66.
The record is interesting in that it is not the usual land-grant but is a *vitta-bandha* or 'deed of mortgage'¹ for the village *Alirā*, situated in the *Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattana* of the *Dhanavāhi-pattali*. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher *Śantaśiva*, son of the royal preceptor (rājaguru) Vimalaśīva, to the Rānaka *Dharśika*, but no mention is made of the actual amount of money that was taken as loan. The mortgagee, who belonged to the Vatsa-gōra, was a son of Śevarāja (Śivarāja) and grandson of Rāsala. The document is said to have been issued from a camp in a certain auspicious place, apparently in the city of Dhōvahaṭṭa (ll. 10-14). The deed was executed by Nādaśiva, another son of Vimalaśīva, on the authorisation of his elder brother *Śantaśiva* (ll. 15-18). The mortgagee was given all the rights of collecting taxes. As far as it can be made out from l. 19, the meaning of which is not quite clear, he also appears to have been given the right of holding the village in pledge as long as he wished, probably meaning thereby till all the dues were cleared. There were seven witnesses to the deed, viz., the *Paṭṭakila* Madanē, Śīlē, Thākur Sūpata, Thākur Gaṅgē, Raṇadhavala, Gaṅgādeva and Kāvita († ll. 19-20). It appears from the use of punctuation marks in lines 20-21 that Thākur Gōllana, probably an additional witness, was also authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee. The document was drawn up by the Pandits Viśvēsvara and Gaṅgādhara and engraved by Śiruka. As it is not a land-grant, it naturally does not contain any imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In connection with the identification of Trailōkyamalla mentioned in the present record we may observe that most of the *birudas* used by this ruler were used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri and also by the Gāhaḍavāla rulers of Kanauj. But though places in the neighbourhood of Rewah were within the Kalachuri territory we do not know of any Kalachuri ruler of this name. I would therefore identify this Trailōkyamalla with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Rewah Plates of Harirāja of V. S. 1298.⁸ Cunningham and Kielhorn have already suggested that he is no other than the Chandella ruler Trailōkyavarman for whom we have records dating from V. S. 1261 to 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241). But while Trailōkyavarman, like his predecessors, calls himself Kālaṅgarādhipati in both the sets of Garrah plates of V. S. 1261 and *Trikalīngadhīpata* in the Rewah plates of the Mahārāṣṭra Kumārapāla dated V. S. 1297,⁴ he is called *Kanyakubjādhīpata* in the present inscription, a title used by the Gāhaḍavāla rulers of Kanauj. Though this last-mentioned title is not found in any other Chandella record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of the Gāhaḍavāla power, Trailōkyamalla assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikalīngadhīpata* borne by the Kalachuris of Dāhala. Many years ago a hoard of 48 silver coins of the Chandella Madanavarman was found at Panwar in the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State.⁶ This find tends to show, as has been already suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray⁴, that even in the time of this ruler the Chandella power penetrated into Bāghelkhand, north of the Kaimur range. But that the country around Rewah still continued to be under the Kalachuris for several decades is certain. We have two inscriptions of the Kalachuri Vijayaśimha's time to support this view. The first is the Rewah plate of Salakshaṇavarman, the chief of Kakarēḍi (modern Kakrēṇa on the border of Rewah and Panna States) and still a feudatory of

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¹ For a deed of mortgage engraved on brick which was found in a village near Jampur, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56. It is dated *Sumast 1273 Aśkhaḍha-indi 6 Baras* (= Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217) and records the loan of 2,230 *dravmas* on the pledge of certain fields.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 274 ff.
Vijayasimha in V. S. 1253 (A.D. 1195), the date of the record, and the second, the Rewah inscription of Malayasimha dated K. 944 (A.D. 1192-93). Verse 24 of the latter record seems to show that already before K. 944, Salakshana had tried to throw off the yoke of subordination of these rulers, probably by joining hands with the Chandellas, an attempt in which he was not apparently successful. I have noticed elsewhere a damaged inscription of the reign of Vijayasimha, the date of which seems to read (Chedi year) 962. Unfortunately the provenance of this record, which was issued from Tripuri, is not known. But as it is now deposited in the Rewah Treasury, it is likely that it did not come from a place far from the Rewah town. If that is so, it is clear that the Kalachuris were still holding sway in this part of Baghelkhand in K. 962. The record under consideration, however, shows that in K. 963, i.e., only a year later, their territory contiguous to the Rewah town had passed under the Chandellas.

In the inscription of Vijayasimha of K. 962 referred to above, we find the name of one Mandalika Malayasimha mentioned among the officers of this ruler. The Rewah inscription of K. 944 also mentions a Sambanta Malayasimha who was responsible for the excavation of a tank and also for the setting up of the record in the reign of the very same Kalachuri ruler. Now there is nothing against our taking Malayasimha mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasimha, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalachuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasimha sometime between K. 944 and K. 962. But what is surprising is that the record under consideration also not only mentions a Malayasimha bearing the titles Mahamahottaka and Mandalika but in addition calls him a mastrin or minister of the ruling king, viz., Traillokyamalla. As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasimha mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person. If this view is correct, then we have to admit that one of the chief officers of Vijayasimha not only transferred his allegiance to the conquering ruler but was also appointed a minister under him. It is reasonable to assume that he had to accept the Chandella suzerainty to save himself and his estate. We have a parallel instance in the history of the chiefs of Karkarjli. We know from his Rewah plate that in V. S. 1253 Salakshana varman was still a feudatory of the Kalachuri Vijayasimha. But in the Rewah plates of Harijaja (V. S. 1293) and his son Kumaraapala (V. S. 1297) we find these chiefs owing allegiance to the Chandella ruler Traillokyavarmen. But what is puzzling in the present record is the appointment of Malayasimha as a minister by the Chandella ruler. It may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration his services were utilized in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Chandella supremacy.

In conclusion it would not be out of place to say a few words about the Saiva teachers mentioned in the record. As we have already pointed out Vimalasiva mentioned in the record is no other than the Rajaevrata Vimalasiva of the Jujbulpore Kotwali Plates of Jayasimhadvya of K. 918. Though the name is not found elsewhere it is probable that he belonged to the line of the ascetics of the Mamatayur clan who were held in great reverence by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri. We know from the present record that Vimalasiva had two sons, the elder being Sannaiva and the younger Nadasaiva. The epithets applied to the latter two teachers show that they, like their father, were also held in high estimation. Sannaiva is said to be the incarnation of the
sage Durvásas in the Kali age. The interpretation of another phrase used in connection with him is rather puzzling. It is trisati-rājya-adhipati-srimat-Trailokyamalla-pād-archana-raṭaḥ (l. 12). Probably this has to be translated as 'whose feet were devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailokyamalla, the lord of the kingdom (consisting) of three hundred.' If that is so, it is reasonable to conclude that this teacher was getting some patronage from the new ruler as well, who also calls himself a Paramamāhāvīra. It is not clear under the circumstances why he should have to alienate what was apparently one of the gifts these teachers received from the Kalachuri rulers. Probably the Chandellas conquest was very recent and as such these teachers did not get the same patronage as was hitherto extended to them by their former patrons and as a result they had to mortgage one of their gift villages to raise funds. A somewhat similar instance is provided by the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates of the Gāhādeva Gāvindachandra which record that in V. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in presence of this ruler, the village of Karaṅḍla in the Antarāla-pattalā which was originally given to the Rājaguru-Sātvāchārya-Bhattāraka Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri ruler) Yaśaṅkarṇa was transferred to Thakkura Vasisthaśārman. Dr. F. W. Hall, who edited this record, suggested that the village which changed hands lay in the country conquered by Gāvindachandra from Yaśaṅkarṇa.

Of the localities mentioned in the record Dhövahaṭṭa which was a pattana at the time is identical with the village of Dhureti where the plates were found. The other localities mentioned in the record, viṣṇu, Dhanavahi-pattalā and the village Alira, I am unable to identify.

TEXT: 3
First Plate.


2. From impressions and the original plates.
3. Dauḍa unnecessary.
5. There is an excess of a mātra in the second pāda. Read -dahana-saktō mūrdhni, etc.
7. The letter va which was at first omitted is written above the line between ja and ki.
8. Read *r-āśvapati*.
9 arthalaśthiśrīlcharjaḥśrēthīya-thāvarttamāna-samastā-vapījana-vyavṛhīhi-vyavahīri-yamāṇa-pañchakula-dhamādhikaraṇa-chintāyām

10 Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattanē Dhanavāhi-pattalāyām yatra kva[cha]na-subha-pradeśa-samā-
vāśita-kavakāta(t) yama-niyama-svādhīyāya-

dhyān-anushṭhāna-tapaḥsakra-chakra-prajapita-chakrabuddham-anuśāsana-svādhīyāḥ-kuśala[h]

--- Second Plate. ---

12 lauj Durvvāsāḥ(o)-vātaraḥ(ras)-triṣati(t)-rāja-ādhipati-ārjam-Trailokymalla-pāda(ā)rechchan-
araḥ dhyānāṃ kurvyāṅ(ṇa)

13 ēk-āgra-chittatayā bhaṭṭāraka-śrimad-rājarṣi-Vimalaśīva-sūto(tas)-Śāṃtaśīva-charaṇāḥ

Vatsa-gōtri-āṇvayā vīśa(tta)-yam(ū)raṃḍha-

14 [sva]rūpaṭaya ṭha Rāśa-suta Śū(śi)varāja[s]-tat-suta-Rāṣaka-śrimad-[Dha]rēkasya

Alīra[4]grāmasya bhāga-bhōga-pravani-

15 karasaṃvā-dāyaya-sahitam yāvadkārapasya[5] dattam-iti ||

16 prāpya ūṣa(ī)-kṛṣṇa-śrīghāṣṭha[-vīruḥ]|[6] prāpya yaṃ-adī-guṇa-ḍvīpa[ś]samasta-

17 prakrītyānvidita[ś]tri-kāla-sūna-ārchaṣaṃ-cātraḥ

18 nāma-śāhāraḥbhūṣṭāṃ jñāntūnām-āśva(sa)-bhūmi[h][8] sarvāsya kalāsu caturrah||

19 sastra-sāstra-visaradhā bhāṭṭa[ttaj]raka-śrīna-

20 d-rājanṛūpa Vimalaśīva-sutaḥ Śāṃtaśīva-anujo Nādaśīva[-tā]na paṭṭasya [ha]rēka-

21 pitam-iti [9] Vīta-vāṃ(ḥ)bhardatayā kimciḥ[t]kārya-kāraṇitāpi vā Rāṇa-śrimad-[Dha]-

22 vyāvadichal[10]ch[9]haḥ pratipadyatā || Atr-ā-

23 r[thā] sākṣiṇāḥ || Paṭa(ṭṭa)kila Madanē tathā Śīle tathā ṭha Sūpaṭa ṭha Īnāgē

24 nā iti kritvā praviṣṭe sati gri-graḥūstavyāṃ || Šubhaṃ bhavatu lēkhaṃ-ṣaṭhakaṃ-pāthakaṃyaḥ ||

25 Svala-vudhyā[14] maṃḍa-maṭir-aḥaṃ ya[t]tu vāyūti-


27 paṇi Gāṅgāmārāṇa cha [ṣ] utakiritam[utkṛṣaṇa] Śīruṣāṇa[ṇa] || ||

1 Read Vahad-arthalkhi. There is a superfluous medial ś sign at the top of a in artha.

2 Read Śīkhandra-śrēthīhi.

3 The anusvāra meant for pa has been wrongly placed on ya.

4 It seems that lau was first engraved which was then corrected into lāu.

5 Read ēkaś-sāramayum ?

6 Read gūrūnāṃ.

7 Dayas unecessary.

8 Read dūpāṃ.

9 Read kāraṇāt-sa vā.

10 Ya is written at the top of the line, above ya. If we read yad-ichhāḥ, then Vīta etc. will form a stanza in the Aṣṭāṣṭhaḥ metre.

11 I am unable to state what the abbreviation ri stands for. In the grant of Mahāraṇa Karīrajadeva it stands for viśudh. But in the latter record as this term is always followed by certain figures, it apparently indicates shares in the donated property. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 231 and n. 62.

12 I.e., Raṇadhaula.

13 Read -buddhabh or -budhirn.

14 The intended reading may be kāṇṭākṣm-adgiritan.

15 This portion appears to be in Aṛyāḍī; though the metre is faulty.

16 There is an ornamental mark between these two sets of danṣas.
Rāmtēk is the head-quarters of a tahsil of the same name in the Nāgpur District of the Central Provinces. It is situated 28 miles North by East of Nāgpur and derives its name from the temple of Rāma on a hill close to the town. The place is regarded as very holy on account of a number of temples and tīrthas on the hill and in its vicinity. A fair is held in the month of Kārttika, which attracts thousands of people from even far-off places. The sanctity of the place can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. at least; for the Riddhapur plates, which were issued from the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtēk), record a grant of the Vākṣatakā dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā on the twelfth tīrthī of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. Kālidāsa also mentions in his Mīghadāta that the hill was marked with the foot-prints of Rāma. These references indicate that the shrine at Rāmagiri at first contained only the foot-prints of Rāma. Later on the images of Rāma and Sītā appear to have been installed there and another temple dedicated to Lakṣmaṇa was built. This is probably the reason why the temple of Lakṣmaṇa is present situated in front of that of Rāma and Sītā. The present images of these deities are said to have been found in the Dudhālā tank at Rāmtēk and were substituted some years ago for the earlier ones which had been mutilated. These temples are surrounded by a number of smaller shrines. They are situated in the innermost of three enclosures on the hill and none but caste Hindus get access to them.

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

1 Rāmahādāyakām (A:B), Vol. XX, p. 38.
2 रामास्ताक्षरम् (Verse 12.)
6 This occurs in lines 54 and 61 but there it denotes the deity Rāma.
8 P. R. A. S., Western Circle, for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 125.
As stated above, the record is inscribed on a stone fixed in the front wall of the garbha griha in the temple of Lakshmana. It now contains 75 lines of writing covering a space 2' 9' wide and 3' 3' high, but a few lines may have been lost at the top. The extant portion falls into two parts, separated by some ornamental figures in lines 31 and 32, the first part comprising ll. 1-31 and the second ll. 31-75. As the surface of the stone has flaked off in several places the record has suffered very much, especially in its upper and lower portions and on the left hand side. The loss of the upper portion is very much to be regretted; since, judging from the fragments still extant, it seems to have contained a description of the exploits of the reigning king and his ancestors.

The characters belong to the Nagari alphabet of about the thirteenth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we find that the vowel ri is in some places wrongly written for ri, see tribhuvana l. 31; v is throughout used for b, see bala l. 26; ek is employed for kh and vice versa, see e.g., vihaṃñita l. 13 and namaskarikhyē l. 54; the visarga before k and p is changed to sh, see tushṭavash-kaaly-anite l. 47 and nyipush-Poṇṅṭiṭrhā l. 48, etc. The sign of avagraha is also noticed in some places.

The first four lines of the inscription are too much mutilated to yield any coherent sense. The fifth line contains the words Yādavā vañjāḥ and Yaduv-vañjāḥ evidently indicating that the reigning king called himself Yādava and traced his descent from the legendary hero Yadu. The exploits of some king of this family are next described, but the only names of his adversaries that can be made out are Rudra l. 1, the lord of the Andhras and Chāḍa l. 5, and possibly the lord of the Gurjaras l. 9. The syllables Jaitra which occur at the end of l. 9 probably denote some name like Jaitrapāla. The name of the king Simhaṇa occurs in l. 15 in the course of the description of his successor, who is said to have made the Earth forget her grief on account of separation from the illustrious king Simhaṇa. This name seems to have occurred at the beginning of l. 13 also, but the first two aksharas of it have now been broken away. Line 16 mentions the genealogy of a person named Śrī-Rāghava. He was a descendant of one Vaiṣṇava. From l. 17 we learn that the king, the illustrious Rāmachandra, bestowed on him (i.e., Rāghava) fortune which appeared lovely owing to the prosperity of his empire and himself enjoyed the company of ladies skilled in all arts. This means that the king entrusted the government of his kingdom to him and being free from care gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. This Rāghava is probably referred to again in lls. 18 and 21 as Sōyapāla (guardian of the royal bed-chamber). His wife Bājāyī is mentioned in l. 19. Once upon a time Rāghava asked his preceptor how he could cross the ocean of worldly existence. In answer to this the latter seems to have given a description of the hill as well as of the temples and sīrthas situated on it and in its vicinity. The first part of the record seems to have described the hill and the temples on the four sides of it, viz., Ghantaśvara, Sudhāśvara, Kādara and Anjaneyya. The second part, which is better preserved, names and describes the temples and sīrthas on the hill and in the town of Rāmākṣā after the manner of the sīrtha-mahātmayas. As a matter of fact many of them find mention in two Sindūragiri-mahātmayas, one of sixteen and the other of forty-five adhyāyas. The description and topography of these temples and sīrthas given in the present inscription agree with those in the mahātmayas. Some of them are again mentioned in a work of the Mahānubhāva sect in connection with the itinerary of Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, who lived in the

1 [Probably this ś is intended to represent the sign for both jukāmāliya and upadhasāya. — Ed.]
2 Of these the former was published together with a Marathi translation some years ago at Nāgpur, but the latter is still unpublished.
3 An extract from this work called Śāhānopāla was kindly supplied to us by our friend Mr. H. N. Nene.
time of the Yādava king Rāmachandra (13th century A.D.). Most of these temples and tīrthas can even now be identified at Rāmṭēk. The traditions about them are thus at least seven centuries old.

As stated above, Prof. Kielhorn, in his article on the Khalārī stone inscription, expressed the opinion that the kings Simhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription were identical with the princes of the same names who were respectively the grandfather and father of Haribrahmadeva, a Haihya or Kalachuri prince who ruled in Chhattīsgarh in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.¹ From this he concluded that the rule of the Kalachuris extended in the west as far as Nāgpur. An examination of several Kalachuri dates had led him to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āsvina, but he had no evidence of the actual use of the Āsvināṭi year in any territory under the rule of the Kalachuris. This was subsequently furnished by the remark of Colebrooke in his Journal of Occurrences at Nāgpur that the year at Nāgpur commenced on the first of the bright half of Āsvina.² Kielhorn thought that this usage was reminiscent of the use of the Kalachuri era in the territory round Nāgpur, which on the evidence of the Rāmṭēk inscription he believed to have once been under the rule of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur.³ The identification of the family to which the princes Simhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription belonged is, therefore, important not only for the interpretation of the record, but also for the determination of the beginning of the Kalachuri year.

Kielhorn had no opportunity to examine the inscription in situ. He had before him only a faint rubbing of it. The characters of the inscription have become very shallow, being choked up with oily dust and white-wash. It is therefore extremely difficult to decipher the record from rubbings or inked estampages. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who personally examined it, read the words Yādavō vamkak (l. 5), but he chose to stick to Kielhorn’s view that the kings Simhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned therein belonged to the Haihya dynasty, because he thought that the Haihayas being descended from Yadu could be called Yādavas.⁴ It is no doubt true that the Haihayas were descendants of Yadu; for their ancestor Haihya was, according to the Purāṇas, a grandson of Sahasrajit who was himself a son of Yadu⁵. But the name Yādava was by usage restricted to the descendants of Króṣhīṛī, another son of Yadu⁶. Nowhere in their numerous inscriptions have the Haihayas or Kalachuris called themselves Yādavas. Besides, in the genealogy of the Haihayas there occurs nowhere any name like Jaitrapāla, which, as shown above, appears at the end of line 9 of the present inscription. But the most important objection to the identification of the kings Simhāṇa and Rāmachandra with their namesakes who ruled in Chhattīsgarh is that neither these latter kings nor any of their immediate ancestors achieved any victories over Rudra, the lord of the Andhras, the Chōla and the lord of the Gūjaras; for they were petty princes, whose rule did not extend much beyond the modern district of Raipur. Besides, there is no king of the name Rudra known from history as ruling in the fourteenth or fifteenth century

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

We find, on the other hand, the names Jaitrapala, Sinhaha and Ramachandra in the genealogical list of the Later Yadavas of Devagiri, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Jaitrapala, whose name seems to have occurred at the end of line 9, is probably identical with the homonymous king who was the father of Sinhaha. The names of Rudra, the kings of Andhra and Chola in ll. 7-8, seem to have occurred in the course of the description of Jaitrapala’s victories; for we know from the introduction to Hemadri’s Vratakhandya as well as from the Paiyhan plates and other Yadava grants that Jaitrapala killed the Kakanita king Rudra. This latter king is in some places called the king of Andhra. We can therefore unhesitatingly identify the kings mentioned here with the Yadava kings of Devagiri. That the kingdom of the Yadavas extended in the East as far as Lânji in the Bâlâghat District is known from a stone inscription of the dynasty found at Lânji which mentions the Yadava king Ramachandra.

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

As the kings mentioned in the present inscription are thus proved to be of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri and no inscriptions of the Kalachuris are found in the Marâthi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, Kielhorn’s view that the Kalachuri year commenced in the month of Âsvina cannot be supported by any usage current in the territory round Nâgpur.

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

The hill on which the main temples of Râma and Lakshmaṇa are situated is called Sinduragiri and Tapângiri (for Tapâgiri) in the present inscription. The tradition about the former

1 Cf. निर्देशितम्: पद्माविष्णु सुर्देव सृष्टकम्:।

2 See R. G. Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Deccan, Appendix C.


4 See Hiralal—Inscriptions, etc. (Second Ed.), p. 20. Lânji is about 100 miles north by east of Nâgpur. Hiralal remarks that some passages of this record correspond exactly to those given in the Râmâk Lakshmaṇa temple inscription. We have examined the Lânji inscription in the Nâgpur Museum, but have failed to notice any such passages.

5 As a matter of fact Colebrooke was mistaken in supposing that the year commenced in Nâgpur in the month of Âsvina. As shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 122), the era current at Nâgpur in Colebrooke’s days was the so-called Śâlavâhana or Saka era, its months were amantya and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Âsvina. For the commencement of the Kalachuri year, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

6 In the larger Sinduragiri-mahâdâga the name occurs in the correct form Tapâgiri,
name was apparently given in line 23 which is partly mutilated. What remains of it is, however, sufficient to show that the hill was called Sindūragiri, because it was reddened by the blood flowing from the breast of Hiranyakaśipu which was torn by Narasimha with his sharp claws. There are two temples on the hill containing huge images of the man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu. As conjectured by Cousens¹ the name Sindūragiri may have been originally given to the hill because of its red stones which when broken or newly dressed appear blood-red. The second name of the hill Tapasīgiri (for Tapūgiri, penance-hill) which occurs in this very form in one of the Sindūragiri-mahātmyas owes its origin to the tradition that Śambūka, a Śūdra ascetic, practised penance here. He was afterwards killed by Rāma with his sword called Chandrabhāsa. But, the Māhātmya says, he asked for three boons from Rāma, viz., that his mortal remains should be transformed into a liṅga in situ, that Rāma should live on the hill for ever and that he himself should be worshipped before Rāma. In accordance with this, pilgrims first worship the liṅga, now called Dhūmrāksha, situated on the southern plateau of the hill outside the citadel, before they proceed to the temples of Rāma and Lakṣmīṇara. The story of Śambūka is given in line 45 of the present record, which mentions the liṅga Dhūmrāksha.

The story of Śambūka occurs also in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far the toponymy of the place where Śambūka was practising penance suits Rāmōṭk. According to the Epic the Śūdra ascetic was engaged in austerities on the bank of a large lake to the north of the mountain Śaivala.² This mountain is not mentioned anywhere else. But from the Rāmāyaṇa itself we learn that a king named Daṇḍa was ruling over the territory between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountains.³ His rape of a Brāhmaṇa girl led to the devastation of the country measuring a hundred yojanas round the Śaivala mountain and this country came consequently to be known by the name of the Daṇḍaka forest.⁴ This Daṇḍa or Daṇḍakya is called Bhūja elsewhere⁵ and it is well known that the Bhūjas were ruling over Vidarbha. So the site of Śambūka’s penance must have been situated in Vidarbha to the south of the Vindhyā mountain. The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that after killing Śambūka, Rāma went in his aerial car to the hermitage of Agastya which was situated not very far from the Gòdāvari,⁶ but it gives us no idea of the distance between the site of Śambūka’s penance and the hermitage of Agastya. Still the description in the epic shows clearly that the former lay somewhere in ancient Vidarbha between the Vindhyā mountain and the Gòdāvari. The description in the Rāmāyaṇa of the site of Śambūka’s penance suits Rāmōṭk where there is a large tank at the foot of the hill. As there is no hill in Vidarbha where there is such a tradition connecting it with Śambūka’s penance, it would not be wrong to identify Rāmōṭk with the Śaivala mountain.⁷

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¹ P. R. A. S., W. C. for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 127.
² Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhīṣṭa 75, verses 13-14.
³ Ibid., adhīṣṭa 79, verse 16.
⁴ Ibid., adhīṣṭa 81, verse 8.
⁵ See Kaṭṭuṭiyā’s Arthaśāstra, adhīṣṭa 1, prakaraṇa 3.
⁶ Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhīṣṭa 76, verses 16-20.
⁷ The larger Sindūragiri-mahātmya mentions Mahāśaivala as a name of the hill at Rāmōṭk in addition to the two names noticed above, and explains it as being due to Śiva bringing the Saivas to the hill. According to the colophon the Māhātmya has been taken from the Kaṇḍārakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa; but the portion dealing with Śambūka’s story seems to have been copied verbatim from the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. We have not been able to trace the Kaṇḍārakhaṇḍa in the printed edition of the Purāṇa. Still this description corroborates our inference that Śaivala was one of the old names of the hill at Rāmōṭk. For the identifications of the tirthas mentioned here see Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 262 ff.
TEXT.\footnote{From the original stone.}

1. \textasciitilde गु \textasciitilde मवाशु \textasciitilde । \footnote{From 16 to 18 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 1-3.}

2. \textasciitilde पूषित \textasciitilde काले(वे)न \textasciitilde । \footnote{About 25 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 1-3.}

3. देवाधूरोव[ग*] \textasciitilde वचरितो \textasciitilde । \footnote{About 13 aksharas are gone at the end of ll. 1-3.}

4. \textasciitilde क: सुकविसादपथ \textasciitilde प्रविष्ट* \textasciitilde । \footnote{Metro : Vasantaśikā.}

5. \textasciitilde चुम्म: II नतीभुवादवी वंशः \textasciitilde II किं \textasciitilde वर्त्तनेः[वे वे*]दुर्गमजः. \footnote{From 23 to 27 aksharas are lost here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 5-6.}

6. \textasciitilde चविष्पालपकः \textasciitilde प्रयोवदर्दीवरमाः \textasciitilde जम्भ- \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \footnote{From 35 to 45 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 4-7.}

7. \textasciitilde यथातिमीयवरणांगः \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \footnote{Metro : Amataśīkā.}

8. \textasciitilde नीवनानोननलभममः \textasciitilde तलमध्राचिपः \textasciitilde लं \textasciitilde र चोड \textasciitilde विनित द[पे]- \textasciitilde धरानायवकः \textasciitilde \footnote{Metro : Indraśūdra.}

9. \textasciitilde गिर(वा)मभुवतानः \textasciitilde गिर[र्सु ?] \textasciitilde [स्तुर्सु ?] \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \footnote{From 18 to 22 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 8-14.}

\textasciitilde देवसुधा \textasciitilde । \footnote{Metro : Upendraśūdra.}
10. येदस्मामिति श्रमामिति घरानपति
11. [तिरं] निवासाच्या तत्तथा... 
12. महाभाष्य सघना चतुष्कोष
13. [च] श्रीदेवनारायण, श्रीभुदि...
14. [म] साद्वाह शालिनि परमाभवापि
15. [ए] विविध रचयताहि नवधोध कोटि
16. [म] हृदलीले वायुयायक चति बहुमत

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17. . . . . . . . [सू]षाणोलापरणिुर्जेरुरोऽवर्णसामायायोमसास्पंदिः
. . . . . . . . . . संदर्शनः पारं विषयं विन्यः। कौड़ीवानस्यायोरिष्ट्य(सिद्ध)ोक्ष्यनकलालोत्तात्प्रकोष्टिनामात्।

18. . . . . . . . श्रीरामभूपवस्थापर्श्वे श्रद्धालोकेनात्मकमानसामनस्थिनः
. . . . . . . . . . (चम)। श्रीवैवाच्यः ययायोगः संपादिताय(सिद्ध)सम्भवः(पद)पद्यः तत्री।
. . . . . . . . . . श्रेरुप्याः।

19. . . . . . . . . . . . तत्तथे ज्ञातिप महाकुलः द्वारा यथा मालिकः
. . . . . . . . . . (चिं)जः(कम्)। तदवृत्तिः यथा प्रभुति (पिता) नामोऽस्मायो पथमोऽस्माय संशया
. . . . . . . . . . (यथा)। गुणमणिभाषे ग्रंथे।

20. . . . . . . . . . . . . दिन्तर्विन्दनकालितः(तिम)। गुणभावः मिलितः। प्रथम
. . . . . . . . . . तद्वृत्तिः विजनः। जानानि सवत्र भवयस्वत्तज्ञाः प्रथमः पर्यक्षात्सम्पत्त:।
. . . . . . . . . . प्रार्थनिः सार्वज्ञोऽर्थे।

21. . . . . . . . . . . . 'पिष्कबिः' ललाभः॥ श्रद्धालोकेनात्मकः निविष्टः
. . . . . . . . . . वचो मम। संसारसरोत्तरकर्मः न चिन्ते: परः(रम)॥' चतुर्वत्ता दशायाधिः
. . . . . . . . . . रामस्य[श्या?]:

22. . . . . . . . . . . . . . वायुपूर्वः सप्तव्ययोग्यितः।
. . . . . . . . . . महाभाष्यः तपसनिर्गतः प्रभवमयः किमुद्वाराहं'। विषयः मे।

23. . . . . . . . . . . साद्यं रहस्यं'। प्रागच तेवा
. . . . . . . . . . वृषि: सुतारतिः(मः)वेदं वचं करंिः शिताः। तदकुपकारणात्श्वासोऽयः

24. . . . . . . . . . . [सू]षाणवं सौंदर्यसारः। पुनःसंक्राहकम्
. . . . . . . . . . ह(ह)वधर्मसमोऽध्वनिः विज्ञानं का।। पयो समुद्रं दुस्के यत्तर सन्नीमाः॥

¹ टेक्स्ट: सार्वालकार्यीत्या।
² टेक्स्ट: पद्मालोकेनात्मकम्।
³ टेक्स्ट: वायुपूर्वः सप्तव्ययोग्यितः।
⁴ टेक्स्ट: महाभाष्यः तपसनिर्गतः प्रभवमयः किमुद्वाराहं।
⁵ टेक्स्ट: साद्यं रहस्यं।
⁶ टेक्स्ट: वृषि: सुतारतिः।
⁷ टेक्च्ट: तदकृत्यकारणात्श्वासोऽयः
⁸ टेक्च्ट: ह(ह)वधर्मसमोऽध्वनिः विज्ञानं का।। पयो समुद्रं दुस्के यत्तर सन्नीमाः॥

¹ टेक्स्ट: शार्दुलाकर्तिदता।
² टेक्स्ट: इद्रास्वराइता।
³ टेक्स्ट: भारतीतिक।
⁴ टेक्स्ट: भारतीतिक।
⁵ टेक्च्ट: सार्वालकार्यीत्या।
⁶ टेक्च्ट: वायुपूर्वः सप्तव्ययोग्यितः।
⁷ टेक्च्ट: महाभाष्यः तपसनिर्गतः प्रभवमयः किमुद्वाराहं।
⁸ टेक्च्ट: साद्यं रहस्यं।
⁹ टेक्च्ट: वृषि: सुतारतिः।
¹⁰ टेक्च्ट: तदकृत्यकारणात्श्वासोऽयः
¹¹ टेक्च्ट: ह(ह)वधर्मसमोऽध्वनिः विज्ञानं का।। पयो समुद्रं दुस्के यत्तर सन्नीमाः॥
25. ....... मनो स्रुतु .... [रा] मिश्रे इति। कौन्ते। II श्रीरामायु सुखोर्षु। कलशभूमिम्ब्रेशसमेव। वृ(क्रम:) भ्रान्त। ए चुलैतथा गिरेः। व्रा}[भाव*]।

26. ....... "विवेक सादरं जन्तमुखं ते वृ(क्रम:) भ्रान्त। II गोटिव्याद(वा)लतमदामादवधादीपपीपुर्णी च। .........

27. ....... लयपर्यंति॥ कातोपवासा हरिवासेने। ये कुञ्जिनि राचो। रहुन्दनागे। I तर्कगिरी। जागर[ष*]।

28. ....... सरापिकामः॥ चंद्रियं चं गुजः सुब्रेष्ठरं। च केदारमीपां च तद्यर्थेऽय(यम)। दारियं॥

29. ....... [ष*]जनेन दुरितं निधियं वृ(क्रम:) धिर्म्पदा। स्वाच्छदं मनुजा भोजित भवने भगवन्य यत्तत्त्व(रम)॥ म। .......

30. ....... ध्मावं श्रवोतिवलं न गुरुः। सुराशाम्। न्यस्य॥ तत्क्ष्य।

31. ....... गोयान(वा)नाखिं ॥ ॥ ग(बि)भुवनजस्तपूच्छपादारविंद सार। शी॥

32. ....... लखनलं समयम्[ष*]भवः। स्वाच्छदसंतिकः। II तामनितीयः प्रभवा विभूति॥

33. ....... [ष*]व्र(वा)लोंग नस। सार। पूजयिवलं। वि(बि)कारपति(तिम)। विबि(बि)कानासदर्शने याति। भोगन्नुमितात(ताम)॥

श्रवणात् वश्यात्तीयं

1. रेट्रे: सार्दालेविक्रिचिता।
2. About 45 letters are gone at the beginning of ll. 26-31.
3. रेट्रे: आनुष्ठुबाः।
4. रेट्रे: इद्राब्रजः।
5. About 9 letters are broken off at the end of ll. 26-29.
6. लालित्री। रेट्रे: उपाधि।
7. लालित्री। रेट्रे: सुराशाम्। अन्याय।
8. About 20 aksharas are gone here.
9. रेट्रे: सर्दालिन्दा।
10. From 50 to 60 aksharas have been lost in the beginning of ll. 32-33.
34 . . . . . . . . . .

35 रिजिमणि(वस्म) । वर्गन्तज्ञानोन्तीपथिमितमिया जायत युज्य(वस्म) नरपंग-चारा(नाम) । तदन्त्रभाङ्गसमापया(वस्म) नामोचरैन लभे न तপोभा-

36 जेतुः। तीर्थपन्नभक्तिसाधने राज्विजितविनिविनितन विद्य[ता]ङ्ख(चाम)। तदन्त्रभाङ्ग-काधने न समार्थं देवसामर्थ्यार्थस्य न लोपित। लाभजिती तेषु सुधु दुरापा-लाभोन राष्ट्रराजं रश्बर तृतिणं(चाम)। यावजीवं पालकवैतितिष्टितमोऽहुःअः(वस्म)-

37 किं इत्यतीक्ष्यं तथा भ्रान्त: प्रभृति-पुष्करणिः(चव)लक्ष्यमविदमित । वाच्यायं विज्ञ-लापानायोरिपाः हन्तोऽदातविवाश्चलविदति । विज्ञातिधीर्मिर्मानममानुसायं गुरुं प्रवर्तितमक्षेऽनरां शास्त्रिणविदमित । यथं अत्रं भ्रान्तं हरिश्व सच्चमं रचार्थस्यानुभवमिति

38 सुदर्शनार्थं(वस्म)। भावा धनरूपकोिषिजयं धनुषं प्रदायं ह्यमादिकं रविश्वमय । नरो विद्याजीवं परमाराजिः। विज्ञाशि:पाणिः। यदुः प्रवाहिं । तीर्थनं पितरोपव-थानां साहित्य भावा च ज्वाला विद्वानः श्रादिः। कोंडः पितरूः नियतः(त) पवि-कोिके(कै)ति दिशं रिद्धं पर्वतितः

39 चाँ(वस्म)। गिरिपायं दिशं वाजिमिति दीर्घं समाचारं चक्रीयक्ष्यावाहैत। नरो निममाध्यागानवं समस्तसंरक्षणानां समात्तानन्तरमिते ज्ञातं धन्यरूप। या रच कलिकारं वर्णप्रमृत्तमक्षेपानं ज्ञानेरः। सा तथ्यांकलिपितविद्वाति संनिध्यं

कालं मनुष्यसंसारं(लस)। बुरारी च बुरारी-

1 About a dozen akeharas may have been lost here.
2 Metre : Gtri.
3 Metre of this and the next verse : Upajati.
4 Metre : Anuṣṭubh.
5 Metre : Śūgāṭha.
6 Metre : Śālāṭa.
7 Metre : Uṣṭubh.
8 Metre : Vasantaśaṭa.
9 Metre : Indrajyāra.
10 Metre : Raktivedhāta.
40 समाप्तिता निकटतीस्व वेण्यचार्य सा। सुभिक्षेत्रभोगमासनभिषिदा संक्रियधारणात्
विद्यानिद्रिकां गुणां(शाम)। कालिपुरबुन्वतु(क)माणार्गकर्जाव(क)नो। संगे न
गणय्यलुभैंमेनुस्त्र(क)मुनिदेवता। राज्यमिक्राणांकः तीर्थसमनुसारिकः।

41 प्राप्ताल् मलंः खलु सुग्रीवान प्रगाहतः शाष्पि न दूरसंश्च। [मो]चबुचे
समसामाय दश्यध(व)प्रत्या महीम्भूतः। दुर्मायोधि महेर्निमोहः। चुलभः प्रदुः
विषावः। चौरमनोविध वद्विस्वस्वः तीर्थः साचार्येर्वर्म प्रवट्यहार्व(म)। तस्मातः
विशिष्ट्रकोज्यपव(झ)राज्यवल्याधानाः। दशकंधारः।

42 रिः। एकार्षीसास्वपंसाभला। तीर्थः शृंखलयं दशकंधारः। सुग्रीवानां काँपणां
रक्षा करोति तीव्रा ग्रहसारिकित्। त्यत्संसिधि मासिक नरो निमज्जा(क्व)।
चौरमनोविध दशकंधारः(सिम)। रल्ल्याप्रसच्छ गोरीङ्गोधि कोत्त्वमायाति तदन्तरः
राबन। संक्रियधारणाय सगिराविधान।

43 रैति वः। लभले वितरसुशः सुग्रीवमायनमुद्वभः(शाम)। चौरमस्रच्छ जसपतीसिद्धा
िन्दूरवापी सुक्तप्रप्रता। सा। यथा विमुक्ते विकालोकनेन विजिलं नाकां
समुपर्वति सुन्य(सिम)। कुम्भवापी सुक्तप्रप्रवंधपुरेण पूर्व्यां विश्वानोविधाः।
देवस्य सीतारायणस्य पार्श्व दान्ति च। यथा। कुसळाधि

44 सुन्धि।। काणे नीचियिन्नि न चापि साम्या नो चारका नो पुरी तहसुखः
भर प्रयातित भवान वासेन निमायुः। यथा अस्मेक्ष्मदितः(को)त्या विन्दुः
भूमिधरः। चौरमस्रच्छ पदार्बिवेद्यागलस्यागम सम्बाबामः। जगविमाणनार्वे
सवन कुम्भवः। गन्द्रवदः।

45 साचार्येर्वर्म प्रचलिक्य। प्राणी सर्वविश्वरो नित्य स प्राम्य निरीविधः।
पोडङ्ग कालिन मध्यः तः कपालुपालित। चौरमस्रच्छ करिण्य धेष्टहादा
साहतः। प्राणी पद्य सुगुरां पुराण। सशय(स्थ)कः। शुद्धिनिर्मोर्धार्जितेण धृस्ताच
द्वथ प्रसिद्ध:। प्रसिद्धि सुग्रीवर्मनामस्य मिन्यं शिवाम।

1 Metro : Drutavilambita.
2 Metro : Anushṭubh.
3 Metro : Upaniṣṭi.
4 Read राजीः पन्नश्चात्.
5 Metro of this and the next verse : Upaniṣṭi.
6 Metro : Indravajra.
7 Metro of this and next verse : Anushṭubh.
8 Metro : Śārdravikrīḍita.
9 Metro of this and the next three verses : Upaniṣṭi.
46. साविकिषिपते । शिववत्सल: । शिवासे ये शिवलमातपि शिवलाये ते ।

47. मापृष्टिश्चिपि वसलसुभिन: । साविकिषिपिरुपरा पिलिता वि: (वि) भावः । देवं शः ।

48. परिवर्त्तः मात्रादान: (सत्य) । शीरामवर्णिषिपियो । पुष्पमीला वसल: । गिरीन्द्रसानी ।

49. कार्तिक सकलं बैलेक्षमध्ये नरपशोभ्याजालकरालकावदमनो वर्धायिकाविषिपि: ।

50. — शिवश्रापति: शुद्धव(व) इंगहस्त(सम) । इत्यत्वे मात्राजयवर्यवकरः चित्तावन: नर:

51. ममर्मन्तरात धनोवर्षिषिपि: (वि) संयंक्त: (वि) नकांडिराजनयानायातिके लक्षण: ।

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1 Perhaps शुद्धव is intended here. [This reading would involve a sandhi with the preceding word which would spoil the metre. I would suggest -dolam-sibh dantena gudram-nayan as the intended reading.—Ed.]

2 Metro: सौर्धुकश्रीशस्त्र.

* Read सौर्धुकश्रीशस्त्र.

3 Metro: श्रृवणद्वाराय.

* Metro: श्रृवणद्वाराय.

4 Metro of this and the following verse: Anukhyāta.

5 Metro of this and the next verse: श्रृवणद्वाराय.
52 नाचमिति सायणाय सारामिति || शहाचरिणे दमकंठगोविलेको शुभे: खतु
— ओ मर्ये: परां कारे न करोरव भीति कावतास्तमःः संभन्तिठाईर
नूति। । । महावा महावा प्रभुमार्दामसं जगणुवा(वा)रामाजम सिरै: नर:
सुरंद्रकिरणीपीतामुखपापामुऽ(पैंत) भिन- ।

53 ल्यं(ल्यम)॥ वी०(भौ)गराममध्यममन्तन निरुज्जा सौरावपि(वि)लावसरणं: शरणे सुररें: ।
भोगा(भोवभस्व)श्रवर्त्तज्विव्वाद्यात्मस्यमय्युतित्वार्ज:॥ दरा प्रहटसमुहत्रमामनतमभवति
तेन गुजारमतिन्तुर्तुधवं च विकंतु: । प्राप्तीय वर्धिदि
कि न तु देवा[जो] — — ।

54 भूतर्थाकोरुद्रसंपि सौराधि || वीर्यस्थ्रम प्राप्तः पलयि मर्ये: एव नस्यर्थ वि श्रवणे
पाणि: । विशेषत्वेति दुरा मंद्रमुखादिलैरभवेद्यमानः॥ जगण्यांनदन्तये
दानमीये श्रीमान्याविवर्धरामयुतशु(वा) । श्रीरामदेव्य प्राप्तवश स्वरूप नस्यार्थकृि
(क्ष)व्यतर्श्च(चीर्घ:॥

55 देव चीरसुन्दजन ग(क्ष)जगामतसङ्गितावस्तवति भासार्दशहाश्विव्वृत्तपथमि काराकारकः
वैलोक्तारिदशकंकडशत्रुष्कर्षेष्वशवताति पा — — — — — —
तेन चैलोक्तात्मके नमः॥ । देव चीरसुद्रसंगितेल्हरी[वि]संथ्य बलबीते तत्साध-
तरण — — ।

56 — — विचारसमः नमः । वीराभाय चनूमः द्विनाभोजाङ्गविधप्रसामेऽ श्री
जनकविबन्धोत्तमवान्देशः[श]दय च ॥ देव लो द्वारसुदुष्णिपथ । — — — — — — — —
दरावतसुदुरत्रभिप्रामानितकदेव मनसस्मृति: । तत्त्वा[ला]परी
विनिवियांर्तिभिनिताशब्दः — — ।

57 — भस्ता(?)लक्ष्माृजायार्धयभागालापादाधु(श)क(वा)(जमः)॥ देव लो गिरिपाद्यपि(वि)-
लक्ष्माृजातिपिन्तारी — — — — — — — — — निधि(वि)स चैलोक्तानामाचरं थापि
— सहस्रपूर्णचिम — — — मे नमः ॥ — — — —

¹ Metre of this and the following verse : Upajati.
² Metre of this and the next verse : Vasantabola.
³ Metre of this and the next verse : Upajati.
⁴ Metre of this and the next seven verses : Śāradāśāṅkhyā.
58 विश्वरूपजगन्नीतायाजिगंतिन्युर्भविकल्पक्षणम् संस्मार्दतो नायमस्वते।

59 चोमुज्जां लिङ्गसः (साम)। कृत्यः जगदित्वादिमुखसमार्थनः भवोपरिति नीति च। प्राधिकार क्षणे।

60 प्रतिष्ठ विशु नौकीर्तिवन्दनार्यः भगवान्देः मृदे नियमः। देव लोक पुष्यं

61 रामदेवे ये कृति मल्लः पतिव्रती;।।सिद्धिविलुप्तिः भजते तत्य य

62 ला। बासे वा (बा) लसमुद्र एव विलस्वेवलयाकामिल

63 दुर्लभो लाभते कान रो न हि सिद्धः विश्वजीवः।

1 Metre: Anushṭubh.
2 Metre: Śārdaśālmukhyāktaka.
3 About 40 aksharas are gone here.
4 Metre: Indrāśvatāra.
5 Lines 64-75 are too much mutilated to be transcribed here. Lines 69 and 71 mention one Mādāva and line 70 has चार्या वल्लभाच्य वष स. which shows that the inscription was intended to record something done by Mādāva by the order of Rāghava—perhaps some repairs to the temple of Lakṣmīnāraṇa.

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

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

Each plate is $10\times5\frac{1}{2}$" in size. The whole grant runs into 45 lines. A circular hole with a diameter of about $\frac{3}{8}$" is found in all the three plates. There is neither any ring nor any Royal seal attached to the set at present. The first and third plates are written on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. As regards orthography the record has no peculiarity worth mentioning.

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

The donation was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to Bhavavāmi-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśnudatta-gōtra, who was well versed in the Vaidika literature and who was the son of Paśupatisārman and grandson of Yaśiṣṭarman. The donation was of a village (?) in a certain viśhaya. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Rakta pura.

The writer was Niravadya–Puṇyavallabha. We know that in the reign of Vinayāditya the Mahāsaṁdhivigrāhika was one Rāma–Puṇyavallabha. But in the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita alias Udayadeva-Paṇḍita, a Jaina to whom Vijayāditya granted a village. Niravadya–Paṇḍita who was of the Mula–Sāṁgha was the spiritual guide of Vinayāditya.

The inscription opens with Śevastī followed by a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then it successively refers to the famous Maṇava-gōtra, the descendent from Hāriti of the Chalukyas who were guarded by the Seven Mothers, the receipt of a banner bearing the figure

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3. *[According to my reading of lines 35-37 the name of the village granted would be Tārāvadra which was situated in Tēllāṭ-dātra, a district in Navaśāri-viśhaya. I read the portion as follows:—

35 तारावद्राह नवाशारिविहवें तेल्लाददाराह 
36 कीर्तीकारस्यकालायतुष्टीमयायान्त्राक्षरे ताराय[ु]भन्ते—
37 मावार(मृ) वायुवदनमेव विषाणादिनेन देनं—* N. L. R.]

4. This Rakta pura was a famous place in the times of the Western Chalukya kings. Vinayāditya issued a grant from this place. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 112. Vikramāditya II issued one more grant in 656 Śaka, cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 15 that the name Niravadya, which seems to have been a biruda, originally of Vijayāditya, was assumed by the writer of his grants.—N. L. R.]
of a Boar on it through the favour of Vishnu, etc., as found in most of the other grants of this dynasty.

The genealogy begins with Pulakasii-Vallabha (I) who had purified his limbs with the holy waters at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by him. Then his son, the famous Kirttivarman (II) who had defeated the kings of Vanavasi, is referred to. Then we find mentioned his son Satyasastra, otherwise famous as Pulakasin (II) who bore the additional titles Maharaaja-dhiraja and Paramesvara; the last-mentioned title he obtained by defeating Harshavarman. Then comes his 'favourite' son Vikramaditya (I). Mounted on the back of his favourite steed Chitrakanta and with only a sword in hand he is said to have retrieved the fortune of his father which had been taken away by the alliance of three kings. He also broke down the power of the Pandyas, Cholas, Keralas and Kalabhras, and made the king of Kannchi bow down in reverence to him. Then is mentioned Vinayaditya, who is also stated to have subdued the triple alliance. He subdued the kings of Kaveri, Parasika and Srinavasa and by defeating the king of the north acquired the emblems of greatness such as the Palidheva, etc.

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

TEXT. 

First Plate.

1 स्वसः [18] जयजयचिरन्ते विषोविग्रहाय बाहितालखव [19] द्विवरनेरत- 
   दंग्रपापिन्यालभुवनि [20] वपु: [19] शी-

2 माता लक्षमस्वरस्यमानन्यक्षागीर्यां समकामादर-

3 समवात्स्माधिरभिसितानं कालिकानियेपविचित्रमक्षापपाणिराणं भवनं-

4 बारायणप्रसादसमाधितिवराजसाताक्षेण चणचणक्षाज्ञश्लेषेश्वरेष्टानां

5 कालिकानं कुलनाराविशाक्षामिथिविधिविधानामन्यन्तिकाचतुर्थ शीमुकेिगिणि-

6 वहमहाराजस् चूत्परकाकाशाश्वन्यावस्यानियपियस्मिन्तप्रिक्षिव

7 हवियुक्कीसौति काळिकायन्तिकृष्णश्वायमस्त्यान्यज्ञकम् 4

8 सुलकालोतरायेवजां हरिकंक्षेण हरियोपायपरस्मदशयद्या 5

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1 His title Satyasastra is not given here, unlike in Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73.
2 From the original plates.
3 Read bhuvanath.
4 Read 'aya samara'. [This emendation is unnecessary as the reading of the text in II. 3-9 is correctly paramesvara-labda-laksmi.—Ed.]
5 Read 'astra-Harshavarman'.
9 [ह]ख सत्याय सीवीविवाहमार्गाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतमनः
10 क्ष प्रदा[त]नयस्य कहमात्रसहायस्य विचकारातिभाषानः ब्रह्मतुलिनः
11 जैनेवालातिश्रीमातिविश्वकर्मणागसुरतिविनासानिः खुरोः ग्रिमाभासः
12 तृत्य(ला) प्रभावकुशिषद्वितितपाश्रीकेशपका धयानरथिभुक्तदच्चविः
13 ऋषभायान्त्रकाचरितपुकुट्युतिपादानुजः विक्रमादिकः

Second Plate; First Side.

14 सत्याय बीवीविवाहमार्गाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियस्कृते पिन
15 तुराजश्च बालेनदुशेखरस्य तारारातिरिति दैवबलमतिसुमहत् जैराज्ञानः
16 बौधपुत्रविवाहवत्त्यार्त्यकर्तीकस्य सिंहकर्तिधिपिपिपिपिणकः सच
17 वौताराजपनाध्यायोपासिनीश्रीविशेषांष्टमात्रादिकाधिकस्मस्स्वपरमेश्वरे चिन्हः
18 विनयावदितस्तावत्स्यन्नीविवाहमार्गाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य ब्रह्मदारकः
19 प्रियालज्ञश्रीवर्ग वाचिगताशिलशक्तशानी दशिनामागविषयिनः पितामहे
20 समुप्रभुत्वतिविचित्रकर्मः सह[ति]हृतराघवः[जि]गोष्ठमुरुररागत प्रवाहः
21 ब्यापारमहाराजश्रीविशेषां श्रीमाण्डलयाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिकाधिक्षणः
22 गेत्रसर्वः[क्ष]प्रसर्वकः पराहुः स्वातात्त्ववस्मादात्त्वमापिकर्कानः
23 पत्त[ह]ःदक्षमहास्वाधिकारिणि प्रभणज्ञतुषः साक्षरंवर्गः[इ]पलायमानः
24 राजाय कामाय विधिविधापद्यनीतीय प्रतापादित्य विश्वकृषीप्रमारकः
25 सुभाषिकर्मराज विपान्तिचतुररसहायकस्वाधिकारिणि ख्या

Second Plate; Second Side.

26 भुजार्थमहामातिश्रीविषमथर्भुमर्भुरड़धितस्याऽणः
27 लाल्पुमद्वंदोत्तरुद्रालावकलायुजसमस्मृतना

1 Read *purōh.
2 Read *aśabhātīrṇa.
3 Read *jāhākāh.
4 Read *vishaya.
36 षु - प्रथिम - ॥ सीमा ॥
37 विज्यादिनेम दत्त: तदापादिकियम\textsuperscript{1}
38 स्वर्जीृत राजजीराजुक्तां बुद्धिसिंहासनः
39 लभ्य[ग\textsuperscript{2}] च्या देवराजमहुकाराण्यसिद्धिसिंहम्[ः\textsuperscript{3}] स्वर्जितः
40 नितिपित शर्म परिपालनीयमुक्तः भवात् बेदरासिन्य व्यासेन [\textsuperscript{4}]
41 वहुमिन्दुकार्य भुक्ता जजाधिपकारिदिसिंहम् [भि: या] यथा यथा य-(
42 दा भूमिस्थत् तथा तदा फलो (नम) [\textsuperscript{5}] स्वतःमहाभिक्षककुंभनः
43 मन्य पालनाः (नम) [\textsuperscript{6}] दान वा पालनं चेति दानाक्षेरस्यपुलसनाः (नम) [\textsuperscript{7}]
44 खरंत्यो ग्रंथां वा यो चर्त वस्मारो (राम) [\textsuperscript{8}] धर्मर्थसत्त्वसृषिणि विषयम्
45 यां जायते कामिः [\textsuperscript{9}] वीनिरवधाम्यमुहस्वयम्भनम् लिखितमिति गायनं [\textsuperscript{10}]

\textsuperscript{1} Read "bhāṣṭri".
\textsuperscript{2} Reading doubtful. [It is गवित—N. L. R.]
\textsuperscript{3} Read Purusha"
\textsuperscript{4} The order of the words in the compound is incorrect.
\textsuperscript{5} [See note 3 on p. 21.—Ed.]
\textsuperscript{6} Read "śaṁ/śūla=cha."
No. 4.—ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA : SAKA 663.

By S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A., NEW DELHI.

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

The plates are two in number, each measuring in the middle roughly 6 inches in length and 4½ inches in breadth. They are joined together by a copper ring which is oval in shape, being roughly 1½ inches in length and 1¼ inches in breadth. The letters, which are engraved with fair accuracy, vary in size from 8th to 3rd of an inch. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and the engraving is fairly deep, though the letters do not appear on the other side except in a few cases. The edges of the plates are thickened only very slightly, so that the first plate is worn out in the middle of the upper edge though no damage is thereby caused to any letters. The copper ring which joins the two plates together has a seal attached to it, on which appears a winged figure sitting cross-legged. The figure must be of Garuḍa who usually appears on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa seals. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is throughout written in prose, except for the imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 23 to 28) which are usually found near the end. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following r is generally duplicated (cf. Dantidurga, l. 8; antaryagata and vinyagata, ll. 13 and 14; Adhavarga, l. 14; utarpapamāthka, l. 17). A certain amount of laxity in rules relating to sandhi, etc., is also observable.

The palaeographical peculiarities found in this inscription mark it out from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions like the Multāli and Tiwarkheda plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura,1 the Bhāndak plates of Krisharāja 1st, which, according to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, have characters belonging to the “Northern class of alphabets”. On the other hand, a comparative study of this record with some of the Valabhi and Southern Gujarāt plates betrays their closest affinity in palaeographical details. Thus the Ilāo (Broach District) plates of Dadda II-Prasaṇantarāga,2 Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa,3 Āntrōli-Chāhārōli plates of Karka II (dated Saka 679)4 and Baroda plates of Suvarṇavarsha (dated Saka 734)5 bear a much closer resemblance with the present record than the first-mentioned three grants from the Bāṭūl and Chāndā Districts. Special attention may be drawn to the form of the letter ɛ (l. 10), which could easily be mistaken for ‘gu’ or ‘l’, but is obviously meant to be of the same type as is found in Īlāpur-āchaḷa, etc., of the Baroda-plates.

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

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2 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.
6 Ind. Auth., Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. Also cf. the Valabhi plates illustrated in Ind. Auth., Vol. XIV, facing p. 828; above, Vols. XI, XIII and XXII, facing pp. 106, 339 and 118 respectively, etc.
7 Ind. Auth., Vol. XII, plate facing p. 158, text l. 14.
from, and probably recorded at, Badarikā-vāsaka, though it was originally made at Ėlapura (Ēlapura) by the donor after bathing in the Guhōsvara tirtha. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is the earliest dated record of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty so far known. The inscription is dated in the (Saka) Sānvat 663, Āśvina Śuddha trayōdaśi, Sōma-vāra. According to S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris the date is not regular either for Saka 663 current or for 663 expired. The details cited, however, regularly correspond to Monday, the 17th September 742 A.D., in the Śaka year 664 expired. The present inscription, whose authenticity can be borne out by the palaeographical test, is thus dated 12 years earlier than the Sāmangad plates of Dantidurga,1 which are dated in the Śaka year 675. The genuineness of the latter has been called in question by scholars like Dr. Sukthankar2 and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,3 who base their arguments mainly on palaeographical grounds, which are, however, ‘hardly convincing’ to Dr. A. S. Altekar, ‘when the difference is only of a few decades.’4 One may not perhaps fully agree with Dr. Altekar in his doubts as regards the validity of the palaeographical test, which has always to reckon the district in which the inscription is found, the district in which the grant is given and the personality of the writer; but one cannot set aside the Sāmangad inscription altogether, especially in view of the possibility that it might have been copied from an earlier and authentic inscription which really gave the correct date of Dantidurga (viz., S. 675). The present record also bears out Dr. Altekar’s suggestion that at any rate “there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga being a ruling prince in 753-4 A.D.”5

Another point to be considered is regarding the titles that were borne according to this inscription by Dantidurga and his predecessors, Karka and Indra. All the three bear only feudatory titles, such as Saṇadhigata-pañcha-mahākabala and Mahāśāmantaśāhapati. Thus Dantidurga had not as yet assumed the imperialistic titles which appear in the Sāmangad plates. No doubt he bears in this record the title of Prithivēśvalabha, but that may signify at best his increased importance. It is true that the title Prithivēśvalabha was often borne, along with Śrīvalabha, by kings of the Imperial lines of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas; but while the latter title, like the simpler Vallabha, was exclusively a suzerain’s title, the former, viz., Prithivēśvalabha, was borne also by important feudatories. Thus in c. 645 A.D. Chandrāditiya, the eldest son of Pulakēśin II, is styled Prithivēśvalabha and Mahārāja. About a century later, i.e., in or before 739 A.D., the same title Prithivēśvalabha was conferred upon Pulakēśin (the repeller of the Tājikas) along with other titles, viz., Avanijanaśraya, Daksīhi-pañchāśāhāra-Charukākukāłākāra, etc., by Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra who evidently was his suzerain.6 Dantidurga also seems to have defeated certain enemies, before 742 A.D., since he is said in this inscription to have obtained victory in many battles. One may therefore suggest that he too was honoured by Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra with the title Prithivēśvalabha in recognition of his service in some battles, possibly fought in collaboration with Pulakēśi-Avanijanaśraya. The date of the present record is only three years later than the date of Pulakēśin’s record. The connection of the Rāshtrakūṭa predecessors of Dantidurga with Gujarāt is borne out by the fact recorded in the Sanjan and other inscriptions that the mother of Dantidurga (called Bhavavanā in the Bhāndak plates of Krīśnārāja)7 was a Chālukya princess who was carried away by Indrarāja from Khētaka-maṇḍapa in accordance with the Rākshasa form

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2 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5.
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.
4 *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 33-34, footnote 11.
5 Ibid.
7 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 124, text l. 19.
of marriage. Further, the connection of Dantidurga with Southern Gujarāt is perhaps betrayed by the fact that one or probably all of the donees of the present grant hailed from Navasārikā. Lastly, as shown above, close palaeographical examination of this inscription confirms this connection, for the inscription was probably engraved somewhere in South Gujarāt. Thus, there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga helping Pulakēśi-Avanijanāśraya, when the Tājikas were penetrating into Dakshināpatha at Navasārikā, though it has to be admitted that this is nothing more than a supposition.

When did this scuffle between the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Tājikas take place? Several scholars have averred that it must have taken place soon after 734 A.D., when Junayd under Caliph Hisham carried raids into the dominions of the Hindu kings. But it seems to me that the Chālukyan skirmishes with the Tājikas did not take place before 731 A.D., since Pulakēśi-Avanijanāśraya who claims for himself the credit for repulsing the Tājikas, did not come to the throne till after A.D. 731, for an inscription of Vijayāditya Janāśraya Yuddhamalla Mangalarāja, the elder brother of Pulakēśin, is dated in that year. Pulakēśin must have, therefore, encountered the Arabs sometime between 731 A.D. and 739 A.D., i.e., probably in the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733 A.D. to 746 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya was probably the Sri-Vallabhakarēndra who conferred titles on both Pulakēśin and Dantidurga. The assumption of the title Prithivivallabha and the biruda Khadgaśaloka on the part of Dantidurga shows, at any rate, that he had materially added to the dignity and prestige of the Rāshtrakūtas before this grant was issued; while the issue of a land grant itself shows a certain amount of independence enjoyed by Dantidurga.

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

- Dantivarman (A.D. 615-40).
- Indra-Priyehhakarāja (640-65).
- Gövindarāja (665-90).
- Karka I (690-715).
- Indra I (715-35).

Dantidurga (A.D. 735-57); known dates, A.D. 742 and 754.

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

Karka I.

- Dhruva.
- Indra I.
- Krīṣṇa I.
  - 758, 768 and 772 A.D.
- Nannarāja.

- Gōvinda.
- Dantidurga.
  - 742 and 754 A.D.
- Śaṅkaragaṇa.
  - 793 A.D.

Karka II.

- 757 A.D.

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

A verse in the Sāmangad plates possibly connects early activities of Dantidurga with the Mahānṛti and the Rāvān as also with the Mahānādi. But this does not necessarily show that he was connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Berār. He might have led an expedition and gained a victory on the bank of the Mahānādi. As regards Dantidurga's revolt against the Vallaśa, it is possible to hold that it did not take place till the death of Vikramaditya II who had bestowed on him the title Prithivivallabha, while the accession of Kirtivarman II in circa 747 A.D. probably gave an impetus to his desire to catch hold of the royal sceptre, which he did, according to the Dāśāvatāra cave, Sāmangad and many other inscriptions, by means of daṇḍa or daṇḍabala. In view of this definite statement of the use of force, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Altekar's suggestion that 'the overthrow of the Chāluṅka emperor was brought about by strategem or treachery.' The very fact that Kirtivarman II was alive at least until 757 A.D. shows that very probably there was no intrigue against him, but that he was defeated in a regular battle by Dantidurga, who had raised the standard of rebellion in consequence of the weakness of the central authority. Another fact that I should mention here is about the reading Sandhabhūpa found in l. 10 of the Dāśāvatāra record, which Dr. Bhagwanlal reads as: daṇḍen-āiva jignaya Vallaśa-balaṇi yah Sandhabhūpudhipam. According to Dr. Altekar, Sandhabhūpa ** is obviously a mistake for Sīndhubhūpa **. But

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1 Altekar, op. cit., p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 39.
3 Ibid., p. 39.
then, it would mean that Dantidurga conquered the overlord of the kings of Sind. The correct reading, so far as I can see from the ink-estampages of the Daśavatāra inscription, kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakrabarti, is: daṇḍa-yaiva jīvyā Vallabha-priṣṭha (= vah sarca-bhupādhipam, etc.), that is: ‘‘He conquered Vallabha, the king of all kings by means of force.’’ We may here note that Ballara ‘‘signifies king of kings,’’ according to Ibn Khurdadh, Al-Idrisi, etc.,1 There is thus no question of Dantidurga conquering Sinda according to this reading.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Badarikā whence this record was issued probably lies as indicated by the palaeography of the record, somewhere in southern Gujarāt, though an alternative that the writer who inscribed the record might have hailed from that region is not altogether barred out. Navasārīkā is the famous Nausāri (Baroda), while Ėlāpura2 is the famous Ellora, where Dantidurga built the Daśavatāra cave temple as can be inferred from his inscription found in that cave, and where his successor Krishṇa built the Kailāsa temple. As regards the Ghuṣvārā-tūra, which, according to this inscription, seems to be in Ėlāpura, one may suggest that this Iśvara of the cave (guhā) is none else but Gṛiṣṇāvāra of Ellora,3 one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. Chandanapuri is the same as the modern Chandanpuri a small town on the Girna river, three miles to the south-west of Malegaum, and about forty-five miles to the north-west of Ellora while Pippalāla is the same as the modern Pimplā 12 miles south-east of Chandanpuri, and about 33 miles from Ellora. Since Pippalā changes into Pimpal in Marāṭhī, there is little phonetic difficulty with regard to the equation Pippalā—Pimpral. This geographical consideration therefore suggests that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory included at least the Aurangābād District and parts of Nasik and Khāndes Districts as early as 742 A. D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Elliot’s History of India, Vol. I., pp. 13, 75, 86, 88, etc. [To me the reading appears to be Vallabha(raja)sa.(vīra)jī.] Is arasa here to be taken as the Kanarese form of rāja as in Viṭṭaras (Vishnurāja) — Ed.

2 For the history of its name and the traditions connected with it vide A. S. W. I., Vol. V., p. 26, footnote. I may point out another tradition narrated in the Bhāmnapuruṣa, Ch. 103 (Gautami-Māhācinta), according to which Iḷapura owes its name to king Ila. The story says that Ila changed his sex on entering the forest called Umāvana due to a curse of Śiva and came to be known as Iḷa. Wishing to regain her former sex Iḷa worshipped Śiva on the banks of the river Gautamī (Godāvari) in the forests of Daṇḍaka. She succeeded and hence the town established there came to be known as Iḷapura. The tūra, according to Dr. Burgess, ‘‘was originally at the caves’’ (A. S. W. I., Vol. V., p. 4).

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

Vide: क्षिप्रीया त्य बेदार्थे धर्मेन त्य मित्रायेवे।
क्षिप्राधिकारिकाधिकारिक राजायोवस्त्रः व आन्तरधार्मिक्।
वेदेऽन्तरानन्तरविभाब्यं श्रीव्रत्तिरः मया तस्मिन्॥

4 Expressed by a symbol.

6 न्याय चरिकाचायीद्वेषसंघठणापथसमरसंघठलः
7 अविषेधः(यः) समधित्यतप्येकश्चायमहामायामायानतिवर्णितः
8 प्रो(दृ)योगोविश्वर्षभाषान्य(लो)काषोदद्नितुसरधोः कृयाली
9 स्वर्णीव राजासम्बन्धीगुप्ताविप्यपतिराध्रुवकस्वतः
10 विकारिकादेव(नूः) समाजाप्यवस्थू वीयित्य यथा यथा एव(ला)पुरं
11 अविशेषतः चविःजुधवायादोऽस्स्त्रू यादनात(दृ) प्रचरः
12 कः परतारुकमपेत्रवर्षोऽकाल(वृक्षपेक्षा) महत्वकतः च खुला चन्द्रपुरिः
13 चतुराक्षेत्राया(रथी)रसम्यपिप्पलायान्य नाम ग्राम[ः*] नवसारि-
14 काव्यिकमोर्च्चग्रजः[जः]सन्तोऽत्वावश्यादिलः
15 भद्राय तथा मातुः तथा [गो]विवर्षस्य(भ्यो) मुख्यार्थी-

Second Plate.

16 श्रेष्ठानेन चविःमवर्षेनविविव्याहयीविदिचिह्नः(श्री)योः
17 कार्यीचालः समातिप्रीताराजमन्त्र पुष्करीविहिः
18 मनी(हृ)वहिय पिप्पलायान्य ग्रामः[ः*] प्रतिपादितः यतः[ः*] चछाटमप्रवेशः[ः*] च-
19 अन्तरसिद्धिः[ः*] स्वयंसारसम्बन्धः[ः*] यतोऽकालः[ः*]केश(त्यो)रुसेन्याँ भोगनुः
20 प्रतिपितः(भाविकप्राप्तिपितः)ः नलवेष्कुषकहोस्सिदारसरस्सारजवलुद्वीरोपमैः जीवितं
21 स्वाधिक चविःहोयथ्युपालनः[ः*] प्रतिपादित्यतथः यो वाला-

1 The epithet "anēka-chāturādanta-gaja-ghaṭ-āśopa-samara-saṅghaṭa-labdha-vijayā" is also found in the Khāmkhēj plates of the time of Pratāpaśila, edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (Supra, Vol. XXII, p. 90). The letters being partly illegible, the editor has read them as: 'anēka-cha[tu]rda[nta-ga[ja-ghaṭa] [pr̥aptat*-]vijayā.' In the Khāmkhēj plates there is no room for so many syllables after ghaṭa.—Ed.) But the present record has a greater similarity with the Bagumāra grant of Nikumbhālāsakti Āśendrakā (Prithivivallabha) than with the Khāmkhēj plates. Cf. 1nd. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 267.—Mērumahidhara-vijaya-sthira-ruchira-samunvatā vikasita-mahati yaśasi (vikasita-yaśasi mahati) Āśendraka-rājaṁ-anvaye yaśaka-chāhu[ntu]rādhanta-gaja-gha[t]āśopa-sam[a]ra-saṅghaṭa-labdha-vijayā, etc. (The reading cited here will be found slightly different from the one given by Būhhēr.) The writer of our inscription thus seems to have before him a Āśendrakā record, which he blindly copied till he inscribed the words: "vikasita-yaśasi mahati so ṣa", as if he had to write 'Śendraka-
2 rájāṁ-anvaye' Immediately after he wrote 'ṣa', however, it seems to have dawned upon him that this deed belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūtās and not to the Āśendrakās. So he inserted an obviously unnecessary word "Indrārājā[ḥ]āṇyā"-anvaye." After stating that Dantidurgā belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūtā family and that he was a son of Indrāraja it was not certainly necessary to add that he was a member of Indrārāja's family.
2 The letter la is incised below the line. It was evidently omitted at first by mistake and was supplied later on. The bākapada sign over the foregoing la indicates the omission.
3 Bhūgopati is the same as Bhūgika, a governor of a bhūki.
No. 5.—BIHSHUNIS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

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

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

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

The Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśoka go to prove that the Buddhist community was constituted in the 3rd century B.C., precisely as in the Buddha’s time, of bhikshus, bhikshunīs, upāsakas, and upāsikās. The text of Aśoka’s ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṅgha fomented by bhikhus as well as bhikshunīs (c bhūmi kho bhikhū vā bhikhuni vā saṅghain bhākhāi).6 Thus the bhikshunīs had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of unity or division in the Buddhist Fraternity.

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

2 Aśoka’s Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts; Lüders’ List, Nos. 175, 292, 341, 344, etc.
3 Lüders’ List, Nos. 163, 168, 183, 187, etc.
4 Lüders’ List, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.
5 Lüders’ List, Nos. 16, 18, 21, 23a, 24, 32, 39, 39a, 45a, 48, 50, 59a, 67, 70, 75, 80, 90, 99, 199, 121.
6 Sārnāth Pillar Edict. Cf. also Sārēhā and Kauśāmbī Pillar Edicts.
and the Mahāvaniya. The Dipavamṣa informs us that Aśoka’s son and daughter, Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign. The renowned Dharmapālā was, according to the Mahāvamiya, Saṅghamitrā’s preceptor (upajjhāyā), and Āyupālā her teacher (āchāriya). The brother and the sister, Bhikshu Mahendra and Bhikshu Saṅghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like the sun and the moon. In about the 19th or 20th year of Aśoka’s reign after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable bhikshunīs went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devanampiṭiya Tissa and taught the three Pijakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikshuni Order in the island of Lākā, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā. The Dipavamṣa immortalises the names of a few other bhikshunīs who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon. The nunery (bhikshuni-upasaya) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of bhikshunīs was known as the Upāsikā-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings. King Devanampiṭiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunery for Saṅghamitrā and other bhikshunīs round about the Thupārāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthihaka-vihāra.

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

1. That the nuns are mentioned generally as bhikshunīs or bhikshunis, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as bhadayita, bhayanita, aya (ārya) and bhadayita, a fact which may not be unreasonably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks;

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

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

4. that the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated: Ujemic (Ujjayinī), Kākandī, Kāchupatha (Kāchupatha, Kālchhipatha ?),

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1 Dipavamiya (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22; Mahāvamiya (ed. P. T. S.), V, 208.
2 Mahāvamiya, V, 208.
3 Ibid., V, 211.
4 Dipavamiya, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80; Mahāvamiya, XIX, 64-65; Sumanapālīśīlīkā, pt. I, p. 101.
5 Dipavamiya, XVIII, 14-16.
6 Mahāvamiya, XIX, 69-71.
7 Ibid., XIX, 83-83.
8 Barca, Bharhat, Bk. I, p. 45.
9 Lüder’s List, Nos. 573 (Dhamadovā, antēśānī of Mitasiri), 589 (Mūla, antēśānī of Gadjā).
10 Ibid., No. 38.
11 Such names as Arhadatā (Arhadattā), Arhadinā (Arhadattā), Isidatā, Isidinā (Rishidattā), Isidalī, Gotamī, Jitamī (Jitamitrā), Diganāḍi, (Dīnāgāḍi), Dhamarakhitā, Dhamarā, Budharakhitā, Sānghapallīā, Sānghapallīā.
12 Such names as Devabhiṣad, Chadulā, Kājī, Chinītī (Kīrītī), Yakntī, Sagarinā, Girigutā, Pusā (Pusiyā), Asabhā (Rishabhā), Gadjā (Gadjā), Vānava, Ratina, Sīra, Sihā, Surīyā.
Kāpāśigāma, Kurama, Kurara, Kuraśagīra, Chuḍāṭha, Tumbavana, Nandinagara, Pemuta, Bhokāta, Madalakākaṭa (Mandalakākaṭa), Māhiṁsati (Māhiṁmati), Moragiri, Vāṅgumata, Vāḍivahana, and Vidiśa.¹

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

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the bhikshunīs in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Jumār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (bhikshuni-upasaya) in the town for the residence of the bhikṣuṇīs of the Dharmatārīya sect.⁵ So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the Bhikṣuṇī Dhanavati, the sister’s daughter of the Bhikṣuṇī Budhhamitrā, is said to have set up a Boddhisatva image at Madhuravanaka (Mathuravana). This bhikṣuṇī is praised as one who knew the Tripitaka (Trepitaka) and introduced as the female pupil (antevāsinī) of the Bhikṣu Bala who himself was a master of the three Piṭakas (Trepitaka).⁶ It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the Bhikṣu Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvasti and Sārnāth. At Amaravati, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of bhikṣuṇīs, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāśikās. In all of them the bhikṣuṇīs, otherwise called sāmaṇikā and paravijitikā, figure as female donors.⁷ In one instance a bhikṣuṇī, called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Chetiya Vandaka Bhadanta Budhī,⁸ and in two records the bhikṣuṇīs are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly theras, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budhakhitā,⁹ and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budharakhitā.¹⁰ One inscription speaks of Vasā (Vaśī) as a paravijitikā (pravajitikā) resident in Kevarura.¹¹

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

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¹ Almost all the places were situated near about Sānchi and Bharhut.
² Lüder's List, Nos. 943, 944.
³ Ibid., Nos. 939-42.
⁵ Lüder's List, No. 1192.
⁶ Ibid., No. 38.
⁷ Ibid., Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1315.
⁸ Ibid., No. 1223.
⁹ Ibid., No. 1250.
¹⁰ Ibid., No. 1284.
¹¹ Ibid., No. 1240.
A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (=A.D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikṣūṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhātā at a monastery called Yāsūvihāra.3

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

Hitun Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana has nothing whatever to say about the bhikṣuṇīs in his Śi-yū-ki. But Bāna in his Harshacarita puts the following words in the mouth of Rājyaśri and Harshavardhana, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikṣuṇī Order, however lingering it might be:

Rājyaśri: "Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe";4

Harshavardhana: "At the end, when I have accomplished my design, she and I will assume the red garments (kūshāyāṇī) together."5

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

"Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."6

At about this time, or a little later, flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivṛtajīkā Kāmandakī among the female characters in his famous drama Mālati-Mādhava, together with her three female pupils, Avalokītī, Buddhaракṣītī, and Saudāmīnī, and Subandhu who, in his Vāsavatattā, spoke of a bhikṣuṇī as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (bhikṣukā-iva Tārānurūga-raktām-bhikṣūṇi-dhārī). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śrīparvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (chīrā-chīvara-parīkṣhodont) and lived on pīndapāta only.

Tatataragupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranāya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the bhikṣus, the bhikṣuṇīs, the śrāmaṇēras, the śrāmaṇēris, the upāsakas and the upāsikās.7 I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmanical or Buddhist, containing references to the bhikṣuṇīs in the 9th or 10th century A.D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became defunct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.8 Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

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6. This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the Mahāvamsa and the Chālavoṃsa. These two Pāli chronicles (Mahāvamsa, Ch. 18, v. 12; Ch. 19, v. 68; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 22, 49; Ch. 34, v. 36; Ch. 37, v. 43; Ch. 49, v. 43; Ch. 46, v. 27; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139; Ch. 49, v. 25; Ch. 54, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (bhikṣhuni-upasarga) in Ceylon from the time of Devānampiyā Tissa to that of King Bhumisineha (7th century A.D.), and nothing of the kind after that.
No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

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

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Erichchavudaiyur shrine in the Siva temple, situated on the northern bank of the Tamraparna at Ambasamudram, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tinnevelly District. This god who is called Tirupottuṣaiya-Bhātāra (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pāṇḍya kings Māraṇi-Jaḍaiyaṇ and Saṭaiyana-Māraṇ are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only. But when the adjacent and more imposing Kāśi-Viśvanātha temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pāṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north prakāra of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 10 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut Vaṭṭeluttu characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. Grantha letters have been used in the words Sevai Śrī (l. 1), Sūrya-grahagya (l. 11), and Brahmac (l. 12). The letters ta and ra and consequently tu and ru are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special orthographic peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chōja and Pāṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, i-aṇḍu (l. 2) for i-māṇḍu; padhṛru veli (l. 3) for pattu-veli and nāji-am (l. 15) for nāliyam. The Sanskrit words ṣāhṛṣya and śrikṛṣya are transformed into āchārchiya (l. 19) and śrikārchiya (l. 22); the colloquial form sēyda for sēyda is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the 15+5th year of the Pāṇḍya king Śoḷaṇ-ralai-konḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer Chōjaṭaka-Brahnamārāya. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse in the month of Mithuṇa in the 12th year of the Pāṇḍya king’s reign, and enables us to fix that date.

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

The predecessor of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chōja throne was Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōja, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70, and as he had a reign of about 16 years, he must have ruled from A.D. 969-970 to 985-986. As both Aditya II and Uttama-Chōja had the same title of Parakēśarivarman, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

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1 No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.
2 Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.
4 No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15+4th year, while the present record quotes the 15+5th year.
between Rājakēsari Sundara-Chōla and Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. The Uḍaiyārguḍi record dated in the 2nd year of Rājakēsarivarman (Rājarāja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōla, that he had himself countenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōla throne. The Tiruvāḷāṅgādu plates while shirring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya's death make, however, the significant remark that 'Rājarāja did not wish to succeed to the Chōla territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla coveted it.' These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōla's actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 960-70.

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

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

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1 No. 577 of 1920 and ante, Vol. XXII, p. 165.
4 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Colaś, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.
5 No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruvējilmadūr, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that he destroyed Vira-Pāṇḍya and took his head (Vira-Pāṇḍiya eriau talai kōṇa).
7 No. 291 of 1906: ante, Vol. XII, p. 126.
9 No. 223 of 1915. Pārthi-vēndravarman's identity with Āditya II himself or with Prithvipati II seems doubtful.
10 No. 129 of 1907.
As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Vira-Pándya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were:—

1. A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
2. A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and

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

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

| Vira-Pándya's  | Vira-Pándya's 20th year | Āditya's    | Āditya's |
| 12th year.     | =Āditya's 2nd year.     | accession. | accession. |
| 1              | 959                    | 957        | 956      | 938      |
| 2              | 959                    | 966        | 965      | 947      |
| 3              | 960                    | 967        | 968      | 948      |

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

Ⅰ As there is only one record of the 15+5th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.

Ⅱ Three records of Āditya II from Uḍayār-guḍi in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.


Ⅳ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pándya king. We have no means of determining this at present.

Ⅴ No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.
this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vīra-Pāṇḍya the Chōḷāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called ‘Poḻmāḷiṅi-tuṅiṅiṉa-dēva’ (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the Kanakasābhā)?, but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (= A.D. 973) are found for him. AriṆṆaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called ‘Aṟṟrūr-tuṅiṅiṉa-dēva’ (he who died at Āṟṟrūr); but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a pallippadai was erected for him at Mēḻpādi in the Chittoo District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called ‘Mēṟṟk-eḷiṆḍarūḷiṆa-dēva’ (he who proceeded west), but he could not have been Vīra-Pāṇḍya’s adversary, because, having succeeded as yuvarāja-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśīlī, who is mentioned in two records dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka’s reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

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

As regards the subject-matter of the record, it is stated that in the 15+5th year of Sōḷaṅ-ralai-kōṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Chōḷāntaka-Brahmārāyār, the officer of the king (adikāramkēyaṅga) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 vēli of land as kudināṅgă-dēvadānaṁ

1 That tribute he who died in the Poḻmāḷiṅi has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla’s death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removal as certainly he must have had in Āditya II’s death?


3 No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

4 Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in The Cōḷaṅs, Vol. I, have been followed.

5 Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.

6 Uttamaśīlī-chaturvēdirimangalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśīlī-vāykkil (No. 169 of 1907).

7 Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vīra-Pāṇḍya’s records are not found very much to the north of Madura.

8 In No. 122 of 1906 from Tiruppudaimarudur in the Tīnnevelly District dated in the 2+8th year of a Sādāya-Māraṇ (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vīra-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.

9 This record (No. 200 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—Madura-gūṇa G5-Parākēsari vālīvattēḻega.
made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppottudaiya-Bhaṭāra, had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription of the king dated in the 15+4th year at Suchṇḍram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chailantaka-Brahmāryar. *Chailantaka* (Death to the Chola) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chola king (Śolan-galai-koṇḍa), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chailantaka-Brahmāryar, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called ‘Chailantaka-nāḷi’ was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of *Pāṇḍumāṁtāyda,* the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaṅjaiya-Māraṇ (Rājasimha).

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

1. The officer who was supervising the king’s secretariat duties in the 12th year (*ēn-kurum-amāśīchhi mēl-duttī sekgirga*) was Tamijavēḷaṇ belonging to Kaṭandai community (*l*);
2. The āri-modal was Araiyan Maṇābharanāṇ;
3. The elai-elutta was an officer, whose name is lost;
4. The sāykalēri was [Chul]āmaṇi-kiḷavaṇ of Mēvur alias Kuvalaiyaśīṅganallur in Aṇḍa-nāḍu; and
5. The banḍara-pottagam was Vikramapāṇḍya-Muvendavēḷaṇ alias Kaṭṭhinakkaṇ Iraṇā of Velliyāṟṟu in Kil-Kuṇḍaṟu in Koḷuvūr-kāṟṟam.

6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullai-Koorṇa; and
7. The engraving of the record in the 15+5th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēvān-Kiranāṇ, the sāykalērim of the temple.

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

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

For one day—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offering</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to god Tiruppottudaiya-Devar</td>
<td>32 nāḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for uṣṭha-bali</td>
<td>6 nāḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for karī-amudu</td>
<td>1 nāḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to god Tiruvēṅkaṭanai-Devar</td>
<td>4 nāḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to god Tirumāḷattāṅgatav-Devar</td>
<td>4 nāḷi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3. The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.
4. An officer of the name of Tengavangā Tamijavēḷ figures in records of this king from Kilmatṭur, Madura District (Nos. 654 and 620 of 1920), and he was probably identical with this officer.
5. No. 26 of 1895 from Tallaiṭhāṇam (Tanjore District) mentions a Maṇābharana in the 8th year of a Parakṣīṟṟam. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Maṇābharana, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājaṉīraṇa 1 in A.D. 1046.
to god Gaṇapatiyār.

2 nāḷi:

or (its equivalent of)

49 nāḷi of rice

1 kālam, 9 kuruśi and 2 nāḷi of paddy.

For one year—it will be

680 and odd kālam of paddy.

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

for the stipulated quantity of paddy

for the āchārya—Muniyār-kuṭṭam-Sēnḍāṇ

for the kuṭṭam-baḷām Śūla-Vērā

for eight men-servants (māṇā)

for ten men (veḷichchar)

for the Śrīkāyam (for 4 nāḷi of rice per day)

for the potter (kuṣavaṇ)

for the firewood supplier (vīrakidūrāṇ)

for sweeping (tirumēlukkuṟṟuprum)1

for the washerman (Irāṅgoli)2

for festivals (tiruvi lēppurum)3

and for the architect Māṇābhāraṇ-Sēnḍāṇ who erected (?) the temple, as pudukkuṟṟuprum4

in all,—the extent of the land endowed was 10 veḷi.

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

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, Irāṅgōykkudi was the ancient name of Ambāsamudram. It was a brahmadēya in Multi-nāḍu. Raṇāsimga-maṅgalam, a village perhaps founded by or named after an unidentified Pāṇḍya king having the title of Raṇāsimha, was situated in the sub-division called Maṇalūr-kuṭṭakki5, which was probably irrigated by the tank at Maṇalūr. Kuvalayaśīṅgamallūr was in the sub-division called Aṇḍa-nāḍu which is represented by Periyakottai and its vicinity in the Madura District. The temple of Tīruvulalanāṭhari referred to in this record is situated to the west of the Ėrikkhāvudaiyār temple at Ambāsamudram.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī[[15]] Śūla-[ra]lai-konas Kō-Vīra-Pāṇḍi[yadēvarku] yāṇḍu pannirandu īrṇ-aṇḍu Mithuna-[nā]yiṟṟu Śūrya6

2 Multiṇāṭṭu brahmadēyam Irāṅgōykkudi Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra[r]kk[i] i-ūnāṭṭu Valūdi-ūr

3 āṟu-pāchchal nilaṇ padiṟṟu veḷi pa[di]ṟṟu veḷiǔm kuṭigalidu kara[ṇ]urai mai-āgavum Dēvaridu mi7

1 Tirumēlukkuṟṟuprum—this duty included sweeping, as well as smearimg the temple premises with the purificatory cowdung.

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

3 Tiruviḷḷuprum is the provision made for the conduct of festivals in the temple.

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

5 The expression 'Mājakkukakki Madurai' occurring elsewhere has been taken as 'Madurai to the east of Mājakkulam'. But from similar expressions—Vēḷūr-kuṭṭakki Śrīkundadēvi-chaturvērumāḷgalam (No. 740 of 1919), Mājakkukakki Kōčimangalam, and Viranāṇayaṇa-kuṭṭakki Pūḷūgurū (No. 49 of 1890), we have to infer that no directional significance is indicated, but that the particular villages were included in the ayaucet of the respective irrigation sources, which gave their name to the sub-divisions. In the Śīḻomaṇḍur plates also Rājasimhakoḷakki is mentioned as the name of a territorial sub-division (Rājasimhakoḷakki ityuktē ēraśā)—S. J. I., Vol. III, p. 453.

6 Probably 'grahayati nāṟṟu.'

7 Probably miṟṟumāṭṭiṟṟavum dēva—.
5. ṛrattu Kāḍandaikudippādi—tTamijavēḷaṃ—āyi[ga]
6. nādum Maṇālur—kkulakkiḷ Iraṇaśinga—maṅgalattu-p
7. ṇ Ariyaṇ Maṇābharanāṇ ēvi—[mu]dāl-āgavum Idaiyāṛru-nāṭtu
8. m [ōlai—el]utt-āgavum Aṇḍa-nāṭtu Kuvalaiyaśinganallur āyina Meyūr Tiruppatṭur
9. jāmaṇ-kiḷavaṇ vāy[ṛ] kēyi—āgavum Koluvur—kiḷakkṛrattu Kiḷ-Kuṇḍāṛru Veḷiyagur Vik[kira]—mapādiyaa-Mūvēnda-
10. [vē]]n-āyina Kaṭṭinakkaṇ Ira[ṇa]bāṇḍāra—ppottagam—āgavum Iaṅgoyykkuḍi Tiruppo-
tṭudaiya [Pa]ramēṣu[ra]—Paḍārara kōyilil irunḍu
11. [p]al[juṇrāṇḍām—āṇḍu Mithuṇa—nāyirṛ Surya—grahaṇatt[āṇura] ivv—āṇḍin edir-
   āṇḍu—muḍal kuḍināgu-ttē[va]tāna[m*]—āga kuḍuttom [*] tānga-
12. [lumu]4 idu kaṇḍu pārpaṭuttu—kuḍukkka [*] Pulaṅ-Korṇaṇ ēluttu [*]enra i-ttirumagappadī
   koṇḍu adikāraṅ-ṣeykira Chōḷāntaka—[Br]amāmārāyar i-ppadīr-
13. ṛv vēlyiyai nivandam adāichchaṇḍi kalmēl ēluttu veṭṭuga ēṅru padiṇ—āṇjam yāṇḍin
   edir āṇjam yāṇḍu sīrkārya[m*] ṇerṛ Ba-
14. māṇṇuṭkku amachchu i-t Tiruppōṭṭudaiya—Dēvarkkku sīrkārya[m*] sēyκira Dēvaŋ-
   Kiriṇāṇ sōlla kalmē[ṇ] ēluttu veṭṭiṇapadī [*] Tīru-
15. ppōṭṭudaiya—Dēvarkkku nāṅgū—poḍaikku arī[si]* muppattiru-nāḻum ānṇa-balikkku arīśi āru-
   nāḻum kari-amidukku arī-
16. [ṣi] nāḻum Tiruvēṅkaṇṭalai—Tēvarkku niṣadī arīśi nā-nāḻum Tirumulattāṇṭtu-
tēvarkku niṣadī arīśi nā-nā-
17. [l]um Gaṇavatiyārkkku arīśi iru-nāḻum ē[r]ī niṣadī arī[ṣi]* nāṛpat-ōṇḍi-nāḻum āga
   o*. ...
18. ...
19. yeṭṭu mā—kkāṇiyum āchārchehiyaṇ Muṇṇuṛruvaṇ—Sēndaṇukku nilaṇ araiyum [*] kaṇakka-
   bāṇḍāram sēyκira Sōlai-Vīru ... periyāṇukku nilaṇ araiy [mi*] [mā]-
20. n ēṭṭukkku nilaṇ oṛ-araiyō yiraṇḍu-mā [*] ivarṛ Muṇṇuṛruvaṇ—Sēndaṇ-udaiya mān
   mūṅruman Muṇṇuṛruvaṇ—Periyāṇ mān—ōṇrum Kaśānāk.*
21. kaṇaṇ-udaiya mā—nāḷum [*] Dēvar paduvaṇām ḍill—ōṇu uvaichchaṇḍuṇkkum puḍavai-
   nudal-āgavum [*] aṅ-uṟum ēṭṭu-māṇukkum puḍavai—muḍal-āgavum [*] uvaich[cha-
No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

By R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., Madras.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Salankayana-Maharajas, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, Andhra-Patrika, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopedia office. The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called Kanturu in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vegi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at Kanturu, one is a charter of Maharaja Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of Maharaja Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vegi copper-plates belong to the Salankayana-Maharaja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society as well as in the Telugu monthly Bharati for Raktakashin, Sravana (1924) in which the genealogy of the Salankayanas is discussed at some length. The two Kanturu plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmmana Rao in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prakrit Plates of Vijaya-Devavarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the Kanturu plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

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

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1 Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1924-25.
offices of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, the original plates with seal of the two Kanten plates as well as the Ellore Prakrit Plates of Vijaya-Dëvavarman from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. On examination I found that the seal attached to the plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman bore the distinct figure of a couchant bull with a partially indistinct legend which, as stated below, indisputably mentions Mahârâja Skandavarman. Hence the description given by Mr. Lakshman Râo has to be revised since the legend conclusively proves that the seal belonged to Vijaya-Skandavarman and not to Vijaya-Nandivarman. It may be observed here that the seal of Nandivarman of the Kanten plates though badly worn out can be made out to represent a couchant bull with a seated figure at the top of which the statue like Siva wearing a crown and with four (!) arms, while the figure on the seal of the Ellore Prakrit plates looks like a tiger or lion. The wavy line representing the clouds which is prominently visible in the present grant is partially seen below the bull in the seal of the Kanten plates of Nandivarman described above.

The subjoined grant consists of four thin copper-plates strung together on a ring of the same metal passing through a narrow hole at the proper right margin of the plates. To the ring is firmly attached a circular copper seal with the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right cut in relief on its slightly concave face. At the top of the bull is seen what looks like a linga sheltered by a triple-tiered serpent, with an ashta-like object to the proper left and a lamp-stand and a fly-whisk (?) to the proper right. Below the bull is a wavy line which may be taken to represent a cloud line as is conventionally done in sculptures and paintings. The ring portion of the seal along the fringe are some worn-out letters in relief of which the syllables Mahârâja Skandavarman can be made out. The plates are damaged on account of age and the first line at the top of the second plate has broken away. Also some small holes are found on the plates owing to the corrosion of the metal. The plates measure 5½ inches long and 1¾ inches broad. The hole through which the ring passes has a diameter of ½ inch and the diameter of the ring holding the plates is 2 inches. The diameter of the seal is also 2 inches. The plates with ring and seal together weigh 36½ tolas. They are now purchased and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

The alphabet belongs to an archaic variety of the Kanaresse and Telugu script prevalent in the east between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. In general appearance, it resembles the one found in the Ellore Prakrit plates and the Ohongdu grant of Skandavarman II and is more archaic than the writing of the three grants of Sinhavarman. The following are a few noteworthy points in the palaeography of the record: (1) there is no loop to distinguish t from n which is generally found in the three grants of Sinhavarman, the Pedda-Vegi plates of Nandivarman II and the Vishnukundin charters. As in the Hirahadagalli and Ellore Prakrit plates the t is distinguished from n by a slight curve at the right; e.g. pâdâmûkhyânta (l. 2), nupâlitâ (l. 15), tâny-evar (l. 18 f.), etc. The Kanten plates of Nandivarman, however, mark the loop both for t and n without distinction. As first members of a consonant group, both t and n of the present grant look the same as in the Hirahadagalli and Ellore plates, see for instance, dattâ (l. 15) and mantâ (l. 18). (2) The exceptionally looped archaic y from which the one with a small circle or curve at

1 Mr. R. Subba Râo who has published an indistinct print of this seal along with his article on the Pedda-Vegi plates of Nandivarman in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. I. pp. 93 ff., follows Mr. Râo and wrongly considers the seal as that of Nandivarman of the Kanten plates.

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

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

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

5 Pikiru (above, Vol. VIII, p. 150), Uruvupalli (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 50) and Mâga (ibid., p. 154) grants.

the left is apparently derived is found here alongside the unlooped linear y as in the plate of Vijaya-Dēvavarman; of Śalāṅkāyana (l. 3), Śivāryāya (l. 8), manvantarā (l. 10), vishaya (l. 12) and saṅgārāja (l. 7), vāstärāya (l. 8), niṣṭuk-āṇākaka (l. 11). The plates are numbered like the pages of a modern book with the numerical symbols for 2 to 6 on the left margin, the first side of the first plate being marked with the symbol for dōn as in the Ellore plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 appear also in the three grants of Simhavarman where they indicate a definitely later development in their shape. In the present set, each engraved side contains three lines of writing except that the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the latter having four lines.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose with two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end. The language is simple and business-like and the formula or the draft of the preamble, e.g., the passage Mahārāja-Śri-Vijaya-Skandavarmamāṇa vachanēna Kudrāhara-Chintapura grāmēyakāh vaktavyān (l. 3-5), resembles closely that employed in the Ellore Prākrit plates of Dēvavarman and the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman belonging to the period of transitional Prākrit, as well as the one found in the Ōṅgōrī grant of Vijaya-Skandavarmam II and the Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Vishṇugopavarman, which are assigned to the time of the earliest Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. The inscription is dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the first year (in words, ll. 13 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarmam (ll. 3 f.) who issued this grant from Vēnī (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Chintapura in the district of Kudrāhara (l. 4-5). The donee was one Śivārya of the Maudgalya-āśrama, a resident of the village Lēkumārī (l. 7-8), who received the village (i.e., Chintapura) exempt from all impost (l. 8-9). The king is described as the Śalāṅkāyana, the meditator on the feet of the holy Chitravarathavāmin and one devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhāṭāraka. He does not bear the epithet either Parama-Mahiṣa or born of Dēvavarman or Paraṃ-Bhāgavata assumed by Nandivarman of the Kantēru, Kollēru and Pedda-Vēgi plates.

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

1 Other instances bearing numerical symbols on the margin of plates are: (1) The British Museum plates of Chānudēvi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) of which iia and iiib are marked by 2 and 3 like the pages of a book, (2) The Ellore Prākrit plates (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 56), and (3) the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 327).

2 Text, lines 8-10.
3 Text, lines 3 and 4.
4 Text, lines 8-10.
5 Text, lines 16-17.
6 [See f. n. 5 on p. 46.—Ed.]
whose grant is worded in Prākrit since the inscription of Samudragupta whose contemporary Hastivarman was, is couched in chaste classical Sanskrit. From the similarity of script and phraseology adopted in the present grant with those found in the Prākrit plates of Vijaya-Dēvaravarman and the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II as well as the Urupallī grant of Simhavarman II, it may safely be said that Vijaya-Skandavarman of the present record flourished close after Vijaya-Dēvaravarman and some time during the period of the above-mentioned Pallava Sanskrit charters, and was evidently a predecessor or an elder contemporary of Hastivarman.¹

The arrangement of the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy given in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1924-25 which follows the one worked out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is not tenable since Vijaya-Nandivarman (correctly Vijaya-Skandavarman) and Yuva-mahārāja Buddhavarman of the so-called Elliot’s unpublished grant accommodated in it, do not belong to the Śālaṅkāyana family.

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

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

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

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

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 68.
of Jayavarman was the name of the district with its headquarters at Kudūra mentioned in the same plate and in the Amaravati Buddhist sculpture inscription. The district was apparently named after Kudūra the modern Kuduru in the Bandar Taluk of the Kistna District; Chintapurā may be identified with Chinnāpuram in the Bandar Taluk and Lōkumārī with Lōkamūḍi in the Kistnālūr Taluk of the same district.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 सरसी (सरसी) [1.] विजयवेद्यः [1.] मयाविचित्रयसाभि:-
2 पादातुभात्तच वथभमारकपापमः
3 तथा शालाध्रयन्तथ महारज्योतिष्य,-

Second Plate; First Side.

4 स्वन्द्वक्षणी [वचनि कुद्राण] रविन्नपुरे
5 वामियाः: वकला: बुधवाराधिपि: [च]-
6 त्वारीणीवीणोभिहवे [एतथा]

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 मीहवालगीय [वेम] कुमारीग्रामवा:-
8 स्वयम् शिवार्यय गङ्गपरि[शा] रिणा
9 सा पल्लिका दत्ता [1.] [तद्दिरित्व भविष्य]: पुर्वे-

Third Plate; First Side.

10 मयाज्य वामु प्रेमणा (प्रेमणा) कत्व यथिति [1.]
11 ब्रह्म च स[व] नियोगनिमुखासुलकः
12 विवाहितात्माः सा पल्लिका परिधाः (च) सेव्या [1.]

Third Plate; Second Side.

13 प्रवशदासान मोहिताः [सा] व्यासाचारी [च] प्र:-
14 कर्मे बैयालिवे [व] मासं दत्ता पल्लिका [1.]

1 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.
2 Lüders' List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 1295.
3 As. Res. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1924-25, p. 73.
4 From ink-impressions.
5 The letters enclosed within the brackets are partly preserved but they can be made out with certainty on the original. [I am not able to read the syllables Kudra in the impression.—Ed.]
6 The letter ra is very much worn out.
No. 8.—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHMACARLIU, B.A., MADRAS.

NIBINNĀ AND NIVINĀ.

In the Nibinna charter of Mahā-Sivagupta edited by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the name of the gift village is given in two different forms, i.e. (i) Nibiṅḍā in l. 5 and (ii) Nibinna in l. 17 of the text. It is thus evident that even at the time of the charter the name of the village was spelt in two different ways. Though there is no special necessity for it, Mr. Mazumdar reads $b$ where the original contained only $v$, both $c$ and $b$ being indicated in this record only by the sign for $v$. Consequently the place might also be called Niviṅḍā or Nivinna. It was attached to the Gaṅtaphaṭa-māṇḍala of the Kōśala-dēśa (text, ll. 4 f.). We are now confronted with a possibility of this village being identical with the village Nivinna the gift of which is recorded in the Nivinna grant of the Sailodbhava king Dharmarājadeva published by Dr. N. P.

1 The donee had evidently been introduced to the royal presence at the time of the grant. Cf. class... Gopasaṁmasa (ll. 8-9) of the Ellora Prākrit plates.

2 The word gaṇṭaṭā is used in this sense in other copper-plate grants of this early period, viz., the Harihadagalli plates (text, l. 51), Mayūḍarāṇī plates (text, l. 28), Koṇḍamudi plates (text, l. 40), Maṭṭapāḍ plates (text, l. 14), and Kudāgera plates of Kadamba Śiva-Mandhāṭīvarman (text, l. 18, above, Vol. VI, p. 14).

3 Above, Vol. XI, p. 95.

4 Ibid., p. 96.
Chakravarti. In the latter record Nivinnā is stated to be attached to the Khidīṅgahāra-vishaya. But it is likely that this village which was originally attached to this vishaya in Dharmarāja’s reign was later on included in the Kōśala-dēśa. Khidīṅgahāra has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Khidiṅgī and Nivinā with Nimma in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjam District. I think that Ganaṭapāṭa-mandala or Ganaṭapāṭi-mandala in which Nibinḍā or Nibinnā of the other charter was situated is identical with Guṭhapaṭa, a Zamindari village of the same taluk. Moreover, since the Sonepur Feudatory State attached to the district of Sambalpur is a part of the Chhatisgarh division which roughly corresponds to the ancient (Southern) Kōśala-dēśa in which Nibinḍā or Nivinḍā (with its variant names) lay and the Ganjam District in which the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja was found is adjacent to that tract, the possibility of the identity of both the villages is strengthened. This is also confirmed by the form of the name Nivinā in which it occurs in the latter grant.

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

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

URUVUPALLI.

In the Uruvupalli grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vīṣṇugōpa issued in the reign of Siṁhavarman (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.) the boundaries of the 200 niṟvartanas of land actually given are enumerated in detail very much in the style of the Rṛṇḍa copper-plates of a later period. Among these boundaries occur the names of the villages Kaṇḍukūra, Kurupūra, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu and the river Suprayoṅa. The grant was intended for the benefit of the Vīṣṇu-hāra temple founded by the Sēṅgōpati Vīṣṇuvarman at Kaṇḍukūra. So it is evident that we have to look for the villages mentioned in the grant in the vicinity of modern Kandukūra in the Nellore District. A reference to the taluk map shows that Uruvupalli must be identical with Uḷavapāḍu which lies east-south-east of Kandukūra. Of the other villages, Kurupūra would correspond to modern Kared alias Kurvaḍe in the eastern direction of Kandukūra, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu would be the modern Koṇḍamuruḍusupālem due south of Kandukūra. Since the lands are stated to lie adjacent to those of Kaṇḍukūra, the river Suprayoṅa which lay to the south of the gift-lands would be identical with the modern Manneru flowing in a north-easterly direction between Kandukūra and Uḷavapāḍu. Uḷavapāḍu is a station on the Madras-Calcutta line of the M. & S. M. Railway.

VIRIPARA.

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

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1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

2 The List of Villages gives the name as Nimma. There are two villages of this name one in the Khallikotē and the other in the Athagada Zamindari of the Ganjam District. The district Map shows also a third Nimma village on the bank of the Mahānadi canal in the Aska taluk.
Guntur District. The plates were found in a 'gaḍu' (old village site) near Mayidavolu, a village in the Narasaraopet taluk. There can be the least doubt that the gift village Viripara is identical with the modern Vipparla in the same taluk situated at about 8 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopet. It is to be noticed that the village possesses not only some prehistoric remains like dolmens, etc., which prove its great antiquity but also that an inscription of the early Eastern Chalukya king Sakkalalokāraṇa Jayasingha-Vallabha and another of Vīśṇuvardhana Vījayaśīvadiva dated in S. 996 (=A.D. 1074) have been found here. In the former the village is called Vitparī and in the latter Virippara. In still later times it was called Vipparu. These facts go to prove definitely that the village mentioned in the copper-plates must be identical with Vipparla.

Dattanuyoga and the village Kōljāla.

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

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

Śempoṇmāri.

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

Tāmbrāpapahāna.

This is the place from which the Pallava king Vījaya-Skandavarman issued the Ōmōḍu grant (above, Vol. XV, pp. 290, 251, etc.). This can very well be Dāmaramadugu in the Kovur taluk, Nellore District. Maḍugu represents a pond and Tāmbrāpā might be the modern corrupt Dāmaramadugu. This lies in the ancient Pallava country and is not very far from Vavvērū where the Viḷavaṭṭi grant of Śimhavarman of this family was recently discovered.

1 Above, Vol. VI, p. 86.
2 Ibid., p. 84.
4 S. I. I., Vol. VI, Nos. 584 to 586.
5 Ibid., No. 588.

6 [This argument is not convincing to me. The full name of the Upanishad is Dattātrayam. Moreover, Datta or Dattātrayam being a minor Upanishad it is doubtful if proficiency in it should be regarded as a high distinction. I also do not know of any other inscriptions where a donee is mentioned 'as a student or a professor of a particular Upanishad alone. After gōtra usually comes the pravaru of the donee which is not specified in the present record. Can the expression under consideration not simply mean 'who is given to meditation'? (anuyoga)? It may also be pointed out that the Dattaka-sūtra occurring in the Western Gaṅga copper-plates has been taken to be a work on erotics—see J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 183 ff.—Ed.]
7 See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 290 ff.
No. 9.—NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5.

By A. Ghosh, Patna.

This copper-plate, edited here for the first time, was unearthed at Nalanda in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, near the copper-plate of Devapāla. In 1935 it was transferred to the Archeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present housed. A preliminary note on it was published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, and it is also summarized by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India.

The copper-plate measures 10¼"×9" and weighs 45 tatās. No seal was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken. The inscription is neatly engraved and runs to 12 lines, but owing to the much damaged condition of the plate large portions, including nearly the whole of line 7, have either broken away or are utterly obliterated. The whole of the text, however, can be restored by a reference to the spurious Gaya plate of Samudragupta except the place-names and the adjectives of the donee.

The palaeography of the inscription shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records, with the exception of y, which is bipartite in the present record. S is of the looped or so-called eastern variety, but sh is unlooped. H is of the same type as appears on the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and presents a contrast to the form that we come across in the central and western records of the age. The average length of letters is ¾ inch. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the upamāniya in such cases as uppanaḥ-parāṇa (l. 4) and ch-ētah-prabhrītī (l. 8), the doubling of consonants in sarva (l. 1, etc.), medh-śarītur-nmahārāja (l. 3), dāhuśtrasya (l. 4), traśāyana (l. 8 and 9), etc. Another feature, remarkable for the Gupta period, is the indiscriminate use of b and v, as exemplified in viditāḥ bō for viditāv vō (l. 6), sambat for satvāvat (l. 10) and mahā-balādhiśkīta for mahā-balādhiśkīta (l. 11).

The inscription records the grant of two villages to a Brāhmaṇa Jayabhāṭṭī by name, who is called traśāyana in the subsequent lines, by the mahārājaśudhirāja Samudragupta, whose usual adjectives are given, from the victorious camp at Anandapura in the year 5. The grant was written at the orders of Gopasvaṁin, the akṣaraśūladhiśkīta, mahāpilūpaṭi and mahā-balādhiśkīta. At the end the name of the prince Chandragupta occurs, possibly as the Bātika.

I am not sure of one of the names of the villages that were granted: the first is Bhādrapūṣikakara in the Vaiva(?)—y-viṣhaya, while the second is Pūrṇa(?)-nā(?)ga in the Kṝmilā-viṣhaya. Kṝmilā as the name of a viṣhaya also appears in the Monihjy grant of Devapāla, where it is stated to have been situated in the bhakti of Śrīnaga or Patna. The same place-name occurs as Kṝmila on a Nalanda sealing (Site No. 1, Reg. No. 824), reading Kṝmi-
vishaya-Kūčali-granemahattama-Narasvāṁināḥ in 8th century characters. I cannot propose any identification of this place.

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

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

A perusal of the text given below will show that the present record is similar to the Gayā plate in that it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (\(\ldots nekhatuk\ldots apratirathasya\ldots prapasnyasya\ldots putrasya \ldots daukhatrasya\ldots utpanna Samudragupta\ldots\)). If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariat of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion. This will also explain why the inscription is full of mistakes, e.g., the dropping of \(\pi\) in Gupta (l. 3), \(\delta\) in the possession of a Pandit of Barara. “The inscription”, he adds, “had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it”.

R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, says: “The Gayā copper plate of Samudragupta, issued in the 9th year of his reign, was regarded as spurious by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. When his work was published our knowledge of Indian Epigraphy was not so extensive as it is now. Our knowledge of the form of Imperial Guptas land-grants was limited to the Indor-kheda inscribed copper plate of the time of the emperor Skanda-gupta in 1333. The Nālandā or Dhanaisāla plate of Kumāragupta I, the six Damodaraputra plates of the emperors Kumāragupta I, Bāgagupta and Bāhmagupta and finally the three Faridpur plates of the kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra have thrown a flood of light on the procedure of issuing grants of land or deeds recording transfers of the same. In the face of this mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copper plate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged. It cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi plates and in the writer’s opinion it is genuine.” (Age of the Imperial Guptas, pp. 7-8.)

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\(^1\) Or vishaya-Akhaṇa.

\(^2\) In Cunningham’s A. S. R., Vol. XIX, p. 60, Garrick speaks of a copper-plate of Samudragupta, said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Barara. “The inscription”, he adds, “had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it.”
The inscription is dated in the year 5, 2nd day of Magha, followed by the word *nirav(ba)-ddha(m)*. So far as I am aware, this word does not appear with a date in any other Gupta record, but is found in some Pratihāra grants. The date of the Gayā plate, year 9, was referred to the Gupta era by Fleet, which would mean that Chandragupta I had died by A.D. 328. If the date of the present record too be referred to the Gupta era, his life is further shortened by 4 years, leaving him a reign of only 4 or 5 years, assuming that the year 5 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of Samudragupta. It is unlikely that he could have created an empire within such a short time, so that we are forced to meet another alternative: that the years are in reality the regnal years of Samudragupta himself. But as the Gupta era is universally regarded as having been established by Chandragupta I, it is difficult to understand why Samudragupta should have reverted to the practice of using regnal years in state documents. Was Samudragupta himself then the author of the Gupta era? It must be admitted that this conjecture is not prima facie impossible, as the ascription of the era to the first mahārājādhīraja of the dynasty is only a plausible conjecture which does not conflict with any known facts. But if Samudragupta really founded the era, we have to distribute 136 years (A.D. 319 to 455)—an abnormally long period—among three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that both being spurious documents, the dates on the Nālandā and Gayā plates need not be taken seriously for historical purposes.

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

**TEXT.**

1 Ōṃ svasti [†] mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvār-Anandapura-vāsamāt[sa]-
   rva-rā[j]-Gaṛhāḷātt[ra]-prithivyām-apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-saḥ[1-aśvā].
2 dita-yāsaḥ Dhanada-Varun-Śatrū[rt]-Anfitaka-samasya Kṛśitānta-parasmānyāy-āgat-ānēka-
   gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chirōta[1-nā]-
3 śvamdi[1]-śa[|ṛ]|tṛ[ṛ]|muḥ[ha]-[śri]-Gupta[1]-praputra[1]-mahārājā-śri-Gaṛhāḷātt-
   praputra[1]-mahārājādhiḥ-śri-Gaṛhāḷātt-
4 sya Līchchhavī-duḥ[hi]-prat[ṛ]-mahābhadraśāṃ-Kumārādēvēyām-putannāḥ-paraṁ-bhāga-
   vātāḥ[1-śri]-Samudragupta[1]-Vai[1]-va[1]-y.
5 vai[śa]hayika-Bhādrapushkaraka-grāma-Krīmila-vaishayika-Pū[rṇa][1][nā][1][ga]-grā-
   [mayaḥ brāhmaṇa-purūgā]-[grāmā-va[1]-taksabhāyāḥ](†)mahā[1]

2 Cf. Banerji, loc. cit., p. 8: "According to the established custom to be found in Gupta inscriptions, we should regard the date of the inscription as one expressed in the Gupta era; i.e., it was issued in 328-29 A.D."
3 Read as Nṛṣvara by Sastri, who evidently reads the portion as ekadhaśārṇa(m)=Nṛṣvara.
4 At first mā was written which was then changed into mā.
5 The left extremity of the subscript u of the following letter appears after ha and looks like a separate letter.
6 Restored from the Gayā plate.
7 The word is spelt with śa in the Gayā plate. The letter dājah is doubtful both here and in the Gayā plate.
6 Eva ch-ā[rthāh] viditam² =bō(śa) bhavatv-ēshau(tau) grā[m]au [mayā mūtā-pittrōr-ā 
tad-yushmanā-
bhir-ā[śa]ya
(pratyayō) mēya-hiranyādhoṇ[ā] dēya na ch-ētaḥ-pra-²
vyā [aṇyathā] niyamāt-ā(a)grahār-ā[k]śe[ṇ]paḥ
10 syād-iti² samba[sarīva]t 5 Māga dī 2 nīva[ba]ddhā[ma*] [[*]
ādēśa-liṅkita[ma*] [[*]
12 [Kumā]ra-Śri-Çhandraguptaḥ [[*]

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

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of three plates was first handed over to the Curator, Archeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, for decipherment by one Hasan Raza, a Muhammedan water-diviner. The Curator after carefully examining these plates kindly passed them on to me for decipherment in details. I am highly obliged to him for the kind permission to edit the same in this journal.

The grant consists of three plates. Each plate is 11³⁄₄" x 9³⁄₄" in size. The written space in each plate measures 7¹⁄₄" x 10". The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second has writing on both the sides. A circular hole of about 3" in diameter runs through them. The circular ring which holds the plates together, has got a seal (at present with the owner) with the figure of Garuḍa. The whole grant runs into 94 lines.

The characters are similar to those found in the other Śilāhāra copper-plates of the same period. However, they differ to some extent from those in the Ambar Nātha temple stone inscription of the time of Māmāṇi dated Śaka 982,⁴ the chief reason of the difference being either the roughness of the material or possibly the inefficiency of the engraver.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, a consonant following r is sometimes doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., Karpardī (l. 8), śvaroga, māroga (l. 13), karmaṇāi (l. 15), sameardhanir (l. 29) as against dōṛ-kaurū (l. 17), yathārtha (l. 20), Nāgārjuna (l. 31), etc. The dental sibilant is often used for the palatal one (l. 8, 9, etc.), but in certain cases what has been read as s may be a badly written ś.

In the benedictory verses Gaṇḍa and Śiva are invoked. The genealogy begins with the well known mythical story of Jñātavāhana, the son of Jñātakōṭu, who offered himself as a prayer to Garuḍa in place of the serpent Śaṁkhachāuda.

¹ There is a hole due to damage over ṛ which in the photograph looks like an āmśuḍra.
² The portion that is lost here no doubt contained adjectives of the donor, of which one must have been ttraividyasa, as he is referred to in the following lines.
³ The Gayā plate reads na ch-ētaḥ-prahṛtya etc.
⁴ After this follow four short horizontal strokes.
⁵ Restored from the Gayā plate. D. R. Bhandarkar conjecturally reads Nālaṇḍa. [In the present record the second syllable seems to be nu.—Ed.]
In his family was born Kapardin (I) who was adventurous like Sahasamaka and was the forehead-mark (tilaka) of the Svara line. His son Pulasaakti who was well versed in politics and who conquered his enemies is then mentioned.3

Next comes his son Laghu-Kapardin.4 He is described in the usual poetical and vague manner. His son Vappuvanna is next mentioned in the usual way.4 His son Jhajha is then mentioned. That he erected twelve Siva temples is particularly mentioned here as in the Kharepanta plates.

Nothing particular is said of his brother Gogiraja and his son Vajjada, except that the former was valorous like Bhishma, Droga and Arjuna. Vajjada’s son Aparajita who was benevolent, truthful and brave is then mentioned. He is given the title Sarapagata-vajrapajata and the record particularly mentions the facts that he helped a king named Gomma, and made firm the rule of Aiyapadiva. He is also said to have protected Bhilama and two other kings whose names seem to be Amma and Maqanivyua.5 His son Vajjaddiva (II) and his younger brother Arikasarin are then mentioned.6 The latter had been on a pilgrimage to the temple of Somavara.

Then his nephew Chhittaraja (son of Vajjada II) is mentioned as in other inscriptions. Next comes his younger brother Nagajrana.7 His younger brother Mummmu is then mentioned.8 He vanquished his foes and ruled over 1,400 villages the chief of which was Puru. At the time of this grant his Mahamyasa was Daddapaiya and the Mahasandhibhagika Daddapaiya, who along with other officers were in charge of the Srikaraya. The writer of the document was Nagalayya.9

The grant was given on Friday, Sudha 15, Bhadrapada in the year 971 of the Saka era, corresponding to Tuesday the 20th August 1049 A.D.10 There was a lunar eclipse at that time.

1 The Kharepanta plates, Saka 1016 (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 33) also do not give any further information about this prince. His adventurous nature might have enabled him to be a valuable lieutenant of the Rashtrakuta Emperor Govinda III and hence he might have been his feudatory ruling over North Konkan (Altekar, Indian Culture, Vol. II, p. 403).
3 The Kapheri inscriptions of Amoghavarsha, Saka 770 and 790 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.), describe Kapardin (II) as the Rashtrakuta feudatory and master of Konkan.
4 The Bhagatp plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 277, ll. 7, 8) describe him as bhunavitakara and name him Ghayuvanta but on comparing the reading (in facsimile, Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 313) Vappuvanna seems to be the right name as has already been suggested by Bühler.
5 These names are also found in the Kharepanta plates. Nowhere else do we meet with the verse containing these names. This Bhilama might be the same as Bhilama II of whom we know from his Sangamner plates, Saka 922 (above, Vol. II, p. 272). The Bhadama plates of Aparajita, Saka 919 (above, Vol. III, p. 272), give him the title of Mrigamaka.
6 According to Bhagatp plates, the word agroja would go with Arikasarin. But on the evidence of other documents Vajjada was the elder brother of Arikasarin. The Vadavalli plates of Aparaditya, Saka 1049 (J. R. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 508), confirm this.
7 He is mentioned in the Kharepanta and Vadavalli plates. Altekar’s suggestion (Indian Culture, Vol. II, p. 410) that he died before Chhittaraja seems to be hazelna.
9 According to the Ambar Natha temple inscription (ibid., pp. 329-30) these officers in Saka 982 were different persons.
10 Indian Ephemeris, Vol. III, p. 101. [The corresponding date in Christian era is Tuesday the 15th August (not the 20th which was a Sunday and when there was no lunar eclipse), A.D. 1049, when there was a solar eclipse. The week day seems to read Sud and not Sukra as Mr. Upadhyaya reads. Probably Sud here stands for Mahesuta (Tuesday).—Ed.]
The village granted was Kilochchita. It was in the Mandaraja district. To the east there was the Sri-Enara hill and rivulets running from it. To the north was the Nimvā village, to the west the Mātara village and to the south the Sāmvina river. None of these places can be identified at present.

The grant was made to twelve Brahmins (a list of whom is given below) to enable them to carry on their religious duties. Among the donees there were Brahmins who had emigrated from Gauda, Madhyadēsa and Lāta. They belonged to various gotras and sakhās. Some of these names are given in the vernacular ending in āya. The grant contains towards the end the approval of Mummuniraja, son of Vajjaḍādeva.

List of the Brahmin donees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's name</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Šākhā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kōkō Pāṇḍita</td>
<td>Pitāmaḥa</td>
<td>Gauḍa</td>
<td>Śaṅdālya</td>
<td>Kauṭhuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvadhaṇa Dīkṣita</td>
<td>Yajña Dīkṣita</td>
<td>Munjugasthāna in Madhyadēsa</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>Bahyṛica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmōdara</td>
<td>Kēśāya Dīkṣita</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Mādhyanā́na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūdana Sāyya</td>
<td>Sūmāvarh Upādhyāya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bhārgava</td>
<td>Bahyṛica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāmōdara</td>
<td>Sūdana Dīkṣita</td>
<td>Bhṛgukachchhā in Lātadēsā</td>
<td>Upamanyu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>Dāmōdara Upādhyāya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>Rāṇayāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śṛipati</td>
<td>Kēśva</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Knāka</td>
<td>Bahyṛica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śṛipati</td>
<td>Dugāya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakāśvāra</td>
<td>Vēlāditya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jamadagnī</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēlaiyā</td>
<td>Dihāiya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvavēlaiyā</td>
<td>Iśvara</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Lōkākha</td>
<td>Yaṅja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṭṭhaṇalayā</td>
<td>Sōḍhalalaya</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>Bahyṛica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT.

[Metres:—Anuḥṭubh, vv. 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; Vasuṇatilakā, 3, 4, 5, 15, 16, 39; Prīthi, 6; Śrīdulavikrī́ga, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20; Śravdhakā, 8; Śī, 13; Indraśvajrā, 17, 26, 33; Mālinī, 21, 22; Vasuṇasthitvāla, 23; Śaṇī, 32.]

First Plate.

1 कुः  जयचामुद्रयः॥ लभति सर्वकाययः पूजया गणना सकः। विद्वे निपपसा वः ।
2 पायादपयाहाचारयः॥ [१८] स ए नतु शिवो नित्यं गयोऽनि भाति

ं जाह्वे ॥ सूरिणपिंखः।

1 [See p. 62 n. 5 below.—Ed.]
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 Read Śākhā.
3 रीमुक्तकामकंदकान्िप्तम् ॥ [२१] ॥ जीतृकंतकुतनयो निवर्तम् द्वारालुक्षीभूतवापनो
नित्य वार्तााः मित्रीकामाविशेषः ॥[११] ॥
4 देविनयं लोक्षिणवालकलयन्वंंगाशी यो रचाति घा गस्तारक्तक तसं (घ)खचारुभ् ॥ [२०] ॥
5 निश्चलिन्नरामस्य नित्यविद्वीपायवेनस्यप्राप्तेः । नीलााक्षकं द्रव्य साशस्वतः अपर्यो
देवाङ्केश्वर (घ) ॥[१०] ॥
6 तिलको तुरिन्ताध्य (घ)भूव ॥ [१३] ॥ तथाकारमच्छ तनयं: पुलम (घ)सिनामा सीमाना
सम: सुराकुदितराजनोतः: ॥
7 निश्चलयं संग्राहमेशिबन्दविवशिवीविवि:कंकर ॥ नगतिः राज्यमानकारी येन ॥ [४१] ॥
लातितो भास्मवृक्ती रुपम् ॥[९] ॥
8 स्स (घ)रोभववागीताः ॥ सित: खण्डिवालपरोपरिकरणं कवर्ती लङ्कः ॥ यज्ञियस (घ)
सा जगत्वतंगः: ॥
9 येन सु (घ)जीवनेन न प्राचारणो म च समी (घ)यी) न तुष्ठानु (घ)धिः: ॥ [१३] ॥
तथामभवविन्हूतपदपीपाधी पायजीो ॥[१०] ॥
10 कातिष्ठलकाली मशीपतिलकः जीवपुरवश्चल: सुलः । संघांसंगमर्मिशिवासिलतथा
लातितो दृष्टाः ॥
11 चषाठकेव येन विनयाक्य विविशिवता विविषिवाड़ दलिन: ॥ [१३] ॥ तथामानोऽसा
स्मागामोऽसा ॥[१] ॥ निधि च विनानन्दिताः- ॥
12 पलोकःप्राणं शीर्षाराजो दिवसकर इव धस्तानिः्रेण (घ)प्रदेशः ॥[११] ॥ सं (घ)भूयायं
हदास (घ)पि अर्चा- ॥

1 Read chandra-.
2 Read nayadam.
3 Read dehamayam.
4 Read parā-.
5 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
6 Dvaja or dvajas unnecessary.
7 Read nirghya.
8 Read nakshatram.
9 Read pitram.
10 Read akasa.
11 Read lañ-sita.
12 Read 'astaniyo.
13 यदवरास्तीलेखनि स्नातार सोयानानीम भें प्रणालततुक्तां स्नातसारस्याच्यातानां (नाम) ||१५२° भएता तबः ||

14 तत्सुन्तोऽज्ज्य (ज्ञ) लक्षी(यशो)राष्ट्री(शिष्य) प्रकाशी (शी)कलाकायमानवणों च (व) श्री (व)लवतां श्रीयोगिनाराजास्वेतु ||

15 चप्पाकर्मकम्पणि प्रवरणानि विविधानि भूपती भूषाडाण्युवासांतत्पथयतिः परिवृत्तामधे चम्कारिता: ||१५६°

16 तथार्थप्रकाशयकारिणिचित्रणयाचारं कोलिः: सुतं: श्रीमान्यज्ज्यभ्रुपितरभुजुच्चौच्चौयुजे
मण्डला: || देवी- ||

17 दंश्वद्वाक (व) लेन यथे सहस्र संपादार्थागंगणि राज्यरी: श्रीमान्यवचस्सस्तिः च चोमुयारीव ि ||१६१° जम्ब- ||

18 त व व्रतां: पुरावि$ धरेः || तत: श्रीमान्यमुक्त: सनातनपरिवारितः: ||१४१° काक्रस्यमान

19 यो: सागारवें च मुहिचियिः: प्रतापाध्यासिमाराण: कालदशद यो: हिदाया(याम) ||१२१° सह(व) रणामागमा- ||

20 मतद्वपरास्त्य$ जन्ति रंजिते येन || स सुवभवति यांबाबामा संरणामतवयं जगा
टेब: ||१११° || यें- ||

21 न स्नातसागमागमाय विवळ्य गोमृग नानाविधं येनवेयवेदनाथम् चलिता: राज्य चिरं कारित(नाम) ||११° भर- ||

22 तथामामपणुवचित्रस्तां दलं च यवनामयं तर्क श्रीवर(श्री)ज्ज्यकामवस्त्रनाथ(वर्त) रिकमः ||१३४° श्री- ||

23 मानभूतदु: वज्रवेदनामा भूपलमध्यकामश्रीवरणी नयन: ||१७° चवचापी यथे च- ||

24 रितानि जना: समस्ता रीमाचंक्षुकीत्वगलताः: || सुविनम्त ||१५५° तश्वात्य तनानिक्षिप्ते- ||

1 Read lasya.
2 Dayda or dagdas unnecessary.
3 Read chāpa$.
4 Some Śilahāra records have sarvē tirakāritāḥ.
5 Read prakhyālo$.
6 Read ratini$.
7 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
8 Read Purārī-Isa.
9 Read sāmanātī.
10 Read aparē apa$ , the absence of sandhi being in favour of the metre.
11 Read sārayā$.
25 ग्रहो जात: मतां सब्भाया इसारात्रकुलावलैक्षिणे दंभालिस्थानि दधतु । गत्वा मेवःक्षेत्रे मेवे-१
26 शचावितो द्वार च सीमादी(श्र)रे तस्यांम पितुरावश्य जगद्दल य: कौलायित्वा।२-
गतः ||११४/५] नाथार्थो
27 वजानवसुन: शारिष्ठरायो स्नितवे(श्र)मूळ ||१(२) सीमारवेंम(श)सिसु(श्रियश)-
नापि येन नोत: परामुखतंतुमर्मम् ||१३५/५] न-
28 वा(२)नाकनि कुलकर्मकंटदप्रभुप्रशालितकानि निर्मितानिन ||१(३) उष्धातीसा-
वा०(२)रावालविदारितस्य
29 योगल:पुराणिः परिप्रंदिघनस्य चरे ||१८४/५] उत्तारिनारीविवभं: सिंकसमवेनादिव ।
व्र(५)सांगङ्गशुष्य यु-५
30 त्वा कौरिववस्य(श्र)धरिवजनि ||१२०४/५] हस्यादिनुम कोपाकल्पवः: सोमाभम्यनारायणो
वारी(श्री)पु ततोत्तुज: सम-५
31 भवाभागर्भं वर्णित: । यस्यामातुपमवजितः मुखवव(५)लं लूराबिबलस्ता । हिरां
निद्रातीश रणसंगवायसनिन्
32 ती देवसंहारकुटात्त्सन्त ||१२०५/५] यदुसमित्विरात्तमतगविदित्वाधमार्गसरद्विनुमु(३)वशो-
तसि दितायन्तिया: ।
33 भविताकालिन्यांश्वासवधिवधविधमार्गसागर्भ्यनिमीलकोलिना नौनियैवतः ||१२९५/५] तदनु
तदनुक्षे शः-५
34 सीमाविषोत्तर: चातरपुविभवोस्मृतिमुद्गित्वोहिनिपाल: । विचारःधारितं यथानवाणिनीया-
जनति व(श्र)ल-५

1 Read saśātena.
2 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
3 Read kilagita'.
4 The syllable र in नात्र should ordinarily be short.
5 Read ‘मार्जितात्मा.
6 Read "मार्जितात्मा.
7 Read "नःगम्या.
8 Read -क्षःक्षः.
9 Read -निपु.
10 Read -विदारिता.-
35 भिन्निवेदः लोयाचार्यास्वामीस्वामिन ॥ (२२)॥ प्रथाभकायः धापयिन्यसामायः संभाय-॥
36 सामालक्ष्यांगानुशास्त्राः द्वारकोऽपि साङ्गवार्त्याः प्रधानसनास्ति-मानः-॥
37 महोद्धिष्ठान्तरदीर्घांकायानस्वायत्नः (श) राजसंगमानुशास्त्राः प्रधान विनाशस्माय-मानः चिन्नतिः-॥
38 चामकाल्यसः (श) राधायतीत्रामचारिणः क्रियाकरं निजसंधापितं (त) मक्षिकः चिन्नति-नः
39 प्रतिच्छेसु देशसः (श) गामिनः (श) तत्वतत्त्विकतः श्रायामत्यु नामति। तथाकार्यं विष्ठायः निः
40 — — ॥ सहायक योद्वित्य(प) महामायुरीप्रकाशक विधाय वादियाकरणः स (म) च नः
41 सामाल्यसः (श) राधायतीत्रामचारिणः क्रियाकरं निजसंधापितं मनानवान्यानं-भिन्ननिव-समागा-
42 मिरामुरवसः (श) विद्विधालाभायाप्राप्ताः (भ) नियोगिकान्यमिन्यकवीमां नारायणसमागा-पिनामिनिव-विनाश-
43 वपतिनमुरवसः (श) विद्विधालाभायाप्राप्ताः (भ) नियोगिकान्यमिन्यकवीमां नारायणसमागा-पिनामिनिव-विनाश-
44 लाशिदसः (श) पूववकसः मद्ग(श) धायति (१०) सामाल्यसः (श) गामिनः (श) तत्वतत्त्विकतः श्रायामत्यु नामति। तथाकार्यं विष्ठायः निः
45 तान्त्रिकः तत्त्वश्च (स) जीवित(त) (त) तथा विद्विधालाभायाप्राप्ताः (भ) नियोगिकान्यमिनिव-विनाशकारणः चै-
46 हिर्द्यमः (त) (१२)॥ तथा चार्वासायाकरणार्तार्थाय (श) प्राप्तमः (१०) सामाल्यानुसारकारणसम्मिलयः-॥
47 सामाल्यानुसारकारणसम्मिलयः (१०) कदन्तिकारणगमिनेश्वदसः समारः (१०) सहायकारणमात्रः-
Second Plate; Second Side.

48 व्यायामायारणकं सम (श)रैरं इ प्रवनमलकान्तमविनोदवगतमलनशतर्क धनाश्रोति.

49 निवुद्धा (बुद्धा) स्मृयात्छेत्तेपदनकं। जलशेतादापरस्परे (श) तपोन्यथं प्रस (श)विने।

50 कं कली युगे [२१२७]* न तथा सफल विज्ञा न तथा सफलं तपः।

51 तथा चौश्रं भगवता असिन। चम्प्रेन्द्रलक्ष मद्यसचल भूलेश्वरी सृष्टितापि

52 वशि दर्ष य: कामदशं गां च महीं च दशातु [२१२८] शास्तिकृत्यान्त पिताः

53 तं म निशा (मं संता)रियारं ति [२१२९] भूमिदानम सुपारिशं सुतीवेषं सुपवेशं

54 शं भवेत् [२१२०] धवलान्यातपाषाणि दलितनच मदोवाता: [१०] भूमिदानसं

55 धर्माक्षरविषयसतुरविललसुनिवचनाननवधाय मातापितोरातानस भेजोरिणा मया

56 कालान्यातसमस्कारं (श) तेषु नवसु एकस्थानसाहिकं वियोधी (विष)समस्तं (श) र[ल]*मेती-

57 कलंपि समग्नं* ८७१ भापाध्यदास (श)व [११] [श्रेणे संज्ञान (त) समाश्रयं ग्राह्यात्मिषि

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*Danāda unnecessary.
*Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
The first pada of this stūka does not conform to the ordinary rules of Anuṣṭubha.
This letter is redundant.
Read "anait-kulē.
This letter r ā is redundant.
Read "adragām.
Read pushpāti.
Read svarūpa Parandara.
Mark the way of writing t in the plate.
Read Śukrē. [See p. 54 n. 10 above.—Ed.]
58 चन्द्रचूडाण्ये कमलिनीकासुकाय भगवती भासकराय न(न)नविधर्नाधार्यम्
दला(च्छा) भगवते सु- ।

59 राजररुणे तिलोकारोपितसमापतिसम्भव यजनयाजनादियायिनिरतेभ्य: कतुकियाकाण्- ।

60 श्रीमायणेव मणिमालयायोिविचित्र(व)श्रावरीविनां व यहुः नामिनाया- ।

61 गोमेदुश्व(श्री)नितिनास्म(श्री)भाष्योद्योगायासात्सा(गायत्री) कोकोपिक्ष: पितामहम्
पिण्डितसु: श्वाय- ।

62 श्री(श्री)म्भुवानबनविनिमित्वकङ्गोकः(व)हुच्छसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) देवधर्मिति: यह- ।

63 भर्त्रायोगोऽयुद्धनाष्टसा(श्रीकाश्य) दामोदरे: ॥ श्रीसेयाद्वितीतसु: तथा भाष्येवकः
(व)हुच्छसा- ।

64 श्री(श्री) सुर्यदेव सोमेश्वर(श्री)रघुपाठायासु: लायुस्मानायाद्वितीघुकः च्राविनिग्रहेव- ।

65 जव(व)हुच्छसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) दामोदरे: ॥ श्रीदेवाद्वितीतसु: तथा चाषीयोगोऽवायनायानासा-
(श्रीकाश्य) नूरारायणोपास्नेव दी- ।

66 भोजरावायायसु: तथा कुसः(श्री)कराणव(व)हुच्छसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) चैपिति: ॥ चामिहती
कैसः(श्री)रघुपाठायासु: त- ।

67 श्री चाषीयोगोऽव(व)हुच्छसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) चैपितिभवः ॥ दुर्गैयाजापस्नीसु: तथा य(अ)-
मदमिनोकः(व)हुच्छसात्तः- ।

68 (श्रीकाश्य) कन्तिकः(व)रे: ॥ लातपलिपाठायासु: तथा चाषीयोगोऽव(व)हुच्छसात्तः
(श्रीकाश्य) लातपलिजापस्नेव दी- ।

69 यायाक्रियोपितसु: तथा लोकायमोगयज्ञसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) स्वाभाविक इस(श्री)परायाय- ।

70 चाषीयोगोऽव(व)हुच्छसात्तः(श्रीकाश्य) दिक्षिडीयापाठायः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीपाठायासु: य क: ।

71 दिम्यः यजनयाजनादियायनन्दकारणः व(व)लिचकसः(कार)मन्त्रित्वकतुकियायुपः- ।

¹ Read "ntahpåti. [What has been read as oh may be the upadhâniya sign.—Ed.]"
Third Plate.

72 सम्यक्षः य च मदनदविष्या तपायम्। अश्रुमक च। चम्पेरीसाप्राम्यः। समस्तपलिकामास्तिनः। चारम्।

73 कामीराजः समावतः ॥ [१०] यथा चालोपाली ॥ पूर्वैः। चोपनः। परवर्तीयः। पाणिवाड़ियाम् ॥

74 उत्तरतो नीचरामासीमा ॥ पश्चातो नीचरामासीमा ॥ दिवशतः। साक्षनन्।[५]

75 दी सीमा। एवं चंगुरात्मकोपलितः। खसीमाप्ययः। सूढ़काळकोषप्रतिप:। पूर्वे।

76 दत्तेवदायने(ब्र) स्थानीयः। अनासिधः। समु(व्यक्त) स्वाद्यमवंचितः(ग) तथा(ता) वधानः[१०।]

77 यलोः। ११०० पहुँचुरध्वितिसमकालीनः। आचार्यः। यावदुकालिस्मीणः। वर्षया

78 मा(शा) सन(न) प्रतिपादितः। तदेवा। भूजता। भोजयता। कप्रता। कप्रयलतः। न केलापि। परिप्रेयमा करणीः।

79 या। यदुः परातन्त्रसुनिमिनः। वा(श) इष्केवसुधा मुक्ता। राजाः। समारसिधः।

80 यथा तथा तदा फल(लम्) [११०।] सदो दाने। निरामायं सायसं। दीवेयाला

81 लन(लम्) [११०।] दल(चा) भूमि। भाविनः। पार्वत्याचार्यः। भूमि। याचारे। रामचं।

82 ले क(का)ले मानसीयः भव[शः][११।] यन्त्रीः। दत्तात्री। पुरा। नरेन्द्रहासीमि

[Read "dy-ut sarppanaya.
2 Reading is doubtful. [Reading appears to be अरामका-पुष्प-खण्ड(न)का—Ed.]
3 [Reading seems to be श्री-नार.—Ed.]
4 Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
5 Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
6 Read स्यामन्.
7 Read ना लस्याह or उस्तु मनयाय प्रहुवयः as in other inscriptions.
8 Read भरमर्ण-दिखा।]
83 निमन्त तानि को नाम साधूः पुनराद्रोहित्व ||[१८॥] इक्ष्वाकृ य समग्रात्मप्रभुद्र कर्तिकश्रेष्ठः एवम्
भद्रशान्ति नायिकायः परंपरानलकनोऽपि

84 भ एव काव्यीः || न पुनस्मृतिपापकान्ताधीरणं केनापि भवितवं || एवम्
भद्रशान्ति नायिकायः परंपरानलकनोऽपि

85 निमन्त्वपरात्मनं तमिराच्च चाद्याच्च चमानादनुरुद्विचित्रतत्त
सर्वं च महापालकोशप्यम् प्रात्त्वाश्रावो निमंत्ते

86 श्रीस्वयं हरिश्रावन्तिमसारासिंहकर्मनाभिविचित्रति || उक्तं च महागतवा श्रास्मन
कछु च परं पद्यकायः थो

87 हरेन (हरेन ब) सुंदरः || स विचायाः ज्ञामिभूता ज्ञासिभो स च पर्यते ||[२४॥]
विन्यासितेव चत्त्रायाः सु(श)कोटवासिनः

88 [भ]हारियो चि जान्यले भूषिदयाः हरिति वे ||[१५॥]
गमानिका श्रक्षेमका वा भुमिर्यकमुक्ति हरारकमा--

89 प्रोक्ति यावाराहत्तमव(वम) ||[१५॥]
पारासारण शरणेष्ट तालागानां स(श)तिन
च [१*] गवां कोटिप्रणालिन भूमि-�

90 हर्तां न सु(श)न्यि ||[१७॥]
बांधनकर्मणिः सर्वं निमंता सामवः
वालस्यं चानुमन च ताणेव नरके-६

91 निमेशृ [१६॥] अति || सहस(श)जे[ः पर*]कहोपरिवार(श)-
जा वा प्राप्ति तंत्रनी सुधि भाविभूमा:

92 व पालविन्त सम प्रकृपास्म(स) समस्तं तेवं सधः निर्तिन्तव ज्ञारियं सुधर्षा ||[१८॥]
यथाचारे दारी ||

93 की लेखाक्रमेण श्रीजीवनमना रोपणि || सतं सम महामणिलिखित(श)राधि-
[पति*]गीतमद्वृमितिः-५

94 जगवस्य महामणिलिखित(श)राधिकारिणीमहाकाळेवधुनोः || लिखितं चात्रालग्निवेदित || छ ||

¹ Read -nripatibhir=anyair=वा.
² Read "मृंगम=अयुः".
³ Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
⁴ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.
⁵ Read शक्षितिः वर्षा-.
⁶ Danda unnecessary.
⁷ About seven letters are indistinct here.
⁸ Read viraçhiti=निजातिः.
No. 11.—TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Tiruppuvanam, a village in the Sivaganga Zamindari of the Ramnad District and a station on the Madura-Ramnad section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called VEGAVATI in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Sivaganga. The Pushpavanasvara temple of the village is an ancient one; it is celebrated in the hymnus of the three Tamil Saiva saints Tiruvallanasamandha, Appar and Sundaramurtti-Nayaun. Invited by Kulachchirai-Nayaun, the Pandya minister, and Mangayarkkarasi, a Chola princess and queen of the Pandya king known in Tamil literature as Nelveli-Poivenga-ninga-Nayun, saint Tiruvallanasamandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jainas under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the king back to the Saiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by Neumuna, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pandya country which were held sacred by the Saivas and sung hymns on them. From the hymns on Tiruppuvanam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained residences of wealthy families of weavers. The Siva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipped by ‘the three kings of the South’, i.e., the Chera, Chola and Pandya. Sundaramurti-Nayaun is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families. The Pandya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chola. It was at a spot near the city of Tiruppuvanam that the Jainas had been impaled in the days of Mahavarma, the victor of the Nelveli.

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

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2 Tiruvallanasambandha has contributed ‘Ariviyur puranam’ 11 verses and ‘Madamor menigand’ 11 verses, while Appar has sung ‘Vaipicur tiriyam’ 11 verses. Of Sundaramurtti’s decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his padigam commences with ‘Tiruvaiyur’.

3 These fourteen places are Tiruvalliyur, Tirupparaikuram, Tiru-Apappur, Tiruvellagam, Tiruppattur, Tirukkoakuram, Tirukkappur, Tiruvelliyur, Tirukkurkal, Tiruvalliyur, Tiru-Nelveli, Tiruvira-nilavaram, Tiruvelliyur and Tiruppuvannil.

4 ‘Tiruvalliyur maha-nilav ten-Biruppahanam’.

5 ‘Muruganudi-ter Tenner Shivar Sivargajam varagam tiriyudur-bi-ter sennagi-tinga ten-Biruppahanam’; ‘Mada-senai-ten Sivara Sivargaj pattiappa’.

6 P. 1123 of Periappuranam, 1934 edition.

7 ‘Ramarajai purandritam Punnas-phanaggar-marunipar-bhaqinil vilasaipada kalivar-pudalegenav’.

8 About them Sewell wrote as follows in his List of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 298: —

“A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves.”

The writer must have meant ‘sides’ by ‘leaves’, for Burgess and Natesa Sastry correctly note “Five plates only of the shasnam are there (i.e., in the Indian Antiquary) given in fac-simile from Sir Walter Elliot’s impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians” (A.S.S.I., Vol. IV, p. 21).
suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the *Archaeological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below:

"Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately 16\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly 6\(\frac{1}{4}\)" except of the 4th and 10th which are 6" and 6\(\frac{1}{2}\)" respectively. The eleventh plate is 17\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long and 6\(\frac{1}{4}\)" broad. The plate of Könérin-maikönđan (supplementary plate) is 17\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long and 6\(\frac{3}{4}\)" broad."

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin.\(^1\) There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, IVb, VIIa, VIIIa, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, IXa, Xa, and XIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 343 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, Iva and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the *Archaeological Survey of South India* require revision. There are serious misreadings, especially in proper names. To point only a few, the volume gives *punaratọ* for Ṛt-ṛta-ima (l. 3), *grāmasya-śeśadhi-śāntim* for grāmasya-āgāhā-kliśṭim (l. 4), *Kakaṇṣī* for Nakkaṇṣī (l. 33), *pākakappādi* for pāḍagappādi (l. 38), *janamikal* (jananikal?) for janmai (l. 44), *Kakekuṇḍi* for Kačukkuṇḍi (l. 47), *Śembāṇi* for Śeṭṭaṇi (l. 48), *Tiruppu* for tirappu (l. 49), *ievar-pārtajaṇa* for ievar-pār-Chandaṇa (l. 60), *Narimāgamam-Kaṃṇalārūm* for Narimagam-ṇgara Varagārṇa-Nallārūm (l. 60f.), *ievar Moḍār-Śilaiyan* for ievar-pār-Chilaiyaṇ (l. 61), *paṭalaiyār* for Paḷaiyār (l. 90), *ṭalārum* for dēvarum (l. 91f.), *Maḥāvidhiniyar* for Kaṇṭiṇalār (l. 112), *Pulēsāni* for Pulāṇi (l. 119f.), *Kēśeṇaṇ* for Kēvaṇaṇ (l. 128), *Kēśeṇaṇ* for Aḍkaṇaṇ (l. 130f.), *Sidāyiya-Baṭṭaṇ* for Si-Kaṭṭaṇa-Baṭṭaṇ (l. 135), *Valīyan paḍiṭṭalai* for Vallīy-ṇa Muṣṭiṭalai (l. 137), *maruvaṇ-ikkaraṇa* for maruvaṇ-Ikkaṇa (l. 191), *vaṇkaḷu* for vaḷaṇgaṃ (l. 195f.), *Paḷaiṭiyyai* for Paḷaiṭi-koyiḷaṭiyyai (l. 197f.), *i-n for te* (l. 290), *maralāra* for Māḷār (l. 219), *Seyyai for Sevai* (l. 235), *kkāra* for kār (l. 242), and *karāyil* for agaraṇai (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The calligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been inscribed at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete.\(^2\) On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line *nokki* of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face karaiye-te which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables k-karaiye which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, viz., iccaṇ-iś. In volume IV of the *Archaeological Survey of South India*, by reading the second face of the seventh

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1 [Like Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as a *cīva perdīc*. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.]

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

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in Sanskrit verse written in Grantha characters, the rest of the inscription is in Tamil language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphs of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the sandhi rules are not observed. In the Tamil portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see Veda, Sāstra (l. 16) and brahmādeva (l. 19). The superscript r is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., rnu (l. 2), rmm (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double pillaigur-iil and visarguli-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long i is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 39, 40, 42). Rk and rt are often used for rkk and rtt; see, for example, Miṅganakur (ll. 272-3), Miṅkanśi (l. 270) and Karpakur (l. 269). The words mūlaiyir-iiru (l. 288), ellaiyir-iiru (l. 284) and bārten (l. 309) ought to be mūlaiyir-iiru, ellaiyir-iiru and bārten. There are instances of doubling of consonants where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary; e.g., cheṇru-kāṭti (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like vēykkalaiy-iiru and kālaiy-iiru. In these cases, Tamil would require kālīl. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

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

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

of the new village. It is not unlikely that machehuapar Ałagapperumāḷ and Pillaiyar Aļagapperumāḷ indicate two different persons. Sundarēsa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Aļagapperumāḷ, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The second part which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jatāvarman Kulaśekhara commencing with the words Pāvinkīlattu and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate Ia) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate Vb) with śācādu, and the second commencing with the words padin-ṃūrṇā-avadiṇ-ėdir in line 139 (plate Vb) and ending with the word nīrādu in line 338 (plate XIIb). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and immediate object of the inscription is Kulaśekharadēva-vakkā numūrānu ṛupa-ṅāgīl (ll. 14f.) pitiṅ-ṇāgāṅa ellaikkur or ṛpadikkur ṛarpālai ṛeyādu kujutta pariśācādu (l. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three-hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulaśekharadēva (embodying) the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant." The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates; and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdāṇgālam as brahmādēya. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as nīr āvarsā pāṅcha-viṁśe Chaūḍāṃśav-aṭṭa-chāpē Kanakapaṭi-tithau kṛiṣṇa-paṅkā-Ārκvāra-Śvāt-yogē and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words padin-ṃūrṇāvadiṇ-ėdir pāpamirantāṅdu ḍhaṅu-nāyāru nālān-tiyadiṇum aparā-paṅkathu ekādaśiṇum Śoṇi-ekkilamaiṇum peṣa Śōdi-nāḷ (ll. 139ff.). This earlier date had been calculated by the late Professor Kielland and found to agree with Saturday, 29th November A. D. 1214. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (= the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A. D. 1214, November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (i.e., 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign plus 40 days of the 26th year (i.e., 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the brahmādēya and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the karīṇa-bhromana was given on the 29th November A. D. 1214. This is plain by the statement: nikki ulla nilam maṃṇḍaivedarum palaṁ pērum veḷḷaṅ-covaliyum murukan-taṇṇu oru-ṇādum or-ėrum oru puravum ākkī Rājagambhirā-valanāṭu Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdāṇgālam-eppun- tirunāmattāl brahmādēyān-čeypāruṇ (ll. 70-72) meaning the remaining lands had been constituted as the brahmādēya village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdāṇgālam so called after the sacred name (of the king) and included in Rājagambhirā-valanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as veḷḷaṅ-covali, cultivating ryots and murdai of the lands removed and classed under one ṇādu, one puravu and one village. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the royal order issued on the 29th November A. D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (srūbhīduṇasāya grāmasya-āṅgaḥ-kiṃprapta sa padi karēyum gamayiṇum-avodat Rājagambhiradēḥ), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,
for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *invār nāyaṇa-māyī kāṇkāna-laṅāvun-kaḍa-ppiṇḍa-suṇdu piḍa naṭanda ellaikkur aravaṇa śayāya kuṇṭaka-viṣṇu tiruvāy-molindarumamaṇiṟil* (l. 72-74).

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

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

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

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

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words 'piḍa naḍappittu' after 'suṇdu' in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase 'piḍa naḍattu-ppiṇḍa naḍandapadikku' (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

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

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-93) are given in Appendix A. I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the Tiruvāyukiḷvi officer Ponnai Śūriyadēvaś alias Jayadharā-Pallavaraiyag, another (No. 5) was the kaṇkāṇi of Poyāmoḷiḏivār, a third (No. 6) was the kaṇkāṇi of Śrīrāmaṇ Tiruvāḷaiyān alias Pottappichōḷar, the fourth (No. 7) was the kaṇkāṇi of the māḷiyattak̄am officer Śivalavān Alāgiyamanavāḷan alias Kāḻingārāyag, the fifth (No. 8) was the kaṇkāṇi of Malavarāyag, the sixth (No. 9) was the adigūram of Pillaiyār Alagapperumāl and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the ayukkor of Alāgiyapaṇḍiyānār, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Sōḷapāṇḍiya-vālanāḍu. Along with the 11 kaṇkāṇis, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdiṁaṅgalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and nāḍu (Appendix A. II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to Xlb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, i.e., this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the brahmāvēya, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppūvaṇam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one: and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, viz., Kīraṇūr-nāḍu, Panaṅgalūr-nāḍu, Tiyandikkuṇḍi-nāḍu, Mēṟkuṇḍi-nāḍu and Purapparai-nāḍu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Seyyakulattūr there passed three roads, one to Vēmāṅgudi (ll. 333f.), another to Kāḻambaṅgudi
(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 145). From Mānaviramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbańqūdi (l. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 147), Netṭūr (l. 154), and Pidjavūr (l. 149f.). Between Kaŋqānūr and Dēda(va)koṭṭai (l. 225), there was another road. From the village of Miljagańūr there were roads leading to Iruńqīrī (l. 258) and Koṭṭakīrī in Kañqāi-Irukkaı (l. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēlāŋqēri and Aravaṇkući (l. 205f.), and Idaikkaśṭṭur and Vēmbańqūdi (l. 319 & 330).

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

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēđimaṅgalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Malavaṟaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Māḍakkulam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhira-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a brahmaṇtya, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brahmaṇas, who were versed in the Vedas and Šastras and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king’s reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark āga ievūrgaṅga- paṅan-dēvaṉaṃ paḷlichechandas kāṟāṃṣai-ṅa vina niṅki, i.e., ‘excluding from these villages such lands as are old dēvaṉa, paḷlichechandas and kāṟāṃṣai’.

This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being dēvaṉa, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three dēvaṉa villages, Vēgaikkuḍī (l. 20), Muttūrānārōṭṭai (l. 50f.), and Śirukīlāṅkāṭṭur (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of TiruppuṆaṉamudaiyar. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Saṅkaraṅgaṅgalam just to the south of Mānaviramadurai, that Nirambaṅqūr was to the east of Sōmāṭṭūr, that Vēlāṅqēri was to the south of Kāṟāṅgulam, that Miljagańqūr was to the north of both Koṭṭakīrī and Kañqāi-Irukkaı, that Karpakīrī in Kañqāi-Irukkaı was situated just to the west of Mēr-Cheli, and to the south of Puvaṉinallūr, that Neṟkuṉgam was immediately to the east of Kuvaḷaiwēli, that Vēgaikkuḍī was to the north of both TirumāḷiruṆāḷainallūr and Śirukūḍī alias Vīrakāmug-amaṅgalam, and to the east of Veḷḷūṟurkūṛuchehi and to the south of Māṅbhaṅgaṉa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam which lay to the north of Tiruvvaṉam satiated just to the east of Veḷḷūṟurkūṛuchehi, and lastly, that Kuṇaṉjādi was to the south of Sundankūṛuchehi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhira-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam had on its west Kiraṇṭūr-nāṭu,
on the north Paṇaṅgalur-nādu, on the east Tiyaṇdaikuṇḍi-nādu, and on the south Puṟaparaḷai-
nādu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaigai alias Śrivallabhappāṟṟu (l. 161), Paraḷaiyṟu
(l. 198), Kaḷavaiṇāṇḍaṉṟu of Paṇaṅgalur (l. 318) and Paraḷaiṟkkal (l. 193) and states that three
of the ḍevadāna lands of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyār, named Mutṭūrāṇaṭṭai, Vāgaikuṇḍi and Śirukīḻainkāṭṭuṟ, had been added to the new village of Rājagambhirā-
chaturvēdīmaṅgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the ḍevadāna of the temples of Paśalaināṭhar and Śri-Vaikunda-Viṇnagar-Āḷvār of Mēr-Pāsalai alias Śrivallabha-chaturvē-
dimāṅgalam (ll. 48—51).

Like the three ḍevadāna villages of Vāgaikuṇḍi, Mutṭūrāṇaṭṭai and Śirukīḻainkāṭṭuṟ, the
whole village of Miḷaṅgur had been taken up and included in Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdīmaṅ-
galam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, viz., Kuvalaȋvēli, Puḻuk-
kuḷam, Māṉaṅkiṟṭi, Kaṉṭivali, Taṉambamaṅgalam, Śattiyār-ēmbal in Achchaṅkāṭṭikkaṟ, and
that part of Araiyakulam in Kāḷai-Irukkaṟ which remained after removing the holding
(kāṇi) of Mandari Rāman alias Pallavaraiyar (ll. 110—114). Care was taken to have the
previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitu-
tion altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhirā-
chaturvēdīmaṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Miḷaṅgur was given the
name Rājendraśaṅkanallur. It was placed under the division Achchaṅkāṭṭikkaṟ and entered
as such in State accounts (ll. 114—116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of
this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A: they were among the party that accom-
panied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also,
which was not a Chaturvēdīmaṅgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring
the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, viz.,
oru-ṇāṟum or-ūṟum oru-puravum ākki, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constitu-
ency with single class of interest as Chaturvēdīmaṅgalam was.

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

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements
of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various
branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doc-
tors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the
Vēdas and Śāstras was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found
a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdīmaṅgalams, brahmādayas, agaras or agrahārās
and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvēdīmaṅgalams by run-
ning through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of South Indian Inscriptions ranging
from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that
each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent
men who had studied the Vēdas and Śāstras and that each one of the villages had an administra-
tive body called the sahā, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several commit-
tees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large
and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning,
there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and sys-
tematic study of the Vēdas and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were
hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted brahmādēya village of Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the Vēdas and Sāstras but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction um in the phrase Vēdānavum sāstrānum pōy and the use of the adjectival phrase vyākhyāṭakalāy irukkuṁ qualifying Chaturvēdī-Bhaṭṭaryal leave no doubt that the subjects of the Vēdas and Sāstras were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled vyākhyāṭas, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word ‘porutpaṭa’, i.e., ‘with meaning’ before the verb ‘pōy’ had gone through’. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttanāgāl, dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara with Pāviṅkilottti introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tirupāvaṇam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king’s officer Kālīgārayar for creating a brahmādēya village called Kulaśēkhara-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam by joining together four dēvalaṇas villages about Tiruttanāgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the Vēdas and Sāstras and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named ‘Pugalōgaṇḍanallir’. We may refer to another inscription dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction Pumālār-tiruvum which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śri-Rāma Ālagaṇ alias Ālagaṇāpāṇḍiyar-Brahmādēhirājan had originally established, in the name of Vēṇāduḷḷaiyar, a village called Ravi-varma-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam and settled in it forty-eight Chaturvēdī-Bhaṭṭas who had learnt with meaning (porutpaṭa) the Vēdas and Sāstras and were capable of expounding them (vyākhyāṭakalāy irukkuṁ), and twelve Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the Vēdas in the temple of Udaiyār Tirunelvēli-Udaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayyān Majavārayar, the king granted all the lands situated in Kaṇṇaṇūr alias Mānābhaṇḍarappādi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the old dēvalaṇas and pallichchundas, to be included in Ravi-varma-chaturvēdīmaṅgalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śri-Rāma-Viṇṭagar-Āḻvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimādevārvamudaiyār may have two shares and Toṭālaṇā-Viṇṭagar-Āḻvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one purau, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdīmaṅgalam was entirely a Brāhmaṇical village. And as we know that the sabhā was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōla king Rājarāya I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmaṇical Villages (brahmādēyas), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājarājēśvaram temple at Tanjore. Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a sabhā. Numerous transactions of the sabhā are

1 No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
2 No. 446 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
3 S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 89
recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇaś as the titles and the gātras show.

Still another medieval Pāṇḍya inscription dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellantaiyanga-Perumal, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvedimaṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the Vedas and Śāstras and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four cēlis of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147 4 cēlis of land in the village of Rājaśikhaṁpanallur alias Puḷiyangudi were acquired. The following cūrtis were also provided for:—three for teachers of the Vedas, one for teachers of the Śātras, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for ambaṭiyas, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, half for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for irankōlli, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for ṛṭṭiṇā. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the nattam land outside the Brāhmaṇa quarter, was set apart for Velḷāṅ-kaṅṇyāḷaḷ and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, i.e., from the first year of the constitution of the new agrahāra village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvedimaṅgalam, 500 kalam of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvedimaṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the nattam lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvedimaṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the sabbā which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallur inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of sabbās in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the sabbā was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmaṇical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇ members, more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chola king Rājadhiraja I to the officer Sūla-Pāṇḍya-Muṅvendavēḷar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by Brāhmaṇa-ūrgal (Brāhmaṇical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrahmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrahmaṇas performing parichāraka work, he directed the person that was looking after the
temple affairs (Köyil-Srikāryam) to make the nimandas. In the nimanda that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of 'Brāhmaṇa-ūrgal' as at first mentioned, we find the 'sabhās' of the five villages Śrīvakachhippedu, Utāmāsōla-chaturvēdimangalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam, Mījalāmangalam and Apārāyita (Apārājita)-chaturvēdimangalam. The substitution of the 'sabhās' of these five villages for 'Brāhmaṇa-ūrgal' makes it plain that the sabhā was the functioning body in Brāhmaṇical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as ār, nagara, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as ār, nagara, sabhā, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Vēḷḷān landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the ār, the members of which body were Vēḷḷān landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the nagara. And if it was a Brāhmaṇical village having in it mostly Brāhmaṇ land- lords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the sabhā for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., ār, nagara and sabhā, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the ār or the sabhā, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the āryots who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the syitti assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras, Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscription under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish, viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēdimangalam consisted exclusively of Brāhmaṇ land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term sabhā, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the donees who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the Vedas and Śastraś and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Sāyaṇa, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by Śastraś are meant the subjects forming the Vēdāṅga.s. Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēdimangalam referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmaṇs specified, viz., 1090, 108 and 60 who had studied the Vedas and Śastraś and were vyākyātās of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Taṇḍantōt-

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1 The author of the Amarakosā (3, 3, 173) defines Śastraś as Nīḍās and granthas, and the commentary of Mahēsvaṇa adds that by granthas are meant Vyākyāavadayā (Nirñayaśāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).
tam plates, though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayāmukha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla got the village which acquired the name Dayāmukhamangalam granted to no less than 308 Brahmana scholars of Vedas and Smritis, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons, though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 Chaturvédins, 28 Trivédins, 24 Shadāngavidas and about ten Kramavidas, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a Shadāngavid did not know the import of the mantras for the very object of the Niruktabhāshya, one of the Shadāngas, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns. As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvédimaṅgalams preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names Sinhavishṇu-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Mahendravarma-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Narasīṅga-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Paramêśvara-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Sivachūḷāmani-mangalam, Vijayankura-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Avaninārāyaṇa-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Ekadhira-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Vayiramāga-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Mārapidjugudevi-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Vidyāvīnita-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Pallavaṇmahādevi-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Aparajita-chaturvédimaṅgalam and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōlas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names Viśāyālaya-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Kōḍaṅgarama-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Parantaka-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Janaṇātha-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Gangarāditya-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Aṇiṇjai-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Śōlamārttaḍa-chaturvédimaṅgalam, Rājasraya-chaturvédimaṅgalam and those that were called after the Chāluksya-Chōlas that followed Adhirājendra, and for the continuance of the study of the Vedas and Vīdāṅgas from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

2 These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 517 f.), but while editing the Paṭṭattālaṅgalam grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).
4 The selection of riks for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the Nirukta, it was believed that the student of the Vedas would be able to know the meaning of other mantras without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the Nirukta and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other mantras. Etikku parijāṭheśu ālayate mantraḥ parijāṭeḥ bhavanti (Durga's commentary on the Nirukta: Introduction).
5 No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
6 No. 9 of the same collection for 1900-31.
8 Ibd., p. 229.
9 Ibd., p. 283.
10 Ibd., p. [23].
11 Ibd., p. 325.
12 Ibd., p. 337.
13 Ibd., p. 321.
14 Ibd., pp. [22], 321.
15 S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 3.
16 Ibd., p. 70.
17 Ibd., p. 74.
18 Ibd.
In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimāṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the sābhā. As instances may be cited Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Tryambakamaṅgalam, Kaṭṭāyaimaṅgalam, Parāśumaṅgalam, Māraṇaṁgalam, Avanipaścaramaṅgalam and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguṇa II. All these places were in the Timnevelly District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaḍuṅgō, Māravarman, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāṇa flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍiyādaśvaiṇ (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēḻyviḵuḍi plates to have founded Śrivara maṅgalam, so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in Varagaṇamaṅgai and Śrivarāmaṅgai.

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

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūvaṉam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Taṇḍantōṭtam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brahmans well versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras. While some of the mediēval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as Vēdamum Śāstramum pōy vyākyāṭakalāy irukkum, others add the word poruttōḍa before pōy. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Taṇḍantōṭtam plates: Vēda-traya-smṛiti-juśhāṁ vidūḥṣāṁ dvijāṇāṁ. In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled Chaturvēdi than Trivedi or Shāṅgaṇaṅdī.

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

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

2 K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan, p. 132.
temples of Śrī-Rāma-Vināḷa-Āḷvār and Pāṇḍimādeviśvarasālaiyār and one share for Tondaimān-Śrī-Rāma-Vināḷa-Āḷvār. The earlier Dayānukhamāḷa grant provides five shares for Tiruvadigal, i.e., Vishnu, and two shares for Mahādeva.

v. The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvedimāṅgalam provides three śritis for the teachers of the Vedas, one for the teachers of the Sūtras, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for ambadiyas, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for irankollis and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for cettiyān. The earlier Tondantōṭṭam plates provide one share each for the reader of the Mahābhārata and the drummer, one share for each of the three madhyasthas, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-slice and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

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

To an earlier date belong the Kōram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kōram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinita-chaturvedimāṅgalam1 evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinita, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Paramēśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinita-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kōram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaravaramāṅgalam divided into 25 shares of which 20 shares were given to 20 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a maṇḍapa and one share for the reading of the Bhārata in that maṇḍapa.2 Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinita-chaturvedimāṅgalam has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaravaramāṅgalam grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēśvaravarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four Vedas.3 The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramāṅgalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas: In it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).4

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvedimāṅgalams and the grant of them as brāhmaṇeya, or agrahāras by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exeges from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth,—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśākara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1261) and Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Śaṅkara, the prodigious commentator on all the Vedas, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

1 S. I. I., Vol. VII, Nos. 32 and 33-A.
3 Ibid., p. 139, text-line 49 I.
Besides the grant of brahmadēya villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the Vēdas were taught. Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning. The charities of the Vaisya Dāmayaṇa Mādhavaṇ recorded in the Tīrumukkūṇḍal inscription of Viraṇjēndra included provision for the teaching of the Vēdas. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr, which is partially built in, makes provision for a Bhaṭṭa-evṛtti by a lady named Saṅgaičchāṇi also called Uttaramallūr-Nāṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the evṛtti must be one who has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the Vēdas, in the Vāyārana and the two ārakas of the Mimāṃsā as well as the Nṛita (Nīrukt)-bhāṣya and is capable of expounding the Vāyārana, Nyāya-bhāṣya with vārtikas, and Vaiśeṣika with Tiṅkā, and that he must remain in the matha erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the Vēdas and Vēṅgatis and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

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

2 See also An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 ff.
3 See Nos. 312 and 316 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.
4 Ibid., No. 322.
5 It was the late Mr. Swamīkannya Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.
6 For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.
attributed to the same sovereign. It is proposed first to examine the correctness or otherwise of such an assignment. For this purpose, it is highly necessary to have separate lists of inscriptions of the three different introductions, and we present underneath such lists. They are not exhaustive but are sufficient to serve our need. If the result of our examination prove that the introductions belong to more kings than one, a fresh endeavour will have to be made to separate the facts known about each king from the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy which have been putting them under the single head of Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara I.

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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>2 + 1st year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>437/29-30</td>
<td>3 + 1st year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464/16</td>
<td>4th year and 50 days.</td>
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<tr>
<td>707/16</td>
<td>4 + 1st year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>614/26</td>
<td>4 + 1st year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>449/16</td>
<td>4 + 1st year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>450/16</td>
<td>4 + 1st year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534/16</td>
<td>4 + 4th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297/27-28</td>
<td>4th year + 1,745 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293/S. I. I., V</td>
<td>9th year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>438/29-30</td>
<td>9th year and 44 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450/90</td>
<td>9 + 1st year.</td>
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<tr>
<td>660/16</td>
<td>14th year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327/08</td>
<td>14th year and 345 days.</td>
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<tr>
<td>333/16</td>
<td>15th year.</td>
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<th>C. Pārśanikattai.</th>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>607/26</td>
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<td>290/23</td>
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<td>540/16</td>
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<td>31-32/24</td>
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<td>33-34/34</td>
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<td>27-28/24</td>
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<td>438/29-30</td>
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<tr>
<td>368/29-30</td>
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<td>302/S. I. I., V.</td>
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<td>337/16</td>
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<td>29/28-29</td>
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<td>484/16</td>
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<td>438/29-30</td>
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<td>543/22</td>
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<td>302/29-30</td>
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<td>370/16</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>303/29-30</td>
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<td>654/16</td>
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<td>655/16</td>
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<tr>
<td>80/28-29</td>
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<td>546, 549, 550/16</td>
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<td>412/S. I., V.</td>
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<td>31/27</td>
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<td>269/29-30</td>
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<td>295/29-30</td>
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<td>378/29-30</td>
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<td>645/16 This is connected with No. 685/16</td>
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<td>509-310/16</td>
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<td>675/16</td>
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<td>683/16</td>
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By a glance at list A, it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 plus, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 plus, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 plus. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings of them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, i.e., Pāṭala-
maḍandai extends to 15 years, the second, i.e., Pūtalavaṇjitai to 11 years, and the third, i.e., Pūvιṅkiḷatti to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with Pūtalamaḍandai introduction through Pūvιṅkiḷatti to Pūtalavaṇjitai. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

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

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

No. 370/16 Pūtalavaṇjitai. 7th year, Mārgaḷi 20 tāḍi, Sunday, saptami, Utaṭa-Bhādrapadā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1246 and it was 20 Mārgaḷi. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is "The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II of A. D. 1237".

No. 720/16 Pūtalavaṇjitai. 2nd year, Mina 22, sū. 10, Wednesday, Pushya. "On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (= 22 Mēṣha), sū. dasami ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara as the above."

No. 301 of S. I. I., Vol. V (Pūtalavaṇjitai)—2nd year, Tūḷā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mrīgaśīrṣā. Not calculated. See below, p. 82 for equivalent.

No. 80/28-29. Pūvιṅkiḷatti. 13th year, Āṇi 19, sū. trayōḍaśi, Tuesday, Mūlam. "Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. .39. The tithi was, however, chaturdaśi which was current till .85 of the day."

No. 337/16. Do. 4-4th year, Karkaṭaka, 13 tāḍi, sū. 12, Monday, Jyeṣṭha=A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karkaṭaka) on which day sū. 12 ended at .89 and Nakshatra Jyeṣṭha at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13-5th year, Kannī 9, sū. 14, Thursday, Śatabhishaj =A.D. 1207, September 6, Thursday; .97; .44.

No. 313/23. Pūvιṅkiḷatti. 9-3rd year, Vṛiśchikā 27, Friday, dvādaśi, Sōdi=Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1924, p. 83), the solar month-date is Vṛiśchikā 27 according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta. The framer of the inscription must have obtained it from a Pañcāṅga calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.
No. 329/23. Pāvignkilattī. 13+13th year, Karkaṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttigai= A.D. 1215, July 21, Tuesday. The titthī ba. 10 commenced at 97 of the day and the Nakshatra Kārttigai ended at 36 of day.

The Large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. Pāvignkilattī. 13+12th year, Dhanus 4, ba. 11, Saturday, Svāti. Saturday, 29th November, A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted that the particulars of date furnished in the Pātalaṇaṇḍandai collection do not work out correctly for Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I whose reign commenced in A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of Pātalaṇaṇḍandai group examined so far work out correctly for Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for Kulaśēkhara I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the Pāvignkilattī group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, i.e., Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (Pātalaṇaṇḍandai) is that of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. Having considered this information also, the late Swamikannu Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—points only to the later reign, i.e., Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction Pātalaṇaṇḍandai being one of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D. 1190 and who had the introduction Pāvignkilattī. The late Swamikannu Pillai's calculations and our finding that the records of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara with the introduction Pātalaṇaṇḍandai belong to a later reign are still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show.

In the latter part of a Pātalaṇaṇḍandai record of Teṅkaihāri whose text is given in the South-Indian Inscriptions, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mrigaśirshā. For Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, whose accession took place between 4th April and 29th November, A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D. 1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December, A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238, Tulā, ba. 6 ended at 90 and Nakshatra Mrigaśirshā at 35 of day on Thursday, September 30. Like the two records calculated by Swamikannu Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction Pātalaṇaṇḍandai belongs to Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara II and not to the first of that name. The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with Pātalaṇaṇḍandai introduction and is dated in the 3+7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chōla. Vikrama-Chōla figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōla prince, who, a few years later, ascended the throne in A.D. 1255. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the Pândya were staying with and serving the Pândya kings before the time of their own accession is amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara the introduction Pātalaṇaṇḍandai belonged. An inscription from Tiruppūppūṭṭi in the Ramnad District of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkharadeva without the title Māravarman or Jātāvarman, is dated in the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkaṭaka 27, Rōhipi, Saturday. This date was calculated by the late Swamikannu Pillai and found to agree correctly with A.D. 1166, 23rd July, Saturday. From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said that it is one belonging to the reign of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara with Pātalaṇaṇḍandai introduction for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic.

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

1 No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.
2 No. 336 of the same collection for 1927-28.
3 S.t.l., Vol. V, No. 296.
Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like tiruttaiyappaṭār or appar4 for father, appaṭār for elder brother, akkam5 for elder sister, déniyār for queen, maqaṭār or pilḷaiyār for son, maqaṭār or pey-pilḷai for daughter, maramaqaṭār for nephew or sister’s son, maṭṭaiyappār for brother-in-law, ammaṭār for uncle, appiṭṭār for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms periyaṭṭavar, periyaṭṭadevar or periyaṭṭayānār are employed. In dealing with the Timevelly inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that periyaṭṭavar or periyaṭṭayānār cannot definitely indicate a father.14 One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagapattinam, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Māravarman Śrivallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśēkharadēva14 and another inscription found at Kōṭṭatikkaramūlam in the Timevelly District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king’s reign, states that the Virāvatamudaiyār was re-named Kulaśēkharাঐrāyār after the name of the king’s father, thus letting us know that Māravarman Śrivallabha’s father was also called Kulaśēkharā. Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśēkharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jaṭāvarman from the fact that the middle member Śrivallabha was styled Māravarman. One other fact that is known is that Māravarman Śrivallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Viraśāvarman-Tiruvuḍi, in all probability a ruler of Vēṟṟuṭu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered.17 There is thus every possibility of Māravarman Śrivallabha’s son being that Kulaśēkharā in whose reign, in about 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have been started in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharā who had the introduction Pūṭalamaṇḍandai, our assumption that Māravarman Śrivallabha’s son Kulaśēkharā might be a Jaṭāvarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kalladakurichi inscription,18 dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachākavaṭār Kulaśēkharadēva, which mentions periyaṭṭayānār Śrivallabhadēva, to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva with Pūṭalamaṇḍandai introduction, and regard the Śrivallabha referred to therein as being identical with Māravarman Śrivallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharā with Pūṭalamaṇḍandai introduction.

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

1 No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.
2 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
4 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.  
5 Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.
7 Ibid.
8 No. 31 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.  
12 No. 327 of 1916.
14 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.
15 No. 50 of 1896.
18 No. 110 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulasēkhara is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Māgaravarn Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction Tirumagal-puṇyara. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri expressed the view that Māgaravarn Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrīvallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Māgaravarn Śrīvallabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Māgaravarn Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvinçūri,1 he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former.2 The conclusion we have arrived at above, viz., that Māgaravarn Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1154 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The Mahāvaṃsa tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bāhu. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulottuṅga III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōḷas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father’s death he had been contesting with Kulasēkhara for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulasēkhara lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya’s rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction Pāttalamadandai that Kulasēkhara held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājādirāja II, both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, i.e., the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālāṅgādu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayāṇam in the Pudukkōṭai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulasēkhara, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Ijān and conspired with him against the Chōḷas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulasēkhara, hinting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king who directed the chief Pallavariyān to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon.3 Vira-Pāṇḍya’s reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulasēkhara in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkollambūdūr inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Māgaravarn Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōḷa king Kulottuṅga and this cost him his own crown and kingdom.4 We have no direct information as to who this Māgaravarn Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulasēkhara.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jatavarman Śrīvallabha with the introduction

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1No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln, for 1908.
Tirumangadaiyam are registered in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*. Four of these mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya without specifying his relationship to the king. They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pāṇḍya, there is a possibility of taking Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha is registered, to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23. This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōla king Kulottuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Ādaśiyur-nādu by name Mummudisiṣṭāṇī Virasekharar figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulottuṅga. That he must have been quite near in point of time to Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śrīrāmaṇa Tōḷaṇ figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pāṇḍya made a gift of the village of Śeṇgulam alias Viraiyavītkanallur to the Mūlaśṭhānam-udaiyar temple at Kaṭṭikkalāṭur: and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha. It is further worthy of note that the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with Pūhalamadandai introduction. Thus, Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulottuṅga I, and immediately following Māravarman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśekhara of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kālīgarāyaṇ was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I (Pārīṅkīḷatt). From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings in the mediaeval period:

(i) the line of Māravarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara whose inscriptions have the Pūhalamadandai introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Kōṅgas and the Chōlas. Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśekhara's rule was brought about by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1117, on his provoing a traitor to the cause of his benefactor; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, ruled.

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

2 No. 683 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēṭṭagambudaiya-Nāyakār at Tiruvēṭṭagam in Pāganur-kērram.
3 No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
4 No. 39 of the same collection for 1909.
5 No. 32 of the same collection.
6 No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.
The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Chōlas but also towards the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulasēkharā and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Koṅgu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Chōlas was no less.

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

We cannot be sure if Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkharā with Pārṇikīṭatī introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tinnevelly inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II,¹ I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkharā I and Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had a common father in Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

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

Now about the length of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkharā I and about his successor. The highest regnal year² furnished for Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkharā I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kaṇṭanār (in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukkoṭtai State) states that, on the representation of Piḷḷaiyar Ajagapperumai, king Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

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

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1 No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Mārajavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (date lost), Pillaiyār Aļagaperumāḷ figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruvengai Rām in Padukkottai State and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 337).
end of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.¹ That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulaśekhara of the civil war with Pūtalamuṇḍanḍu introduction.


Of the Districts, Miḷalai-kūṟram and Muttūṟru-kūṟram have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.² It is stated in the Tamil Śōḷaṉāṉḍalasakatakam³ that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Veḷḷiru in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kambar calls the northern boundary Eṇaṟṟu-Veḷḷiru⁴ and thus distinguishes it from the

¹ A later record of the time of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (≈A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on dēvaṇḍa lands during the time of the Kamaṇṇiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭalur in Kāṇa-vaḷaṇādu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkōṟṟai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tirugōṟṟaram, dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of Sōmaladeviyār the queen of Narasinha and the mother of Sōmāsvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkōṟṟai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hoyaḷaṇs aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas.

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

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

Śellum-kuṇaṟṟpār-riyar-ṟeyr-laṭṭi velḷuṟṟu velḷiru
Velḷi-koṭṭaikkarai vīḷuṟṟu meṟṟḷal velḷapāl velḷirē
Elḷiy-枞oru-ṉaṟṟiṟṟu-ṟaṟṟam-irṟṟu-ṟaṟṟum-iṟṟam perīṟṟā
Malḷal vaiṟṟu talaḷāṟṟ-ṟṟuṟṟum vaiṟṟu-ṟaiṟṟu sōḷa-vaḷaṇādu

⁴ The following is the stanza:—

Kāṟṟal kilḷakku-tetkku-kkaiṟṟai-purāl velḷiru
Kuḷa-ṟiṣaiyir-Koṭṭaikkaraiyām vāḷa-ṛiṣaiyir
Eṇaṟṟu velḷiru-ṟrụṟṟu-ṟaṟṟum-ṟaṟṟum
Sōḷaṟṟu-kku-ṟṟiṟṟum-cheru sōḷa-vaḷaṇādu.
other Veḷḷāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the Sōla-muṇḍalasūrtakam and Kambār flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older ones but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or re-named it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as Koṅg-āṇa Viraśāla-maṇḍalam, Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āṇa Nigariśāla-maṇḍalam, Toṇḍai-nāḍ-āṇa Jayaṁgondaśāla-maṇḍalam, Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōla Āditya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājarāja I gave that country the new name Jayagondaśāla-maṇḍalam, it is the ancient name Toṇḍai-nāḍ or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Pāṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. and was re-named Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu in the 11th century, the name Pāṇḍi-nāḍu or Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Veḷḷāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōla dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than Sōḷādu or Sōḷa-maṇḍalam. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamīl literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāngi Taluk which lies to the south of the Veḷḷāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōla dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppupavāsal and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Veḷḷāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi and east of Taṇḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line 70° 5′ cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Veḷḷāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmāṇad and Śivaganga Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāngi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in Miḷālai-kūṟram. This Miḷālai-kūṟram is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Veḷḷāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named Veḷ-Evvi, of ancient
stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made. He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēḷ-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār celebrate him in one of the Tēvārām hymns. Vēḷ-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Tālaivāḷaṅḍāttu-ṆeṟuṆēḷ-ṆeṟuṆēḷ-jēḻyan. Vēḷ-Pāri's liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord. If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya NeṯuṆēḷ-jēḻyan and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, i.e., Pāṇḍiṉaṉdālām. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍiṉaṉdālām had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, viz., Kīḷ-kūṟṟu, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mēḷ-kūṟṟu, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāṁbāṟu, and NaṉṆuṆēḷ-kūṟṟu, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they lie scattered and unrecognised in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōḷas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōḷa dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam with its sister district of Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōḷas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Veḷḷāṟu river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōḷa dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēḷ-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍiṉaṉdālām and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection. They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

1 "Oṁbāṉ-Ṇēḷ mā-Vēḷ-Evvi." and "Tuṅ-Ṇuvīr Vēḷir" are the expressions used in describing him in Purāñ 24.
2 Verse 2 of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṉār's hymn on Tiruppugāḷar.
3 Purāñ 24. The words used are "Mīḷalaiyāṉu * * * Muttūṟu tanda korṟuṆīṟ-kūḷai-kkoṆi-lēṟ-chēḻyāṉu.*
4 Purāñ 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—
Kaṇḍand-aṅṟuṟ-taṉai mūṟvum-kūṟṟu-
uḍaṅṟaṅṟaṅṟaṅṟaṅṟaṅṟaṅṟuṟum Paṟṟumbo koṟṟaṟ-aridē
Munnuṟ-Ṇṟṭe taṉ-Paṟṟumbo-naṉ-pāṉu
Munnuṟ-Ṇṟum pariṟṟar perranar.
In an inscription, Tiruvāṉḍavāṉ is said to have been situated in Teṉ-Paṟṟumbo-naṉu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍiṉaṉdālām. (No. 423 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.)
5 There is a valuable contribution in the Koṟṟuṟmalar (Vol. IV, pp. 80f.) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on 'Vēḷ-Evvi and his country' where he has collected together most of the references to Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam and Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēḷ-Evvi.
Mijalai-kôram.\(^1\)

Naquvir-kôru.

Môl-kôru (Vâda-Pâmbûrû-nâdu)

\[\text{Kîl-kôru.}^2\]

\[\text{Taçdalal,}^3\]

\[\text{Mapamëlkudi aliës}^4\]

\[\text{Kulôttûngasôlîpamî}^5\]

\[\text{Majâjka}^6\]

\[\text{Embîl aliës Kalliyugamammallûr,}^7\]

\[\text{Pompam}^8\]

\[\text{Vânganâgar,}^9\]

\[\text{Seyyânam aliës Parâkramapâîgîyanallûr,}^10\]

\[\text{Kojuvannûr,}^11\]

\[\text{Vetehiyûr aliës Mummaðaîtîyanallûr,}^12\]

\[\text{Vilattûr aliës Jayangopâîgîjanallûr,}^13\]

\[\text{lûr.}^14\]

\[\text{Pudukkudi,}^15\]

\[\text{The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.}

\[\text{If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kîl-kôru in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naquvir-kôru on the western half, with the exception of Parântakanallûr aliës Kulôttûngasôlîjanallûr. The last men-}

\[\text{1} \text{This District was sometimes called Gâyavarînî-turnakû (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (551 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Mijalai-kûram without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Mungalai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvilli (No. 125 of 1912), Okkûr (No. 247 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII), Vejlar (No. 393 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII), Vittarpotu and Adûpî (No. 211 of the same Volume), Parûr (No. 67 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1910), Tiruvindalâr (No. 545 of 1916), Perunâvalû (No. 465 of S. I. I., Vol. V), Irumbâlî (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Adumûlû (No. 66 of 1927).}

\[\text{2} \text{Below, text-line 76.}

\[\text{3} \text{No. 448 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.}

\[\text{4} \text{Ibîd., No. 210.}

\[\text{5} \text{Ibîd., No. 372 of S. I. I., Vol. IV.}

\[\text{6} \text{No. 380 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1929-30.}

\[\text{7} \text{No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of S. I. I., Vol. V.}

\[\text{8} \text{No. 460 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1909.}

\[\text{9} \text{S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 372; Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 446; and A. S. S. I., pp. 48 and 53.}

\[\text{10} \text{S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 372; A. S. S. I., pp. 48, 52; and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909, No. 401.}

\[\text{11} \text{Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.}

\[\text{12} \text{No. 372 of S. I. I., Vol. IV.}


\[\text{14} \text{Mad. Ep. Colln. No. 15 of 1924 and No. 604 of 1916.}

\[\text{15} \text{S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.}

\[\text{16} \text{Ibûd., No. 432.}


\[\text{18} \text{S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 487 and Pudukkoûtâi State collection, Nos. 126 and 376.}

\[\text{19} \text{Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 457.}

\[\text{20} \text{Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1926, No. 551.}

\[\text{21} \text{Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.}

\[\text{22} \text{Nos. 324, 492 and 391 of Pudukkoûtâi State collection.}

\[\text{23} \text{No. 411 of the same collection.}

\[\text{24} \text{No. 372 of the same collection.}

\[\text{25} \text{S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.}

\[\text{26} \text{Ibûd., No. 987.}

\[\text{27} \text{S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.}

\[\text{28} \text{No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkoûtâi State collection No. 124.}
tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbanādu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallur. The places noted above under Mēl-kūrū, also called Vāda-Pāṃbāṟu-nādu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, viz., Mājavarmāṉikkaṟ, Śeṇḍamaṅgalam and Eṉāṅgalur are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēḷ chief Ervi in the first instance. That this Kūṟṟam is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, i.e., from the beginning of the tenth century down to being situated in Pāṇḍimaṉgalam shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍyaas from Vēḷ-Ervi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōḷaas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōḷa inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūṟṟam originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēḷ chief Ervi must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṉgalam. It would simply have been called Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam just like Urattūṟ-kūṟṟam. All that the Chōḷa conquest meant was that the Chōḷa suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his successors.

Some of the places of Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the places themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamēḻkūḻḍi is the place of nativity of Kulachhiraṉ-Nāṉṉār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king Nēlēṉṟi-pōr-varṟaṅnagāṟ-Nēṟumāṟṟu (i.e., Nēṟumāṟṟu who acquired lasting fame by the conquest of the battle of Nēlēṉṟi), the king who was converted to the Śaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jhāṅvasambandha, the contemporary of Śiṟuṟṟoṉḍa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vatāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Sēkkilār, the author of the Tamil Periyapurāṇam and the minister of the Chōḷa king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamēḻkūḻḍi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there. Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description. Similarly, Aṉuṟndaiyāṟkōyil is connected with the history of Māṇiṉkavāḷaṉ, another Pāṇḍya minister.

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

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1 No. 230 of 1928 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Mimapḷai in Mīḷalai-kūṟṟam in Pāṇḍi-nādu.


3 See foot-note 5, page 91 above.
locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Mijalai-kūram. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. A few others call the province, in which Mutturru-kūram was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam and Rājāraja-Pāṇḍi-nāgu. The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Mutturru-kūram are Kaṭṭivayal, Aḻujukottai, Kappalur alias Ulagālandaśojaṇallur, Aḍāṅgārimangalam, Muttur alias Uyyakkopḍaśojaṇallur, Aravattur, Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvīḍi-mangalam, Māvalur, Kuruvādimmidi alien Jinnendra-mangalam, Tittanām, Tengalai, Tiruppanavāyil, and Andanār-Sirukambar. The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Mijalai-kūram, is Tiruvādānai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvādānai Taluk runs the river Pāṁbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivayal, Aḻujukottai, Kappalur, Muttur, Aḍāṅgārī and Andanār-Sirukambar. Tiruppanavāyil (Tiruppanavāsāl) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea. We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Sēkkilār to the fact that Tiruppanavāsāl was included in the Pāṇḍya country. If there was room for misconception in the case of Mijalai-kūram on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Mutturru-kūram. Tiruvādānai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tirupattūr Taluk that the river Pāṁbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Mutturru-kūram.

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

1 No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.
2 Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.
3 No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.
4 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266.
5 Ibid., No. 408.
7 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1918, No. 76.
10 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.
11 No. 60 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.
12 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.
13 Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 599.
14 Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.
16 Ibid., No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.
17 Aḻujukottai is to the north-east of Tiruvādānai, Kaṭṭivayal is east by north of Aḻujukottai and about three miles to the west of the Pāṁbāru river and Sirukambur is to the west of the Pāṁbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivayal. Kappalur lies to the west of the Pāṁbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvādānai Taluk.
18 Jānnasambandha and Sundaramūrtti-Nēyāṅgar describe it in these words:—
"Purāṇa-kāḍaćanāḷvāy-eppunḍarigam mālar-pooygai ṣṇḍha Puṇavāyil"
"Kāḍaćanāḷvāy-puṟkenṟṟu tōṛṟṟum-emperumān Puṇavāyil."
19 Verses 884 to 893 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jānnasambandha before returning to his place. Among these Puṇavāyil is one (v. 891).
evidence to the fact that the territory over which Iruṅgōvēj-chiefs ruled was called Kōṇāḍu ¹ and that its capital was Koṭumbālūr. ² The question reduces itself to this ‘Could Muttāurrences have been included in or was even adjacent to Kōṇāḍu? ’. Kōṇāḍu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Kōṇāḍu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattūr Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāṇa-nāḍu and this Kāṇa-nāḍu is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It was contiguous to Kēraḷaśinga-vananaṇḍu. So then, between Kōṇāḍu which is reputed to be the territory of Iruṅgōvēj chiefs and Muttāruṛ-kūṟram, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēraḷaśinga-vananaṇḍu and Kāṇa-nāḍu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttāruṛ-kūṟram which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Kōṇāḍu, the territory over which Iruṅgōvēj held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

Kōṇāḍu —
(a) Appalvāyil-kūṟram — Irumbāil, Madinūr, Telingakulakālapuram (in Ten-Kōṇāḍu) alias Kulūṭṭungasāḷappattinam and Vīsālūr — all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
(b) Kuṭalūr-nāḍu — Pāṇayurvedam, Sēvālūr, Sīravaiyūr — all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
(c) Kuṇgīyūr or Kunṟisil-nāḍu — Kalānivāsāl, Mēl-Mapalūr, Parambaivūr, Punnangudi, Sīkkanallūr, Tirumalakkuṇram — all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
(d) Oḷḷaiyākūṟram — Anukūṭu alias Amanallūr, Iḍaiyārūr, Kāraiyyūr, Kīḷa-Taṇiyal, Karayūr, alias Uṭtamaḷappuram, Neriṇjikkuṭu, Oḷḷaiyūr alias Maduran, Oḷḷaiyūrmaṇgalam (Olīyamaṇgalam), Rājendrāḷapuram, Sōṭṭaṇūr, Sundaraḷapuram alias Dēṣiyagandaṭṭaḥam (Sundaram), and Vīntūkku alias Rājendrāḷapuram — all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
(e) Uṟṟattūr-kūṟram (Vaḍa-Kōṇāḍu) — Alattūr, Koṭumbāḷūr, Kūḷai-kuḷattūr, Mēnēlvā, Nirupāli, Payyūr, Pudukkuṭi, Śāṟapaṭṭaṇam alias Vīkramaśōḻappundhūrē and Tiruvaiyāṅkuṭi (Tiruvilāṅguṇḍi) — all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
(f) Vaḍa Śīruvaisil-nāḍu in (e) — Ilāṅjivūr, Kirinār, Kūṟumāṅgalam — all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
(g) Vayalaga-nāḍu — Pulvayal and Vayalam. Both are in Kuḷattūr Taluk.

Kāṇaṇāḍu —
(a) Kāṇa-nāḍu — Adanūr, Anandūr, Koṭṭaiyūr, Malayaṅkōil, Mōḻūr, Muniyandai, Peraiyūr, Perundūr, Perunkaraiṅkuṭi, alias Tiruvaraṅgulaṇallūr, Pūlīvalūr, Sōḷaṇḍiŋyapuram, Ten-Kaṭṭi, Tirumeyyam, Tulaiyānilai, Viraiyāchilai. These villages are in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

¹ One of the earliest sovereigns of Kōṇāḍu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śāiya devotee Iḍaiyāḷ-Nēyāṇār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷr family, ruled from Koṭumbāḷūr and was a lineal descendant of Aditya (v. 2 of Iḍaiyāḷ-Nēyāṇār Purāṇam). The Mūvarkōyil inscription of Koṭumbāḷūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷ family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1908, p. 87).

² Koṭumbāḷūr (Koṭumbāḷūr) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (Ṣilappadhikāram, Kōṭukūṭkādai, l. 71).

³ Tirumeyyam in Kāṇa-nāḍu has one of the eighteen famous Vaishnavas temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāṇa-nāḍu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.
(b) Seṉṟunra-nāḍu:—Āḷaṅguḍi, Āṅguḍi, and Mēḷanilai.
(c) Turumā-nāḍu:—Ānanandai, Kaṅganur, Tirunāvalur and Turumā—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

Kēralaṅkaṅgavalanāḍu and Madurōdaya-valanāḍu mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tiruppatṭur Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śivaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, viz., (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, (2) Śilapāṇḍya-valanāḍu, (3) Kīl-Kuṇḍāḷu, (4) Tēṅgārappōkkul, (5) Tiruttīyur-Muṭṭam, and (6) Adalaiyur-nāḍu. Of the villages of (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, viz., Nelvāyil, Pullamāṅgalam, Kulasēkharapuram, and Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram, are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while Iḷaiyāttakudi allō (or near) Kulasēkharapuram, Irāṇiyur, Koṟramāṅgalam and Koṟṟrattur are in the Tiruppatṭur Taluk. The villages in (2) are Kāraiyur, Tirukkōṭṭiyur, Śilamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdīmāṅgalam, i.e., Śivapuri, Kaṅgnāṅgalam, Karuṅgalattur, Mēḷur, Pāṭikkudi, Śirudai and Śirudai. The village Alagāpurī was situated in (3). In the sub-division of Tēṅgārappōkkul was the village Niyaṉam (Nēnam). Tiruttīyur-Muṭṭam had two divisions; in the eastern division (Kīḷai-Tiruttīyur-Muṭṭam) were the villages Śiruvavai, Anniyur, Dēsāṅgalam, Koṟṟuṅgalam, Vēppangulam, and Vēṟṟiyur, while Mēḷai-Tiruttīyur-Muṭṭam had Pāṇḍērī in it. The village of Tirukkōḷkūkudi (Kuṇṇakki) was in Adalaiyur-nāḍu in which passed the river Tēṅṟu. The villages of Ilai-Kaḷṟamāṅgalam (modern Śaṅnavaram), Pījār and Koṟṟamaṅgalam were in Tiruttīyur-Muṭṭam: but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

1 No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṇḍimaṅgalam.
3 Though the term valanāḍu is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of Kēralaṅkaṅga-valanāḍu, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.
4 Nos. 232 and 238 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.
5 No. 491 of the same collection.
6 No. 346 of the same.
7 No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of S. I. L., Vol. VIII.
8 No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.
9 No. 89 of 1916 of the same collection.
10 No. 85 of 1916.
11 No. 133 of the same for 1907.
13 Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-29.
14 No. 36 of the same collection for 1916.
15 No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.
16 No. 201 of the same for 1924.
17 No. 200 of the same for 1924.
18 No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.
19 No. 224 of the same for 1924.
20 No. 101 of the same for 1924.
21 Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.
22 No. 53 of the same for 1924.
24 No. 58 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.
25 No. 25 of the same for 1909.
26 No. 269 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.
27 No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
28 No. 12 of the same.
29 No. 50 of the same for 1924.
The sub-divisions of Madurâdaya-valanâdu and the villages situated in them are noted below:

(1) Kaññai-Irukki which had in it Ulâkkudi,¹ Iruñchirai,² Koṭṭakîrî,³ Veḷânerî,⁴ Karpa kìrî⁵ and Irûsinganallîr.⁶

(2) Mâdakkulâkkîl which had in it Kođimângalam,⁶ Madurârai,⁶ Sirûvenkûnram⁶.

(3) Veḷîrûkkulâkkîl, with Kundodâvi-chaturvedimângalam.⁷

(4) Râjaśîngâṅâkkulâkkîl which had in it Râjendirâ,⁸ Tiruppuvânam,⁹ Ambalattâdi-chaturvedimângalam.¹⁰

(5) Karunîlakkudi-nâdu which had in it Tiruttauṅgal.¹¹

(6) Iḷaikkudi-nâdu which had in it Mûlai-Şeļuvânûr²² aliă̇s Ŝatrubhayaṅkaranallîr.

(7) Venbûla or Venbil-nâdu which had in it Kumârâpavîtra-chaturvedimângalam¹³ and Ŝenkôşirukkai-Iḷattuvaij.¹⁴

(8) Purâppaṟâlai-nâdu which had in it Puttûr,¹⁵ Kaḷḷikudi,¹⁶ Mîḷâganûr¹⁶ and Nîrmaṇîyûr.¹⁷

(9) Kallâga-nâdu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten-Kallaga-nâdu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dëśâpaṭṭâram aliă̇s Vîkramâsaḷapuram¹⁹ (Vikramângalam), Ŝênduṅerî-Kaṭṭikallûr (Tenkarai)²⁰ and Parâkramâpûdiyupuram.²¹

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppuvânam plates without mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurâdaya-valanâdu. These are Mâdakkulâkkîl, Râjaśîngâṅâkkulâkkîl, Purâppaṟâlai-nâdu and Kaññai-Irukki.

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

² Below, text-line 108, 245, 246 and 250.
⁵ Below, text-line 16.
⁶ No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.
⁷ No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.
⁸ Below, text-line, 92.
⁹ Below, text-line, 133.
¹¹ No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.
¹² No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Taṅgal occurs as a village in the Pâḍyâ country in the Śileppadâgram Canto XXIII, I. 75.
¹³ No. 331 of the same collection for 1918.
¹⁴ Nos. 403 and 414 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.
¹⁶ Below, text-lines 106 and 111.
¹⁸ Nos. 613, 614 and 616 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1920.
²⁰ Ibid., No. 295.
sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Mílahair-
kúr̩am had no separate sub-divisions: in the place of the latter, we have Kír-kúrr̩u, Náduvir-
kúr̩u and Míl-kúr̩u, i.e., the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division
Šembi-nádu had Vádanai-Šembi-nádu, Kír-Šembi-nádu, etc., i.e., the northern and eastern
portions of Šembi-nádu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are
mentioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical
items Mágakkulaḷḷ, Rágžendraśigán̄gulaḷḷ, etc., immediately follow a váranádu or district and are
followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to
take the terms ending in “kulaḷḷ” to mean “to the east of any particular tank”. In these
items the particle kír does not mean “east” as opposed to “met’ “west” but stands for “under or
in”. Hence we have inserted the four items ending in kulaḷḷ as sub-divisions and assigned
them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy
of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be
situated to the west, north or south of Mágakkulaḷḷ, Rágžendraśigán̄gulaḷḷ, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vádanai-Šembi-nádu in which
Āykkur̩i alia Alagārāṇḍiyarāḷḷ was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the
villages Iyamāṇisvāram,1 Mélai-Koḻumal̄ḷ2 or Koḻumal̄ḷ alia Uttarampāṇḍiyarāḷḷ, Kílai-
Koḻumal̄ḷ3 alia Madurōdayarāḷḷ, Māvilai,4 Nallārkur̩uchu,5 Perunżirāḷl,6 and Deyvačhinchān̄nāḷḷ otherwise called Paṁgaṇāḷḷ. Except Iyamāṇisvāram (Emanisvāram)
which is in the Paramakudi Taluk, the rest are found in the Muṇukulatṭu Taluk of the Rāmnād
District. The name of the division shows that Šembi-nádu had other divisions. In fact, inscrip-
tions refer to Kír-Šembi-nádu in which were the villages Āykkur̩i,7 Kālari alia Kairavanāḷḷ,8
Kádamban̄guḍi,9 Nallārkur̩u,10 Mārur̩vay alia Śrivallabhanāḷḷ,11 Pāvittirāṇṇāśikakapaṭṭiṇ̄n,12
Nallirakal̄ḷ13 alia Vīrapāṇḍiyarāḷḷ,14 Tirpuḷḷāḷ15 and Šembiyāḷ-Perāmbūr;16 Śridēśam
which had in it Tiru-Uttarākōśamāṇgaṇ, as other divisions of Šembi-nádu. Most of these villages
are in the Rāmnād Taluk.

Kālavaḷi-nádu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vāna-Kālavaḷi-nádu were
Alagāmānagara,9 Kōdaipirāṭṭuṇaḷḷ,10 Kungaṭṭu11 and Purkuḷi.12 Ten-Kālavaḷi-nádu
had in it Muṇikopāṇḍiyaparam13 and Pullūr̩i14 alia Śrivallabhanāḷḷ. That Kādambar̄guḍi was a village in Kālavaḷi-nádu and bore the name Mālāyāraṇṇāḷḷ in learnt from two
inscriptions.14 Arājāyūr was another village in the same division.16

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2 Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1920.
4 No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.
6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 399.
7 H.C., No. 398.
8 Ibid., No. 402.
9 Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 376 of 1920-21.
10 No. 319 of the same collection for 1922.
11 Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.
12 No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 16 of 1924.
13 No. 47 of the same for 1925.
14 No. 229 of the same for 1924.
15 Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.
16 No. 306 of the same collection for 1922.
## APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arasiyan Narayanan of Kattikuruchchi</td>
<td>Parintakanallur</td>
<td>Naduvir-kurru</td>
<td>Mijalai-kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Parantakan Tiruppuvanamudialyag</td>
<td>Taapalai</td>
<td>KIl-kurru</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Karunakaradovan Purpavamudialyag</td>
<td>Margaor alias Palamangapaditalannallur</td>
<td>Alagiyapandiyakkuakkal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pillai Alvan alias Ponnambalakkuttan who was the kaukani of Tiruvyakkelei Ponnan Suryadavan alias Jayadhara-Pallavanar</td>
<td>Karuppur</td>
<td>Tirumunaippadi-nadu</td>
<td>Solamadalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Velan Satyan, the kaukani of Poyyamothijivar</td>
<td>Puttar</td>
<td>Purapparalai-nadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Narayanan Satyan who was the kaukani of Samudiyam Siraman Tiruvudialyan alias Potappichcholar</td>
<td>Kil-Nettur alias Kitiyikkalayanallur</td>
<td>Karunagudi-nadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Arayan Tirumalai-Udialyan who was the kaukani of Mulasittanam Sivalavan Alagiyamanaivdalan alias Kalingarayar</td>
<td>Veliyarur alias Kappalur alias Ulagelandaoolanallur</td>
<td></td>
<td>Keralasinga valanadu Mutturu-kurram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Arayan Karunagirikam who was the kaukani of Majavarayar</td>
<td>Arumakalam Aykkudi alias Alagiyapaadyanallur</td>
<td>Poliyar-nadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Uyyavanadun Ponnan alias Manabtharana-Mhavendavelur who was the adopthrum of Pillaiyur Alagapperumal</td>
<td>Ktt-Pakali alias Dinavinjodanallur</td>
<td>Tyandaikudi-nadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nambi Ponnambaliekkuttan alias Virasingadivar</td>
<td>Kappalur alias Ulagalanadalannallur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Malalakinyaninrny Alagan alias Vijayavichchhadirdarvar who was one of the most of Alagiyapandiyangar</td>
<td>Sigupalaiyar alias Kaverivalavanallur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Nettur is in the Siraganga Taluk.
2 This is in the Tiruppattur Taluk.
3 This is a (Z) village in Tiruvadjain Taluk.
4 Paramakudi Taluk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
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<th>Village.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II (ll. 93-96).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Madavan Divakara-Bhatan</td>
<td>Magavramadurai</td>
<td>Tiyandaikuji-nadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Narayana Narayaga-Bhatan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sri (Sri) Madavan Narasimha-Bhatan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Govinda Tirumalakotttha-Bhatan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jataveda Subrahmanya-Bhatan</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| III (ll. 96-98). |                                   |                  |               |                       |
| 17        | Adityan Sadasivraja-Bhatan of Tirukkudandai |                  |               |                       |
| 18        | Sri-Krishna Ajiyagarhava-Bhatan     | Marudiar alias Maduradaya-chaturvędinangalam. |               |                       |
| 19        | Kalyana Venpaiskutta-Bhatan         | Ditto            |               |                       |

| IV (ll. 98-100). |                                   |                  |               |                       |
| 20        | Abhagui Sriyanganatha-Bhatasoma-Kāṭhakayājī var. |                  |               |                       |
| 21        | Narayana Narayaga-Bhatan           | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 22        | Sri-Vasudevan Nagnapirān-Bhatan    | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 23        | Sri-Rama Paramatma-Bhatan          | Ditto            |               |                       |

| V (ll. 100-103). |                                   |                  |               |                       |
| 24        | Aranya Uyyanāigrāvān alias Sembiyaranyan. |                  |               |                       |
| 25        | Kesavan Narayana                  | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 26        | Karundakkam-Korrap                | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 27        | Kalvayil Kesavan                 | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 28        | Periyān Perān                    | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 29        | Nangan Alavan                    | Ditto            |               |                       |
| 30        | Vasudevan Sūriyadēvan              | Ditto            |               |                       |

*Melappalal and Kilipalal are (I) villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI (103-106)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Appan Sūryadēvaḥ</td>
<td>Polyūr <em>alias</em> Pārthivavāsārānallūr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Udayaḥ Vangunādēvaḥ <em>alias</em> Alajīrāpōpiṇya-Viluppārāyanaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sūryaṇ Varantarūvaṇaḥ <em>alias</em> Saṅgīrāmasāṅga-Pallavarāyanaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Sundarattōḷaḷayāṇ Śomādevaṇaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII (106-108)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dayānilai Uyyavandāṇaḥ <em>alias</em> Chēdirāyanaḥ</td>
<td>Kāḷikkudī <em>alias</em> Puravuvvarinallūr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Purappāralai-nāḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Aṇukkaṇ Aṇiyāṇaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Appan Arumojjēvaṇaḥ <em>alias</em> Śembiyaṇ-Viluppārāyanaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Puttūr-kilavanc Battaṇ <em>alias</em> Puraparājainādu-kilavanc</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII (108-110)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Paliyānilai Sūryaṇadēvaṇaḥ <em>alias</em> Tamipāḍukilavanc</td>
<td>Iruśchīraṇa <em>alias</em> Indiraśamānamallūr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kāṇai-Irukkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Vēlān Iraṭṭai <em>alias</em> Rājakūṭa-Pallavarāyanaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX (110-129)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Śaciraṇ Śeivaṇaḥ</td>
<td>Milagāṇu <em>alias</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rāmaṇaṇaḷaṇaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Śogaṇ Mākkanaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Nāgasāluṇ Rāmaṇaṇaḥ <em>alias</em> Rājanārāyaṇu-Māvāṇdaḷāḷaṇaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Aṃṣariyāṇaḥ</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This is a (Z) village in the Sivaganga Taluk.
2 Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kaṭṭamallūr-Irukkai. See V. 38 of Tiruvālakāṇḍararr Tiruvilappalai 44, p. 102. "Tiruppāravaiṇgam pudikktum-iṇl-irukkai vaṭṭivaņaḷḷuṇeḻappamavṟam Kaṭṭamallūr-Irukkaiyam aṇburaṅgam". The place is near Māṇamaduraṇi. A later inscription (No.399 of S. - I., Vol. VIII) mentions Irukkaiyam-aṇburaṅgam and locates Māṇamāyikkolātu in it.
3 This is an (I) village in Sivaganga.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Arayana Pullani who had the kshapparu of Pullani Madhavan alias Nuhambaraiyar</td>
<td>Achehankatti rukkai Tirumalli</td>
<td>Nuhambaraiyar</td>
<td>Kili-Sembaradu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Milaghaṇur sarmaṇeṇa Rājamudrakārṇa by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Milaghaṇur that was taken up and included in Rājagambhirā-chaturvedimangalam.

X (ll. 120-123).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Śatien Kāṇavadi</td>
<td>Śrīkukṭattār alias Parākrāma pāṇḍityaṇāllār</td>
<td>Alagiyapāṇḍitya kulakil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Sundaratōluḍalayān Dēva</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Śatien Kaṇḍaṇ alias Tirumalirudōḷalai Dāssana</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Vēḷaṇ Sundaratōluḍalayān</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Śtvallavan Pērayiramudalayaṇ alias Māṇaṇiratna - Vēḷaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Dēva Śtvallavan Aṛāṭṭamūkkidāsana</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XI (ll. 123-124).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Udayādīvākaraṇa Śrī-Kārimāra Bhaṭṭaṇa of Ijavimangalam</td>
<td>Śrūkudī alias Virakamagamaṇgaṇam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇa Subrahmanya-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XII (ll. 125-127).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Uyyaninraḍi Periyāḷaṇ</td>
<td>Viṭṭattal alias Mānabharana-chaturvedimangalam</td>
<td>Kiraṇgūr-nādu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Śeṇḍaḍi Karumāmukil-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Gōvindan Māṇeṇḍrakaḷaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Ādityan Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XIII (ll. 127-128).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of persons</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Sub-division</th>
<th>District or Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Vēḷaṇ Kōvaṇ</td>
<td>Veḷḷiḥurukṣecka</td>
<td>Alagiyapāṇḍitya kulakil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Āḍi PṛrRaṇ</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td>Dītto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Most of the places in Kili-Sembaradu are, like Mānagudi, situated in the Ramnad Taluk of the Ramnad District.
2 There is a village called Śrīkukṭaḷa in the Śivaganga Taluk.
3 There is a village called Veḷḷiḥurukṣecka in the Śivaganga Taluk.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Veluji Agavan alias Sundarapandiyamayanaviligal.</td>
<td>Velujiyurpocheli</td>
<td>Alagiyapandiyakulakki</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Veluji Sirinakko</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV (ll. 129-131).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Uyarupadhyayar</td>
<td>Marudur</td>
<td>Tiruvavanam</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Karumangikam Bhatan</td>
<td>Perumpellyar</td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Mayaravahanag Aduvang-Bhatan</td>
<td>Marudur</td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV (ll. 131-132).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Raman Uyyavanadan</td>
<td>Veluji alias Alagiyapandiyamayalur</td>
<td>Kiranur-nadu</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Perang Patanag</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Devang Nambai</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Soran Natang</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clubbing the villages in the brahmadaiva of Rajagambhiraschatuvedimalangalam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Anguramiypamman Adiyakumallaperumang alias Pallavaraiyan.</td>
<td>Tiruppadanam</td>
<td>Iradiyakanakikki</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Meppu Malayyan Sorang alias Vijnattaraiyan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Devan Telli alias Madurodiyapallavaraman.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Savigtpet-Bhatan alias Sivallavapallavaraman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Kavadvani Straman alias Sundarapandiyapallavaraman.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Erang Paripang alias Paripiyapallavaraman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Puru Aravumjaivang Villi alias Mudittalaikopda-Pallavaraman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Rājagambhirā-valanāṇḍu.

(Līṭes 19 to 69.)

Kīrṇāṇur-nāḍu.

Nakkamāṅgalam.—The village of Kīrṇāṇur in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vānaikudi.—This was a dēdāna of Tiruppūrāṅgamuṇḍaiyār.

Tiravāṅgam.

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

Kīrṇāṇikkōṭṭai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.


Paṇṇāṅgalur-nāḍu.

Adikarai.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Mittiravāḷi.

Vēḷāṅguḷam.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Omalaiyāṅ-ēmbal.—A land in Vēḷāṅguḷam.

Śolaiyēri.—Now called Sōlaśēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kūḷāṅiĝēdi.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aruravari-Pudukkulam.

Kī-Khāṇīri.

Mēr-Chāṇīri.

Piṇḍikkulam.

Paṇṇāṅgalur aḷiḷa Paṇḍitapāṇiśaḷaṭṭāḷur.

Śeyyakulattūr.—Its present name is Sēyyakulattūr (in Śivaganga).

Śīnganirūyudaiyāṅ-kāṇipparu.—A land in Śeyyakulattūr.

Vaṇṭiyēri.

Karkupelchēzi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkurchēzi.

Ariyāṅkuruchēzi.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Āraikkulam.

Arugasāddi, Vīṭrāṅgappēravay-ēmbal, Vīṭrāṅgappēravay-ēmbal, Moḷiyāṅ-ēmbal, Ambalakkōṭṭap-ēmbal, Sīṭtāṅ-ēmbal and Paṇṭrīyira-ppēravay-ēmbal, are lands in Āraikkulam.

Uvaṇiyamāṅgalam.

Pudaichēṭṭaṅkuḷu.—This is a land in Uvaṇiyamāṅgalam.

Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu.

Ugārīyēri.

Kōṭṭai.

Śīvīyarūṅkuḷu, and Uduṃbbandai are lands in the above village.

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

Karahīyēri.

Kūṟīpēri.

Māṭṭidakkīyēri.

Śaṅgapēravay-ēmbal.

Putṭēmbal.—This may be Putṭēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḷiyāṅkurēri.—This may be Kāḷīyāṅkurēdi in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śēṇkuḷu.

Oṟṟukkōṟāṅēri.

Kalvēyilāṅgalam.

Pullanēri.

Śēṇdāṅēri.
Nakkanperri.

Purkalam.—This is a (Z) village in Sivaganga Taluk.

Uyyan-Suriyang-Embal.

Marandankudi.—This is in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Naravakudi.

Kandiyumdarajyan-Embal.

Suru-Nakkanperri.

Sulaimani.—Now called Sudaimani in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Purakkulam.—Now called Putturakkulam in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Sivuvalay.

Kongarkulam.—Now called Kongarakulam in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Ponnammal.

Karkulam.—Now called Kalkulam in Sivaganga.

Karamkula.—There is one Karungkulam in Sivaganga Taluk.

Eyili.

Pudinachankulam.

Puliyankulam.—Still so called. In Sivaganga Taluk.

Pudukulam.

Vejjikurucheli.

Vayttalainallur.

Kaduvett.—This is the name of a land in Vayttalainallur.

Mangavaramudurai.—This is Mainavaramudurai.

Marudur.

Sangam—Embal.

Sanakaramangalam.—Now called Sanagamangalam in Sivaganga.

Tiyangur-Solaiyeri.—There is a Tiyangur in Sivaganga Taluk.

Kilangkiettur alias Puravari-chaturvedimangalam.—In Sivaganga Taluk.

Meer-Palali alias Srivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.—In Sivaganga Taluk.

Pirandikerry.—There is a Pirandikulam in Sivaganga Taluk.

Kadukukudi.—There is a Kakudi in Sivaganga Taluk.

Soottali.—A dvadasa of Tiruppalainadhar of Meer-Palali alias Srivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.

Tiruppa-Sondan—Embal.—This may be Sundan—Embal in Paramakudi Taluk.

Tattan—Embal.—Now called Tattanendal in Paramakudi Taluk.

Vembodi—Embal.

Pappan—Embal.—There are villages called Pappanendal in Paramakudi Taluk as well as in Sivaganga Taluk.

Edurililappurayan—Embal.

Vilankali.—A dvadasa of Sri-Valkunda-Vingagar-Aylur of Meer-Palali alias Srivallabha-chaturvedimangalam.

Kalichcheli—Embal.

Tiruppa Papanpenni.—There is a Papanpennal in Sivaganga.

Kil-Velliyarrar.

Mel-Velliyarrar.

Maadhavurukulam.

Nelvelli.—This may be Nemelli in Paramakudi Taluk.

Tangalattaraivan—Embal.

Somattur.—This is in Paramakudi Taluk.

Aravankudi.

Karungkulam.—This is in Paramakudi Taluk.

Eppattur.

Tadappigral.

Kanchiraikkulam.—This is in Sivaganga Taluk.

Meerku-di—Nadu.

Meerku-di alias Kalijayamangalam.

Meer-Meerkudi.—Killa-Meerkudi and Meela-Meerkudi are villages in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Maanjalur.
Korrapati.—There is a village named Kottannakulam in Siyaganga and Paramakudi Taluks.
Mutturannarottal.—A divadana of Tiruppavarnamudaiyaram.
Ansalvay.—Now called Annaasal in Siyaganga Taluk.
Sundandembal.—Now called Sundanandal in Siyaganga Taluk.
Narimaniyam alias Varagasanallur.—There is a village named Narayandal in Siyaganga Taluk.
Siyagan—Siyagan is a village in Siyaganga Taluk.
Uraiappu, Talaiembal, Korrapati, Suriyainembal and Somanperi are lands and tanks in Varagasanallur.

Purapparai-nadu.

Pullaeri.
Kanjanur, Lands in—Kanjanur is a village in Siyaganga Taluk.
Mudalakuruchchi.
Kath—Putkurai in it.
Achenkatturukkai-Miliganur alias Rajaendraisinganallur.—Miliganur is a village in Siyaganga Taluk.
Minneri, Kanikkudi, Arayyaneri, and Naduvir-Selikulattu-ulvay.—These are near Miliganur.

Merr—Setti.
Kuruchchaitt.
Sirukkanai.
Puvaninallur.
Arikudi.
Somaneri.
Tayian-Padi-embal.
Sirikkallkattur, a divadana of Tiruppavarnamudaiyaram.—There is a village called Kilangattur in Siyaganga Taluk.
Sirumalai.
Nerkurum (trupp).
Kattikkulam.—There is an (I) and (Z) village of this name in Siyaganga.
Perram-embal.—There is a village called Pettenandal in Paramakudi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are: Tiruvaykkili, Samaadham, Mayigattam, Adjiram, Valanpy-kuriyam-seggira, Amoittaipam, and Mayppu. Their comutation may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word Tiruvaykkili consists of tiru “sacred”, vay “mouth” and keli “hearing” and means “what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)”, i.e., “any royal oral order”. As an official designation applied to persons it means “one who hears the royal oral order.” In ancient times, among the king’s retinue there were some who bore this designation.

And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement “nam keli taru-chchkpyam” meaning “we directed the issue of our keli (oral order put in writing)”.

The word “keli” is seen sometimes substituted by “ola” (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it tirumandaramblai where taru (Skt. tru) denotes “His Majesty’s”, mandira “council” and ola “document or order”. Thus, its equivalent is “the order of His Majesty in Council”. It is exactly the same as tiruvaykkili. The word samudaya means “gathering, crowd or a body of people”. From it comes Samaudiyam “one of the members of the samudaya”. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term Mayigattam may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king’s household. It may be rendered into “Palace-Manager”. Adjiram may be taken to mean “one who exercises power, a maintainer of law”. Prakriya vidadhikara and the explanation “yavastha-sikapariga” well bring out the sense. Valanpuykariyam-seggira means “the administrative head of a district”. The sense of the term Amoittaipam is well brought
out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the māda (district or subdivision) in company with the kaṅkṣā (Superintendents), had to go with them mounted on the elephant (śoṣa) and to point out the boundaries. Meypū is somewhat difficult to explain definitely. It is not known whether the first letter me is long or short. If long it may indicate that the person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may denote a police officer. In the name Pūṣru Avasamudaiyan Villi (No. 76 of Appendix A), the word Pūṣru may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined now.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate; First Side.**

1 Svasti śṛṣṭiśaḥ Ambhaḥḥ ṣāṇrvamāḥ-ahbād-śiḍa-ndiḥ-tad-udarăḥ śīṣṭe sma Śēshē Haris-tan-nābhēr-ajanāśaḥ patmāḥ-abhāvat

2 tasmāt śvayam Viśvaśit [1*] tasmāt-Attrir-amushya-lōchana-puṭād-Indur-Budhas-tat-sutas-tasmād-aśa Pururavā

3 s-tata śiṃ śāṇdyāvāra jajñīrē ś. Svasti śṛṣṭi Sundarēśād-aṣagata-saṃayā[ṛḥ]-śvā-abhi-


5 Kanaka-pati-tithau Pāvīṇ-kilattī mē-

6 vi vṛṣiruppa mēṇiṇī-mādu niśītya-puṇa vaya-pōr-maṇḍanda jaya-puivāt-iruppa mā-kKalai-maṇḍanda

7 vākkiniṇī viśaṅga-ṛtiṇiāy-ruṇ-māṇgum-śiśai-nilāv-eṛppa Maṛai-neri valara Māṇi-neri tigala āra-ne-

8 ri-chchamaiyāṅga-ārun-talaippa-kkāṇa-ṛṇgaiyai vīludan turandu minaḥ-Kanaka-

9 vṛṣiruppa en-gīrī sālinda elu-kaṇāl-śuṇā-polī veṣ-kudai-nilāv-cheṅkō-ṇaḍappa

<sup>1</sup>This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 310. The Archaeological Survey of South India, Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by A. S. S. I., actually taken it for visarga from which it is hardly distinguishable.

<sup>2</sup>Read ambhaḥ.

<sup>3</sup>In this inscription, wherever reś occurs, a is doubled.

<sup>4</sup>The letter du of darē seems to have been inserted in the space between du and re. It looks like the length sign of a.

<sup>5</sup>Read padmaṃ.

<sup>6</sup>There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also abhaṣa (l. 1), tat-sutra (l. 2) and vatsarē (l. 4).

<sup>7</sup>In place of s-tata śiṃ, A. S. S. I. reads puṣaṇā (1).

<sup>8</sup>The syllables *svādha-śāhlīṅgā* have been read as *svādha-kāṭīṃ* in A. S. S. I. There is no doubt about the reading given in our text. The letter kāṭī is rare and looks like kara as it must; but it cannot be taken for kāṭī, for the length sign is clearly distinguished in this inscription from ra by the letter being given a tail at the bottom.

<sup>9</sup>The letter du is corrected from ṛu.

<sup>10</sup>Vanta is the reading in A. S. S. I. The bottom letter ṛ is slightly damaged.

<sup>11</sup>Mīni is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. V, it is replaced by mīṣai.

<sup>12</sup>The reading in S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is ṛ. In this inscription, the letter ṛ is clear.

<sup>13</sup>Though mīṣai is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of S. I. I., Vol. V, our inscription uses mīṣai both here and in line 12; the short and long ā are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of S. I. I., Vol. V, mīṣai is followed by ṛukṣa instead of ṛukṣa.
10 Kali najungi nejum-pilatt-olippa Villavar Raembiyar Virat Varatara Pallavar tiraiyudan murali murali
11 paipiya iru-nemyi-alavum-oru-nemyi-oiga inn-amud-sigya iyai-ijai-nidarapanum[4] manji valara maangi mur-
12 gdi verpega-oigya virasiinbasanattu-kkarpaga-nilqokalai-valor pugala mannavar-
13 deviyan vaan-
14 ogi-nin-ettam-antha-men-ndaliy-Avanimujudaliyaroqum virirund-aruliya eri-kok-
15 Chadalvarrnan-
16 r-an Traibhuwanachakravartigai eri-Kulasakaradawarku yanardu 13-vadu nali nali-
17 ayirattu munnu-
18 r-arupadinaal Madurdaya-valanntu Madakkula-kki Madurai-koorip-paliiy-araik-
19 kkojatu-

First Plate; Second Side.

16 tu-ppalii-pplam Malavarajapil ajundaraliy-irundu Vedamum Sastramum poy vyakhyaatikkaluyi-
17 rukku-chaturvyedi-Bhajargal per-ayiratt-enpadinmukku =ppangu ayiratt-enpadum
devadana-p-
18 pan-see-virutti pangu nurr-enpadum aaga-ppangu ayiratt-iru-nirrukku-enpadim-

muvadavid-
19 *n-edir padin-ongram-ndodu-modal bahmadcyam-aagakKirangur-nattu *Nakamaugala-
umum Udaiyaa-
20 r Tiruppavam-ndaiyar devadana Vagaiikudiyum utpadu brahmadcyam-aaga-koottina
tiruvai-
21 namum-Tuttiyurum *Kirungakkottiyum-ivv-aga *Kaduvettiyum Muottamun Korra-
22 gneriyu-
23 n-Tajaliyili-Tiyagiy-embalam Vellattaiyengain-embalam Pagavadiy-embalam N-
24 jugir-koottiyum-Kooy-etti-kuruchchiyum Panangalur*nattu Adivaraiyum Mitti-
25 ravaiyum Velaugulanum Omajagiyaq-embalam-Chalaiyqriyu-Kudaiiyadjiyum-Aru-
26 varai-Pudulkumum-Ki Churaiyum Mq-Churaiyum Piilakulamum Panangalur-ana
Panjita-
27 paanjaranallurum Seyysakullatturum Sinanqeriyudaiyin kapparpuram Vaqiyiyirum-Kaqq-
28 rikkchiyum *ariyankuruchchiyum-Araikkulamum-Arusakkadiyum Virangaga-
29 *ppernayn-

[1] Manjatir is a variant found in No. 392 of S. I., Vol. V.
[2] Instead of this phrase, vilangqyta kudis-aeji occurs in No. 392 and vilangqyta alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of S. I.

V. V.

[3] The to of munattu is an interliningation. It is entered below the line.
[4] The reading sadu in A. S. S. I., is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.
[6] The s sign of yd is engraved at the end of the previous line.
[7] Over the letter Na, the s sign is entered and erased.
[8] The length of yd is entered at the beginning of the next line.
[11] Read s-
[12] The length of la is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 23.
[14] The word kuruchchi is in some cases spelt kurichiki. See lines 77, 106, 236.
[15] This word may also be read pparipan. As there is no s sign over the letter r, the reading pparipan given in
A. S. S. I. must be considered wrong.
TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

Second Plate; First Side.

1. This word may also be read ppdyag. As there is no sign over r the reading pperiyag given in A.S.S. I. must be considered wrong.
2. The e sign of nē is entered at the end of the previous line.
3. In ɲəd, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written ra and inserted the length mark afterwards between ɲ and rə.
4. Pakar given in A.S.S. I. is incorrect.
5. Kād, the reading in A.S.S. I., is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling kādī.
6. Here and in many more places the letter ī is shaped exactly as the e sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.
7. This word has been read Udumavandai in A.S.S. I.
8. At the beginning of this line, the A.S.S. I. has kādī of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly īa.
9. The reading pperiyag given in A.S.S. I. is inadmissible. There is no ɲ sign over r. An alternative reading would be ppoyard, which does not give good sense.
10. By mistaking ɲ for ɲ, Kābārī has been made out in A.S.S. I.
11. Read ār. Perhaps the writer uses ɲ in place of ūk.
12. There is nothing to suspect the letter to be ā as has been done in A.S.S. I.
Second Plate; Second Side.

46 utpada Virapāṇḍyaṅ-kōḷāl nilam-nāl-araṁy mukkaṅi i-nnila[m*] nāl-araṁy mu-kkāṣi-yun=

47 nikki nikk-pakkattārum Maṇavarum pāṛṛy=ul[a] nilamum Pīrāṇḍyēriyum-kaṇuku-diyum

48 Mēṛ-Pāsalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdiṁaṅgalattu=ṭīṛṛppu[sa]jaipñādar dēvadā[na]=

Cheṭtā.

49 [ēriyum-ṭīṛṛppu=chChoppaṅ-ēmbalam-Tattan-ēmbalam Vēmbōd-[ēmbalam] Pāppā-

50 u-ēmbalam Edirūḷējappērayān[=ē] śrīval[i]*labha-[chaturvē]-

51 dimān.

52 galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṅgagar-Āḷvēṛķu-kaṅkāṛamayu=utpada=ddēvadāṇa 的支持 yilī vējru-

53 mēna-

54 I Vēlaṅkāḷu-Kaṅchēhiy-ēmbalam-kuḍiṭkāṇiṅku-ṭṭalaināru viṭṭa nilamum tīr[a]pu

Pāṇa.i.

55 yanēriyum-[K]ī[=]veliyāṛrūrum [M]ēṛ-veliyāṛrūrum Maṇḍaiyaṅ-kuḷamum-Nel-

54 veliyum-Taṇ-nilattaraiyan-ēmbalam Sōmāṭiyum Aravanukūdiyум-Karu(ō*)kuḷamum É-

55 nēṭturum-Tājaṁpiriyum-Kāḷākūṭākuḷamum Mēṛkuḍi-nāṭṭu Mēṛkuḍiy-āṇa Kāliyay-

56 maṅgalam padin-mūṅrāvadiṁ-edit pāṭām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍiṭpāṛṛy vanda nir-nilamun-ka-

57 ruṅche[=y]* puṇḍeyu[m*] nattumum-utpada Virapāṇḍyaṅ-kōḷāl nilam-iraṅḍē nālu-

58 mēi- ni-nilam-iraṅḍē nālu-māvu[m*] nikki nikk-pakkattār pāṛṛy-ul[a] nilamum Mēṛ-Mēṛku-

59 dyum Maṇḍalăuru-Korāṇēriyum Udāyār Tiruppūvaṇam-udāyār dēvadāṇa[m*] Mut-

60 tūruṇāṭṭiyan Aṇḍalăyu[m*]=i-vv-ūrp[p]p̣ār.-Chundan-ēmbalam Nārāmanramāṇa Va[ra].

Third Plate; First Side.

61 gaṇḍanallūrum ivv-ūrp̣ār.12-Chulaiyaṇēriyum-Uriyappiyanum Taḷiṭi-ēmbalam Kō-

62 tāṛṇēriyum Sūriyaṅ-ēmbalam Sōmaṛṇēriyum tirappu Purapparāḷai-nāṭṭu Pūḷḷa.12

63 tēriyum Kaṇṭāṅur-kaṇṭākēyyapparir-kuṭṭiṇa nilamum Madalaikurichchi-kkāruṁche-

64 yum Kī-Tēḷi-ppurīkaraṇiyum Aṭṭaṇāṅkāṭṭiṛkkaī Mīḷagaṅā-āṇa Iraśēndiśāṅgana-

65 llūrum ivv-ūrp̣ārṇ Maṁṛṇēriyum Kaṇṭāṅkūdiyum Aṭṭiyanēriyum Naṇḍiṇi-Chēḷi-

1 Kākekdi is the reading in A. S. S. I. This is due to the resemblance of du to t sign.

2 The t sign of Mē is entered at the end of the previous line.

3 The reading nēṭturum Śemāḍēri given in A. S. S. I. is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter thē is very

4 clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate t, it seems to have been mistaken for wē. As the loops of wē are

5 fully developed in this insertion, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being thē and not wē. I

6 have accordingly taken the word to be Śemāḍēri.

7 This word has been wrongly read as tūru in A. S. S. I. Tirappu occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where

8 it has been correctly read.

9 Here again, we have pōraṇas-t. The engraver appears to have inclined the t sign over ṭ and erased it.

10 The last syllable is wē and not wē as given in A. S. S. I.

11 Here the loop for long t is wanting.

12 For Mē the engraver has written pē.

13 The letter ṭ of wēp̣ān resembles pā. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.

14 The reading pōrāṇas-t of A. S. S. I. is not admissible.

15 The last letter ṭ is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.

16 In place of pōṛ̣, the A. S. S. I. has Madār.

17 Instead of pōrāṇi and Pūḷḷa, we have Pīrāṇa and Yalla in A. S. S. I. The engraver has written p̣ā as a

18 group and the group symbol actually resembles yā.
Third Plate; Second Side.

76 ṇanum Miḷai-kaṅkāṇi Tāndalaiuḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tiruppūvaṇamudai.¹
77 yāṇum AlagiyaṆaḍiyakκulakkik Māŗaṇu-āṇa Paḷaṇaḍiyalidattanallur² Maṇuṇī-
78 r-uḍaiyāṇ Karuṇākaradevan Purpavaṇamuḍaiyāṇum Tiruvāykkeli-puṟapparai-
79 lai-nāṭṭu-puṭṭur-uḍaiyāṇ Poṇnaṇ Sūriyaḍavan-āṇa Jeyardara-paḷavavaiyar ka-
80 nkāṇi Śoḷa-manḍalattu Tirumunaippāḍi-nāṭṭu-karaṇpur-uḍaiyāṇ "Pilḷai-Āḻvāṇ-āṇa
81 Poṇṇambalakkutṭanum Poyyōmojiheva-kaṅkāṇi Karuṇugdi-nāṭṭu K[[-]
82 tūr-āṇa Kiṟṭivisāliaiyāḷūr Veḻaṇ Śattanum sāmudāyam Muttōrru-kūṟṟattu-Ka-
83 ppalur-āṇa Ulaganandaśojanallur Kappalur-uḍaiyāṇ "Siramaṇ Tiruvudaiyāṇ-āṇa³
84 Pottappichōlar kaṅkāṇi Kēṟalaiṣiṅa-vaḷanaṭṭu Veḷiyāṛṟu[r-uh]ḍaiyāṇ Nāṟavaṇaṇ Śat-
85 tum Māḷigaṭṭaṇam Vaḍalatai-ĉhēmbi-nāṭṭu Āykkurįḍiy-āṇa AlagiyaṆaḍiyanallur⁴ Siva-
86 llavan AlagiyaṆanavāḷaṇ-āṇa Kāṅgiṟāṟi kaṅkāṇi Pōliyūr-nāṭṭu Aruṅkaḷam-uḍaiyāṇ
87 Arayaṇ Tirumanai-uḍaiyāṇum Maḷavaraiyar kaṅkāṇi "Tiyandaikudi-nāṭṭu Kiṟ-Pasaḷaiy-
88 āṇa Dā.¹²
89 navindanallur-uḍaiyāṇ Arayaṇ Karumāṇikkamum Pilḷaiyāṛ Alagappurumal-adikāra-
90 m-Muttōrru-kukkuṟṟattu-Kkapallur-āṇa Ulaganandaśojanallur⁵ Kappalur-uḍaiyāṇ Uyyava-
91 ndan Poṇṇaṇ-āṇa Māṇabaraṇa-Muṇvendavelārur Śoḷapāṇi-vaḷanaṭṭu-chČhirupā-

¹ Read kāṟṟumai.
² The damage in the syllables eavu seems to have led to the wrong reading āka in A. S. S. I.
³ A bit of the plate at the right bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that Naṟavaṇ at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with vaṇum at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter f seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the ai sign. Had the bit been broken before, f would have found place at the beginning of the second line.
⁴ The i sign of kṭ has not been engraved and the A. S. S. I. has the letter ku correctly.
⁵ There is an extra length sign in ku.
⁶ The passage after karuppurūṇai seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from Sūriya to the end suggest the same fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.
⁷ What looks like y at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for ppā.
⁸ Read Śī.
⁹ Read ṣīr.".
¹⁰ This word has been wrongly read in A. S. S. I. as Tiyaṅkai.
¹¹ The length of Dā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
Fourth Plate: First Side.

91. layůr-āṇa Kāvērivallavanallūr-uḍaiyāṇi Nambi Ponnambalakkūttan-āṇa Virasīngadēva-
92. rum i-nūṭṭukku-kaṇṭam*yē-cheeyira Īrēsiṅgagālakkiḷ Īrēsiṅdirattu Alajiyapāṇḍi-
93. yaṟ aṉukkaiṟ Mallaikiniyāṅiṟ Alajya-āṇa Vēsāya-Vēchēhādirēvarum kaḻkāṇiyāṇa Ti-
94. yandaikūḷi-nāṭṭu Māṉṭviṟamadurai Mādaṇṭa Divēkara-Brattāṇum-Nārāyaṇa-Nārāyaṇa-
95. Baṭṭa-
96. num śīḷi-ṛ-Mādaṇṭa Nāraśiṁha-Bṛṭṭaṇum Gōvindāṇ Tirunālakku-ṛ-Brattāṇum Jāṭavedaṇ
97. Subradhiyāṇa-Bṛṭṭaṇum utpādu brahmādhayaṟa-kaṭṭiṇa Marudurar-āṇa Madurōdhaya-
98. chathatu-
99. yēṛvēḍiṁgaḷattu-ṛ-Tirukkuḷandai Ādityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Brattāṇum śī-Kṛshṇa-Alaği-
100. yaṟ-Rāhuva-Bṛṭṭaṇum Kaliyāṇa Veṟṇuṟkkuṭta-Brattāṇum Mēṟ-Paḷalaiy-āṇa śīṟvaḷaḷa-
101. bathuruvēṇi-
102. maṅgaḷattu Āhṭarṇi śī-Raṅghanaṇa-Bṛṭṭaṇa-Sēma-Kāṭhaṇa-yāyirum Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāya-
103. na-Bṛṭṭaṇum śī-Vāsudēvaṉ Nagnapirāṇ-Brattāṇum śī-Rāmaṇ Paramāṭma-Bṛṭṭaṇum Kiṟ-Paḷalai-
104. 105. y-āṇa Dājaiyōṇadallūr-āṇa Uyyanirūduvāṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyadāriyāṇum Kēsavan Nārāya-
106. naṟum Karumāṇiṟkkai-Koraṇum Kalviṟil Kēsavaṇum Periyōg Peraiṇum Naṅga-
107. n-Alajyaṇum Vāsudēvaṉ Śūṣṭiyēvaṇum Pōḷiyōr-nāṭṭu-pPoliyōr-āṇa Pāṭṭiṟ(rthi)vaḵē-
108. rinnallūr-Appaṇ Śūṣṭiyēvaṇum Udaṇṭa Varagunadēvaṉ-āṇa Alajiyapāṇḍi-Viḷuṟparai-
109. yaṟum Śūṣṭi-Vaṇṭantaruvūṟ-āṇa Saṅgīrāmaṇiṟ-pPaḷavaraṇiyum Sundarattōḷuṭaḷi-

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

106. n Śōmaḷēvaṇum Purapparaiḷi-nāṭṭu-kKaḷiṟkkudiy-āṇa Puravuravairallūr-ī-Ṭayyanilai Uyya-
107. vandai-āṇa Chēdaraiyāṇum Aṟukkaṇ-Āriyaiyum Appaṇ-Arumolidēvaṉ-āṇa Śēmbiyāṇi-Viḷu-
108. ppairiyaiyam Puttuṟ-k绿豆ai-Brattai-āṇa Purapparaiḷi-pāṭu-kilavaṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy-
109. Irūnceli-
110. rasai-āṇa Indirasaṃgaṇaṃallūr-ḷ-Palijyaiṇilai Śūṣṭiyēvaṇ-āṇa Taṇṭiḷu-kilavaṇum Viḷān-
111. ira-
112. Ṭaḷaiy-āṇa Irāsakkuṟaḷ-Paḷavaraṇiyum Rājagambhira-chathuruvēḍiṁgaḷattuḏaṇ kūṭṭi-
113. na Miḻaiyōṇku-ṟtaiḷaiyai kuṟuṭta Aachoṇātivitàkkai-ṛk Kuvalaiyaiyum Puduk-
114. kuḷamum Mā-
115. raṅkiriyum Kaṿiṇdaḷḷurum Kaṭṭiyāḷ-ṟmbalum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy-
116. Aṟai-
117. yarkuḷalṭṭil Mandari Irāmaṇ-āṇa Palla ṭaraiyaṅiṅyaiṅa sępāḍi nikki nikkiy-nḷḷa nil-
118. mum-āṇa ivv-ūṟuḷai muṇṭ-ūḍaiyaiṟum palaj-peyaiṟum mudalun-taviruṭ oru-nāḍum or-ūrūm o-

1. The commencement of this line has been read ṭalai in A. S. S. I. Of this the first letter ṭa is really the Tamil numeral ‘four’ which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from laiyōr and slightly below the first line.
2. The syllables den have been read ṭelai in A. S. S. I.
3. The letters nNa are expressed by a group.
4. Read utpoḍa.
5. The ɾ sign of rve is at the end of the previous line.
6. This word may also be read Arayaiy.
7. Read ūr. 8. The letters paṇ are expressed by a group.
9. Read Chēlē."
ru-puravum-ākki Achechaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Milagaṅpur-āna Irāsēndirēṅganalūr-enānum pe-
yarē vāriyil-įṭṭamaiyil i-milagaṅpurkū-cēchamainda Śadīraṅ Šelvaṅaṃ Irāmaṅ-Alaṅaṃ
Sōraṅ Mūkaṅaṃ Nāgaṅvaṅ-Irāmaṅ-āna Irāsaṅāraṅaṃ-Mūvēndaṅalēṅaṃ Araśāriyaṅaṃ Kū-
Chemi-nāṭṭu Mālaṅgūdi-kilavu Pūlaṅ Nāmaṅaṅ-āna Nūlambūḍāyar käippura-
riyikchōla-Alvār dēvadānaṃ Achechaṅkāṭṭirukkai-t-Tirumānirinīchōlaimallūr Araiyaṅ Pūla-
nyum Alaṅgipāṇḍiyakkulakkī-Chirukulattur-āra Parākramapāṇḍiyannallūr-Sāttaṅ Ka-
nāvyakalīum Sun-
Darattōḷūdaiyaṅ Dēvaṅum Sāttaṅ Kaṅdaṅ-āna Tirumānirinīchōla-Daṅaṅum Vēḷān Sunda-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

rattōḷūdaiyaṅum Šivavāna Ṣīryārīmaṇaḍaiyaṅ-āna Māraṅpur-nāṭṭu Vēḷānum-
m Dēvaṅ Šivavānaṅ-āna Aṛaṭṭamikkidāsaṅaṃ Šurakudiy-āna Viraṅkāmuṅgamaṅgalattu
Ilaṅma-
āgalattu Udayadivākaraṃ śri-Kārīmāra-Bhaṭṭaṅaṃ i-kkuḍi Nāraṅaṇa Subrahmaṇya-
Bhōtt-
uṃ Kiraṅpur-nāṭṭu Viḍatalt-āna Māṇabaraṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalattu Uyyanīṅḍu perchī-
vānum Śenḍapāṅg Karumāṅgul-Bhaṭṭaṅaṃ Gōvīndaṃ Māṇēndukaiyaṅaṃ Ā-
ditṛaṅ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṅaṃ Alaṅgipāṇḍiyakkulakkī Vēḷāruruṃchikī Vēḷān
Kōvaṅum2 Adī Perrāṅum Vēḷān-Alaṅaṅ-āna Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndaṅalēṅaṃ Vēḷān
Śirīlaṅkō vu.4
m utpadu brahmādevaṇaṅa-kuṭṭṭaṇa Tiruvāṇaṭṭantu Marudūr-Aḷvān Upādhyāya
Perumpuliyūr Karumāṅikkam-Ulagamucḍaṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅaṃ Marudūr Mayāraṇvānaṅ
Aḍuvā.6

n-Bhaṭṭaṅaṃ Kiraṅpur-nāṭṭu Vēḷār-āna Alaṅgipāṇḍiyannallūr Irāmaṅ-Uyyavaṇḍaṅa
Perrāṅ Paṭṭaṅum Dēvaṅ Nambyum Ģoraṅ Nāṭṭaṅum āva īv-aṇaivarum-taṅgal-e-
llaigal kāṭṭa Aṇaṅkkaṇkulaṅkī-Tiruppūvaṇaṭṭu Pampaṇ-Adiyārṣuṅ-
aperumāṅ-āna Pallavadaṅyaṅaṃ Meyppu Maḷaiyaṅ Śoraṅ-āna Viṅgattarayaṅaṃ
Dēvaṅ Tillaiya-āna Madurōḍayap-Pallavarayaṅaṃ Śikayilāya-Baṭṭaṅ-āna [Ṣījavalla-p
Pallavarayaṅaṃ Kaṇjavadi śīrāmaṅ-āna Sundarapāṇḍiya-pPallavarayaṅaṃ10 [Eśraṇ
Periyā-

n-āna Pāṇḍiyaṅ Pallavaraṇyaṅaṃ Pērō Aravaminaḍaiyaṅ Viliy-āna11 Muṅlțtalaṅko.12

1 Read "ṛkku.
2 Read "irinīchōla.
3 The length stroke of ṭa is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.
4 The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.
5 The left hand portion of the medial ṭ sign of Kū is written at the end of the previous line.
6 After Perrāṅu the letters are smaller in size up to "n Śirīla".
7 Read ṭipadu. The letter ṭu resembles the secondary ṭ symbol.
8 The last three letters are Āḍuvā. The length sign of ṭa, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like ṭa. The reading Kēdara given in A.S.S. I. is inadmissible, for ṭa and ṭa are clear.
9 Instead of Śikayilāya, the A.S.S. I. has Sidgul-Āraṇa.
10 After ṣaṇa, there is only one ṣ and the trace of the vowel ṭ following it. As such, the reading m Māraṅ of A.S.S. I. is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of Mā.
11 Pallēya is the reading in A.S.S. I. It is inadmissible as it disregards the ṭ sign over ṣ and the length symbol after ṣa.
12 The syllables muḍi are re-placed by pōḍi in A.S.S. I.
Fifth Plate; Second Side.

141 4raiy-enṛ pēr kūvappāṭta Udaikatto kīl-kaṇḍai-kkombir-rugiṇi idaṇiṇrun-teṛ.
142 ku nōkkī-chēchenru Šeyyukattūrīl-iṅrum Kādambaṅgudikku-ppōgīra valiyaiy-ūḍaruttu-teṛ.
153 i-kkāl-iṅrum-ten-kkiḷakkuk nōkkī-chēChāṅgappērayan ḍēṃbār-Kiḷ-ellaiyēy terkū.

Sixth Plate; First Side.

159 l-ellaṭi-āṇa Kaaṭṭukallvāy-ūṛu ṣeṛku nōkkī-chēchenru mēṛk-inn[4] i-v[v-Orukko]-
160 ṭraṇṭi-ṭṛṇṭ-ellaṭiye ten-mēṛku nōkkī-chēchenru Vaigaiy-āṇa Śivallava].
166 ru nōkkī-chēchenru Kiṭ-Paṭalaiy-āṇa Dāṇavignōddanallūr kkaluttuku mēṛ-Paṭalaiy-āṇa Śrivallabhā-chaturvēdimangalattu-kkaluttukku nīr pāygiṇi kālaiyaiy-ūḍaruttu i-kaš-}
[il-iṅṛu]
166 karaiyēy-ṣvī Vēḷåkkuṭhchippaṭṭir Aṣṭāparāy[4]. . . . . lāl nilam-an-raiye-[.] iraṇḍu.,
167 varambēy terku nōkkī-chēchenru [MāṇaviMaradurum]-kkaluttu vāḍa-kaṇḍaiy-ṣvī mēṛ-

1 The letters nālōntigus are written over an erasure.
2 The os sign of rai is at the end of the previous line.
3 The os sign of dava is at the end of the previous line.
4 Delete θ at the end of this word.
5 The left hand portion of the medial  ś sign is entered at the end of the previous line.
6 The letters of a portion of the plate on the right side from line 159 are much damaged but could be filled up from traces that remain and from the context. So also, the letters of the middle portion of the plate of the last four lines are damaged.
7 This gap may be filled with the letters paṭṭakku,
168 k-inñam [1*] i-kkaraiyë méru nökkii-[chechen] r i-m] Mänävramadurai=kkulatt=uväyil Mára-
169 [rudür]-kulattukku nir pâygirä kälukku=k[kjäkkä]-ppätiamäy-ppayir=ür[ra]vülgrä nilattiil Räjagam-

Sixth Plate; Second Side.

170 [bhtra]-chatuvarvädimañgalattukku=ppätakkollä kütšïna nilam mënru vë[llkkä=kki]-
171 rku nökkii-chechenru i-kkulattu-tenŋ-karaiyë=ür Mar[ðür]-kulattukku nir pâygirä] kälaiy= [uurä]²
172 mërk-inñam [1*] i-kkäiñ kil-karaiyëten-kilakkukn[ökkiiyů]=teŋkuru nökkiiyů-[chechen]
173 Vänagaṅappáraiyä kuḍiyiruppâl teŋŋ-āsarudi sümuni[a-pparippaì=üruru mërk-inñam] 
174 i-pparippaìy kilakkuru nökkii-chechenru Marudür-[pa]jå=kkulatt-agavälil-Mänävramadurai= [t]-
175 teŋŋ-āsarudi vayali teŋvarambëy kilakkuru nökkiiyů vaḍ[a]-kilakkuru nökkiiyů-chechenru Ma-
176 rudür-pa[jå]-kkulattu-kki]-kaçäi-kkombil-üri mërk-inñam [1*] i-kkaraiyë mërk[ku]
177 nökkii-chechenru Marudür-kki]-kaçäiyam Mänävramadurai mël-ella[yum-[änä]
178 Diväkara-väykkäl-üdë terku[nökkii-chechenru i-vväykkäl muñi]dä Diväkara-vayakka[1]
179 [m[ö]l-varambë terku nökkii-chechenru i-chechenru-tenŋ-varambëy kilakkuru nökkii-chechenru [u]
180 Sundara-vayakkal mël-varambu perça ševvaiyë terku[nökkii-chechenru Šänkara][gal]-
181 tu vaḍa-ella[yum Mänävramadurai=teŋŋ-ella[yum-[änä ella[yëy kilakkuru nökkii-
182 kiyam vaḍa-kilakkuru nökkiiyů-chechenru Šänkara[galattu vaḍa-kaçäi-kkombil-ëri Më-
183 r-Pa[sälaiy-[änä Śrivallabha-chatuvarvädimañgalattukku-kkulattukkun Kīt-Pa[sälaiy-[änä Dā-
184 gävänödanlä]-kkulattukku nir pâygirä kälaiy[=üruru mërk-inñam [1*] i-kkäiñ-më-

Seventh Plate; First Side.

185 i-karaiyë tenŋ-kilakkuru nökkii-chechenru i-kkäiñ-nilä[r]nu Mër-Pa[sälaiy-[änä Śrivallabha-
186 chatuvarvädimañgalattu-kkulattukku nir pây[a]=ppri[nda kälaiy=uduṛuttu-kKīt-Pa[sälaiy-
187 -[änä Dā-
188 gävänödanlä]-kkulattukku nir pâygirä käläin mêl-karai[yö] te[ŋ-kilakkuru nökkiiyũ=ki
189 kku nökkiiyũ=tenŋ-kukurrö[chechenru i-dänävänödanlä]-kkulattu mël-kaçäi-
190 yai=üruru i-kkulattu=p[purkaraiyë]-ëngi Mër-Pa[sälaiy-[änä Śrivallabha-chatuvarvädimañ-
191 galattu=kkulattukku nir pâygirä käläin kil-karaiyë terku nökkii-chechenru i-chChi[vallabha-
192 chatuvarvë
193 dimängalattu=kkulattu vaḍa-kaçäi[=üruru i-kkulattu maṛuvây-I[llkkär=-üdë terku nö- 
194 kkyũ=tenŋ-kilakkuru nökkiiyũ=chechenru Nelväli nattattukku=p[p]girä vaḍyäy[n= 
195 ruru mërk-inñam [1*] i-[nNelväli]-kkulattu=kki]-kaçäi-kkombil-ëri[p]-Pa[sälai-[kkaçäi-
196 y=üruru i-kkäiñ mêl-karaiyë terku nökkii-chechenru Nakkänëriy[il-nilä[r]nu mërk[u nökkii-p-

¹ The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 180 are damaged.
² The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading uru and not uḍaṛuttu as in A. S. S. I.
³ The letter du of mada is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.
⁴ The e sign of te is entered at the end of the previous line.
⁵ The e sign of më is at the end of the previous line.
⁶ Delete the first letter ki.
pōgiāra valuiaiy-ūdaruttu-teen-ellai Nelvēli-teen-ellaiyum Ettiyyēri nattattu vāda-
vāyum-ānā valuīyē mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Ettiyyēri nattattu[m]ēl-āsarudiyāiy-ūrru i-
ˈi-nā-primm mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu ivv-Ettiyyērika[Nelvēlikku-nauvuva-pa]nā-[kōyila]-
diāiy-ūrru i-nā-primm-teen-mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Pa[ralayā-agrai]-ūdaruttu vādak-
in[imm] [1] [1]
vv-ārēn mēl-karaiyē terku nōkkīyum-teen-mērku nōkkī[yu]-chchēngṛu Sōmattūr-[k]i[el-]
laiy-ānā Niramīyū-kuṭattukku nīr pāygiρa kālaiy-ūdaruttu i-[kkalī]-mēl-karaiyē te.4

**Seventh Plate; Second Side.**

195 rku n[ōkkī-chchē[r]nu i-chChōmatātīkunā-Kālīkkuddippār-Chiruvāγai[k]kun-
196 nāuvu-ānā ellaiāiy-ūrru vādak-īn[na[m]*] ivv-ellaiikku na[du]v-ānā varambē [mō-
197 rku nōkkīyum-teen-mērku nōkkīyūn-chchē[ṛ]nu i-chChiruvāγai-kku[la][tu] [vāda]-ka-
199 ttukku nīr pāygiρa kālaiy-ūdaruttu mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu A[ravāνku]-
200 dīyil-īn[ṛ]num Vēlāṇirikku-ppōgiρa valuīyē teen-mērku [nōkkī]-
201 chchēngṛu Vēlāṇirī-kk[i]-ellaiāiy-ūrru vādak-k-īnnām [*] ivv[=el-]
202 laiyēy Pūṭar-kutattukku nīr pāygiρa kālīn kīl-kara[iyē [vāda]-
203 kīlakku nōkkī-chchēngṛu i-kkalī-ūdaruttu mēl-karaiyīl ēρī vādak-īn-
204 ńa[m] [1] Vēlānirī vādav-ellaiyun-Ka[r]uṇkuṭattu-teen-ellaiyum-āṃ [e]-
205 laiyē mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Vēlānirī-chChārri-vāsakkal-ūraṇi vāda-karai-
206 yēy mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu vādak-k-īnna[m] [*] ellai nauv-ānā varambē sē-
207 ńru Vēlānirī Ādichha-vāsakka-kl- varambē vādakku nōkkī-chchēngṛu i-ch-
208 chey vāda-var[m]ībēy mēr[k]ku nōkkī-chchēngṛu vādak-īnna[m] [*] Vēlānirī-kkara-
209 di-[kk[i]-vāṃbēy [vādakku] nōkkī-chchēngṛu i-chchēyykaṃ Ādichha-vāsakka-

**Eighth Plate; First Side.**

210 nārāṇkālukku Pērṇā-vayakkalkuṃkku vāda-vāṃbēy mērku nōkkī-chchē-
211 ru Kālīkkuddippār-Chēngṛi-dDayāntī-vayakkar-kl-vāṃbēya-ūrru vādak-īnna[m] [*]-
212 vvāṃbēy vādakku nōkkī-chchēngṛu ellai-vāyigkkal-ūrru i-vvāyigkkal-ūdar-vā-
213 dakkku nōkkīyum vāda-mērku nōkkīyum vādakku nōkkīyūn-chchēngṛu Śēnēri Mālā*-mu-kāṇī-
214 vāda-vāṃbē-
215 bēt mērku nōkkii-chchēngṛu Dayāntī-Ariyān-ānā Arundāvan-Viipparaiyar Sōmādevi-vai-
216 yakkar-kl-vāṃbēy vāda-mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Dayāntī Māṇavatī-paṛgu-staḍi palavi-
217 nēkkl-vāmībēy vādakku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Uyyakkondāl-vayakkar-kl-vāmībē-
218 vādakku nōkkī-chchēngṛu i-chcheyy vāda-vāṃbēy mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu Śēnēri-k-
219 kkulattu vāda-karaiyaiy-ūrru vādak-īnna[m] [*] i-kkulattu-ppurkaraiyē vāda-mērku
220 *nōkkii-chchēngṛu Kāṇāṇūrīn-nißum[*]Dēdā[k]ōṭii-kkppu-pōgiρa peruvaiya[yai]-y-
221 rri i-pperu-valiyēy mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu vādak-īnna[m] [*] Pūdanēri-najattatu [v]-
222 dā-vāyil-īngā pūlijaiy-iḍattu vaittu mēρku nōkkii-chchēngṛu Tādāppraiyy-āŋa
223 kkulattu-tenk-kadaiyaiy-ja[n]gi vādakka-[u]nnam [*] i-kkulattu-nīr-nakkaḷē vāda-mēr-
224 ku nōkkii-chchēngṛu Kāṇchiraṅkulkattu nīr-nakkaḷē vāda-mērku nōkkī-chchēngṛu i-kku-
225 ṭattu vāda-kalaiyaiy-ūrru i-kkulattukku nīr pāygiρa kālīn tenkaraiyēy mēρku nōk-
226 ki-chchēngṛu Pūlāṇēri-krulattu-teen-kadaiyīl ēρī vādak-īnna[m] [*] i-kkulattu-nīr-

1 The letter da is a correction.
2 This letter has been wrongly read in A. S. S. I.
3 After nōkkiyu, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.
4 The reading in A. S. S. I. is Maralāra.
5 The letter bē is entered on the margin in smaller character.
6 The left hand portion of the sign of the medial  Suppose  in nō is engraved at the end of the previous line.
7 Read  daey'.
Eighteenth Plate; Second Side.

232 nakkälē vaḍakku nōkkē-chēchenru i-kkuḷattu vaḍ[ā]-kaḍaiyaiy-uṛru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa

233 kāiṅ ten-kaṟaiyē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Kaṇṭanūṟku-ppōgiṟa peru-valiyanaiy-uṛru

234 [vaḍ]akk-īnnaṁ [[*] i-vvaliyan vaḍakku nōkkē-chēchenru Kaṇṭanūṟku vaḍav-ellaiy[u[m*]
Nārīmāṇattu-śe

235 teṇṭ-ellaiyum-āṇa Kaṇṭanūṟ-Piḷḷāyēri Muttaraiyaṇ Karačch[e[y*] vaḍa-varambu peṟṟa sevai-

236 yē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Madalaiyikirūchē-chi-kkuḷa-pparippaiy-uṛru i-kkuḷatt-uḻvāyē vaḍakku nō-

237 kki-ppattu-kkōl-aḷavu sēṟu vaḍakku-iṅnaṁ [*] i-kkuḷatt-ūṭē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Kaṇṭan-

238 nūṟ-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa kālaiy-ūḍaṟuttu mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru vaḍakku nōkkē-
ppōgiṟa Kā-

239 navāṟṟukku-kiḻakkaṅa ngāṛa pūlyai valattu vaṟṟtu mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Kīṭ-Chēliy-Uđai-

240 kula-kiḷkaraiy-ēṛi i-kiḷkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkkē-chēchenru Mīṇūṛi-ṭeṭṭi-ellaiyaiy-uṛru vaḍa-

241 kk-īnnaṁ [*] i-mīṇūṛi-ṭeṭṭi-ellaiyukkum Kīṭ-Chēli-ki-kkuḷattu vaḍav-ellaiyumāy-k-Kīṭ-
Chēliy-ki-kkuḷa-

242 tᵗukku nīr pāynda kāṟ-1-parippē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru i-pparippaiy-iṅragi Naḍuvir-
Chēli-ki-kkuḷattu Ma-

243 laiyaiy-udaippiḷ-ēṛi i-kkuḷa-kiḷkaraiyē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru i-kkuḷatt-agāvaiy2-iṅragi Milaga-

244 nūṟ-pparaṇa punṣe[y*]-kkki-ellaiyēṭerku nōkkīyuṇ-ṭeṇ-īnka mēṟku nōkkīyuṇ-chēchenru Milaga-
nūṟu

245 nīṟrum Kānaiy-Irukkaik-kKoṭṭakāṭiṭukku-ppōgiṟa valiyanaiy-uṛru vaḍakku-iṅnaṁ [*] i-kKoṭṭ-
akīṛ-

246 ti vaḍav-ellaiyun-Kānaiy-Iru[k*]kai Vēḷanēri vaḍav-ellaiyukkum Milagaṇṇur-ṭeṇṭ-ellai-

Ninth Plate; First Side.

247 kun-naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṅguḍi-ki-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṟa kāl-ūḍēy vaḍa-mēṟku nōkkē-
chēchenru

248 i-kiḷaiy-iṅragi vaḍakku nōkkē Mēr-Chēliy-ṭeṇṭ-kaḍaiy-kkombum Vēḷanēri-puṇṣe[y*] vaḍa-

249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-ppariṭṭē vaḍa-mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Milageya[*]nūṟ Soṇaṉ Mūkkan-
punṣe-

250 teṇṭi-ellaiyē mēṟku nōkkē-chēchenru Kānaiy-Irukkai Karpakkiṭi-kki[k]-ellaiyum Mi-

251 lajaṇṇur-pāl Mēr-Chēli yēl-ellaikkuṇa-naḍuvāṇa ella-pparippē vaḍakku nōkkē-

252 chehānur Milagaṇṇur-Chundaṉ-Alvāṇ punṣe[y]-ṭeṇṭ-ellaiyaiy-uṛru vaḍakku-iṅnaṁ [*] i-
ppu-

253 ṇeṭey-ṭeṇṭ-ellaikkuṇa-Karpakkiṭi vaḍav-ellaikkuṇa-naḍuvāṇa mēṟku nōk-

254 ki-mēṟku Karpakiṭi-puṇṣey-kkki-ellaiyaiy-uṛru vaḍakku-iṅnaṁ [*] i-puṇṣe-

255 ykkum Milagaṇṇur-puṇṣey-pparikkukku-naḍuvāṇa vēḷi-pparippē vaḍakku nōkkē-

256 yum vaḍa-mēṟku nōkkīyuṇ-chēṛu Karpakiṭi-kki[k]-āśarudiyum Milagaṇṇur Irāman-Alaṇ-

257 n-uluda punṣey mēḷ-āśarudiy-ellaikkuṇa-naḍuvāṇa vaḍakku nōkkīyuṁ vaḍa-mēṟku nōk-

258 kīyuṁ-chēṛu Irūnchēṛaiyil-nīṟrum Milagaṇṇur-ppōgiṟa valiyanaiy-ūḍaṟuttu Milagaṇṇur-

259 r-pār-Chirukkilāṭṭi-ṭeṇṭ-kkaḷaiy-ukku i-kkkuḷa-kkaraiy-pparippē vaḍa-mē-

260 rku nōkkē-chēchenru Karpakiṭi-ki-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaiyaiy-uṛru vaḍakku-iṅnaṁ [*] i-
kkkuḷa-

* The reading in A. S. S. I. is Kēkāra, Kuvōyil is the reading in A. S. S. I.
261 tu=ppurkaraiye vaḍa-mērku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Puvaṅinallūr punśey-ten-
262 p-śārūdiyum Karpakīṛti-kkaraikkun-naḍuvāga-chChirukkilāṭṭī-kkulattukku nir pāynda
kā-

Ninth Plate; Second Side.

263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mērku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Karpakīṛti-kkulattu-kkaḍai-kkombaṅy-ūdāruttu
vaḍakk-ṁṇa-
264 m [P*] Puvaṅinallūr vayalukku-ṭterkīl Valaiyāṅ-ūraṅkku-[ṭterkīl kāḷaṛ-pparippai valattu
vaiftu mēr-
265 ku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Śīrukkilāṭṭī-kkulattukku nir pāynda Kāṇakaraikkun vaḍakkku-p Puva-
ṅinallūr irukku-
266 m iḍaiyun-Irāśingak-kōṅ-ūḷuda punśey[*]-tenṇ-ellaiyēy vaḍa-mērku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu
Karpak-
267 rti-kkulattukku mēl-kāḍaiyāḷ nir pāygiṛa kāḷaiy-urru 8 Mēl-ellaiy-i-kkāḷiṅ kīl-karaiyēy
va-
268 ḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Rājagambhūra-chaturvēḷdımāṅgalludhaṅ kūṭṭiṅa Mīḷaṅgū-
[k*]kūnttalaimāṟu kuṭutta
269 Pudukkulattu-kkīl-ellai Karpakīṛti-kkulattukku nir pāygiṛa kāḷiṅ kīl-karaiyē vaḍakkku
nōkkī-cheheṅṛu
270 i-Mīḷaṅgūṟku-nttalaimāṟu kuṭutta Māṅkaṅkīṛti-kkīl-ellai Karpakīṛti-kkulattukku nir
pāygiṛa kāḷi-
271 Ḍ kīl-karaiyēy vaḍakkku nōkkīyum vaḍa-kijakkku nōkkīyuṅ-cheheṅṛu i-kkāḷaiy-irandu
kijakk-ṁṇam [*] vaḍakk-
272 ku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Mīḷaṅgūṟ-kkulattu mēl-kāḍaiyēy-urru-kkijakk-ṁṇam [*] i-kkulatt-
agavāyil-irāṅgi vaḍakk-
273 ku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Mīḷaṅgūṟku-nttalaimāṟu kuṭutta Kuvalaivēḷi-pparṟkkku-kkīl-ellaiy-
āṇa Māṅkaṅkīr-
274 kkaraiyē vaḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Neṟkuṟṟattu-tenṇ-ellaiyēy-urru-kkijakk-ṁṇam [*]
ī-kkuva-
275 laivēḷi-kkīl-ellaiyun-Neṟkuṟṟattu mēl-ellaiyun-āṇa karai-pparippēy vaḍa-mērku nōkkī-
cheheṅṛu i-nNeṟkuṟṟattu natt[I*]-tu-tenṇ-āsariyaiy-urru-kkijakk-ṁṇam[*] j-nattatt-
[I*]-tu-tenṇ-āsar-
277 diyē vaḍa-mērku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu i-nNeṟkuṟṟattu-kkulattu mēl-kāḍaiyēy-urru i-kkulattu
nir-nak-
278 kalē Kuvalaivēḷi-kkīl-āsariyēy vaḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Mēḷēri-kkaraiyēy-urru
Mēḷēri-kkuḷa-ppa-
279 rippē vaḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Kaṭṭikkulattu-tenṇ-kāḍaiyēl-ēl-i-kkulatt-āgavāyil-irāṅgi
Mīḷaṅgūṟku-nttalaimāṟu ku-

Tenth Plate; First Side.

280 jutta Kaḷambamaṅgalluttu-kkūḻi-ellaiyē vaḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Pegrān-embar-
karaiaiy-urru-kkij-
281 kī-ṁṇam[*] vaḍakkku nōkkī-cheheṅṛu Kaṭṭikkulattukku nir pāygiṛa kāḷaiy-ūdāruttu
Mālaṅgūḍi-kkīḷaṅvaṇ Pullañ-
282 Māḷēvaṅ-āṇa Nuḷambādaṟṟaṟ kāṟiyēy-TirumāḷiṟučHELLAI-Āḻvaṟ dēvadāṅa igaiyil-
Ācheṇaṅkāṭṭhiruk* 3

* Read kēḻ.
* Read kēḻaṉṟ.
* Read Ācheṇa*.
Tenth Plate; Second Side.

I-kkālaiy-udaruttu-kKiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Māṇābharana-chaturvēdimaṅgalattuk overturn-ellaiya.


ru-kkijakku-înna [i*] i-kkarały m[il]akku nokki-chhegu i-ikkaraivy=îra ngi Vagaikudi vadav-ellaiyum Māṇābharana-

chaturvēdimaṅgalattu-ottu-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambhē kilakku nokki-chhegu Vagaikudi Māṇābharana-

āṇa-Isvaro-udaiyār ko iyilai valattu vaattu ellai-varambhē kilakku nokki-chhegu Vagaikudi-kkula-

tāl-nīrūn-kilakku nokki-ppōgiṟa ellai-vā[γ]*kkālaiy=uru i-vvā[γ]*kkāliy vada-varambhē kilakku nokki-chhegu

γru i=vvā[γ]*kkālaiy=ipandu Vagaikudi=pparril Ariyāl-vayakkal vada-varambam Māṇābharana-chaturvēdimaṅga-

lattu-pparṇa Uyyavandāl-vayakkal ten-varambam-āṇa varambhē kilakku nokki-chhegu Nakkamaṅgal-

ttu=kkulattukku nṛr paygirā kālai[y=uru] i-kkaliy mēl-karaivy vadakkku nokkiyum vada-

merkku nokkiyum va-

1 Read "nallur.
2 Read "nurur."
305 da-kilakk[u n]ökkiyuu=chenru Tuttiyūr=kulattu mēl-kadaiyai=aduttu i-kkālin mēl-karaiyē vaḍakk[u
306 nökkiyum vaḍa-kilakk[u nökkiyum vaḍa-mēru nökkiyuu=chenru Tiruvāvanattu Arai-mākkāṟṟu=tenq-e.
307 laiyum Māṇabhaṟṟu[ṇa]*]-chaturvēdīmāṅgalattu vaḍa-y-ellaṛum-ṅa ellai-vaṟambē mēru nökki-chenṛurā Mā-
308 nābhairaṇa-chaturvēdīmāṅgalattu=kku-lā-kkaraiyai=ṛṛṇ=kkiḷakku=ṁnum [[*]] i-kkulattu- ppurkaraiyē vaḍakk[u nökki-
309 chenṛurā Arāimākkāṟṟur=chChirṛēmar=kkaraiyai=ṛṛṇ iyv-embar=ten-kkaraiyē mēru nökki-ochen-
310ṛu Milagaṇt[ur kulattukku n]ūr pāygiṟa kālaikan-uḍārtuttu i-kkālin mēl-karaiyē vaḍakk[u nökkiyum vaḍa-mēr-

Eleventh Plate; First Side.

311 ku nökkiyuu=chenru i-kkālin-iṭāngi i-kkālin kī-l-karaiyil-ṛi Arāimā[kū]ṛru ēmbalil nūr-nakkāḻ
312 vaḍakk[u nökki-chenru Tuttsiyūr-kulattukku n]ūr pāygiṟa kālaikan-uḍārtuttu Uḍāyaṟ Tiruppvāṇam-uḍaiyār
313 dēvāṇām-[Alaḷiyapāṭṭiyakk[akkk]ḷ] Veḷḷūṛkuruchchi=kkiḷ-ellaṛum=Tiruvāvanattu mēl-ellaṛum-ṅa Ka-
314 ṇavadi-vayakk[al mē]-vaṟambē vaḍakk[u nökki-chenṛurā i-kKanavadi-vavakk[al]īl vaḍa-
mē]lai-mūla[iy Vāykaṭṭājā
315 tturavai vaḷattu va[iṭṭ Tu]iruvāvanattu=kkaḷāla=ṁudaruttu Veḷḷūṛkuruchchi=kkiḷ-ellaṛum=
316 mēl-ellaṛum-ṅa ellaṛyē vaḍakk[u nökki-chenṛurā Vaigaiy-ṅa Śrīvallabhappēṟṟiṟil- iṟāṇi Šaṭav-ṛē
317 llai i-Vaigaiy-ṅa Śivallavappēṟṟiṟūṛē kilakk[u nökki-chenṛurā ivv-arṛil-ṅnum Paṇaṅ-
galur-kulā
318 ttukku ŋ[iɾ][*] pāygiṟa kāliṇ vaḍa-karaiyil-ṛē i-kkaraiyē kilakk[u nökki-chenṛurā Kaḷa-
319 valnādaṇ-ṛēril-iṇā-
320 gi iyv-ar[iṇ]ūṛē vaḍakk[u nökki-chenṛurā Idaikkāṭṭiṟil-ṅnum Vēmāṅguḍikku=ppō-
girá va-
321 liyaiywarz[i] kil-kara[i]yil-ṛēi=ṭterk=ṁnum [[*]] i-vvaliyē vaḍa-kilakk[u nökki-chenṛurā i-
322 kKaḷaḷaṁnaṇaṇ-ṛēril-
323 niṅṉu-Cheyya[kkulattu-kulattukku n]ūr pāygiṟa kālaikan-uḍārtuttu i-vvaliyē vaḍa-kilakk[u nökki-chenṛurā i-kkulattu vaḍa-kadaiyum
324 Aykkuditeṛq-e
325 laiyaiywarz[i] ttrek=ṁnum [[*]] iyy-ellaṛyē kilakk[u nökki-chenṛurā Vēlaṅguḍi kattuttu vaḍavāiyē
326 seṅṛu i-v[Veḷḷūṛguḍi=kkulattu mēl-kadaiyai=ṛṛṇ=ṭterk=ṁnum [[*]] ida-ṅnum vaḍa-kilakk[u nökki-chenṛ-
327 ru Kuḷaṅṅāṛṛ-dī mēl-ellaṛi=ṛṛṇ iyv-ellaṛyē vaḍakk[u nökkiyum vaḍa-[kilakk[u] nök-
[kuiyyu]-chenṛurā
328 Kuḷaṅṅāṛṛ-kkulattu mēl-kadai-kkomba[iyai=ṛṛṇ=ṭterk=ṁnum [[*]] ida-ṅnum vaḍa-

(*) The left hand portion of the medial ௱ sign is entered in the previous line.
TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

First Side.

Second Side.

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.
TRANSLATION.

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

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

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (i.e., Lakshmi) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully uniting with him; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue; the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the
twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (marāi) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six righteous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍyas) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (of his) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his righteous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (age) concealing itself with tremour in long caverns; the Villavar (i.e., the Chēra), Śembiya (i.e., the Chōla), Virāṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (their) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nectar-like iyai, išai and nōṭakam (i.e., prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanamulududaiyāl, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens of kings; the glorious king Jaṭāvarman alias the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśeṅkharadeva reigned.

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

(L. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhirachaturvēṭimāṅgalam, called (as such) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhiravēṭimāṅgalam, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the undermentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old dēvadānas, paliṣchandam and kārṇaṃ, and including the rest,—and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under vēḷāpṭvai, as well as the prior holdings,—and bringing them all under one village with one puravu and one nāḍu,

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

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

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

(1) In Kiraṭur-nāḍu,—the villages of Nakkamaṅgalam and Vāgaikudi, (the latter) a dēvadāna of, Udaiyar Tiruppuvaramaṅiayār; (2) including the above (two villages), the villages of Tiruvaiyaram, Tuttisūr, and Kirūngākkottai (with its lands called) Kāthavettū, Muṭṭam, Korangēri, Taṇḍiyil-Tiyagi-ēmbal, Vellattaivegrān-ēmbal, Pagavadi-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkottai and Kāḷan-Etti-kunchevi; (3) in Paṇgalur-nāḍu,—the villages of Adikara, Mittirawalli, Vēlaṅgulam with its land, Omalaiyān-ēmbal, Śivaiyēri, Kudaiyādī, Aruvaiyar, Pudukkalam, Kōṭ-Chūrai, Mēg-Chūrai, Pīḍākōḷam, Paṇgalur alias Panditapāṇajaranallūr, Sēyyakuttācī with its land, Śinganeriyaiyaiyān-kāppittam, Vēraiyēri, Kākuruvi, Aiyānkkuruchēri, Arikkukalam with its lands Arugasādi, Viraṅgaiyappērāyan-ēmbal, Piraiyappērāyan-ēmbal, Moliyaiyān-ēmbal, Ambalakanṭaṭ-ēmbal, Sīṭan-ēmbal and Paṇṭrāyappērāyan-ēmbal, Uvaṭiyamāṅgalam and its land Pudaiyakāppittam; (4) in Tiyaṇdaikudi-nāḍu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands, Śigaiyaiyaiyēri and Udaṇḍambandai, Ulagaranai, Karaiyai, Kōṭṭai, Māṭaṭakkaiyēri with its lands, Śingappērāyan-ēmbal, Puttēmbal, Kalaivaiyēri, Sōukulai and Orukkōrāgēri, Kalvaiyaiyaiyaiyaiyamāṅgalam, Pulaiyēri, Šendiyaiyaiyaiyēri, Nakkaṇaiyēri, Pārkkalam with its land Uyyaiy-Sūriyaiyān-ēmbal,
Marudankudi, Navarkudi with its land Kaṇḍiyur-nadāḷvān-ēmbal, Siru-Nakkaṇēri, Sūlāmaṇi, Purukkuḻam, Siruvayal, Kongaiṅkulaṃ, Pullamanāṉgalam, Kaṟkaḷam, Karraṅkuḷam Eṟiṟi, Paṉaiṅchāṅkulaṃ, Pruṅyāṅkulaṃ, Pūḍikulaṃ, Vēḻarkuruchchi, Veyttaḷainallūr and the land Kāḷudemēṭṭu of this (last mentioned) village; (5) inclusive of three nēṭu of land, according to pāṭḍagam, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudūr and lying within the tank of Māṉaviramadurai, the following being added to the brahmadevā, viz., Marudūr aḷḷis Madurōḍaya-chaturvēḍīmāṅgalam with the land Saṅgāḷ-ēmbal, Saṅkaraṉagalam and Tīyāṉ-Sāḷaiyēri; (6) in Kīḻakkaṭṭur aḷḷis Puravāri-chaturvēḍīmāṅgalam, excluding eight (vēḷi) and six mā of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyankōḷ, consisting of nir-nilam, karuṅcheyy, pūṇeyy, nattam, tōṭam, tīḍal, araiy, kōyilaiṭṭu, tirunandavāṇam and ēmbal, which had been the kuḍipparru, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, all the rest of the lands which had been owned by the adjacent people; (7) in Mēṟ-Pāsaiḷai aḷḷis Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍīmāṅgalam, excluding four and a half (vēḷi) and three kāṟē, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyankōḷ, consisting of nir-nilam, nattam, karuṅcheyy, pūṇeyy, tōṭam, tīḍal, Śrīkōyil, tirunandavāṇam, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the jannis that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Māṟavas, as well as Pirāndiyēri and Kaṇḍukkudi; and also the dēvadāna lands of the temple of Tiruppāsaiḷaiṉāṭhr at Mēṟ-Pāsaiḷai aḷḷis Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍīmāṅgalam, viz., Śēṭṭāḷēri, tirappu Śoṇḍan-ēmbal, Tattaṭ-ēmbal, Vēmēḻō-ēmbal, Pāppāṇ-ēmbal, Edirilēḻappēraṇ-ēmbal, also the lands called Vēlāṅkāḷ, Kaṇṭhitheyy-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for kuḍikkaṭṭu which had been classed under the different head of dēvadānā-vaiyil and whose kēṟuṇmēḷai belonged to the temple of Śrī-Vaṅkunda-Viṅṉagar-Āḷvār of Mēṟ-Pāsaiḷai aḷḷis Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍīmāṅgalam; as also tirappu Paṇaiyapēri, Kīḷ-Vēḻyaṟṟuṟ, Mēḷ-Vēḻyaṟṟuṟ, Maṇḍaiyarkulaṃ, Nelvēḷi with its land Taṇṟittattaraṇ-ēmbal, Sōmattēr, Aravaṅkuḷ, Karukkaḷam, Eḻṟuttēr, Taṇḍippairai and Kaṅchneruṅkulaṃ; (8) in Mēṟkudi aḷḷis Kaḷiyayamāṅgalam in Mēṟkudi-nādu, excluding two (vēḷi) and four mā of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyankōḷ, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by ryots and consisted of nir-nilam, karuṅcheyy, pūṇeyy, nattam, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṟ-Mēṟkuḍi, Maṇṭalur and Koṅrāḷēri; also Muttuṟanāṭṭai which was the dēvadāna of the temple of Udaiyār Tiruppūṇamadaiyār, as well as Aṉyāḷ with Sundan-ēmbal near that village, Naruṉarai aḷḷis Vaṅgāruṇaṅkallūr together with the lands near that village, viz., Sīḷaiyapēri, Uriyappi, Tāḷaiyēmbal, Koṅrāḷēri, Sūṟiṉā-ēmbal and Sōmaṉāṟi; (9) in tirappu Purapparalai-nādu,—Pullaṇēri, the lands that were added to the karuṅcheyparru of Kaṅpanūr, the karuṅcheyy of Madalaikuruchchi, the pūṟkaṟai (i.e., the grassy bank) of Kīḷ-Ṣēḷi, Achebāṅkāṭṭirukkai-Milagāri aḷḷis Rāṭjendrasāṅgāṅkallūr together with Mēṅgēri near that village, Kaṇṭikkuḷ, Araiyaṟṟēri, the lands within the tank of Naṭivuṟ-Chelēi, Mēṟ-Chelēi, Kūṟuṅcheṭṭai, Siṟukkalṭēti, Puṉuṅnailūr, Arikudi, Sōmaṉāṟi and Tīyāṉ-Pūḍi-ēmbal; also Siṟukkalṭēti which (last) was a dēvadāna of Udaiyār Tiruppūṇamadaiyār, as well as Sīṟu-Milaiy, tirappu Neṟkuṟṟam, Kaṭṭikkuḷam and Pēṟṟuṅ-ēmbal.

(II. 74-139) The puravucari-kāṅkāṉi officer Araiyaṉ Naṉyaiṉaṉ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi residing in Śrī-Parantakallūr in Naṭivuṟ-kēṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīḷaiṉaḷ-kēṟṟam, Parantakai Tiruppūṇamadaiyār of Taṇḍalai in Kīḷ-kēṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīḷaiṉaḷ-kēṟṟam, Maṇṭalurudaiyār Karunākarādevaṉ Purvappanamadaiyāṅ of Māṉāṛaḷ aḷḷis Palamanṭalāḷitannallūr in Aḷaṅgappāṇḍiyakkuḷakktī. Pillai Āḷvāḷ aḷḷis Puṇḍambalakktīṭṭai of Karuppur in Tirumunaippūṇi-nādu (a sub-division) of Sōḷamandalam, who was the kāṅkāṅi of the tiruvamokkēḷai Puṇḍan Śrīyayēvaḷ aḷḷis Jayaṉāḷa-Puḷḷaṉarayar of Puṭṭūr in Purapparalai-nādu, Vēḻy Sāṭṭai of Kīḷ-Neṭṭur aḷḷis Kṣitiḥ-visalaiyallūr in Karuṅcheṭṭi-nādu who was the kāṅkāṅi of Puṟyomodiḷēvar, Naṉyaiṉaṇ Sāṭṭaṇ of Vēḻyaṟṟuṟ in Kēṟalaiṅaḷa-vaiḷanādu who was the kāṅkāṅi of the mnudāyōm Kappalurudaiyāṅ of Śrīyamaṇ Tiruvudaiyāṅ aḷḷis Pottappichōḷair of Kappalur aḷḷis Ulagalandaśaḷaiyallūr in
Mutturuku-kurram, Aranya Tirumalai-u'dayyan of Arunkalam in Poliyur-nadu who was the kanyak of the maliqatamom Shivallavan Alagiyamaanal on Kaliygarayar of Aykkudi alias Alagiyapaadiyanallur in Vaqatalai-Semb-nadu, Aranya Karumamkkan of KIt-Paalan alias Dinnavinodallur in Tiyandikudi-nadu who was the kanyak of Malavarayar, Kakkurludaiyan Uyyavanadan Poovan alias Munsabara-Mavendavillar of Kakkallu alias Ulagaaladandallur in Mutturuku-kurram who was the adigaram of Pillaiyar Alagapperumal. Udayayan Nambi Poovanallakuttan alias Viraisingadivar of Surapalayai alias Kaverirallavallur in Selapodiya-valanadu, Malaikiyinianraji Alagan alias Vijaya-Vichehadienceswar who was one of the akukar of Alagiyapaadiyan of Rajendiram in Itaaschingalakakkil which was in charge of the business of this (i.e., the said) nadu, all these being the same persons of the mentioned persons of Nanaviramadurai in Tiyandaikudi-nadu, viz., Madavan Divakara-Batta, Naraayan Naraayana-Batta, Sri-Madavan Naraaima-Bhatta, Govinda Tirunlaka-Batta and Jatavendu Subrahmany-Bhatta; together with the following others of Marudur alias Madurodaya-chaturvediyanallur who were concerned in the formation of the brahmadesya, viz., Tirukkuandai Adityan Sendapiru-Batta, Sri-Krishnan Alagiyaragahva-Bhatta and Kalyayan Venpaikkutta-Bhatta; as also the undermentioned residents of Tey-Paalai alias Sesvelabhachaturvediyanallur, viz., Athigini Srinanganatha-Bhatta-Soma-Kathaka-yajiyir, Naraayan Naraayana-Bhatta, Sri-Vasudevan Nagnapiru-Bhatta and Sri-Rama Paramatma-Bhatta; as well as the residents of KIt-Paalan alias Dinnavinodallur, viz., Aranya Uyyavanarudavan alias Semhibaranayin Keesavan Naraayana, Karumamkkam Korra, Kalavil Kesavan, Periyay Perray, Naagalan Alagan and Vasudevan Sriyiravan; the following residents of Poliyur alias Parnivakarimallur in Poliyur-nadu, viz., Appan Suryiyanavan, Udayavan Varunudavan alias Alagiyapodiya-Viluppaiyavan, Suryavan Varvattuvan alias Sanigiramasinga-Pallavaravan and Sundarattulodaiyan Somadevavan; the undermentioned residents of Kalikkudi alias Puravuvaramallur in Purapparalai-nadu, viz., Dayanilai Uyyavanadan alias Chadirayan, Aypkkan Ariyayan and Appan Arumolidevan alias Semhinaiyavan-Vilupparaivan and the headman of Pattur named Battu alias Purapparaalainadu-kijavan; also Palitennallai Suryiyanavan alias Tamipiru-kijavan of Iruchippai alias Indirasamanganallur in Kanaikkal and Vejan Iraatji alias Rajakunjana-Pallavaravan; also the persons hereunder mentioned who belonged to Mllaganur, to wit, Sadaraa Selvan, Rama Alagan, Sorna Mukkan, Nagaadevan Raman alias Rajanarayana-Mavendavillar and Anasiayyan, who were concerned in effecting the entry in accounts under the name of Athchakkiyurkkai-Milaganur alias Rajendrasinganallur, after removing the previous owners, old names and prior holdings (mudal) and bringing also under one nadu, one village and one puru the undermentioned villages and lands, viz., Athchakkiyurkkai-Kuvvalayi, Pudukkudam, Kattirikkur, Kavindallur, Kadalambaangalam, Sattiyar-embal and the lands that remained in Arayarukumal of Kanaikkal after deducting from it the portion (sem-pud) which formed the kangi of Mandari Raman alias Pallavarayar and which had been given in exchange for (the old) Milaganur that had been added to Rajagambhira-chaturvediyanallur; Arayaan Pullan of Athchakkiyurkkai-Tirumalirunjolainallur a desadana of Tirumalirunjoi-Ayvar that had the kaipporru of Pullu Madavan alias Nulambadardyar the headman of Milanudi in Kit-Semb-nadu; also the undermentioned persons of Sikkulattur alias Parakramapodiyanallur in Alagiyapodiyanakkakkil, viz., Sattan Kanavadi, Sundarattulodaiyan Devan, Sattan Kandran alias Tirumalirunjolai Dansan, Vejan Sundarattulodaiyan, Sillalavvan Periyarumudaiyan alias Maarapurnatru-Velai and Devan Sillalavan Aratamikkadi-Dasan; also Udayavan Sri-Karimkara-Bhatta of Illavirasalam, the resident of Srrakudji alias Vitakamugamangalam, and Narayanan Subrahmany-Bhatta of this (some) kudi; also the undermentioned persons of Vidaatil alias Munsabara-chaturvediyanallur in Kranur-nadu, viz., Uyyavanadurji Periyayiyan, Sendapatiru Karunamugil-Bhatta, Govinda Manendukalyiyan and Adityan Bhaskara.
Bhaṭṭaṇaḥ; also the undermentioned persons of Veṣṭūrkapuruṣeṣṭha in Alagiyapāṇḍiya-Kollakal, viz., Veṣṭaṇ Kōvaṇ, Adī Pērṇaṇ, Veṣṭaṇ Alagaṇ alias Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūṇīvērāṇaṇ and Veṣṭaṇ Śrīraṇaṇ; (inclusive of the last mentioned four) the following (three) persons, viz., Álvāṇ Upādihaṇya of Marudūr in Tiruvāṇam, Karumāṇkānam Ulagamūṇḍaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇaḥ of Perumpaliyur and Maṅyāraṇaṇaṇ Ádvāṇaṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇaḥ of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the brahma-dēyāḥ; (also the undermentioned persons) of Veṣṭaṇ alias Alagiyapāṇḍiya-Kollakal in Kānaṇuṇ-nūḍu, viz., Rāmaṇ Uyyavandaṇa, Pērṇaṇ Pāṭaṇ, Dévaṇ Nambī and Śrōṇaṇ Nūṭṭaṇ; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tirupūvanam in Irāṇaṇaṇaṇ-Kollakal, viz., Ananṭaṇaṇ Pammāṇ Adiyār-Kollakal-Perumāṇ alias Pallavadāraṇaṇ, meyyu Malaiyaṇ, Sōraṇ alias Viṣṇuṭaraiyaṇ, Dévaṇ Tīṭaṇ alias Madurūḍaya-Pallavaiyaṇ, Kīrkiyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇaḥ alias Śivallava-Pallavaiyaṇ, Kaṇavadi Śrīmaṇ alias Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaiyaṇ, Eṇaṇ Periyan alias Pāṇḍiya-Pallavaiyaṇ and Pōru Aravau-mūṇḍaṇaṇ Villī alias Muddanna-Mūṇḍaṇaṇ-Pallavaiyaṇ, conducting the female elephant, the following is the document of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed:—

(II. 139-195) The eastern boundary (as it came to be determined) on the day of Śvāṭi corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh tīthi of the second fortnight and the fourth (solar) day of the month of Dhanus in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (the king's) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uṣṇāṇuṇam, also called Kīṭ-Charai, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājagambhi-chaturvēndimānagalam), passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaṭambāṇuṇḍi from Sēyyakukalṭtār, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēmbaṇuṇḍi from Māṇaviradamudrai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Mūvanaṇi-Kōṭṭai from Sēyyakukalṭtār, and then keeping to the right (the pit called) Pudai-chāṇkūṇḍi, passes south-east along the veṭṭiperuvaṇi (the big path of the veṭṭis) which meets the said road (at the said pit) and crosses the road leading to Māṇaviradamudrai from Mūvanaṇi-Kōṭṭai; further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Mūnaṇi-Kōṭṭai from Piṭāvūraṇ and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Kaṭaiyūr and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kumpeli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Śaṅgappēraṇ-embal, then going southwards and then in a south-western direction and crossing the road leading from Netṣūr to Māṇaviradamudrai and then going southwards along the tekkaḷ of the tank at Chandranallur and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallur, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-western direction along the way leading to Vaigai alias Śivallabhaṇḍapāṇḍuṇaṇ, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the sevaṇa on the eastern boundary of Śeṇkuṇi, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śeṇkuṇi and afterwards going southwards along Kaṅkuṇai which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkoraṇaṭi, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-western direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkoraṇaṭi and getting into the Vaigai alias Śrīvallabhaṇḍapāṇḍuṇaṇ it lies to the west. Then going along this Śrīvallabhaṇḍapāṇḍuṇaṇ (first) in a north-western direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then getting up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Paṇ śalai alias Dāṇavaṇḍanallur and the tank of Meṛ-Paṇ śalai alias Śrīvallabha-chaturvēndimānagalam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the ridge of the half ēṭi and two mā of land in Arasippaṇṇa and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Māṇaviradamudrai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding
westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three ātī of land, as measured by the pūṭakkāl,—which had been added to Rājaganbhira-chaturvēdīmāṇgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as pūṭam on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the above-said tank of Mānavigamadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (then) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the kudiyiruppu of Vānagānappāriyān, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (first) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Mānavigamadurai in the agraḍ of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (the channel called) Divākaraśayakkal which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Mānavigamadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (the land called) Divākaraśayakkal, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the śeci which has the western ridge of Sundaravāyakkal and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Śaṅkaramāṇgalam and the southern boundary of Mānavigamadurai, (first) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Śaṅkaramāṇgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēr-Paśalai alias Śrīvallabhachaturvēdīmāṇgalam and to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai alias Dānavinōdanallār, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and crossing the (other) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēr-Paśalai alias Śrīvallabhachaturvēdīmāṇgalam, and then going (successively) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai alias Dānavinōdanallār and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dānavinōdanallār, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēr-Paśalai alias Śrīvallabhachaturvēdīmāṇgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvallabhachaturvēdīmāṇgalam, then proceeding (successively) in south and south-east directions along the Idukkārum (flowing) from the maruḍ of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the nattam of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the said Nelvēli and reaching (the channel called) Parajaikkal, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkajēri, (it lies to the west).

(LL. 195-267) The southern boundary: Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the nattam of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said nattam of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli; then going south-west and crossing (the river) Parajaikaiyārū, it lies to the north. Proceeding (successively) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this river, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Nirambaliyar and (also) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmāttir, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmāttir and Siruvāgai in the vicinity of Kaliikkudji, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Siruvāgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary, of Aravanāth and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kaliikkudji, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly
direction along the road leading to Vēḷāḷerī from Aravanākudi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēḷāḷerī, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēḷāḷerī and carries water to Pūttur, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēḷāḷerī and the southern boundary of Karunakūlam, and then going westwards along the north bank ofŚrīraīvāsakkal-ūraṇi of Vēḷāḷerī, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādichēvāsakkal of Vēḷāḷerī, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of Karunādaṇi of Vēḷāḷerī, and then westwards on the ridge which is to the north of this land and the nāyakkal of Ādichēvāsakkal and of Pēṟṟēvāsakkal and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayāntī-vayakkal in Śenēri which adjoins Kāḷijīkudi, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the ellai-vaykāl (i.e., the boundary channel), and then going (successively) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Māḷār-mukkāni of Śenēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Śūrīvē-vayakkal belonging to Dayāntī Aiyāṇ alias Arundavān-Viluppariyāṇ, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayāntī Maṅavīṟaṇ consisting of several tafis (in extent), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the vayakkal of Uyyakkopīḷal and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śenēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-western direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvākkottai from Kaṇṇanūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pāδāḷerī-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Tadāppirai at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the nūr-nakkal of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the nūr-nakkal of (the tank called) Kāṇchiruṇkulam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (bank of the tank called) Pulḷanāṟikulam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the nūr-nakkal of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṇṇanūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards on the nēvai having the northern ridge of Muttharaiyān-karaṇēchey of Kaṇṇanūrn-Pīdāri-ri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṇṇamūr and the southern boundary of Narimaṇṇam and reaching the kulapparippu of Madalaikuruchchi, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten kōl, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṇṇanūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kāṟavāru which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (the tank called) Uḍaikulam in Kiṭ-Sēḷi, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Miṇṇēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kiṭ-Sēḷi and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kiṭ-Sēḷi and the southern boundary of this Miṇṇēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (known as) Malaiyāṇuvaippu, then getting on the bund of this tank and getting down the aquirey of this tank, then going (successively) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Miḷaṅgāṇūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭaikāṭi in Kāṉai-Irakkai from Miḷaṅgāṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of
Kaṭambāṅguḍi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Koṭṭakārti and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēḷāṅerī in Kāṇai-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Milaganur, then getting into this (i.e., the said) channel and going north to the kuraip-parippu, which is at the southern extremity of Mēr-Seḷi and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēḷāṅerī, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Śroṭa Māκkan of Milaganur, then going in a northerly direction along the ellai-parippu in the middle of the eastern boundary of Karpakīrti in Kāṇai-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mēr-Seḷi adjoining Milaganur and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundaṇ-Āvāṇ of Milaganur, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Karpakīrti and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going (first) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the veli-parippu in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Milaganur, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Karpakīrti and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṇ Alaṇgan of Milaganur, and then crossing the road leading to Milaganur from Iruṇeṭhrai and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Śirukilāṭṭi adjoining Milaganur, and going in a north-westerly direction along the kuraip-parippu of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Śirukilāṭṭi and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvaninallur and the bank of Karpakīrti, and crossing the kadaik-kamba of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the kulaip-parippu, which lies to the south of Valaiyan-ūraṇi (and also) to the south of the fields of Puvaninallur, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Irāṇaṅa-kōṅ, the resident of Puvaninallur, which lands are situated to the north of Kaṇakaran which carries water to the tank of Śirukilāṭṭi and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Karpakīrti, (it lies to the west).

(Id. 267-316) The western boundary: Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Pudukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Milaganur which was included in Rājagambhirā-chaturvēdimalāgalam, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Mārāṅkīrti which was also given in exchange for the said Milaganur, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Milaganur, it lies to the east. Then getting into the aṅkāy of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (the tank called) Minneri which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvajaivellippuru given in exchange for Milaganur and reaching the southern boundary of Neṟkuṇram, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the kuraip-parippu, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvaḷaiveli and the western boundary of Neṟkuṇram, and reaching the southern end of the nattam of this Neṟkuṇram, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the southern ārudi of this nattam and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Neṟkuṇram, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvaḷaiveli through the nir-nakkai of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēḷēṇi, then going northwards along the kulaip-parippu of Mēḷēṇi and getting up at the southern end of Kāṭṭikūḷam and descending into the aṅkāy of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaṭambamaṅgalam which was given in.
exchange for Miḷagaṇā and reaching the bank of Peṭṭān-embal, it lies to the east. Then going northwards and crossing the channel which carries water to Kaṭṭikūlam, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of Tirumālirūnjōlai in Achcharākkītirukkai which is a tax-free devadāna of Tirumālirūnjōlai.Ālvār and the holding (kāpi) of Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇaśalias Nulambādarāyār, the head-mau of Mālāṇgūḍi, and then leaving to the left the tiruvāḷikkal (i.e., disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the south-east corner of Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at Miḷagaṇā which was added to Rājakambhirā-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted on the eastern boundary of Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the north-eastern corner of this Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westerly directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this Miḷagaṇā and forms the southern boundary of Vāgaikūḍi and the northern boundary of Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr and reaching the tiruvāḷikkal planted at the north-west corner of this Tirumālirūnjōlainallūr, and then going north-west along the south bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇā, which forms the northern boundary of Śirukūḍi alias Vīrakāmugamaṅgalam in Alagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḻakkil and the southern boundary of Vāgaikūḍi, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇā which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷurkūruchchi in Alagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḻakkil, the devadāna of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvanaṁadaiyār and the western boundary of Vāgaikūḍi, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of Vīṭṭattal alias Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kīṟanāṟ-nādu, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the kalav-parippu and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of Vāgaikūḍi, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of Vāgaikūḍi and the southern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and leaving to the right the temple of Māṇābharaṇa-Iśvaramuṇḍaiyār at Vāgaikūḍi and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at Vāgaikūḍi, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of Ariyāl-vayakkal in Vāgaikūḍi-pāṟṟu and to the south of Uyyavanadai-vayakkal in Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalapāṟṟu, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Nakkaṇaṅgalam, and then going (successively) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of Tuttiyūr and going on the western bank of this channel (successively) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called Araimākkūṟṟu in Tiruvāṇam and the northern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and reaching the bank of the tank of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the bank of Śirrēmbl of Araimākkūṟṟu, then going westwards on the southern bank of this embal and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Miḷaṅgūḍi, and going (successively) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the nir-nakkal in the embal of Araimākkūṟṟu and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of Tuttiyūr, and going northwards on the western ridge of Kaṟṇavadi-vayakkal, which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷurkūruchchi in Alagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḻakkil, a devadāna of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvanaṁadaiyār, and the western boundary of Tiruvāṇam, and leaving to the right Vāyaṅṟātturavu in the north-western corner of this.
Kanavadiyakkal and crossing the channel of Tiruvanamam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Vellarkuruchchi and to the west of Tiruvanamam, and descending into the Vaigai alias Sivallabhappegaru. (It lies to the east).

(LL. 317-338) The northern boundary: Going eastwards along this Vaigai alias Sivallabhappegaru and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Papanag lur, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (the river called) Kalavalinadanaru and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Vembangudi from Idaikkattar and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kalavalinadanaru to the tank of Seyyakulattar, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Aykudi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the nattam of Velangudi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Velangudi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kudajadi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the kombu on the western extremity of the tank of Kudajadi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the nir-nakkal of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Sundankuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kudajadi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Idaikkattar of Velur-Sirkudi to Vembangudi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the agayo of Udaikulam, which is called by the names Kattutteyam and Pirikulam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Semberumam, a neighbouring resident of Kiramnagadilvankotai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Seyyakulattar to Vembangudi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttan Alvan alias Sundarpaandiyaw-Marayan for feeding the tanks of Seyyakulattar, then going east and north-east, and (afterwards) passing eastwards along the agayo of the Udaikulam of Mar-Chirai and then going eastwards along the agayo of the tank of Kit-Chirai and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the she-elephant stopped (having come to the place) where it originally started.

(LL. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict: this is the signature of purumavari-kanakani Aravane Narayan of Katikuruchchi, (a resident) of the glorious Parantakanalur in Naduvirkurru, (a sub-division) of Mijilai-kurram.

(LL. 340) This is the signature of the purumavari-kanakani Parantakan Tiruppavanamudayyan of Tandlai in Kij-kurru, (a sub-division) of Mijilai-kurram.

(LL. 341) This is the signature of purumavari-kanakani Karuskaradevan Purpavanamudaiyyan of Perumpapur alias Palamandaldichchanallur in Alagiyapandiyyakkakkil.

(LL. 342) This is the signature of Pilaai Lvan Ponambalakkutai of Karuppur in Tirumunappadi-nadu, the kanakani of the tiruvarikkotai Jayadhar-Pallavarayar.

No. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

By K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Coimbatore.

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 16 lines.
Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvanam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulāśēkhara I edited above. The sign of visarga is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling ye to denote pūr (l. 11), the preferential use of r before hard consonants, t in ārālāt-t (l. 2 and 17), tavlāt (l. 4 and 19) and pāt (l. 3 and 8), ch in ārulāt-ch (l. 27), and k in sabhāyāt (l. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, sabhāyāt, tavlāt and pāt are instances of wrong spelling.

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

In the Tiruppūvanam plates of Jaṭāvarman Kulāśēkhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhirachaturvvedimaṅgalam, three of the dēvādana properties of the temple of Tiruppūvanamudaiyār, viz., Vāgaikūḍi in Kiraṇīr-nā][(1) 20], Mutṭurānāṭṭai in Mārkudil-nā [(1) 20] and Śīrulkāḷāṭṭṭūr in Purapparai-nā [(1) 68], were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvanam plates we find it stated that in place of Miḷaṅgūr which, like the dēvādana lands of the Tiruppūvanam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhirachaturvvedimaṅgalam, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājāndraśīṅganallāṭṭūr which was placed in the Division of Acheṭkāḷiṅtirukkai [(1) 111f.]. But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvanam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

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

The second inscription calls the first document a pāṇḍu issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya ‘who presented the Chōla country’ to the assembly of Rājagambhirachaturvvedimaṅgalam, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (kāsū) must be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts
must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the kaṭṭi. The signatories to this inscription are a Śaivācharya, two Śivabrāhmaṇas and Mudal-Kaṇṭakk (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by Śastra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādhara the ornament of the village of Aṅgārakamangalam. It must have been on this occasion that the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates, wherein the inclusion of the three dēvdāna villages in Rājakumbhira-chaturvāśīmangalam is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its mūlasāgana. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as "iṣv-āryaṭīṣ-paḷaṇ-dēvdānaṃ paṭṭīchchandā... niṇṇi" found in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. It is also clear from the fact that the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its dēvdāna lands in the newly formed brahmādaṭa, had been regularly getting the kaṭṭamai from them from the date of the grant of the brahmādaṭa, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśeṅhara I (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Paṅḍya I (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, dēvdānas had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the brahmādaṭa—the original incumbents were not deprived of their incomes but were adequately compensated. The king's brother-in-law Ajaḷapppurumal must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed dēvdāna. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as uṇmāligaiyōr or uṇmāligai-sabhaulayōr. I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as Paṇ-Mahēśvaras in the case of Śiva temples and Śri-Vaishnavaś in the case of Viṣṇu temples elsewhere. Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies. They are (1) Kaṇṭakk-Mudal or Mudal-Kaṇṭakk, (2) Kaṇṭakk, or Karavattāṅ, (3) Dēvakasmi, (4) Siḥnāchārya or Śaivācharya, (5) Paṭākk-Nambi and other Namis, (6) Kōyil-Nāyakam, (7) Tiruvailiechiṃi-kāṇkāṭi, (8) Paṅḍārī, (9) Sādana (Sāsana), Paṅḍārī, (10) Śri-Mahēśvara-Kaṇṭkāṭi, (11) Śri-kāṭyam-seyvār, (12) Śri-kōyil-Vāriya-seyvār or Vāriya-Pērukkal, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of Kulottunga I five temple officials, viz., Mahēśvara-Kaṇṭkāṭi, Śivabrāhmaṇa, Paṭākk-Nambi, Karavattāṅ and a Paṇ-Mahēśvara have attested. Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above. A third document is addressed to Śrīkōyil-vāriya-seyvār, Dēvakasmi, Paṅḍārīs and Karavattāṅ. It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the assembly of

1 See above, p. 111, text-lines 69 ff.
4 S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 296 & 935 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.
7 No. 33 of S. I. I., Vol. VI.
A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are kēlvi, piḍipāḍu, aḍuk-kalaiyapparam, kaḍamai and vāḍā-kaḍamai. Kēlvi is the noun derived from the root, 'kē' to 'hear'. It is used in inscriptions to denote both ‘an office’ and ‘a royal order’. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called ‘kēlvi’ and the duty of the kēlvi officers seems to be ‘to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him’. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term kēlvi came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials. This term is sometimes re-placed by (nam-ōlai) ‘Royal order’. It is worthy of note that in this plate kēlvi and piḍipāḍu are made to refer to the same thing. In the Vēlviyudda plates we meet with the expression kēlvi-andamālar, which conveys the same sense as sōtiyira-Brahmāna. The term piḍipāḍu consists of the roots piḍi ‘hold or bind’ and pāḍu ‘terms or sources’ and means ‘a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property’, or ‘a title-deed’. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear:

“tiriya itta piḍi kku enrum idu piḍipāḍaṇa”¹ meaning “for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support”; “ivv-anḍu kār-nudal kaḍamai irukumīduitu mātīl nellu padin-kalamāga pū onprüfuku nellu... kuṭṭitu ivvar kaiyāl taram koḻvōmāgavum ippadi sammadittu piḍipāḍu kuṭuttōm”² meaning “agreeing to pay ten kalam of paddy on each mā of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefore we gave this piḍipāḍu (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)”. It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the Tiruppūvanam supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkha I.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a nandavanappuram, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words “ippadi nam ōlai piḍipāḍaṇa koṇḍu charadrīgyav ar velladǎṇa”.³ Here the word piḍipāḍu means ‘a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift’. As in the present plate, the royal order (nam ōlai) is termed a piḍipāḍu.

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

¹ See above, note on tiruvāykkēlvi, p. 106.
² No. 293 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 36.
⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 53.
⁶ Ibid., No. 419.
lands had been given over to the brahmādēya. The term vṛddha-kāḍamai is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of 'permanent assessment on lands'. As applied to debts, vṛddha-kāḍa means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is muddal-vṛddha-kāḍa. Ajuṭkalaiṭṭuruḷam means 'for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings'. All gifts to temples are dārādānas. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as tiru-naṇḍavaṇappuram, tirumālaippuram, ajjuṭkalaiṭṭuruḷam, tiruvilakkuppuram, etc.

**TEXT.**

*First Side.*

1 Svasti ṣrën ṭribhuvanachakravarta[r*]ṇiti Kōṅgar[ṛ*]ṇamaikonḍāṇ Rājagambhiravajanāṭṭu Rājagambhirachatu.
2 rṛvvedimaṅgalattu ssabhaiyarku[=*] Udaiyār Tiruppavam udaiyār dāvadāmanāṇa ṣrgai[r= tangaḷ-urudan kūṭ-].
3 tiṅga Vāgaikūdiyam[*] Mutṭūrannaṭṭaiyum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭārum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu-kāṭa.[=]
4 kāḍamaiy-gruttu-vandamaiyil idu taviruṇ-ppaḍiṇ-onaṇḍavu-mudal Vāgaikūdikkuku kāṭau pattum Mutṭūra[*].
5 nārttaḷLuṇkkūkkāsā pattum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭārrukku-kkāṣā aṁjum āga āṇḍ-onaṅkku-kkāṣu
6 irubatt-aṁjum ottāga niscayittu-kkāṣu pádiyun-ner-pádiyam-ṅga irukku-opperavēquam egṛu maḍh-
7 chuṇāṇār Alagappurumāl namakkku chebhonna āyil taṅgal-urudan kūṭṭṇa Vāgaikūdiyam[*] Mutṭūrannaṭ-
8 ṭaivum Chirukilāṅkāṭṭārum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu-kkāḍamaiy-gruttu-vandamaiyil idu taviru-
9 ppaḍiṇ-onaṇḍavu-mudal Vāgaikūdikkuku kāṭau pattum Mutṭūrannaṭ[=*]ṭaṅkkū-kkāṣu pattuṇ-Chiru-
10 kilāṅkāṭṭārrukku-kkāṣu aṁjum āga āṇḍ-onaṅkku-kkāṣu irubatt-aṁjum ottāga niscayittu-
11 kkāṣu pádiyun-ner-pádiyam-ṅga iruppadāṅga[*] kēḷvī taradi chebhonnaṃ [*] ṣppadī[*] Chandrā-
Adityavat śelvādāga ka-
12 illiṅ-chembilum veṭṭivittu-kkolga[=] Iva[*] Śeṣvinnkku-naṭṭu Achebattavayal-Araiyan-
Āḍheha-
13 ṭēvaṅ-ṅgā Yāddarvaṇyam-ṛjutu[=*] Yāṇḍu 11-vadu nā| 108[*] Iva[*] Vaṭataiṅ-ḥChembi-
naṭṭu Veṅkāṣūr Araya-

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2 No. 345 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.
3 See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.
4 The right hand portion of the medial o sign of ro has been omitted to be engraved.
5 The letters ṣpp are written as a group whose symbol resembles ṣr.
6 The word ṣppi is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters ā and sū.
7 The ṭ sign of ṭē is at the end of the previous line.
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail! Prosperity! From the Emperor of the three worlds Königritmanā kōndān to the assembly of Rājagambhirā-chaturvādaṁgalīgam in Rājagambhirā-vaḷanāḍu.

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1 The word ivi is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters i and va.
2 This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to the end.
3 Read Sārītha.
4 The  sign of Kāśi is engraved at the end of the previous line.
5 Read vṛddha.
6 This looks exactly like ivi.
7 The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line 99 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Sāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.
As Vāgaikūḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the décadāna villages of (the god) Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of kadāmaï (to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of kadāmaï) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Alagapperumāli had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five kāśu,—ten kāśu for Vāgaikūḍi, ten kāśu for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five kāśu for Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as ottu, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in kāśu and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of kēlvi to the same effect.¹ You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Âdichchadâvân alias Yaḍavârâyaṇ of Achhutavâyal in Sêvîrûkkaī-nâdu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Kariyamâl alias Adigaimâni of Veṇkâṣṭhir in Vâdâtalai-Sêmbî-nâdu. This is the signature of Mandara Râmaṇ alias Pallavarâyaṇ of Perumânaḷur in Andâ-nâdu.

(II. 15ff.) Hail! Prosperity! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Sambhu residing in the glorious Push-pavana. To the assembly of Rājagambhirâ-chaturvvḗḍimâṅgâlam in Rājagambhirâ-valanâdu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We² have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son³ Sundara-Pâṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chōla country, kadâmaï from Vāgaikūḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkâṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of kadâmaï) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five kāśu is all—ten kāśu for Vāgaikūḍi, ten kāśu for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five kāśu for Śirukilāṅkâṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as ottu on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the pîśpâdu issued to you in this wise by Our son⁴ Sundara-Pâṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and kāśu should be measured out and given to Our accountants and kânnâs (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,⁵ this is the signature of the Śâvâchârya Pâlaśvâyaṇ alias Âlayiâdēva-Bhaṭṭâṇ of the Bhârâdvâja-gōṭra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyâṇ Vîghnâvâraṇ alias Viṇâyaka-Bhaṭṭâṇ. By order, this is the signature of Pâlaśvâyaṇ Ammaidēvaṇ alias Âlayiânyâyaaka-Bhaṭṭâṇ, a dévâkamâni among the Śâvâbâkhamâs of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kâśâva Kanâṭrajaṇâl alias Brâhma-Pallavarâyaṇ, a Kâsyaṇa and one of the chaṭṭâr (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountânt Dânâvînâda-Mûvândâvâlaṇ.

(II. 29ff.) The illustrious Śâstra-Bhaṭṭâraka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Añgârakamaṅgâla, who was the son of Jâtâdhâra and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Râjagambhirâ, the best of villages.

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

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

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

The set consists of five plates strung on to an oval ring 3½ by 4½ and weighs together with the ring 287 tolas. The ring does not bear any seal. The plates measure 10 by 4½ each and are inscribed on both the sides including the first and the last. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is in the Telugu script of the medieval period. The alphabet does not call for any special comment except that the letter bhā is written with or without the mark of aspiration at the bottom, as in -nābhārī in l. 6, gagan-ēku in l. 28, etc., but it invariably occurs without it when the vowel signs ā or ē are attached to it or when it occurs in a conjunct consonant, e.g., bhāya (l. 2), bhā-dāna (l. 9), bhāpa (l. 18), etc., and 2d-bhāyarasa (l. 21), viprābhā (l. 32), etc. The letter ri is written like the modern bhā without its lower stroke of aspiration but with an additional kommu or u sign attached to it (ll. 36, 39, 41, etc.). The whole record is written in Sanskrit verse and prose, except the portion specifying the boundaries of the village granted, which is in Telugu (ll. 57 to 72). Lines 1 to 32 consist of fourteen verses in different metres while lines 33 to 56, in which the donees with their respective shares are specified, are in prose. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and a verse which gives the name of the poet who composed the grant (ll. 72 to 77). In respect of orthography the following points may be noted:—(a) The use of anusvāra instead of the class nasal and the unnecessary doubling of the following consonant as in jagamiti for jaganti (l. 1), evanittau for evantu and rathāṇoṣa for rathāṇya (l. 4), etc.; (b) doubling of the consonant after the rēpha as in kīrtī (l. 12), raviśhinnā (l. 15), Yajur-vedī (l. 42), etc.; (c) incorrect omission of the aspirate as in Pārtha for Pārtha (l. 15), and the sonant for the surd as in tidhae for tithae (l. 29), Radhithara for Ra-thitara (l. 50). In rya the r is always written in full and the secondary form of ya attached to it at present.

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

1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 269.
ośvarya and bhoga. The English equivalent of the date according to the Indian Ephemeris of L. D. S. Pillai is A.D. 1388, January 9, Tuesday, on which day amavasyā commenced at 51 of the day. The solar eclipse, however, is shown to have occurred on the next day, i.e., Wednesday, on which day amavasyā lasted till 43 of the day.

The composer of the grant is Bālāsarasvat, a name which sounds very much like a title probably acquired by the person on account of his profound scholarship. Besides the Pachchāni-Taṇḍippaṟṟṟu grant already referred to, he is the composer of two other inscriptions of Ana-Vēma, of which one is a copper-plate record, and the other a stone inscription at Śrīśailam. In all these records Bālāsarasvat calls himself the Vidyā of the king’s court and he seems to have held this position up to Saka 1299, in which year he composed the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above; for, in the next year, i.e., Saka 1300, we find Trilochanāchārīya figuring as the court-poet of Ana-Vēma and composing a copper-plate grant of the king.3

Attention may be drawn here to an unpublished fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Ana-Vēma recorded in the Eliot Collection of Telugu Inscriptions, which furnishes us with some important facts. One of the donors figuring in it is a certain Mallu-bhaṭṭa who is called a Vidyādīkārin. We know that the famous poet Śrīnātha was the Vidyādīkārin in the court of Kōmaṭi-Vēma. Probably he succeeded Mallu-bhaṭṭa in this office. Of the duties of a Vidyādīkārin nothing is known from inscriptions, but that it must have been a responsible and high office is evident from the fact that so eminent a poet as Śrīnātha held it.4 Unfortunately nothing is known of his predecessor Mallu-bhaṭṭa. Another donor figuring in the Eliot Collection record is a certain Erṛa-ṛagadha. His gōtra, however, is not mentioned as in the case of the other donors, but he is introduced in respectful terms and is stated to be a recipient of an exclusively large share of land. It is therefore likely that this person is identical with the famous poet Erṛa-ṛagadha, who belonged to the Śrivatsa-gōtra and who is reputed to have completed the Andhra-Mahābhāratamu which was left unfinished by the previous authors, and who dedicated his work Hariṇahāmamu to his patron Prōlaya-Vēma. A certain Rejōḍī-Vēma is known to have granted several ayarāṇas to Vennalagaṇṭi Śrānana.5 The late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu who identifies this Rejōḍī-Vēma with Prōlaya-Vēma believes that Śrānana could not have had a place in Vēma’s court as long as Erṛa-ṛagadha held his position there, and therefore, in as much as Śrānana was patronised by Rejōḍī-Vēma, Erṛa-ṛagadha must have died during the time of Prōlaya himself.6 This supposition of the author is untenable, as instances of more than one poet patronised by kings in their courts are not uncommon. The present reference to the poet is therefore important in establishing that he lived in the court of Ana-Vēma also.

Besides the Mahābhāratamu and the Harivamāsamu, Erṛa-ṛagadha is the author of two other works, the Rāmāyānamu and the Nyāsāpaṇampāramu, of which he dedicated the former to Mall, a brother of Prōlaya-Vēma and the latter, known also as the Ahobalamāhāmamu, to the

2 Ibid. for 1915, App. C, No. 20.
4 Vol. I, p. 206, kindly brought to my notice by Dr. N. Veekataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., of the Madras University.
5 Mr. V. Prabhakara Śānti writes, in his Śrīpāṇḍaṅgama (p. 52), that Bālāsarasvat held the position of the Vidyādīkārin in the courts of Ana-Vēma and Ana-Vēma. But in no inscription of his composition does the poet call himself a Vidyādīkārin like his other contemporary Mallu-bhaṭṭa or the famous Śrīnātha.
7 Jākkan’s Vāraṇaṅkārkaruṟṟṟṟu, I, 62.
god Narasimha, the presiding deity of Ahobilam, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Kurnool District.

The chief interest of the present grant lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate inscription1 of the king so far discovered. Stone inscriptions of Ana-Votá known till now number only five and range in date from Saka 1275 to 1283. The earliest date known for his father Prólaya-Véná is Saka 1254,2 and an inscription from Mallavaram in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur (formerly Nellore) District gives for him the Saka year 1277, which, if correct, would be his latest date.3 But the reading of the latter date appears to be wrong for reasons cited in the foot-note below and may have to be equated with Saka 1267.4 An inscription of this king from Tripuranáthakam is dated in Saka 12885 and this is the latest date so far known for him. His son Ana-Votá also figures in this record, probably as the crown-prince. That he was a yuvrāja in his father's reign is referred to in a verse in Harivamsam also.6 He may therefore be presumed to have succeeded his father some time between Saka 1268 and Saka 1275. The record bearing the Saka date 1283 quoted above refers to the reconstruction of the Amareśvara temple at Dharañikóta by Véná-Chamúpati, the son of Mallinátha who was the minister of Ana-Votá. As the renovation was made for the increase of the life, health and prosperity of Ana-Votá, it may be reasonably presumed that he was ruling in Saka 1283. His defeat at the hands of Mada and Ana-Votá, sons of Siyá, a general, probably, of the Kákatya king Pratáparudra, is referred to in the Felugótipí-Vámsásvali, and this incident has been assigned to Saka 1283.7 Ana-Véná is said to have succeeded his brother Ana-Votá after the latter's death.8 We do not know of any record of Ana-Véná earlier than Saka 1293.9

1 The only other copper-plate grant of this king known to us is that given in the Elliot Collection mentioned already, but its whereabouts are not now known.
2 The five records referred to above are (1) Nellore Inscriptions, Part III, p. 1037. This record, dated in Saka 1276, is included in Hangacharya's Topographical List of Insks. (Guntur No. 409) and it refers to Ana-Votá's minister Mallinátha on whose death his brother made some grants. (2) No. 185 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in Saka 1276. (3 and 4) Nos. 961 and 962 of 1900, both dated in Saka 1280 and (5) No. 250 of 1897. Another record (No. 250 of 1905) dated in Saka 1269 belongs to the reign of Anama Reddi. This has been assigned to Ana-Votá by Sewell and Krishnaswami Ayyangar (Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 191). But it is reasonable to ascribe it to Anna, a younger brother of Prólaya-Véná, since the date falls within the period of the latter's rule.
3 No. 340 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
4 Nellore Inscriptions, Part III, Ongole 73.
5 The eclipse is stated to have occurred at the end of the (month) Áśvina. It must therefore have been an eclipse of the Sun (ahimášáh, not himášáh, i.e. Moon, as understood by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, ibid., p. 925). According to the Indian Ephemeris the details given in the inscription, viz., Áśvina-uladhuk Áśvinigradáháh Áśviní-rádháh, i.e., the ending of Áśvina solar eclipse, Thursday, agree regularly for the Saka year 1267 (current) = A.D. 1344, October 7, Thursday, on which day there was a solar eclipse. In calculating the above date, the months have to be counted as sintaka ones as it is the system adopted in South India. The word virdháh in the chronogram sañvä-virdháh-dyúmané as read by the authors mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as tarkéa to give as the numeral 6 in place of 7. and the chronogram equated with 1267.
6 No. 191 of 1905.
7 Ka || Vítata-yúvarája-vibhav-tena- nata Pútaya-sainyánáththa naya-márgga sami- hítsa-santata-sév-víla- sita-pútara krisanmridha áviyáma-siddhá || (Harivámśa, Part II, Canto 9, r. 266.)
which date is nearly a decade later than Ana-Vóta’s supposed defeat in Śaka 1283. Whether Ana-Vóta’s reign ceased with his defeat at the hands of Śuṅga’s sons, and his brother succeeded to the throne forthwith, we must leave for future discovery of fresh records to decide.

A few details about this king gathered from the Elliot Collection record referred to already may be added here. The inscription begins, as usual, with the genealogy of the Reḍḍi chiefs commencing with Próla and his sons Mächá, Véma, Doḍja, Anna and Malla by his wife Annamámábhá. Here Véma’s two sons Ana-Vóta and Ana-Véma are mentioned and the former’s exploits recounted. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the banks of the rivers Krishná and Gautami, a fact which is corroborated by a verse in the Vīshāpuṭrāṇam which refers to the defeat by Ana-Vóta of a certain Rāvatu-Kēśa on the banks of the Krishná before the very eyes of god Amarāśvara.² Ana-Véma associates himself in this inscription with his brother Ana-Vóta in endowing lands to more than 180 Brāhmaṇas, amongst whom, besides the Vidyādhikūrin Mallu-bhaṭṭa already mentioned, the mention of Erraya-pregaḍa is of particular interest. Ana-Véma, it must be noted, is here called Ana-Véma-Bhùpiṭa Mahārāju (the wording in the inscription is: yī rāju tommanṭu Ana-Véma-Bhùpiṭa Mahārāju). The date of this inscription is unfortunately lost; but it must have been executed some time prior to Śaka 1293, which is the earliest year known for Ana-Véma, the successor of Ana-Vóta.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription under publication the following, viz., Saṅkanipalli, Vinnakóta, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kulaṉavámṛdi, may be identified respectively with the modern Saṅkarshānapuram, Vinnakóta, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kulavapadi—all in the Guḍiváda taluk of the Kistna District. Guruvajakódu may possibly be identical with Guṇta-Kōḍúru. The other villages, viz., Rājina-yin Pālaparti, Kṛṅkulaṁirtti or Kṛṅkulaṁirru, Pālakóḍu, and Pulipāḍu, I am unable to identify. Alligunṭa may be a pond and Alua-paṇña, probably a field. Dāṅkēru and Yannēru must be two local streams. The village Kōḍúru is said to be situated on the banks of the Malāpāhā; but there is no stream of this name anywhere in this locality now. The Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Véma (Śaka 1293) refers to this river as situated in Kurtti-dēsa and the grant Drujujavaram alias Anna-Vēmapuram as situated on the banks of this stream.² Drujujavaram is evidently the modern Juhjavaram, which is 12 miles south west of Kōḍúru. Both these villages are situated close to the present Pulēru canal, which appears to be the present representative of the river Malāpāhā referred to in the above copper-plate records.

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

<table>
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¹ See fn. 4, p. 123.
² Andhra Vīshāpuṭrāṇam by Sūtrana, Áśvas I, v, 22
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<th>No.</th>
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<th>Veda or Śākhā</th>
<th>No. of shares</th>
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**TEXT.**

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 7 and 9, Vasantaśīla; vv. 2, 5, 6 and 8, Upajāti; vv. 3 and 4, Indravajrā; vv. 10-18, Śārādāvākṣiṣita; vv. 14-18, Anusūṭaḥ.]

First Plate; First Side.

1 Pāyād=Varāha-vapushah paramasya puṇāsī daṃṣṭrā jagatiti(ti) iš-2 kharē dharaṇiḥ dadhānā ["] [ṣṛ]ṣṛg-āgrabhāga-parichumbita-mēgha-bī-

1 From original plates.
3808 saññalakṣhayaṃga-susham-eva sāsāṅka-rēkhā || [1*] Tamō ha-
4 rēṭāṁ tava pushpavavāṭtata(vaṇtav) rākāṣu pūrvv-āpara-sālā-bhājau [ ] rath-
āṃgga(ka)-llā.-
5 m-iva darṣyaantattau(tau) purā Purāṇaḥ pridhiḥ-thi-va-radha(tha)sya || [2*] Pād-āravini-
6 dād-Araṇīdhanābher-Gaṅga-eva puṇyā ghanā-jivana-āriḥ jātābhibjātā saṭadhih
7 vibhinnā jātis-chaturthī jagataṃ hitāya || [3*] Taśyaṃ-abhūt Prālaya-Vēma-
8 nāmā Śrīśaḷa-sāpāna-vipāda(dhā)na-sālī | Hēmādri-kalp-ōdiita-dāna-dākṣhō nis-aī-

First Plate : Second Side.

9 ma-bhū-dāna-nirūḍha-kṛtih || [4*] Vēma-kṣiṣṭiḥ vriṣham-eka-pādaṃ kharjṇa-prachāraḥ
10 Kali-kāla-dōshat | datt-āgraḥara-dvijal-vaḍā-saktiyā pada-kramār-askhalitam chakāra || [5*]
11 Dharmaśajjō Dāśarathīḥ Prithuḥ-chatyudhyaya-mālaṇī yugantta(tajrēsāhu | vitarka-
12 ye Vēma-narēva-saraya puṇyāmani nāmaṇi purātanaṇī || [6*] Yat-kṛtta-gāna-sa-
13 nayē phani-sundarīṇām-ālōkitum cha mukha-rāgam-ānaṣaṅga-
14 mūlam | stōtum cha gita-racanāṃ yugpan na dākṣhō nāg-ādhīpo na saha-
15 tē nayana-arūtitvaṃ( tvam) || [7*] Saṅgrāma-Pārīta(tha)sya sarair-vaibhinnā vasya-
śri-chū-
16 dāmaṇyō vichēnū || ( ) ākrāmatas-saṅhyati rāja-vathānē pratāpa-vahne.

Second Plate : First Side.

17 rēva visphuliṅgūḥ || [8*] Taṃmačha Vēma-nripatēr-udaya-d-iva-ādīrē-jātau pratāpa-
vara-kā-
18 mtī(t)ī-nidhā kumārau | sūrya-ēndhu-tulya-mahasāv-Ana-Vōta-bhūpa[ ]āriy-Anna-Vē-
19 ma-nripatēr-jaga-raksha-pālaḥ || [9*] Vīrā-āriy-Ana-Vōta-bhūta-la-patēr-egămēbhra-bhērī-
ravaḥ sa-
20 trujānā hridayēshu saṅga( ga)ra-mukhē bhinnēla puṛvhaṃ rasaḥ(sam) | yaḍ-vaś-
21 raññ nikāsaya(d)ḥ-bhaya-ṛaṣā vēgāt kuto-py-āgaṭo yuktāṃ prakta-
22 nām-ahbhū nirggamayati pratyagram-āty-ārijita(tam) || [10*] Yaduhaṭṭhaśu vīrodhi-rā-
23 ja-nilāye yōdh-ālayē yogītō vaiṇi kalpita-hēma-kuṭṭita-ghana-sayam-
24 da-sphuliṅg-ōjva(jjva)lah | Hēmādṛēr-iva bhūmikāṃ kalayati praudhāḥ pratāp-ō-

Second Plate : Second Side.

25 śiṃmaṇē sa-pratyaṃttata(ta)gīrō sa-hēmaśarītāḥ sarvāyōpta-tār-āvalīḥ || [11*] Yasṛ-śarīr
kuliṣa-
26 dhvaniḥ kalayatō dhīṭehu bhērī-ravah nāmāni drutam-Arjunaśā japaṭas-śaṅgrāma-
27 Gaṃḍvinaḥ | saṅgrām-ōpacandī tāṇi bhavataṃ raksha-kṛtī sarvadām varṇyaṃttām(tam)i-
28 ti bōdhayanītya-ālipatīn dhi-yanmīnī māṅmīnīḥ || [12*] Śak-ābdē gagan-ōbha-sū-
raṇ-gāṇīte Paunāṣyā sarākā tidhau(tha) Bāhusūnēr-divasē him-ētara-ruchāḥ
puṇy-ōpa-
30 rāg-ārīnta(ta)rō | grāmaḥ prādiśad-Ana-Vōta-nripatiḥ Kōḍūra-nām-ānkkī(kt)taṁ
31 s-ābhy-ālavaryakam-āṣṭṛa-bhōga-ashtītām bhūdevatābhdīyō mūdā || [13*] Malāpaḥ[ā]-
32 nāt-tirē vipraḥbhyāḥ pratipādatām( tam) | Annavōtapurāṃ nāmaṇa jayatī-ā-chandra-
ūtō-

1 Read vekhagravendra.
2 Read ṣesāṅka.
3 Read yad-dāhitau.
4 Read Arjunaśā.
Third Plate; First Side.

33 rakāṁ(kam) || [14*] Asya grāmatya pratigrahitāraḥ || Haritagoṭrāḥ | Vissayāryaḥ || Sinnggayāḥ.
34 raṁ | Sūrāyāryaḥ | Dēvāyāryaḥ | Ganggayāryaḥ | ētē paṁcha pratyēkam dvi-bhāgināḥ.
35 Mādhava-dvīvṛddi | Annayāryaḥ | ētē dvādaśa Yajuḥ-sākḥ-ādhāyāyīnaḥ | Annayāryaḥ.
36 dvi-bhāgi | Rig-vṛddi | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ | Sinnggayāyaḥ | Mahānāyakaḥ.
37 Lākhkhayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Tāllaya-dāvajñāḥ | Allāḍa-bhāṭṭaḥ | Allāḍamāṭaḥ.
38 Vallabhāryaḥ | Erapōta-bhāṭṭaḥ | ētē daśa Yajuḥ-sākḥ-ādhāyāyīnaḥ | Chamudāyāyaḥ.
39 raṁ | dvi-bhāgi | Rig-vṛddi | Śrīvatsa-gōtrāḥ | Rāmāyāryaḥ | dvi-bhāgi | Appalabhāṭṭaḥ.
40 dvi-bhāgi | Chāṁchayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Eṛrayāryaḥ | Prōlayāryaḥ | ētē aḥta.

Third Plate; Second Side.

41 Yajuḥ-sākḥ-ādhāyāyīnaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭaḥ | Rig-vṛddi | Māchayāryaḥ pad-ē.
42 na-bhāgi | Yajur-vṛddi | Kaunjavīnyā-gōtrāḥ | Bhāskarāyāḥ | s-ārdhda(arṛddha)-bhāgi | Mādhavāryaḥ | Gāngādharaḥ.
43 rārayaḥ | Brahmadevāḥ | Sinnggayāyaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Sarasvatī-bhāṭṭaḥ | Mathekenāryaḥ | ētē.
44 Yajuḥ-sākḥ-ādhāyāyīnaḥ | Kāyapa-gōtrāḥ | Dēvāyāryaḥ | s-ārdhda(arṛddha)-dvībhaṇī.
45 Ayyalu-bhāṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Sōmaya-bhāṭṭaḥ | Nilakaṇṭhāyāḥ | ētē Bhuraṛg(Rig-vṛddi).
46 naḥ | Poddanāryaḥ | Annamāryaḥ pad-ōna-bhāgi | ētāu Yajur-vṛddinau | Visvēśvara-bhāṭṭaḥ.
47 Kāṇva-sākḥ-ādhāyāyī | Śāṁdīlya-gōtrāḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nāgayāryaḥ | Sinnggayāyaḥ.
48 yārayaḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nārāyaṇa(nā)ryaḥ arddhda(arṛddha)-bhāgi | ētē Ya-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

50 ha-jaunāshīkāḥ dvi-bhāgi | ētāu Rig-vṛddinau | Radhi (thītara-gōtrau | Sūrāyāryaḥ | dvi-bhāg.
51 gī | Vallabhāryaḥ [*] ētāu Yajur-vṛddinau | Gautama-gōtrau | Sinnggayāyaḥ | Māchayāryaḥ.
52 ētāu Yajur-vṛddinau | Jiyyaṃarāyaḥ Rig-vṛddi | Kauśika-gōtrau | Perumān.
53 qī-bhāṭṭaḥ | Mārāyāryaḥ | ētāu Yajur-vṛddinau | Maitreyā-gōtrau | Mahānāyakaḥ.
56 Rig-vṛddi [*] Gārgya-gōtrāḥ Mallayāryaḥ pad-ōna-bhāgi Yajur-vṛddi || Śrīb[*].

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

57 Atha grāmasya simā-çihnnāṇi | tūrpuṇaku Mrāṇikoṇja-guṇṭa padumati gaṭṭu.
58 nu a kūnṭṭa dākṣiṇapu madī tūrpu-gaṭṭunu dākṣiṇa-mukhamai Dāṅkēṛu sabi-
TRANSLATION.

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

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

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (i.e. Viṣṇu) was born, for the good of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous, illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.
(Verse 4) In that (cave) was born (a king) named Prólaya-Vëma who constructed steps to Śrīśaila (mountain), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (Kalipa) by Hēmādri and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Verse 13) In the Śaka year counted by gaganā (0), ṛṣa (8), and sūrya (12), (i.e., 1280), in the month of Pausha, on a Tuesday which had the darśa (tiṣṭa)—during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmans the village Kōḍaru along with the eight aśeṣyās and eight bhāgas.

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

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

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

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was Bālasarasvatī, the vīdēś of king Ana-Vōta, are given here.
A.—Adipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhaṇjāḍēva.

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

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

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

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

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

As regards orthography, b and p are not distinguished ; the anusvāra is represented in some cases by guttural ā (vaśā in line 6), while the final dental n is represented by anusvāra (strām in line 11, bhūpālām in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after r, but there are exceptions (kriyār-bhūvā in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of ṣ for s (āṣit in line 3, Śmața in line 10, prasātaḥ in line 13, bālī in line 20) ; of rī for ri (kriyātē in line 32, āryāma in line 34) ; of ṣ for i (Bhavāniṣṭa in line 2, āṣit in line 3, strāraḥ in line 31, kirttātā in line 33) ; and of u for ū (purvē in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned māviṣ-tyāgīr in line 6, ukti-cha dharmama-śāstī in line 24, cēta in line 32, and víndu-ṭlolā in line 33.

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

The inscription records the grant of the village Viṛi(Briḥat)-Sārā in Uṛtī-vishaya in Khiṇja by king Narēndrabhaṇjā, son of king Viṃbheṭaṭhaṇa, and grandson of Kōṭṭabhāṇa. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by Mahārāja Raṇabhāṇjāḍēva, son of Viṃbheṭaṭhaṇa, and, therefore, a brother of Narēndrabhaṇjā. The date, samvat 293, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription recording the grant of Narēndrabhaṇjā was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant.

¹ For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.

² Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II.
and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhāṇja was the younger brother of Narēndrabhaṇja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhaṭṭaputra Śitaladēva—sarman belonging to Bahuśrītā charaṇaḥ, Āśvalāyana-śūkhā, and Vatsa-gotra. The donee in the other case was Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama.

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

1. Bāmanghāṭi plate of Raṇabhāṇja.
2. Khansadēul plate of Raṇabhāṇja.
4. Ukunda plate of Prithvībhaṇja.
5. Kēsi plate of Śatrubhaṇja (re-edited below, C).
6-7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Narēndrabhaṇja (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayaśiṣṭa (edited below, C).

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

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

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2 The Grant is also known as Jamadar plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 390-1).
5 Ibid., pp. 429 f.
6 Below, pp. 172 f.
8 For these No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhāṇja.
9 Mr. Misra, who edits the plate, translates the passage as follows: "...... Virabhada who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadēva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages ". This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'śānu'. Cf. C, edited below.
family known to us. The names of the successors of Kōṭṭabhaṅja are, however, given differently in the different plates (Nos. 1-8).

In No. 1 the genealogy is given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kōṭṭabhaṅja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dīghaṅja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇabhaṅja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kōṭṭabhaṅja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raṇabhaṅja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvibhaṅja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 5 gives the following genealogy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kōṭṭabhaṅja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dūrjayaḥbhaṅja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇabhaṅja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śatrubhaṅja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(yuvraja) Naręndraḥbhaṅja.

In No. 6 the genealogy is given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kōṭṭabhaṅja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vibhramatūṅga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Raṇabhaṅja. Naręndraḥbhaṅja.

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

No. 8 gives us the following genealogy:

Mahāruṣādhirāja Raṇabhaṅja

Vibhramatūṅga

(yuvraja) Kōṭṭabhaṅja.

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

No. 2 mentions Kōṭṭabhaṅja, his son Dīghaṅja, and the latter's son Raṇabhaṅja, and so far it agrees with No. 1. But after Raṇabhaṅja it adds two more names in the following passage: "ātmajah śrī-Prithvibhaṅja-suta-śrī-Naręndraḥbhaṅjadevō bhūtah". In addition to the two emendations noted within brackets, MM. H. P. Śāstri, who edited the record, made a further emendation by omitting the visarga in 'ātmajah'. He, therefore, translated the passage as follows:

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

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

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

```
Kōṭṭabhaṇja
   |   |
Raṇabhaṇja
   |   |
Raṇabhaṇja
```

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

Mr. C. C. Das Gupta has justly drawn our attention to the fact that the word 'Raṇabhaṇja' cannot be read on the published facsimile. The first letter is undoubtedly ‘ra’ but the other letters cannot be clearly read, and in any case there is no ‘as’ following ‘ra’. He suggests that this word was misengraved for Dīghaṇa and constructs the following genealogy from Nos. 1 and 3:—

```
Kōṭṭabhaṇja
   |   |
Dīghaṇa
   |   |
Raṇabhaṇja
   |   |
Raṇabhaṇja
```

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1. *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.,* Vol. XII, p. 239.
3. *Op. cit., p. 183.* Curiously enough, on the preceding page Mr. Banerji says: "The actual grant was made by Narendrabhaṇja.”
At first sight the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

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

Then, again, according to MM. Sāstrī's interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhaṇja had a son (auapyika or reputed) named Prithvibhaṇja and the latter's son was Narendrabhaṇja. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, viz., that Raṇabhaṇja had a son called Prithvibhaṇja, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, viz., that he had a grandson called Narendrabhaṇja. No. 5, however, gives Śatrubhaṇja as the name of the father of Narendrabhaṇja, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Śatrubhaṇja with Prithvibhaṇja.

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

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

               Kōṭṭabhaṇja
                           |
                           v
        Dīghaṇa alias Durjayabhaṇja alias Vibhramatūṅga
                    /    \
               /    \  \   
      Rāṇabhaṇja (No. 1) Narendrabhaṇja I (Nos. 6-7)
                        / \  \  \  
                       /   \ /   
                  ? Rājabhaṇja (No. 3) Vibhramatūṅga (No. 8)
                        / \  \  \  
                       /   \ /   
                  Śatrubhaṇja (No. 5) alias Prithvibhaṇja (No. 4)
                       /     
                      /       
                     /         
                   Durjayabhaṇja (No. 8)
                  /     
                /       
              /         
            (yuvāra) Kōṭṭabhaṇja
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Narendrabhaṇja II (No. 2)
Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above represents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

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

```
Virabhadra
  /  \
Kottabhañja

  /  \
Digbhañja  Vibhramatunga  Durjayabhañja

  /  \
Rajabhañja (No. 1)  Narendrabhañja (No. 5)  Rajabhañja (No. 5)

  /  \
Prathvbhañja (Nos. 2, 4)  Satrubhañja

  /  \
Narendrabhañja (No. 2)  Vibhramatunga

  /  \
Durjayabhañja
```

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

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

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1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.
3 Annals, Bh. Or. Rev. Ins., Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.
was also an independent king. Indeed, in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a de facto independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhañja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadrā as Chakravarti-samāḥ or ‘like an emperor’, gives the titles ‘Mahānāyakād-dhīpatai-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara’ to Śatrubhañjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhañja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhāñja, viz., Satīvat 288 (No. 1) and Satīvat 293 (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D. This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta. Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D. Accordingly, king Raṇabhāñja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era. That would place Raṇabhāñja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The paleographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.

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

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

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

1 The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is 'lū'. Kiellhorn, in his List of Northern Inscriptions, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (above Vol. V, App. p. 85, n. 6). Bühler’s chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pl. IX, Col. XVII). Subsequently, Kiellhorn also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (above Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 181).


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


6 I. H. Q., Vol. XIII, p. 437. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kiellhorn. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

7 Bühler in his Paleographic Chart places the alphabet of the Bāmaubhañja Ins. of Raṇabhāñja in the 9th century A.D. (Plate IX, Col. XVIII).
Khijiṇīga (Khijiṇīga-pratibaddha). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate that the kingdom of this group of Bhaṇja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayūrbanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhaṇja. The name Mayūrbanj undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhaṇja family originated from the egg of a mayūrī (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vāsishṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family. It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhaṇja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhaṇja kings referred to above.

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

1. The Mayūra-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya clan, Moriya being the Prākrit form of Mayūra.3

2. According to the Pāli Mahāvagga, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 60,000 townships. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadrā over 88,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

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

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a totemic conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are other valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, Gaṇadanda has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hirralal as an officer of some Gaṇa or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of Gaṇadanda-nāyaka or Gaṇa-daṇḍapāla, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army.4 There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription other than Khijiṇīga, Kōtyāśrama, the reputed hermitage of Vāsishṭha where Virabhadrā was born, has been identified with Kutin, thirty-two miles from Bāripadā.5 Urttī-rishyapa may be identified with a village called Urti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaraṇi. There is a village called Sorai near Urti, and this may represent either of the two villages, Brīhat-Sārāl and Svalpa-Sarāyī mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefixes brīhat and svalpa (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

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1 While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripadā, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a Sanad granted by Mahārāja Viravikramāditya Bhaṇja in 1713 A.D. in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vāsishṭha. (2) A letter from the ruler of Talcher addressed to Lākshmi Nārāyana Bhaṇja, ruler of Mayūrbanj (1690 A.D.) containing reference to the same legends. Upendra Bhaṇja, the famous poet of Oriya, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūrbanj.


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

4 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

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

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

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhañjas kings. MM. H. P. Sastri, while editing the Khandadeuli plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," he observed, "my predecessors read Kṛṣṇārama, but my plate distinctly says Kautesārama. They read the same word Sulana in one plate and Svarunatā in another, but it is really Galad-antā, the breaking egg". The present records confirm the reading Kṛṣṇārama and show beyond doubt that the other word is really Gaṇa-dāntā, which also seems to be quite clear on the estampage of the Khandadeuli Inscription. In the three published records the adjective 'Khijanāga-Kṛṣṇa' is applied to Rana-antā and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in Khijināga. The corresponding expression in the present records is Khijanāga-kṛṣṇādhivāmīś meaning that the Grant was issued from Khijināga. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-4, 6, Ārya; v. 5, Vasantaratikā; vv. 7-9, Anuśṭubh; v. 10, Drutavilambita; v. 11, Pushpitāgrā.]

Obverse.

1 ॐ svasti [*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
2 bhava-bhaya-bhidūrō Bhavō Bhavāni(nīlaḥ) | vividha-samādhī-vi-
3 dhijānā sarvavajnō vah Śivīyā-āstu || [1[*] *Āśi(s)ī]t Kṛṣṇārama-
4 hā-tapovanat-māyu-āṇḍām bhit[*]vā Gaṇa-dāntā Vīrabhadra-ākhyaḥ [*]
5 pratipakṣa-nidhana-dakṣa Vaiśeṣika-muni-pālitō ariṣpa-
6 tihs || [2[*] Taṣya-Adi-Bhaṣṇa-vāh(varhā)sec mānīs-tyāgī-āṇḍaṇaḥ khyā-
7 taḥ [*] śūrah śucir-vivintō [* jāta[h]ā śrī Kṛṣṇā[bha]jāti || [3[*] Pu-
8 tras-tad-anurūpa[2] śrī śrīmaṇ-maśakha-sāmantaḥ [*] nir-
9 pati-śat-āruṣṭaḥ-čaraṇā śrī Vībra-mātuṣāgō jagat-prathī-
10 taḥ || [4[*] Taṣya-[ā]śmaṇaḥ Śma(Śma)ra-samv ba(la)va-va[r]śiṣṭhaḥ śūrah
11 [samunajanta]yaśāḥ pravijitya satruṁ(n) | rājā Yudhīṣṭhira

1 Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II. App. III, p. 86.
2 Expresses by a symbol.
3 In this verse the words Kṛṣṇārama-māha-tapovanat must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read Āṣī-ṃāyu-āṇḍaṃ etc.
4 Read śrīmāṇ.
5 Read śucir.
6 Daṇḍa unnecessary.
7 Read śrīmāṇaḥ.
8 This is probably a mistake for anākhya.
9 Omit śrī as in B for the sake of the metre.
10 Read samunajanta as in B below.
12 riv-śāvan1-pālaṇe cha 3 nityāṁ rataḥ kuśala-karma-vidhau
13 prāṣa(sa)kaṭh ![[R][9]] Khiṣjaṅga-kọṭṭādhiśvāst 2 Hara-charaṇ-ā
dhraṇa-kṣapita-paṇaḥ | śrīmān-Narendra-bhaṅja-devāh 1 s-a
15 nunayaḥ prāha bhūpālaṁ(laṅ) 1 [8][9] Khiṣjaṅga-pratipaddhō(baddha) Uṛtt-vidhau
16 ya-saṁmāndha[Vṛi(Bṛi)h]at-Sārāi-grām-ābhidhānō 2 grāmō-yath
17 po(pūr)va - vidita-simantaḥ 1 Vāvbiś-charaṇāya 2 Aśū-ya
18 nałem-sākhyā 1 Vachchha-gōtrāya 2 pauchch-rishaya-pravara-

Reverse.
21 [mātā(tā)]-pritṛō-sātmana ....
22 ....nātō-smābhīḥ puṇyaśeṭun-dādāyā [1] yāvate-pri-
23 [khr]dvāharmma-dākšāhya(nya)tō vā | tāvat-kālam-pāla[nīyō]
24 bhavadbhī [11] uktaṁ cha ddharmma21-astrē | Vā(Ba)hubbhī-\vvasubhī dattā
25 rājabhīs-Sagar-adibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[ś]-ta-
26 sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(laṁ) || [7][9] Mā bhūya phala-śānka vaḥ para-
27 dat-ēti pārthivāṃ | svadattā phalam-āntaṁ para-
28 datumānuḍaṁ || [8][10] Sva-datta para-dattām-vā 1 yō harēti
29 vasundhāraṁ || sa vīśṭhāyāḥ krimir-bhūtvā 2 pītṛbhiḥ sa-
31 priyā [11] haṭa-śār(ī)ram-udān-cha vini(na)ma(sva)ra(m) u su-κriṭaṁ
32 adya na chēta18 kri(kri)yaat dhruvaṁ 1 vīpadi dhāsyaś ca vō
33 nuṣay-ānalaḥ || [10][11] Iti kamala-dal-āmva-vindu-llō
34 lān17 śī(śī)yaṁ-anuchinta manushya-jīvitaḥ cha | sakal-
36 yō vilōpyaṁ(pyāḥ) || o || [11][12] Likhitaṁ Rājakula-Hēra-
37 mveś(mboj)-ēti || o || Śri-Vibhramatūṅga-sutēna Mahārāja-śrī-Rāpa-

1 Read ir-ōvā-. 
2 Danda unnecessary. 
3 The danda is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read kōṭṭa-vaũd-Dhara-, or Khiṣjaṅga-kōṭṭaśnie as 
in other inscriptions. 
4 Omit ēva for the sake of the metre. 
5 Read saṃbaddha-. 
6 Read Bahūrīca-. 
7 Read Aśvalayana-. 
8 Read Vīṣṇu-. 
9 Read Pāchārshā-. 
10 Read vinirgata-. 
11 Read -karmāṣṭ-. 
12 Perhaps the correct reading is dattō-smābhī puṇya-śēt-ādayā. [The text from mālā to bhavadbhī 
seems to form a verse in Śīlīśī metre. —Ed.] 
13 Read dharma-. 
14 Read Ma bhūd-aphala-śāṅka vaḥ para-dattēti pārthīcāḥ || sva-dattā-aphalam-anvantyam para-dattānau-pa-
15 Read Sva-dattēm para-dattēm vā yō harēta vasundhāraṃ. 
16 Read sukṛamadhya na chēt. 
17 Read Iti kamala-dal-āmva-bindu-lōjaḥ. 
18 Read udākṛita-sa-cha. 
19 Read baddhō.
TRANSLATION.

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

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇḍaṇḍa (an officer in a republic ?) Virabhada, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage, called Kōtyāśrama, and was brought up by the sage Vasishṭha.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhaṇja (king) was born śrī-Kōṭṭhabhaṇja, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (ataq-daka).

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

(Vv. 5-6) His son śrīmān Narāṇdrabhāṇjadāva—who was like cupid (in appearance), strong, weighty, and brave; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies; who, like king Yudhishṭhira, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of Harā—resides at the fort of Khiṣiṇga says respectfully to the kings:

(Ll. 15-21) (There is) a village called Bṛhat-Sārāi, in the district (vidhaya) of Uṛttī, situated close to the city of Khiṣiṇga. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to Bhaṭṭaputra Śtalādevaśaranav, an emigrant from Tilapudraka and belonging to Bahvṛiha-Charana, Āśvalāyana-Śakha, Vatsa-gṛtra, and having the five rishis as his praṇavaras (or the noble ancestors).

(Ll. 22-35 contain the usual imprecations.)

(L. 36) Written by the Rājakula Hēramba.

(Ll. 37-40) By Mahārāja-śrī Raṇabhāṇjadāva, son of śrī Vībhramatunāga; the village of Svalpa-Sārāyi in the district (vidhaya) of Uṛttī has been granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

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

Written by Kulpuktra Yaksha.

B.—Adipur Copper-plate of Narāṇdrabhāṇjadāva.

This is a single plate measuring about 10½" by 8½". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

1 Read anā.
2 [There seem to be only two letters at the end; the reading may, therefore, be Yakṣē-eti. —Ed.]
rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a circular seal with a diameter of about 3". It bears the legend “Śrīnān-Nārīḥ(rē)pādabhāṇjanadvayya” in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a humped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had to be cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been hidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of the plate by King Ranaḥanja. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the whole plate was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sir Dās of the Adipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sir Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1927 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum at Bāripādu. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides, along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are: (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well-known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author’s knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village Sarapadra in the Kērakēra-viṣaya by King Narēndrabhaṇja whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhājan Dēvādevādana, migrated from Odra viṣaya and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village Rāmaparkaṭi in the Khiṅjīnga-maṇḍala. The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (Ravisāmkramaṇa-viśyā). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Ranaḥanja. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as Pādēvā, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these localities Kērakēra is still the name of a village in Ghoshdipār in Adipur Pargana, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khiching. It is shown as Kerkera in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1" = 4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Saras in the same sheet and this may be the same as Sarapadra. The village called Saradah in Karanjia Pargana may also be the modern representative of Sarapadra. Rāmaparkaṭi may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur Pargana. I am unable to identify Pādēvā. The

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1(See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.)

2(To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmaparkaṭi in Khiṅjīnga-maṇḍala and that he originally hailed from Ailāvadraha, a Brahmin village (? Bhātā-grāma) in the Odra-viṣaya.—Ed.)
mention of Odra-viśaya is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of Narāṇḍrabhaṇja and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by Bhaṇja Mahārāja Raṇabhaṇja. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly nāḍā or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before nāḍā, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'a', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like sa or stai, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, Raṇabhaṇja of this short record must be identified with king Raṇabhaṇja, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of postscript to the record of Narāṇḍrabhaṇja. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, i.e., during the reign of king Narāṇḍrabhaṇja. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that Raṇabhaṇja was a predecessor of Narāṇḍrabhaṇja, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.1

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word kusāli or kusālināh, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words sānumayati prāha bhūpāla take the place of the usual verbs mānuṣayati bhashayati samādiṣati. In the present grant we have all these three combined, with the exception only of samādiṣati.

Attention may be drawn to the expression Śiva-Charanā-Sarja-hapāda (l. 13) used with reference to Narāṇḍrabhaṇja. The corresponding expression in A is Hara-charaya-arādhana-khaṇḍita-pāpaḥ (ll. 13-14). These prove that king Narāṇḍrabhaṇja was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śaiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

**TEXT.**

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

*Obverse.*

1 Svasti [**]
2 Ōṁ² nāmō Avīgīyaśvarāyaḥ² || Sakalā-bhuvan-aika-nā-
3 thō bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavāni(ni)śaḥ [**] vividha-samādi-vi-

1 [It is difficult to believe that Raṇabhaṇja of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of Narāṇḍrabhaṇja. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (dharmasārīgāḥ dharmā prabhupāt). The dust of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, viz., Yakkhaśattra and the donor is also the same Raṇabhaṇja in both. The reading in l. 36 of B is ṣaṅcita-nāṭra. If ṣaṅcita stands for asaṅcita, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, i.e., Kōṭṭabhaṇja whose grandson Raṇabhaṇja was. — Ed.]

² There is a symbol preceding Ōṁ.

³ Read nāmō vīgīyaśvarāya.
4 dhijjū(nā) saurajān vah śivāy-āstu || [1[*] Āśi(ā)tāṅgā Kṛtyāśrama-
7 ja-vanāśa-vaṁśō mānī(ī) tyāgī(ī) adānākaḥ[9] khāta(khyātaḥ)[7] jātō(10) [9] śrī-Kṛṭa-
8 bharījā-pi [11] [3 [***
9 Putras-tad-āṇurūpāḥ śrīśaḥ śrīmān-asakṣa(sanśgupa)-sāmantaḥ nṛpati-śa-
10 t-ārōcchita-charanō Viṁhramatūṅgā jagat-pratītaḥ || [4 [***] Tasy-Ātmajāḥ
11 Smara-samō va(12)lavān-varī(13) śrīśaḥ śrīśaḥ samunna-tāya śuddh ni-
13 kuśal-karmā-vidhau prasa(kā)taḥ [15 [***] Khijiṅga-kṛṭtādhiṣvāsakāt [***]
14 Aśi(ā)ī-dhār-ārjīta-kīrtītha Śīva-charaṇa-saṅghapadā śrīmā-
15 n || ripu-vanītā-vaidhavya-da Nareṇdrabhāṣṭaya-kuṣalī(ī) jagata(ī)-khyātaḥ [9]
16 sāṁnayāṁ prāṇa[9] bhūpālān yathā-āhān māmayati vōḥ(bō)da[ya]ti Kērakē-
17 ra-viṁhaya-prativ(a)ba(dhū)-Śaraṇdhraka-grāmaḥ-chatvā-śīṃ-paraṁvān ṣ-ō-
18 pari(1)kara-s-ōdhi(dd) śa-sa-śantaṛvāya gō-kūta-sauṇḍhi(ōdhi)-ādī(ī)dīkha pra-

Reverse.

19 ph(ī)ddo(a)na-nāyāyēn-āchandr-ārka-khiti-sama-ka(kā)la(īr)[9] mātā-pitrār-ātmanaḥ [ya]-
21 nirgataḥ Khijiṅga-maṇḍalasya Rāmaparkaṭi-grāma-sāsā
22 Vyavbhīcha-charañyā Yatsa-gōtra-paṇḍhāraḥya-Ya(Ja)madagni(ī)-pravara(rāya)
23 bhāṛa-
25 vēlayāṁ
26 hast-ōḍakōnā tāṃra-sāsan-kṛitye-ākṛṣṭa-ni(ī)vi-dharmāḥ-ākaratvē-
28 vadhīḥ parīpālani(ī)yā uktaṇ-eḥa dharmma-sā(ā)strē [9] Va(Ba)hubbhir-vuṇdā da-
29 tā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādhibhīḥ | yasaṣa yasaṣa yāda bhūmī(ī)[9] tasya tasya tatā
32 vasundhāraṁ(rūm) [***

1 To suit the metre omit Kṛtyāśrama-mahātaptōvanāḥ as in A.
2 Read Kūṭaśa. There is a sign after this which is redundant.
3 Read pratīpardōkā as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.
4 The words śrīrāk sāchar-vanītō occurring in A have been left out before jetō(tah) through inadvertence.
5 A has pravīṣita āstrān(ā).
6 This seems to be a verse in Ṭūti metre.
7 To me the reading appears to be Allāndhraka-sīva vrṣṭabhaḥ(tāpa). — Ed.)
8 Read Kērakē. [Reading after grāma seems to be kēsaṭa-viṁhaya- Ṛ(ā)hikēca. — Ed.)
9 Śāsana may be a mistake for āśana in which case Rāmaparkaṭi, the residence of the donors, would be an agrahāra or a gift village. — Ed.)
10 Read paṇḍhāraḥ or paṇḍhārāṇya.
11 I think the name of the donor is Deśavāṃṣa. The syllables ādeo at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read Deśavāṃṣa. — Ed.)
12 Dāṇḍa unnecessary.
Reverse.

Obverse.
C.—Kāśari Copper-plate of Śatrubhanājādeva.

This is a single plate measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$" by $6\frac{1}{2}$". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, a little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trident and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kāśari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadā Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The language is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author’s knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāmāyi in the Uṛttī district by Mahā-maṇḍalādhipati Mahārājādhirāja Paramēṣvara Śatrubhanājādeva, lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). He was the son of Raṇabhaṇa, grandson of Durjaya-bhaṇa, and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhaṇa. Reference is made to Virabhadrā’s birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadora in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadora’s eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadora was protected (śevasa) by Rañadēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages. Rañadēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase ‘Rañadēva

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1 Read vārūṇaḥ pāṇis-tiryyag-yonishu.
2 Danda unnecessary.
3 There is a superfluous na after pō.
4 Read tābra.
5 The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word vitāni-bhāda can be clearly read but offers no meaning. There is a letter ka written just below the space between the last two letters.
6 Expressed by a symbol.
7 The second letter looks like sai but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]
8 A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.
9 [According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rañadēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]
sēvitaḥ can therefore be hardly interpreted as 'served by Rāmādēva' as translated by Mr. Misra. According to the dictionary, the root 'sē' also means 'to protect,' and I have taken that interpretation. The word 'vyāpitaḥ' is also a difficult one. I think 's' is a mistake for dh (which resembles it very closely) and the word 'dhīyapitaḥ' has been used to indicate that the eighty-eight thousand sons were made to perform meditations (dhyāna) in order to please Rāmādēva and obtain the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data have already been discussed above. The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., Anakadēvi (perhaps a mistake for Anakadēvi), the chief queen, and Narendrabhaṇja, the Yuvārāja (ll. 12-13), and of a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression Bhagavad-bhāṭāraka-Śaṅkararar samuddhīśya occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Śaṅkarāchārya in whose honour the gift was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Śiva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with, is 'Bhagavat-Siva [Nārāyana or Buddha]-bhāṭāraka.

As to the localities mentioned, Urtti-viśaya has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village Syallāmāyi. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as 'yllāmāyi,' remarking in a footnote that 'syā' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this view.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ svastih [[*]] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(hhi)durō Bhavō Bhavāni-(ni)śa[h][*] vīvi-

2. dha-samādhi-samādhi-vi[i(hh)]iṇāḥ sarvavājīnō vah s[i]s[i]vāy-āstu || [[*]] Āśita[sit][*] Kōṭṭā-

3. śrama(mo) nā[ma]7

4. tapō-dhishṭānam-uttamaṃ[*] mayūr-aṇḍ-ōdbhava[s*]-tasmāta(d=) gaṇa-danḍō Vi(Vi)-

5. rabhadr-ākhyah.10 [[2 [[*]] Ashtāśi-

6. ti-sahasra[i][*] sunubhi[h]11 vyāpitaḥ12 purā [[*]] tēshān-tu prār[ti]hanān dīrṣṭvā Rāma-

7. devēna sēvitas(tabh) [3 [[*]] Tato=13

8. shtāśīti-sahasra14 grāmasyā-ādhipatīḥ krītāḥ [[*] chakrāvi(va)[r]tti15-sama(mah) sarvapādō-

9. naḥcha vasthitī.8 [[14 [[*]]

1. See p. 154 above.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Read svasti.
4. The second samādhi is redundant.
5. M. reads sava (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).
6. M. reads āśita, but the word actually engraved is āśita.
8. M. reads uttama[m].
9. There is no sign of medial i on s as M. reads.
10. This pāda conforms to the fourth pāda of an Arya metre. This is apparently due to its being copied verbatim from the other records.
11. M. reads sahasra-vā-tu mu[ni]*khīh. [I would read -sahasra-vā-tu [nī*]nubhi[r=].—Ed.]
13. [To me the reading appears to be sēvita(tabh) [[*]] Suṭī=.— Ed.]
14. [Read -sahasra- as the sixth syllable in this pāda should be long.—Ed.]
15. M. reads varti.
16. M. reads sarvō pādānącanaṇaḥsthīḥ. Perhaps the word intended is sarvō-śpādāṅhaṃ=avasthitī. [But this would make the pāda short by one syllable.—Ed.]
6 pratipaksha-nidhana-dakshō Vaśiṣṭha-muṇi śāstra-ārya-pratipāḍa
ripa-[d]ahanaśāstra
7 vānalaḥ jātaḥ Śrī-Śrī-Kottabhaṇja-suta-maṇḍalika-
8 sūtra-saśāchitarārya-mahāmaṇḍalika-saṁjñā
tatra-ārya
9 vādī Hara-charanā-rājadhānī-ṛddha-tattvānāra-guru-deva-pujakaḥ
śrī-Ranabhaṇja-rājadhānī-
10 bhūtaḥ tuṣṭi
11 tpara|h| Mahāmaṇḍalalāḍhānī-ṛṣi Mahāmaṇḍalalāḍhānī-
12 tpara|h| ārya-Śrī-Śrī-Pratipāḍa-vaiśvāna
13 Narindrabhaṇja Prajapati|h| śāstra-ārya-śāstra-Bhūma
14 śāstra-śāstra-Mahāmaṇḍalalāḍhānī
15 rājadhānī-vaiśvāna
16 sa-vaiśvāna
17 kraupaṇīya putrāḥ Bhaṭṭaputra-Devaṇḍapati|h| Kaśyapa-Kauśika-
18 Vasiṣṭha-gōtṛāya Vasiṣṭha-praṇāyana
19 ti yaś-cha bhūmiḥ pratigrahaḥ ubhau ttau puṇya

1 This forms half of a verse in Aṅgā metre. See A, v. 2.
2 The initial vowel is a and not ā as M. reads.
3 M. reads daṇāma.
4 M. reads śārāmatanāṇīmitta and emends it as Saṃrāmatanāṇīmitta. There is no doubt that the phrase intended
5 śārāma śāstra-ārya is in A, l. 7.
6 M. reads pādēḥ. The correct form should be pādah.
7 M. reads Pratikārī.
8 M. reads pitarāṅgasya.
9 M. reads dharma-prayaścitaṣṭhāni yādāya.
10 M. reads Bhagavatānāma Bhagavatānāma Sankaraṃ.
11 M. reads "ya." M. reads mahāmaṇḍalika.
12 M. reads "pāḍayā." M. reads "pāḍayā." 12 M. reads saṁyogī after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one donee the gōtṛa and praṇāya-
13 mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and latter corrected as found in l. 18.—Ed.]
No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN: SAKA 887.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khândesh. It is now deposited in the Râjwâde Sanâkhdhana Manâjala, Dhulia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bhârata Itihâsa Sanâkhdhana Manâjala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency. They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the last two plates of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9:5" to 9:7" broad and from 7:5" to 8:2" high. The first plate weighs 66 tolas and the second 44$\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

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1 M. reads āspāhyâyantī. The usual expression is āspāhyâyantī.
2 M. reads prajjânti.
3 M. reads the passage as follows: bhūmi-dâtâ kulâ jâtâ(m) as na[...]trâ bhavishyati. This is undoubtedly the correct form, (cf. Manabh Copper-plate line 53, J. A. S. B., 1900, pp. 65 f.) but not the correct reading of the text.
4 Read -buḍḍhâna.
6 M. reads tamārītāḥ which is undoubtedly the more usual form.
8 Read tiryaṅ.
9 M. reads tiryaṅ-gōṇau[sa] jāyâtā.
10 Read jāyâtā.
11 M. reads jō karat.
12 Read krimir[=].
13 M. reads krimirbhūtāḥ.
15 Read pitriḥ. This is M’s reading.
16 Read -duṇātī.
18 Read -śunyantī. M. reads śunyantī.
19 Read sankhāśrasā.-
20 There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of duṇātī.
21 As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 933, has been recently discovered at Narâyanaon near Junnar in the same district.
The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgari alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few akṣaras, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of ḷ in Bhīm-ākhyā, l. 1 and sākhā, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly the letters g, m, n and r present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., g in gurēbhasthā, l. 5 and nagara, l. 10; m in chintāmaṇi, l. 3 and viśvāyā, l. 18; n in janānāṁ, l. 4 and sīnāpata, l. 9 and r in jāram-, l. 12 and guṇa-rāṣṭi, l. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal ś seen in śrī, l. 2, guṇa-rāṣṭi, l. 1-2 and śrīvata, l. 3-4 and of v in vīrhāh, l. 19 and śv-astakāh, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of ḷh is undeveloped, ḷh and ā are almost identical in shape, and ṣ is drawn cursively, see samādhyāgat, l. 6, Bhīm-ākhyā, l. 1, mahābuddhiḥ, l. 4-5 and pāṇḍīdra l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the prasūtha-mātrās to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses1 in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-45, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel ri for ri in śrīvata, ll. 3-4 and that of v for b as in mahāśavda, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following r as in kūhara-varīti, l. 14 and gandhareva, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sinda king, the Mahāśāmanta Ardityavarman, who had obtained all mahāsabdas and was born in the lineage of Drishtiśiva, the lord of Nāgas.2 The object of it is to record the grant, by Ardityavarman, of a village named Kinihikā which was included in the (larger) village Paṅgarikā and was situated in the Rāmatirithika-Eighth-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a layaṇa-giri (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named Indra which flowed on its north. The donor was the Brāhmaṇa Navaśiva, son of Chandrahaṭṭa, who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gotra and was a student of the Bhavyrīcha-sākhā (of the Rigveda). He had emigrated from the Madhyadāśa. The grant was made by Ardityavarman, while residing at Junninagara, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the expired Saka saṁvat 887, the cyclic year being Krūdhana. The date is regular. The expired Saka 887 (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was Krūdhana according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the amāvasya of the paṁrisānta Chaitra. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of Ardityavarman which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, viz., Bhīma and his son Munja, the grandfather and the father respectively of Ardityavarman. About Munja we are told that he was superior to (another) Munija in merit. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the Paramāra dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

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1 The verse in ll. 17-20 occurs also in the Bhādāna grant of Aparajita, Saka 919, above, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.
Ādityavarman’s father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was inscribed. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029 (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Ādityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sinda family, is known from his Tīgundī plates, but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Ādityavarman belonged to the Sinda family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than Mahāśimanta, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāṣṭrakaṭṭa king Śrīśalā, for whom it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.

The Sindas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nāga lineage are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanaresse districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderabad states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanmati stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sinda, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇīendra at Aihichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger. According to another account Sinda was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger’s milk. It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sinda or Chhinda kings call themselves Bhogavati-pura-var-ādhīśvara ‘the lord of Bhogavati, the best of towns’. The exact location of Bhogavati is not settled, but according to the Nāgasāhaśākha charita of Padmagupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sinda married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sinda kings. This Sinda was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom. The Jávali plates of the Western Gaṅga prince Śrīprakāša-Pṛthivī-Koṅgūnī speaks of a Sindaviśaya which, according to Mr. Rice, extended over parts of the Dhārwar, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sinda, the founder of the family, settled in the Karhaṇṭa-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhaṇḍ in the Sātāra District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bāgādeśa (Bāgalkot in the Bombay Presidency), Erāmbarka (Vellburg in the Nizam’s Dominions) and Chakrāṇā in the Bastar state.

1 See Dhanasāla’s Pāñjachchhimāla, verse 198.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 262.
8 Ibid., Vol. VI, Introd., pp. 7 ff.
Most of these Sinda or Chhindas distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nēsari plates of the Rāṣṭrākaṭa Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 727, mention a prince named Nāgahastin who was an ornament of the great Chhind family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Āḍityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāṣṭrākaṭas.

We have not so far come across records of the Śindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāṣṭrākaṭas. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact, we find in that age a family with the analogous name Śendraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called Sēndraka-viṣhaya. From the statement in the Bennur grant that the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇapārayam II made the gift of a village in the Sēndraka-viṣhaya while on a victorious march to Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the Sēndraka-viṣhaya lay not far from the Banavāsi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhandha division of the Banavāsi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the Sinda-viṣhaya mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas, but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Badami, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.

When Pulakēśīn II conquered Mahārāṣṭra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānuśākti in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grasps of land made by Bhānuśākti’s grandson Allāsaṭki have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēḍ copper-plate inscription of Allāsaṭki’s son Jayaśākti, which is dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakṣmēsvara stone inscription states that they were of the bhuvajēndrā-linēṇya or ‘lineage of the king of serpents’. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

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3 See the Balaṅāmi inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.
4 See Hālī grant of Harivarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 31.
5 The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja was a maternal uncle of Pulakēśīn II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.
6 No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allāsaṇṭi was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānuśākti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēśīn II.
7 One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See New Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 747. Bühler gives this chief’s name as Nikumbhallasakti, but Nikumbha was only a biruda. It is used as such with the name of Allāsaṭki’s son Jayaśākti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief’s name as Nikumbha-Allāsaṭki. See New Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 747.
8 This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine Prabhāta of Dūlia. See also the An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samākhāka Manḍapā, for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.
After Jayaśakti we have no records of the Sāndraksas from Mahārāṣṭra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Ādityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhima and Muṇja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tīḍgundapi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Ādityavarman had the image of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tīḍgundapi plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.¹

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the localities mentioned in them, but the mention of the Indra river and a layaṇa-giri among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇi river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona tālukā. The donated village Kīpikīkā is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇi near Shelārwādi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.² Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Pāṅgarikā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. Rāmatīrthikā, the headquarters of the subdivision in which Kīpikīkā was included, is probably identical with Rāmatīrtha where Ushavadarāta made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.³ The latter is taken by some to be a holy kauḍā situated in or near Sūpāraka⁴ with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. Junninagara, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,⁵ a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

**TEXT.⁶**

*First Plate⁷; First Side.*

1 पृ(च)णामतिचुज्ञयः ¹⁸ | ततःसूचनः⁸ भीमावशो चुः

2 शरणमभुवऽ(च)प्रेयः ¹ | उदपादिः ततः भीमावशो चुः

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² There are about twenty caves at or near Shelārwādi, all of about the first or second century after Christ.
³ Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.
⁴ As the inscription reads Sūpāraka cha Rāmatīrthikā, Bhagwanlal and following him Senart take Rāmatīrtha to be the modern Rāmakundā reservoir in Sūpārā (see Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the draftsman of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Sūpāraka and Rāmatīrtha' (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmatīrtha near Sūpāraka' (see *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, P. 190).
⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jirṇinagara (i.e., 'old town'). See *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 60.
⁶ From the original plates.
⁷ As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājāwāde Samōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhuliā.
⁸ Read satrāṇam-ati-durjayaḥ. Metro of this and the next verse: Asvahīkā.
⁹ Read tattva-vanijyaḥ.
3 जग्नार्[धि: ||||] बहितकुलकालेकेत्: वितासंगिरा—

4 रु(श्र)करजनाना(नाम) ||[*] जास्तित्वभेदाययोभूततो धैर्यास्तो—


6 ए प्रश्यातः || तकसी समाधिगताशिष्यस्थानश्च(श)यश(च्छ) महापार्श्वाः(स)-

7 मन्त्र(तो) हर्ती(वि)विषपिण्यन्त्रञ्चोऽवः [**] सिद्धान्यव्यवस्तुः [**] कृष्णभ—

8 यास्मेद्वः [**] कुशलो जुयविन(न)गराविष्तेभीमदाधिक्यवःस—

9 सर्गा(न्स)संसे(श)धमार्जनाः महामांकसे(न)पतिमहासार्जनसे(स्त्री)-

10 कराजः[व]नरखर्यायस्थानाः(न) योरविशेषकर्द्वाराः[श]तनान—

11 युक्ताः[श]कामाधानायाधानम् । साम्पत्ति(व)धवक्षु को वि—

12 दिनं यथा वातास्तत्तत्तरंसवीचध्युसुण्डुरा विभवा: । १० जर्दना—

13 चम्यास्मानाः(न) पञ्चतिन्त्व विकारमाणसिरं गीत्यव(न) || स्न(न)कता(त)कका—

14 स्न्हुरविशेषज्जन्तुः[क]द्वरवेश(प)द्वहनस्तराधानाः [र्व]भाषाः[श्व]—

15 सारिदर्श शारोयर् । १० सम्पदा(स)सम्बन्धेवकाशाः समाः(म)

16 बा[पि] गन्याबनगर्भम(प)समसेश(क)न्त्र[व]चार्य च च [च]ज[कले]

17 चला विभृत: चण्डभीम गीतवनं । ९ करानाद्वितैतत्तरं वर्तिः

18 गीतवन(न) || [*] तत्तर्यव्यक्ता परिवाकास(ध)ने च च च नात्वका—

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1. Metro Upagiti. The last pad of this verse is faulty.
2. Read garbhaṁsthaṁ-rāti-yuvati-garbhaṁ-nāmva-pāraśeṣa.
3. Read Śrimad-Adityavarmma.
4. I have not come across the name of this official elsewhere. Perhaps he is identical with the Purapati (Mayor of a town) mentioned in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, above, Vol. III, p. 273.
5. Read pradhāna-āpradhānān. The following danda is superfluous.
6. This danda is unnecessary.
7. Read pratidhiṁān.
8. Read jala-budbudavat.**
9. This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
10. As yuvanam is already mentioned, some word like jīvanam is required here. The aforementioned Bhādāna grant has jīvanam in this verse.
10 रि चैत्रित(तम). II[४२४] तथा त्र। चंद्रदी जलतरंगिनिलोकः शीवन निचलुः
20 राशि [दि]नानी। शाराधालपंचचलमयुः कि [धैवतः] कुशल धर्मीः
21 मिन्द्र(दयम)।। II[४२५] वयुविन्यासकर्मिमयुभवागतं धध्वं एवंकः स[ग्रहे][श्वत्]स[स]
22 भशः।। सप्ते ऋषिः नात्रोऽकारावधार्यन्त। वै नान्योऽक्षयवधयः गृहस्तपकालाति
23 तमसविभागपुंश(सूर)। समस्तजीविनिः कौसीनं[क्ष] रामसरणः
24 तत्संविभागपुंश(सूर)। साराधयिनिः कौसीनं[क्ष] रामसरणः
25 भविष्यकालावधी वाचनाच सुखायोभिरहवचे पृथ्वीभि
26 जैसर्वाधरिवला एतद्यात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
27 [धैवतः]रिता।० नारायणमानवकिष्मा। मया सर्वस्ये[देह] गविनर्मणीक्रि
28 निः[रिता] सामस्तरात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
29 निः[रिता] सामस्तरात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
30 जैसर्वाधरिवला एतद्यात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
31 निः[रिता] सामस्तरात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
32 जैसर्वाधरिवला एतद्यात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
33 जैसर्वाधरिवला एतद्यात्मोत्पुष्पाणा। प्रतिपालितोऽविभि
34 दश्यालुनानि [पू.]बन्धः शीता [च]भयणपति
35 दश्यालुनानि [पू.]बन्धः शीता [च]भयणपति
36 तत्साधुसरसिद्धः सद्युक्तमापराशिप| भवि[र्ग]दारानिमोऽकृष्णः

Second Plate.

[Notes]
1 Metre: Vamsakata.
2 Metre: Sogatha.
3 Aparatra seems to have been used here in the sense of atra.
4 Perhaps prati-daya-amayam-dikshita is the intended reading.
5 Read pādau.
6 Compare with this the expression māsaka (1) vallikā-praśāshana in II. 41-42 of the Tārkkādē plates (above, Vol. III, p. 56).
7 This note, which means the same as śāmśi, is superfluous.

This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata-Itākṣa Sāhādhihaka, Maṇḍala, Poona.
Adipur Copper-Plate of Durjayabhanja.
37 पतिभ: सम्भविष्ठः यथाशैले परम्परेभिः न निर्मोदितयःः
38 सत्तावन्यः प्रतिपालितात्माचः पुष्पाचानविनिवकापि भूजतः भोजः
39 यथर अयतः काययतः कानाय परिपर्यथा न विधातया || यतः
40 चालेपर्यः प्रयत्नसुवर्णश्च बुधवर्षशः सूर्यसुराशः गावः [१८] लोकनरः तनः
41 भ[ब]हस्तिः दस्ते य(ग) कोचन गाँच महीच देवाम || [१८]३ प्राकृतियितः
42 पिताः
43 प्राव[व]हस्तिः पितामहः: [१८] भूमिदानहः जातः स न सतासियितः || [१८]॥
44 सतासियितः दत्तः देवाथः: [१८] भूमिदानमुपुर्णरिण मल्ल [ख]-
45 द(स)ुखः || [१८]३ चयः च [१८] वदा हुविहिन्दुस्वतः भुजः राजःसिम: सागर
46 द(स)ुखः यस्य यस्य यस्य
47 दा भूमिस्तरः तस्य तदा फले(लम) || [१८]३ एवं मुनिवचनानाच्यवग्यः [सूर-]
48 चः पर्यये भूमिः
49 [बृ]दातः [१८] यस्यज्ञानतिमितिभवत्सलावततिमितिः
50 च्चिच्चि दायिः धातिः दायिः धातिः स पर्व्युद्भिन्दापायकौ भयापताकौ[ब]
51 संस्तुष्टे भूजः । तथा चोकः(सम) । गामकं कृष्णमिकं [च] भूमिश्चरः
52 संस्तुष्टे(सम) संग्रुत(सम) । चर्चःाः
53 कामा[प्र]तिः यावदाहिन्तिमितिः(वम) || [१८]३ तथा च || यस्यज्ञान(स) परस्रु-पतियस्तिनाया
54 सम्भविष्ठः तात्विकाचः रामभूतः [१८] सामायिकाचः धम्मेकेतुः वनरणे । काले काले ॥
55 लमुन्यो भूजः[१८] || [१८]३ प्राकृतिः पर्व्युद्भिन्दुस्वतः भुजः राजः सिमः
56 तिलो(स) लिखितसिद्धः रुद्रशास्त्रस्तु गोगास्वदेवः वैष्णवम[न] || [१८]॥

1 Read pratipālayitaṁga-saḥ | Aṣya.
2 Read bhavād-dhi.
3 Metre: Indrāśeṣa.
4 Metres of verses 7-10: Anuṣṭāṭhā.
5 This pāda has one akṣara wanting. Read Susūṁaṁ. The usual reading is dhavaṁga
6 This visarga is superfluous.
7 Read ātār-nirnāgāṁ.
8 Metre: Śūlīki. The first pāda is irregular.
9 We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen akṣaras in lines 51 and 52 each.
NO. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJAN.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisore Pattanayak of Adipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayurbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8"×6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an śivalaka is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a couchant humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of śh (1.1), p (1.2), p (1.3), ṭ (1.4), ṭ (1.5), and i (1.6) which distinctively look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters i, tā, p, r, ṭ, and s closely resemble those used in the Mahādā Plates of Yogēsvaradevavaranā and the Patna Museum Plate of Sūmēvaradeva. On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it. The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several visarga, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., Hērmnā (1.1), lalāka (1.1), uptana (1.2), tikla (1.2), māhārājadhirāja (1.2), vibhama (1.3), Dūjaya (1.3), sāsana-dīna (1.4), sa-jala-thala (1.4), sandayrī (1.5), mudraharta (1.7), Narindā (1.7) and pura-sēṣhi (1.7) which are the correct forms of Sanskrit Hēramba, labāka, utpanna, tilaka, māhārājadhirāja, vibhama, Durjaya, sāsana-sāsana, sa-jala-thala, sandayrī, mudrā-hasta, Narindā and pura-sēṣhi respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhaṣaja records of Mayurbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of Rāpa-bhaṣajadēva, surnamed Vibhramatūngā, representing him as having been nurtured by the sage Vaśiṣṭha, as a receiver of boon from Hēramba, as born in the Mivara family and as the front mark of the Bhaṣaja lineage. He has further been given the title of Māhārājadhirāja. Then it gives out that his son Durjaya-bhaṣajadēva, who has been given no title at all, granted the village Oliāngā along with Pānchapatā and Trisamāpadā (probably two other villages).

4 The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panighati seems to have overlooked. In l. 4 śāsana dīna and again in l. 5 śāsana dīnap mean 'grant has been given', the form dīna 'given' being derivable from the Prākrit dina. [B.C.C.]
5 [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to Durjaya-bhaṣaja; see above, p. 151.—Ed.]
to Thākurā Śrī Gōmaṭa for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, Chhiipa the chief queen, Kōṭabhaṁja the heir-apparent, Ātahi the Minister for war and peace, Kundhaṁthi the custodian of the Royal Seal, Narindā the chief feudatory and Dduhuvaḥa the townbanker were present.

Durjayabhāṅjanādeva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhaṁjanādeva and the father of Kōṭabhaṁja. In the Keshari plate of Śatrubhaṁjanādeva, however, Durjayabhāṅja figures as the son of Kōṭabhaṁja and the father of Raṇabhaṁja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayabhāṅja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayabhāṅja of this record in the Bhaṅja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhaṅjas as other Bhaṅja grants of Mayūrbanj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (ll. 1-2) to which Raṇabhaṁjanādeva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mewāra (Mewār in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhaṅjas to Mewār. But the tradition ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbanj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewār. Moreover, the name Mewār itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. This, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.

The villages Pāndhapālī and Oḷāṅga may conveniently be identified with Pāndhapālī and Dālāṅg, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

TEXT.*

1 Siddhām[*] Om Vastṝḥṣa-muni-pālitaḥ Hāṃśva-vara-lladdhaḥ Mi-
2 vara-vatsa-uptamaḥ Bhaṅja-kūla-tiklaḥ māhārājāddhiraḥ śrī-Raṇa-
3 bhaṁjanā-sāta Vibhamatųṅga-sāta śrī-Duṅyabhāṁjanādevaḥ Oḷāṅga-grāma Pā-
4 čhapālī Trisamāpadā sahaṇa sāsanadina sa-jala-thala sarva-vāddhā
5 vivarjita Thākurā śrī-Gōmaṭa sāsanadinaḥ śrī-Chhiipa-māhādē-
6 vi śrī-Kōṭabhaṁja-jūvarajādeva śrī-Ātahi-sandagiri śrī-Kundhaṁ-
7 thi-mudrāhartha śrī-Narindā-māhāśāmanta śrī-DDhuvaḥa-purasēṭhī [*]

No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRA FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

BY PROF. P. P. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (OXON.), M.A. (MADRAS).

Halāyudha (one who wields the kala or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halāyudha. On the inner

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2 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.
3 [All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariat and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.]
4 From ink-impressions and the original.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
side of the southern wall in the maṇḍapa of the Amarāśvara Temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces is carved a stōtra called the Halāyudha-stōtra (vide Hiralal, Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this stōtra. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-stōtra in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-stōtra, using the text as appearing on the Amarāśvara temple wall as the basic text ( n. 1 ) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record at the Amarāśvara temple is dated Samvat 1120, Kārttika-vādi 13 or A.D. 1063.

From the stōtra above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the stōtra-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the stōtra must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the court of King Lakshmīpāśaṇa of Bengal and who is the author of several sārasvatas like Brāhmaṇasārasvata, Punditārasvata, Mīmāṃsāsārasvata, etc.

The Telugu poet Pālkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his Duippada Basava-praṇa to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Nava-grāma. The last verse of the stōtra in the Amarāśvara temple distinctly refers to its author as a native of the village Nava-grāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the stōtra with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows:

Dvijō daksahiṇa-Rādha-śyā Navagṝma-vinirggataḥ |  
Halāyudha-vuṃbuḍhā-Śambhōr-imāṅ śutim-arirachati || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the Abhidhānaratnamālā deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Vishṇu, Śambhu also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Vishṇu. And only a staunch Viṣṇaśiva, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only Śiva as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use Śambhu as a synonym of Vishṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā and the Halāyudha-stōtra.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā should be identical with the author of the Kāvīrahaśya as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows:

Iti samāptam-avāpta-guṇ-ōdayaḥ Kāvīrahaśya-śaṃ prasika-priyam |  
sad-abhidhāṇa-nilahāna-Halāyudha-dvija-varaśaya kṛiṇaḥ sukrit-ātmanah ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author’s other work, his lexicon, Abhidhānaratnamālā. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of Kāvīrahaśya as contemporaneous with his patron the Rāhatrākūta King Kṛiṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-stōtra should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the Kāvīrahaśya and the Abhidhānaratnamālā and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.
The edition of the stotra is based on four texts of which न is the record found at the Amaraśvara temple, and is printed as the basic text. न represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271. न represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274. न represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-61, Mandakranti; vv. 62, 64, Anushtubh; v. 63, Sardalavikrita.]

1 ॐ नमः शिवाय || चिन्ते निश्चिन्त्रवदनः प्रीताचे बोलूँ नित्य वामे कृपा प्रकटितःहृदिजिनिकशतर्वः || य: यीकारणं पितसुभाष्याळस्तवाविषयेश्वं देहा नूनः श्यामापि ॐदावेश्नागोपालर्वः (लभ्स) ॐ || साद्यः: पुच्छ: स भवति किल श्यामा वसु: सकाशाले क्षुद्रयुक्तं कष्टिन्द्रि गुणायेः.-

2  समुज्ज्वलिकाम् एवं वांस(वांस्त्र)नि पितुरिविकरात पंचवक्राख्य नूनः घट विं(विं)भर- दनमपरं पातुः विशं विशाखः ॐ || एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवल ब्रज- मूर्तिदेवी सा च निश्चिन्त्रबिमि यहिंसूत्रप्रभुः । यथूतः सिद्धसमवानावा- संवंधः (वं) योगांश्रियाम् [भुते तदेषु ज़र्ज़लगः]-

3 भ्रसेज नमास्मि ॐ || एकः सदा सकलजगतामाहिः श्यामुक्ताता तेनां विश्व- नगरजातसदेव: प्रसिद्धः । यस्तो हावपुतुः लभिः संसरंत्वलकाली कस्तः पाण्यो भवति सद्यः श्रीमहाकालमूर्तिः ॐ || वधू वाङ्कां चर निरवधि लम्बाखः: [श्रीम चेतासेनकः]-

4 नियमदानागमानवस्वर(व्यं) ॐ श्रावेष्ट: विनियमः मया लक्षणोज्ज्वलमयः श्रावेष्ट श्यामापि कारी छठापश्च(व्यं)मयः ॐ || वागोगालः युगपददिनानागसंपर्वियुः का तेषु तुष्टि: सुतिंचरिणः मादगाम्यायकः: । एवं श्राला चर चर[भवे स्तोत्र- इति: छठा]-

5 भो भक्ताविश्वाद्यस्तात सुखार्जानी भवं करोमिः ॐ || यते तत्त्व निषादिः परं वाङ्कानामात्रं (ब्र:)(ह्रिदत्वामाइति) चर गिरिच भवन: भवेश(ह्रुम) । चचर्व- चविन्य गुणपरिषदिः पार्थिवालकर्षः रूप भक्ति वर्ष नदेन वामिर्यमायासि ॐ || चाँभे: स्तोत्र(च) रविन्दसमताः]-

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1 नीरु (न) 2 दशानमो (न)
3 The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses has been restored from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
4 केतं (क)
5 चक्सः (क)
6 दशान (ि)
7 तिष्ठान (ि, भ)
8 काशि (ि)
9 वांड वांडि (ि), वांड परिषदि (ि)
6 दिब्यीविलासः फलमात्रः किषपिद्धितम व्यमिष्ठे मूहोभि:। तं न वा कैल्क्लान-
कामलमेधांते प्रायधः भक्ता संभो स न पुनरः। पूजयत्वः। [5] पथा-
कारः हर जलमुच यी च यी पक(द)जाना विचारिभि वर्त मित[संश डाकरायिः]

7 यी। यी गंधक्ष प्रजनवधीः तानं तुतिर्मी रूढः वइते चिन्हवनगुरोगुरप्रिल्लोऽदानानै
तानु॥ ॥ रत्ना(संसा)रविन्धनवालसमव मानुर्य अयु नवस(इ) युक्तानारि
भर्ति सुकुमः काबिन्ध च देव(वम)।। चारूदैषपि सररि गिरी रोचाः
मात्रये़।[गांडेकी राख कल्य।

8 नि महालक्ष्मुख पालुnt॥ ॥ ये व्याममुक्ति इति वा भविष्योगांशले तंभः
शोभा प्रतिद्वन्द्वति लं दहारिति युग्म(लम)। पाव्याकायः निरूपितिं नाम
किर्मलक्ष्मिनी शीती पोते गावमिश्र जने। चिं न छास्ति करोति॥ ॥३॥ [वादि-
लक्ष्मीप्रथण।

9 नरकाय याति चायाति नित्य वालन्य दिवसरजनीप्रभावस्तुविचृः। एलकाहै ननु
[न घटति] प्रेयकल विना ते कार्य चारिभी पुनरस्यायित कामयोऽितमत्
॥ ॥४॥ तस्या राय पिंप्रिसक तस्ये चेंदुवकामिनः क्रीडावारः विदीर्यि[सरस:]
करति ति।

10 [प्रचाि। नाचार्यमनिरिव कारे तस्य पिन्नम]पिनः धान्यिनम् सिद्॥ ॥ सकारात्ति
मायाप्रदप्रमात्सरः। ॥ ॥५॥ मैली कोलविदुश्चितिनीविनिश्चितियतं वाहिनु कमं
कविविदतविद्यवामि यालराज(यम)।। योगानारः [उपूर्णि वि।]

11 ग्रंथ वि(विभि)ने भग्नाम माता सम्हक्षिन्नाम॥ मता योगमुर्गा तवाइ॥ ॥६॥ धते
भोः युक्ताण्विविभिधि चतुरारः मैली तमाः।। विद्यालिति मालालिमार्कीः ।
वैवद्व क्रीडाकामदियि पंचसिखव करं [प्रायः श्रोता सह्राति महजः को]।

12 वि भूपाविनिमित्तिः॥ दृष्टि वेन विशुवनिमित्ति देव दुर्व्यशाशा दृष्टि सौपि
विनियन्॥ भ[व]हृद्यपारित कामः।। युक्त वैनाथिन युक्ति या: पर्यक्षापारि
तस्मावश्च पतिति शिरसि कीथदर्फङ्क प्रभूराया(शाम्प)। ॥१६॥ कथ्य चैति भ[वर्ति
वतिना स्तर्थमानश्च मांशः

१३ yusvāloparājanaiḥ bhavačchā[पा विष्]तत्तथू। प्रेमाण द्वेसथर्किर्षकहे दत्त्वानु यः
स गामी२ लोकायुक्तविद्वन्तात् गत्तात्रिकोरणि ॥१७॥ वें तारक्षियोपसतत्त्वाः
वें च दीर्घायत्म्भः वें च श्रवणवसनविकल्प वें च मैलायोंपतसः। ॥[वें
वें कैविन्तु विनयः

१४ ने हंस्या पीढ़िता, ५-तुःको१४वेदयास्मिनं सूर्यायणार्धमनुष्ठानात् तत्तवानामविव। ॥१५॥ सादृष्य
जभ चुर्विपारिकल्पः संग्रामयायं प्रतिकोः प्रीतिः शाश्वेष ललितमाल्या संस्कृता
क्षिता च ॥ स्कौता लक्ष्मीकुपित हंस्य चक्षुरेखाश्चालि८ युक्त्यावशयमपरितिक्षितं
वर्मः

१५ तत्त्वावली (सम) ॥१६॥ त्यज्यायसं कुलमहसि धातव: पादस्वम ६वयापाणिज्ञ परिकरोः
क्रिर्याति चार्मीश्चात्माविषयः ॥।। तथेऽवें ॥१५॥ तद्भनू चर्मे शालेयों गत्यथ ब्र(श)ईश्वरौं
नमकृत्त-किरणमिष्येण योग्यां शक्यां ॥२०॥ वेणाय युक्तान्तर्किरणायः लितः म्यातः पाणियो वें ॥१३
लि

१६ द्राक्षानां सर्वलिङ्गलिङ्गावर्णः संप्रसङ्गाः। पृथ्वीस्थिः चित्रमयार्योपायायायकवः सतानां
लिताः तुड़मदस्त्रस्त्र: खेयटोराणां तुड़मदस्त्रस्त्र: ॥२२॥ यहीं खाला अस्पराज्यस्ते: पृथ्वी
बधिर्योत्निकाः पवनोपिकूलसुमतिमन्त्रिः बधिर्यत [सा त्राम || तादावशः

१७ स्वस्लामुनैकायापारम्यायमितो वर्णन्यों १५ शिरसि परममयंसामाण्यचापम् ॥२२॥ एतत्विं
कोकिद्विन्यो भय नैव हंस जुत्व वा तदस्यात्म वाय विविदवाय कौतुहलम् मैॆ।
यते भक्तम् वर चर्यायोर्पारतं पृथिविकं सत्य: सूति फल[भवममत कौर०]

१८ में: कामरूपेण (प्रम) ॥२१॥ यस्मेऽभक्तम् वर्द्ध चर्यादिसंहारिः देवस्ते होस्तः कौलो-
नालर्यात्मि प्रक्षादेन नूनः (सम) || तत्त्वावली निपितात पुनर्दैहिकिएवै १० तारंदेवाः-
शोभनाः कुलवादवेर्षावर्तिदिव: काट्यावै ॥२४॥ जलवा माला चन्दरिपिल्लाह द्वारार-
धाराकार्याये

॥१ बिष्णुवास (क, ग)
॥२ वश्च माली (श, क), येन स कामी (क) [Reading seems to be हवावास्य कामी अनी—Ed.]
॥३ बीयोक्तासः (क)
॥४ बिष्णुवास (क, ग)
॥५ प्रविष्णुवास (क, ग)
॥६ बिष्णुवास (क, ग)
॥७ यद्ववता (व)
॥८ फल (म)
॥९ म्यातः (श) [Reading is पराशकरस्त्रक्षामायायायम्—Ed.]
॥१० तद्वद्याऽसिद्ध (क)
॥११ सुमूद (क)
॥१२ श्रीशाले (क)
॥१३ प्रारंभ (क)
॥१४ भुवनेश्वरपरिवर्तेभेकः (क) [Reading is विण्यक्षेण से—Ed.]
॥१५ शुभचक्षु (क)
19 येसे कांडाभाषापद्वी प्राणवीजीलकण। दियशीला नियुक्तपुलकवालिम: कणकी-लगभगमाप्यनं भिन्निःप्रेम(भ)राजस्वविशिष्ट(स्त्र)॥२५॥ कला पूजा तव चर्मधिकरारदरस्त्र्य य: साहाीण कर्मर्थात् महीयत्(ह)पूजाः(४) लिखिताः। प्रवाहामः॥ चिन्तितपिताः

20 प्रतिपत्र(ह)प्रतापार: सयीसा लुढ़ित भण्डि रंगरसकविशिष्ट। ॥२५॥ लामुखिश्वर विनयनं जनो यः प्रधीपे दर्दारस्त्रि निर्मिति नायिकावियालि

21 सं(नम)॥२३॥ चिन्तामण्डारचितकुमुड़कैकै पूजयिता य: सौति लगाय अय अय संवेदनं करणि वाचाः। सोपारिकर सव दुरे मलिव(म)वास्तनामां शाक्त-तीनां सूतिविपयातानखसादात्माति ॥२५॥ भवानान वर्षविषय भगवान संहुनीवासिर्याः॥

22 नां सूतिः(सि) कार्यसे कै कामयुक्त सुदासत्व। सभापाय नित्यपुरुसरंभामाः

23 परमेश्वरकोट्टक्त्रिणाःतेधीत्ति ललिते निम्नपैर: पतिबुद्धि, निर्मिति:। ॥२५॥ विश्व-दर्शी: पितुवनमभव सभु: ॥२५॥ लामाराध्य

24 नम(नम)॥२६॥ भागवतानी पित्यनमकत: कृत्रिम यानसुचा भिन्नायामां कर नर्मिणः॥२६॥ जर्जने नाव दोषाः। भागवतिक्षिणाः ॥२६॥ भवावसंवाके(ह) निवास निवार्तानां की िनिम्नायोः॥

25 स: खड़ुकान व मेघसपण्डा(ह)तेन लक्ष्येयायामां। ब्राह्मणं तदिन्त्र भवावसनं

* विषय (क) * इम (क) * विषय (क) * इम (क) * देव (क) * प्रतिक (क) * विषय (क) * इम (क) * प्रतिक (क) * विषय (क) * इम (क) * प्रतिक (क) * विषय (क)
26 जन्तवपरां मायेपूजनात्मकृत्यं हृदे वे निधिका(निधिका) लालिन्यं न तात(तात) लोकःवादा: क्षण- 
निति ॥३४॥ देवा: सर्वं धातुस्वयं वयुयम् भूयां जीर्षसमं कनकामिनि 
ते मात्रा कारणं करिः वा । मात्रातीतं सपरित सहस्रं यथा सौन्दर्यर्में ।
ण्यांगे(पितरानजवानः)॥

27 दर: क्षणंपरं ॥३५॥ ले व(व) ज्ञातित्रिष्टम्युष्मि: । पूजिताः कायान्तःनिर्विन्यास्यायी न 
ञ्चञ्च भवता प्राणति: काधिन्या: । नायामञ्चकस्यसुपदसम्पन्नः यथा भावाः 
क्षणान्यां काधिन्य भवेदार्यात्रस्तोतः ॥३६॥ क्षणंपरं: मिष्ठिष्ठिः परम: 
क्षणम्॥

28 वायुधत्तं विसाधार्णं दुहिष्णूगमारं: क्षणमेंज वापलेन(तलम) । क्षणमप्रायमः परिकरो 
यथापलेनाांताप वे सर्वं भूस्तिस्पर्शाः । सर्वस्यस्वाभावं बहुत: ॥३७॥ पिथोपेते 
'वत्तपदम: क्षणंमाकाम(विष) तारापुं: मिष्ठिष्ठिः विविधायाचिं चुग्रुढः ।
दृशः भावाः ॥

29 विजयायों अ भवनं भवन स लोकवतं वलयं जलस्तिः निम्नगानामिष्टाः: ॥३८॥ 
वरान्याः स्पष्टि तद्वत्वं देवोपवेदोस्ंस्फोते: । र्विति: सकलभुवनालोकनां 
देण्यमात्र(तम) ॥ १ । ज्ञाता तानामकभिः पदे चतुर्दशायांसिं श्च[चुन्दुढः ।
द्विधाः भावाः ॥

30 साध नाचार्यः ॥३८॥ यथवर्तं सकलभुवनायामेषु विभाति व्यक्तिषेषु वाचकप्राप्य 
ण्यांगि ण्यांगि दिव्यां(यम) । तत्प्रवर्तः: लित्वासुक्तिस्वलस्मावसाधक्षवाचक- 
र्णानाचिं गणपदार्मानिष्टाः भवन्यति ॥४०॥

31 वाचावटीर्थः हृदवततुं श्रीकास्पि भवनं ध्र अयौनिविन्यमः 
मन्न्यजस्तिः निद्धेङ्विं 
(तम) ॥५१ । गांचालीत: कहम्।

32 हिमालयापवपासः ॥३३॥ सदाप्रोऽसरति [सुरक्षा] अनि चारं चिन्यां(सम) ॥४१॥ 
भाष्यलोकातिकिर्तिः तत्तत्व [द्रिशं] शिपिशिः ॥४२॥ चिन्यं तसा एव वैधलो वृक्षसिं 
ख्यातः मातिद्वृक्षमिति(सिमं) । ते सर्वाप्रतिहतहः: सूर्यवत्तलोकं भवेद वर्षे 
करतालुक्तः[भुक्ष्यन्तपम्]
33 II.$\bar{4}$II ये आयंति स्थिरि विभवं चिन्त्यैः मायेन्यैः विषार्दोः प्रसर्दभिषतो भूमेयते।

34 श्रदार्शकाद्वृक्षाः (खम)। उड़ोऽजस्त इत्यतरलयं तेपुपाधिप्राणार्थमेवकल्याणः नभसी

35 तेन तष्यात्स्तो पुनरूपिः शिवल प्रकाशयति। बजले। यततः सुभुमित परस्याभासी-

36 खिदकिषुकुः। संप्रवृत्तं चक्षुरं सुभुमित निवर्ते चेतसा निवलेत। ये पश्चात्ति

37 यद्यकिष्रवंहितिवित्या। योगहितिवित्याः सच्चार्येः प्रतिपलितविहितमितरकार्तिः।

38 बम्भवमिती (खरित) नारद्यन्। यान न स्याक्षाचिन्तिदि फिल श्रेयसम्बंधृवः

1 विच्छेद (च)
2 विचार (ग)
3 विष्णुकान (म)
4 भगवन्त (क)
5 विष्णुनं (क)
6 तारंग (च)
7 विष्णु (क, ग)
8 सूत्राएसिक (च)
9 सर्वकालिक (ग)
10 प्रस्थापित (स)
11 प्रस्थापित (स)
12 विष्णु (क)
13 चक्र (ग)
14 गुण (ग)
15 गुण (ग)
16 गुण (ग)
17 गुण (ग)
39 नियराणामणंकर्ममस्व(संव)म्यहड़नविचारावामुयं च किणित(किणित)यूः। शहदा(द्व)द्वानामपि न विषयं द्यत्रोहस्वः प्रा श्रायोनियितिदिद परसं सम(स)मच्छामस्तितःः॥५.१॥
लमाखानं वर्त परमानात्वो(सो)प्रक्षतृष्यं वे हुः।भालेषे विन्तितजगद्विद्यायाम्
प(श्रम)ः। रागस्यायादाः

40 स्तियमतमणसो देव जीवन एव (अन्य)नाभो तविक्षिप्तं गन्दंगायद्यक्षमलस्वते विस्थातः॥५.२॥
शायं यतंकिपि(प)ण्मसत् ग्रहोऽधीकारिकालं या श्रायते तत्समतितिः: सिद्धयायामाथायाः।
प(श्रम)ः। मदनदहन लवयद्रासिंहार्जा तत्त्र(त्र)नाभास्तातव(सुधु)ः वृष्णीयि—

41 नामस्तरयः॥५.१।।

42 च्छेदात्युपरिध तत्त्र: खादक्षणं निपातः। एवं निन्तं पदमुपमातः॥५.२॥
कःग्रहस्वत्विवथमणसो गौंश्यं भैतिकितिदिद सुसं नाभायोग्नियं पुष्चा(पुम्स)॥५.३॥
शकाद्वायुः अप्तुकः

43 न भवति सुखं क्षत्रथितापि४ दुःखं इंद्रप्रस्तं विश्ववनम्भं लं तु तस्मादित्युक्त:॥५.६॥
व(व)मक्षेदादिदह नतुष्ठतं यत्था साधकं सा संगमित: सिव किम्या यातु यहान्वकुषं(पम)
लं भी स्वामो भवदनवर: श्रावं बलक्ष्याद्रीं तति। श्रायो स्थाप्तिः पद्मी वामो—

44 यले न खातः॥५.७॥

1 कदाचित् (ष्ठ, करं, ग) 2 शून्यं (ग) 3 ग र को, एत्यादि और रागावपात एत्या, एस, एस और द्वितीय ताल। 4 नित्यंकिपि (ष्ठ, क) 5 ग र यह श्लोका को 6 ज्ञाति: क्षत्रथितापि (ग) 7 धारं (ष्ठ) 8 देशं (ष्ठ) 9 वाक्यं (ग) 10 ग र यह श्लोका को 11 तिथिस्वत्विवथमणसो (ग, श्र) 12 च्छेदात्युपरिध (ग, श्र) 13 मात्स्यि: (सो) 14 क्षत्रथितापि (सो) 15 नाभोऽधीकारिकालं या (सो) 16 सिद्धयायामाथायाः (प) 17 श्लेष्माणि (सो) 18 श्रायं (श्र) 19 यहान्वकुषं (श्र) 20 दुःखं (श्र) 21 लवयद्रासिंहार्जा (श्र) 22 नाभास्तातव (सो, श्र) 23 यहान्वकुषं (सो) 24 यहान्वकुषं (सो) 25 यहान्वकुषं (सो) 26 यहान्वकुषं (सो) 27 यहान्वकुषं (सो)
45 पृष्ठ: 1 स्थला मनस्य व्यासितागमनिविधानाय। यम्भा (कांस)सां तव चरणयोद्धा
मेंवातुरागासी वेदत्व प्रचंड मृतुष्कु वदु यवारत।।
भिचारापरं शुद्ध-ज्ञान जीवीकूणिकमिं काणा रेखाणितपितकचित्ते लक्षी॥
एतवः
[अथो च चति परिक्षा]
46 रस्तवालसिद्धगिनि मन्त्रादृष्टवसययोभोय्यसी भजिकरात॥
वेमसावरकरते
शृद्धवर्गमनस्य शरसमन्नाटपूव्यं महारतिः पदं प्रेक्षकम्यमान।
मात्राकर्न नात्र भजिन्द्र नाथवत् लोके दूरारूढः वर्ष किमपि स्त्रितव्याग्निरमिः
॥५४।।
47 नैति । स्वारपि पुनरावर्तति जन। महाकालेन मोतयो नागृितविदसि पुनः।।
श्रवणिकारणायुमरितार्युणि गिरिध। प्राप्तिकृतः स्वतेर्वाकाव्यक्षण राजसमालयपि
क्षुपोऽस महिमा। कामानुकृति नामालमपि यथुष्मण मन्त्राप्ना[जितं तनं]
48 खण्डेनालरातरिक्ष सततं लघुव भोजनम ॥५४॥
‘हिंसो दलिचारधीयो नवदानमिनिन्ताः।’
दलिचारधीयो वज्रचारिजो मूलसरीरचनु॥।

1 Dasela unnecessary.
2 शास्त्रशीलस (च) अभीमातस्य मनार्यनन्तित्री श्रवणपरिपक्ववाणिः प्रभुः।
3 वेदकिलदि सान मालकुमारीशी लघुपदियालयमाण्यम् शरसम्यमान।।
4 तव वेदमार्गिण दव्यम वस्तू विनोतिः वाक्यप्रक्रियाविहिताः महाप्राचृतम।
5 प्राणिविश्ववसायनामिको नागायाम विनोतिः मयेः प्रकटे केन वर्षम्
6 लातू (च)
7 मददो दलिचारधीयो दलिचारधीयो नवदानमिनिन्ताः।
8 महाकालेन मोतयो काव्यलिखितः।
9 संसारभावितायाय अयोक्तं वावतः॥
10 दलिचारधीयो वज्रचारिजो मूलसरीरचनु॥॥
C.D.11271 (च) अद्धो महाकालेन श्रवणपरिपक्ववाणिः।।
11 महाकालेन संसारमातादिन विरहः।।
12 महाकालेन मोतयो काव्यलिखितः।।
13 दलिचारधीयो नवदानमिनिन्ताः।।
14 दलिचारधीयो नवदानमिनिन्ताः।।
15 दलिचारधीयो नवदानमिनिन्ताः।।
No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

BY N. P. CHAKRABARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACUMUND.

There are several Sanskrit stotras engraved on the side walls of the ardhamoorthy in the Amarésvaram Temple at Mándhátá, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a stotra in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadá, (2) the well known Siva-Mahimna-stotra in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Párvatì. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the Haláyudha-stotra. Several manuscripts of this stotra are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. I have already noticed these records in the Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hirala noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the Haláyudha-stotra to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the stotra has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyásagara Vidyáváchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śástri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the Epigraphia Indica—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śástri has omitted as it is not relevant to the Haláyudha-stotra.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (i.e., ll. 31, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is Nágari and the language Sanskrit throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer's own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase Om namah Śiváya which is immediately followed by the Haláyudha-stotra in praise of Śiva. The stotra actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the Śiva-devādaśa-nāma-stotra and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five jñānīlīnāgas, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kédāra, besides Ömkårā, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayini). It may be noted here that though the names of Ömkårā and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great līnāgas have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhójā, living in the Sámśvaradéva monastery and hailing from Nañīdya was the Páñapata teacher Bhāṭṭāraka śri-Bhāvavālmiķika whose disciple was Bhāṭṭāraka śri-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Pañjita Bhāvavirijnāni. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

1 List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151.
writer, Pândita Gândhadhvaja of the Chapala-gōtra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāśi who was again a disciple of the Paramabhaṭṭaraka Śri-Sūpājitarāśi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as Somavatī 1202 Kārttika vadi 13. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the Mahimana-stava found engraved on the northern wall that was also written by the same Pândita mentioned there as Gandhadhvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stōtra, without giving the month and the tithi in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitrādi and the month pūrṇāmāṇa in both cases.

I have in the Annual Report referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this stōtra in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,1 all of whom flourished during the reign of the Śena kings of Bengal. Prof. Śāstri has now added an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu Divipada Basavaparāṇa2 of Pālkuriki Sōmañatha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the Kavirakṣasya, the Abhidhānavatnamālā and the Mritisunjīvanī, the last mentioned being a commentary on Pingala’s Chhandasūṭra. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishparāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, viz., the Paramāra Muṇja-Vākpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time. Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakshina-Rājha with the village of the same name in the Bhurasut pargāṇā of the Hooghly District in Bengal.3 We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhed in the Nizām’s Dominions and the other at Dār in Central India, when we know of several other scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.4

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhojaṇagara and a monastery there known as Sōmāśvaradvēmaṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhojaṇagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chālukya Sōmāśvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhoja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the maṭha was built by a ruler called Sōmāśvaradvē or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Sōmāśvara. I am also not able to identify Naḥdiyaṇa, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvavālmika.

2 According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see Basunamāṇam (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.
3 Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurasut is the ancient Bhūraśāstaḥ in Dakshina-Rājha where Śridhara completed his Nyūshkudāla, a commentary on the Padārīkaparāṇa in Śaka 913 (A.D. 991). It is also the Bhūraśāsttika of the Prasūṭahandvadeśa of Kṛṣṇamāla (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of ‘Ahaṅkāra’. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.
TEXT.

48 Prathamaṁ tu Mañchāvahū dvitiyaṁ cha Mahāvaṁram(ram) ||tri(tri)tyaṁ Šāṅkarāṁ ājñeyañ caturtham Vṛṣhabhahdvajåṁ(jam) [||1||1*] Pañcamaṁ Kṛittyāṁ cha sthān.||

49 sīthaṁ Kāmāṅganāsāntah(nam) ||[*] saptamaṁ Dēvadēvēśaṁ Sīruṇaṁ cha-āṅgamaṁ smṛitan(tam) [||2||2*] Navamaṁ Īvaram(ram) ||dēvaṁ daśamaṁ Pārvvatiṇyaṁ(yam) ||[*] Rudram-eśkaṁsaṁ nāma dvādaśaṁ Śivam-uchyata || [||3||3*] Dwādaś-aitāṁ nāmaṁ ubhayaś saṁdhyaṁ yah-pathēt [||[*] gōṅgaṁ kriyāṁ-saṁ-dvāva vara(brha)maḥaḥ guru-talpakāḥ [||4||4*] Śrī-va(bha)la-[gha]takaṁ-cha-saiva[*]?


53 śrī-Amarēśvaradeva-vīkṣhaṇa-mūrtti-sadā-nivāsa bhajṭāraka-śrī-Śhājavālaṁkara paṁcitā-Bhājavīraṁchic[1*] prajāmatā Śīval(ven)|


55 jitarāsi(ḥ)-[[*] ētā(ḥ)-si(ehhi)ya-Vīvēkarāsi(ḥ)-[[*] paṁca tasya śrīyā(śhīyā) āṣhaḷogōtra-vinīrāga-sahaja-bhakti-sānta-mūrtti-pañcita-Gāndhahdvajēna paramabhākti mahīmaḥ 20 Ha-


1 M. cha (M. denotes Ms. No. 9260 in the Govt. Or. Manuscripts Library, Madras). 2 M. nāma.
3 Restored from M.
4 M. Ādhipaṁ chā.
5 Read Navamāṁ = P.
6 M. = nāma.
7 M. = nātaṁ.
8 M. = nāmāṁ = nāmaṁ.
9 M. = niḥkanic.
10 M. = brahmaṇaţu guru-talpaloč.
11 M. = nāmaṁ = nāmāṁ = nāmaṭaṁ.
12 Read prakirtityāḥ.
13 These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.
14 There is some space between tā and tā but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage in the stone.
15 Denotes unnecessary.
16 Apparately intended for śrīva-mahīmāṇo.
17 Expressed by a symbol.
18 Read āṭmā-śrīyāṛi.
No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACUMUND.

These copper-plates which were in the possession of a peasant of the village Nūtimadugu in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevananna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikantha Srouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are three in number each of which is 34 1/2 in breadth and 9 3/4 in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 tolas.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a palimpsest containing two records, one, an Eastern Chālukya grant of the 10th century A.D. and the other, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the Vijayanagara prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original Eastern Chālukya grant which I shall call A, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called B) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, gātra, family, etc., of the donees, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imperative verses is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of B), a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of B, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen, but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in
deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above, this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya (II) is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is Jayasimhavallabha (i.e., Jayasimhah I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chāluṅka dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to Vikramāditya (II) who is introduced in the usual prosaic preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the birudas of Samastabhucanākara, Mahārājadhīrāja, Paramēvara, Paramabhūṭāraka and Paramabrakmaya. He issues a command to the Rājkīrātās and others inhabiting the Kandāravādi-vishaya. The name of this vishaya occurs in different forms as Gaṇḍēruvāti, Kandāravāti, Kandeśvādi and Kandavādi in several Eastern Chāluṅka inscriptions and its chief town Kandeśu, after which the district was named, has been identified with Kanteśu in the Guntur District. The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king Vikramāditya II. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to Vijayāditya II, the builder of 108 temples of Narāindedravāra. He is here stated to have reigned only for 40 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chāluṅka copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of Vikramāditya (II) are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by Tālapa, after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with fame. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with Tāla or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom.

If by the expression rājyaṃ kirttīṃ saman-agraḥit, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by Vikramāditya in regaining the throne from Tāla. No doubt the Malviapûndhi grant of Ammarāja II tells us that Vikramāditya (II) slew "at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants"2. It is, however, not certain whether Vikramāditya was engaged in fighting Tāla and his allies after Tāla became king. But all the Eastern Chāluṅka inscriptions assign to Tāla a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of Kanṭhikā-Bētā by Tāla, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chāluṅka throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chāluṅka records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

Of inscription B the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannāḍa numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayanagara kings, is written in Nandināgari characters except the sign-manual śri-Triyambaka in line 68 which is in

1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56.
Kannada-Telugu script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna1 dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpāksha of Śaka 1388.2 The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words śṛ-Γayādhīpatayē namāḥ in the beginning of 1.1 and śṛ-Ṭriyambaka in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of anuṣṭava or visarga, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the second known grant of the Yuvarāja Triyambaka; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1925.3 though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from Saṅgama down to Triyambaka is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant Yadvī who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given:

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Saṅgama
    Bukkarāya m. Gaurī
    Harihara (II) m. Mēlāmbīkā
    Dēvarāya (I) m. Dēmāmbīkā
    Vijaya-Bhūpati m. Nārāyaṇīdevī
    Dēvarāya (II) m. Lakumādevī

Triyambaka
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The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka’s father had gone to heaven, Imāḍī-Praudha-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna)4 became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of Rājadhirāja and Rājaparamēśvara and give a list of the king’s bīṇadas—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as Yuvarāja. This prince who was also called Chikkoḍeya was established (as Governor) at Ghanāḍri (i.e., Penugonda) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghanāḍri) he granted the village of Bommeḥālu, renaming it as Lakshmipura, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman Māchivōkta, son of Vallebhōkta of the Śuklayaṇaśākhā on Monday, the full-moon day of Kārttikeya in the cyclic year Yuva, the Śaka year being 1377 which is expressed by the numerical words bhātu (7) adri (7) guṇa (3) and bhū(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttikeya in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

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1 Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.
2 Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.
3 Pp. 98 ff.
26th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sūmavārya by mistake for Saurivārya; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The dones are stated to have been well versed in Vedas and Sūstras and to have mastered the science of polity (niti-sāstra). The Yuvāraja made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at Bhāskaraśekhara (i.e., Hampi). The donated village Bommehāru was situated in Pāṇḍemēru-māgaz, which was a sub-division of Gutti-rājya in the velita (district) of Penugonda. After the imprecatory verse the record closes with the signature of the Yuvāraja Triyambaka.

The donor Yuvāraja Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of Dēvarāya. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendrā (i.e., Mallikārjuna). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother Mallikārjuna succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways: one, to consider that Mallikārjuna, who ascended the throne after the death of Triyambaka's father, was the son of the āṃṣa-mahāśri (senior queen) and Triyambaka, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to Mallikārjuna after his father's death. The second is to regard Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as sons of brothers, that is to say, Mallikārjuna belonged to the senior line and Triyambaka to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.1 This raises an important issue,viz., if Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were actual brothers, were they the children of Dēvarāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya? From the use of the epithet praṇḍha-pratāpa-vibhavah which is applied in the present grant to Dēvarāya, the father of Triyambaka, it would appear that they were the sons of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of Praṇḍha-Pratāpa.2 From the inscription under publication we learn that Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendrā became king after the death of Triyambaka's father who, if Triyambaka and Mallikārjuna were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, was the predecessor of Mallikārjuna on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1446)3 might have been issued by Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is known from an inscription4 to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. Abdur Razak, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of Dēvarāya II, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (Pratāpa) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother.5 And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were the sons of Dēvarāya II, this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that Dēvarāya II, the father and predecessor of Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendrā was also described as praṇḍha-pratāpa-vibhaca. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a biruda both of Dēvarāya II and his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya or, that it was not a biruda and had no

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1 As it is not known from any source that Mallikārjuna was nominated as the successor to his father, this alternative is not considered here.
5 Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, pp. 73 ff.
special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa’s elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna’s copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions of Dēvarāya II where he is described as praudha-pratāpa-prakāṭita-mahīnā or praudha-pratāpa-vibhasaṁ. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka’s father Dēvarāya after the latter’s death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the paṭa-mahīṣī (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna’s mother was Ponnalādevī; and Triyambaka’s mother was Lakumādevī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below:

\[\text{Vijaya-Bhūpati} \]
\[\text{Dēvarāya II} \]
\[\text{m. Lakumādevī} \quad \text{m. Ponnalādevī} \]
\[\text{Triyambaka, Mallikārjuna.} \]
\[\text{Pratāpa (Dēvarāya): m. Siddalādevī.} \]
\[\text{Virūpāksha.} \]

Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkoḍeṭa. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinaṛao who was assassinated. If we could rely upon this writer’s account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkoḍeṭa to be identical with Pinaṛao, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannada form Chikkoḍeṭa.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskara-kaḷaḷa is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommebāḷu may be identified with Bommebāḷu situated at a distance of seven miles from Amantapūr. Guttī, after which the division Guttī-vaṇga was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanāḍri is the Sanskritized form of Penugonda which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

4 Sewell: A Forgotten Empire, p. 303.
A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II).

From photographs.
time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceregalty and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Tālikōta disaster. The sub-division Pandemēru-māṇḍya was apparently named after the stream Pandamēru which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyassamudram at Anantapur.

**TEXT of A.**

*Second Plate; First Side.*

1 Tat-patrō Jayasirnha-vallabhastrayastrīṃsād va[r]aṇa[tā]ri|māṇḍya| tad-anu-

2 [i-Endra-rā]* jasya priya-tana[yō] Vishnuvardhanō nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō Māngi-

3 [varājāḥ pa[*]chāviniṃsat[i|māṇḍya] | tat-patrō Jayasirnhas-trayodāsa vatsarān [[*]] tad-

4 dvnimātur-ānujāḥ

5 [Kōkki][*]lih sāhaṃ-māsān | tasya [jyāḥ]thu bhrātā Vishnuvardha[na|h] sv-ānujam-

6 ajā[va*u*]-


8 [varshāṇi] tad-auras Viṣṇu[ā]dhyāḥ shatatriṃś-adbān [[*]] tad-sutō Viṣṇu[ā]ditya[ḥ]s-

9 chatvāriniṃsāta

10 [jā]ṇottara-sāta-srīman-Nrēndrēvara-kārakāḥ [[*]] tad-ātmajāḥ [Kāj.] Viṣṇu-

11 vardhanas-āśār-āndha-

12 [samāṇ | tat-sutō] Viṣṇu[ā]ditya[ḥ] chatuṣchatvāriniṃsād-vārshāṇī | tad-bhrat-

13 yuvārjasya Vi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 [kramadityasya[*]] tanayaḥ Chālukya-Bhīmas-triṃśād-varshāṇī [[*]] tad-sutō Viṣṇu[ā]dī-

10 [tyaḥ] sāhaṃ-māsāḥ[*]h | sapta-sahyavatsarān-ta(rāns-ta) sūnur-Ammā-mahipathiḥ [[*]]

11 Yātē Gāṇḍara gaṇḍa-bhū[tru]

12 prāpt-abhirhēkṣas-ta[tā]s-sūnur — vaśat-sa — Viṣṇu[ā]dityaṁ punas-

13 Tālāpa[h [*]]

14 — ru-gataṁ vidhāya ba — [bhūya] bhūmīva[r] bhūmiṃ pālayati

15 — — — tong śrutiḥ vachō — — [1|[*]] Āgatyā drutam-ayata-pratinukha

16 — uddhatan-hatvā tad-rudhirā bhīma-[ba]la — nistriṃśa-bhāṣad-bhaju-

[ḥ | ] tan-dadvē

17 — śrīmad-Viṇkramaditya-bhūpālas-Tālāpam-ēsha paṭṭam-avahac-

18 — chū

19 Viśāl-śavakāsam-imām — — — kahiti-payōraśi[shu] kūla-śallī

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2 From the original plates.
3 The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasirnha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chālukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.
4 Read "satam varshāṃi.
5 The portions enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chālukya grants.
6 Read "satam abdānī.
7 From here up to kārakāḥ the text appears to be half an Anuṣṭubh verse.
8 Read "satam varshāṃi.
9 This punctuation mark has been engraved after erasing a superfluous sa.
10 From here up to mahīpataḥ the text seems to contain a half verse in Anuṣṭubh.
11 Metro: Śārīrakāvīṣṭa.
Third Plate; First Side.

17. ........................t-prabhuv-adhipatēr-yyasya sarōrhāsanāḥ  || [3*]
18. ⊗ ⊗ —— tv-āgādham-mahād-ripur-ambugair-vvīsati vimukhāh vārāhī rāśita spharad-
19. ⊗ ⊗ vanītā-chakshur-vvāri-prasikta-tamūn-satīn-asakṣīd-akhilā jaṅīṇ — — ⊗ ⊗ ⊗
20. ⊗ ⊗ — [4*] Vikram-aika-saḥāyāt-saḥātvan yu[d*]dhvā yuddha-śataṁ samāḥ || yuddhāh
21. ⊗ — rājyaṃ yaḥ kīrttyā saman-agrahaḥ || [5*] Yat-kānti-vikrānti-krit-āhibhūti la
22. ⊗ — — — — — — — chitta-vṛtṛt(vṛtṛt) || [4*] chandhrō mrig-ārāti-ruchāv-asp-imau jātau
23. ⊗ — — — gohā

Third Plate; Second Side.

24. ⊗ — — — — — — — chīrayati samagraṁ bhūri-sāmārā-nōhan-Nara iva
26. [V]ikramāditya-mahārajasāhāra-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭa
27. [ka-pa]rajaramahāṇyaḥ Kāṇḍērvvādi-vahaya-nivāsinō rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhā-
28. [n-kujumbinas-sa]rvvān-īttham-ājaṇāpayati viditam-astu ||......mādityā... *

TEXT of B.*

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 3-35 Anushṭubb, v. 2 Saṃgharā, v. 36Śālinī.]

First Plate.

1. Śrī-Gaṅgādhipatayē namah | A vyād-vah prathamaḥ Pautri(Pōtri) saraṣā-
2. m-udvaham-rasā[ṃ * priy-āmga-saṅga-samjāta-sā(a)ndrā-śvē(āvē)d-ōdayām-i-
3. vāh(iva) || [1*] Rīhga[n*]n-utsasaṅga-raṅgē nīja-radana-diyā(dhiyā) Śarī(Śam)karah
4. s-ōttasaṅgād-a(ā)karshān(nā)-indu-lēkhaṁ pītarī gata-rada-stēyan-
5. ārōpayanī-chaḥ[cha] [1*] mūtaḥ prōtaḥvayanthiḥ āmita-sūchi-vadanaṁ vikshamā-
6. na(naḥ) sa-hāṣan bālo vāsakaḷya(vatsalaya)-bhūmiṁ kalayatu mūrīdī maṁ-
7. galānyakadantaḥ(lāny-Ekadantaḥ) || 2* Asti kaustubha-kalpadruma-kāmadhēnu-sahodara-
8. (raḥ) [1*] 8. Ramānūja[h*] Sudhānāthāḥ kṣhira-sāgara-saṁhavah || 3* Udabhūd-anvaye tā-
9. sya Yādu-nāma bhūpataḥ | pālītan yat-kulīna(nēna) Vasūdevāna bhū-
10. talan(lam) || 4* Abhūd-asya kulē śīmān-sabha[ga*]-guṇ-ōdayaḥ || apāsta-durē-ś-
11. saṅga[s*]—Saṅgamō nāma bhūpataḥ || [5*] Dīk-karidra(udra)-du(dhu)-rādhāra-dakṣipha-
12. skanda-bandhuraḥ | Būkkaṇāya[s*]-tataḥ śīmān-śīd-āhava-kā-
13. rkaṣaḥ[šal] || 6* Aḥna-bhōga-saṁkṣaṣṭ-asau rāja-śīkhā
14. manāḥ | gōptā Hariharā Gauryāṁ kumāram-udapā-
15. dayat || 7* Sīshtāṁ(Siśṭān) saṁra(kaha*)tō yasya dushtān-āpi pi(n)gpi
16. hōṭah | labdh-ārthair-vidushā[ṃ*] sārthail[s*]-śākyāṁ(ghyā) Hā(Has)ri

* Metre may be ṛṣya.
* Metre: Ṛvarūṣi.
* Metre: Anushṭubb.
* Metre: Indracjñā.
* Metre: Mālinī.
* The continuation is missing.
* From the original plates and ink-impressions.
Second Plate; First Side.

24. rātē[...] Pūrvat-iva Pināki[naḥ] || [12*] Tayō[ḥ] prāchīna-puṇyānām
25. paripāka-viśēshataḥ | tasyā[ḥ]* Triyambaka[ā]*-sākhśē-kuṃmaraḥ sa-
26. majāyata || [13*] Bhūvaṃ hitvā divaṃ yāte tāte tasya mahātmanī |
27. ṁmīmaḍi-Prauṣha-Dēvāndrō rāj-ābhūj-jagatipatīḥ || [14*] Rājādhī-
28. rājas-tējāsvi yō rājaparamēśvarāḥ [*] bhāsh-ōlaṅghī-mahāpāla-
29. bhujagrama-vihaṅgarāḥ || [15*] Vairi-bhūpati-vētaṃda-chaṃda-
30. khaṃḍana-kēsari | gaj-ugha-gaṅḍahārūṇaḥ gajēda(nra)-mṛ-
31. gayā-rataḥ[*] || [16*] Tri-rāja-bhūjaṅ-ōnnadha-para-rāja-bhayānī-
32. karaḥ || Hijū[ḥ]*du-rāya-suratraṅga ity-ādi-bhi(b)rud-ōnnataḥ || [17*]
33. Jyāyā[ṃ]*sāraḥ bhṛtaraṅ rājā Triyāmbakah-mahipatī(m)(tim) || prada-
34. rasa(rśa)[ṃ]*sē-cha saubhrātraṇa yauvarājyē-bhūśēa(śeḥ)yaṃ || [18*] Śrīma-
35. ch-Chikkoḍey-ākhyān cha Ghanādrāu sthēpan-ātaṇaṇ(āntaram) ċ evaṃ
36. bhṛtrā praddattē tu rājē Chikkoḍahō(Chikkoḍeyō) baliḥ || [19*] sva-rājya[ṃ]*
37. pālayann-atraṇ(aatra) dīvyati śrī-Triyāmbakah ||-|| (Śś) Śāli-
38. vāhana-nirgūṣa-[k]ṣa[ṃ]*-varaḥ-kram-āgāte || [20*] Dhātv-adiradri-guṇa-
39. bhu-yukte Śak-ābdē Yuva-vatsarō | Kārttikeyāṃ su(śu)kla-pa-
40. kshē cha pūrṇamāya(pimāya)[ṃ] mahā-tīthan || [21*] Sōma-vārē1 puṇya-
41. kīl-ōdayē tathā | pavitrē Bhūṣakaraḥśtērō śrī-Tri-
42. yanbaka-sannidhana || [22*] Penugornaḥ-ākhyā-valitē Guttī-ra-
43. jyē samanvaṅ(ṇvītē) || (P) Parīndemēṛu-māgaṇau cha sthititān(taṁ) bādha-
44. vivarjitaṁ(tam) || [23*] Bommēḥāju-nāmaṇām grāmaṁ hi sarva-
45. sasyakau | Gururāyaṣya bhāl_RDWR vanēca chāru svākṛitaṁ* || [24*] Nīḍhī-ni-

Second Plate; Second Side.

46. kṣēpa-vāry-asy(ṅ)ma-siddha-sā[ṛ-ḥyā-]kshīn-itī cha | āgāṃ-īty-a-
47. shalta-bhūga-āṣhyanī tēja-svānaya-samanvitaḥ(tam) || [25*] Kuly-ārām-ādī-
48. samyuktaṁ samasta-balī(ḥ)-sahyutam(tam) | agrahāram-imaṁ sarvaṁ
49. mānyam-ā-chaṇḍhra-tapproximatelyūkṣa(kam) || [26*] Su-hirany-ōdaka[ṃ]*dad-
50. na[ṃ]*dhāra-pūrvatān yathā-vidhi | nītyaṁ Lakṣṭhīpurāṁ
51. echēti mātṛ-nāmaṁ vidhāya cha || [27*] || ||
52. Śukla-yaun-āṣhkhā-paraṁ-gata-s-tathā1 | Vattalbhōkt-ā-
53. tmajo vidvān Māchivōktē dvīj-ōttamaḥ || [28*] Vēda-sā-
54. stra-pravīṇaḥ-cha nīti-sāstra-parāyaṇaṁ | pur-ō-
55. pakāra-kūsahā Śiva-pūjā-paraṇa-tathāa || [29*] Nātva ta-

1 Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this Akṣaṭāḥ verse.
2 The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendation.
56 smai dvij-śārā(ya) bhōktum dāturum yath-ēpsayā || sa prāttād-yu.
57 varaj-śākhya=Triyamānbhā(a) mahanati]] || 30*]] Brāhmaṇ[a] sa cha sam-
58 hṛṣṭaḥ putra-paustra-samanvitaḥ || rājānam-āśishāṁ cha-
59 kṝṣ̄i(chi)ramāṇī bhavatv-iti \[| 31*]

Third Plate.

60 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasūndharaṁ(rām) || shaṁśṭitī=varsha-sa-
61 hasraṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyate kṛmī || 32*]] Sva-dattāv(dattā)=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ paṁ
(pa)-
62 ra-datt-anupālanaṁ(nē) || para-datt-āpahāreṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bha-
63 vēt || 33*]] Ék-āvain bhagini lokē sarveṣā(śā)m-eva bhūbhujān(jām)]*[ na bhōjya na ka-
64 ra-grāhāyā vipra-dattā vasūndhārā \[| | 34*]] Dāna-pālanaṁ-madhye dānāch-cahrē-
65 yō-nupālanaṁ(nam) \[| | dānāt-svargam-avāpnoti pālānād-achyutāṁ padanāv[dam] \[| | 35*]]
66 Sāmānyo-yathā dharmā-sūtuṁ [*]-niṣṭapāṁ kālē kālē pālāṇīyō bhavādbhiḥ [1*]
67 sarvāṇ-ētāṁ bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ūdrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmaṁ[ra]hā \[| | 36*]]
68 śrī-Triyamān[baka

No. 20.—SANTA-BOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN: [GANGA] YEAR 87.


The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were secured in 1925 from a farmer of the village of Sānta-Bommāli in the Ganjām District by Mr. Lakhshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, M.R.A.S., Rājā Bāhādur of Tekkali, in whose ownership they now lie. The inscription seems to have been first published in the Utkala Śāhitya Parishad Patrikā of Cuttack, Vol. XXXI, which is not accessible to me. It was next dealt with by its present owner in the Journ. of the Andhra Hist. Res. Society (Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff. and plate). His introduction to and reading of the text of the inscription, however, having contained a number of inaccuracies, I take this opportunity to publish a revised edition. The present treatment is based on a reproduction of the plates accompanying the Rājā Bāhādur’s paper referred to above.

The plates are three in number and measure† 6½” by 2½”. The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a ring of 2½” in diameter to connect them. The seal,§ on which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about 4½” and on it is said to be engraved the figure of a (couchant?) bull. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 tolas.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are almost of the same type as is found in the Achyutapuram plates (Year 87) and the Parla-Kimējī (Year 91)

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1 Read shaṁśṭitā varasha-.
2 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 21. I have not had any opportunity to verify this and the following information in this paragraph from the original plates. This record has also been noticed in An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-26, p. 10, Appendix A, No. 2.
3 No shape of the seal is given; perhaps it is of the usual small oval shape.
plates\(^1\) of Indravarman. They have also a general resemblance to the script of the stray Tirlingi plate\(^2\) (Year 28 ?) as well as to that of the Narasingapalli\(^3\) (Year 79) and Urlam\(^4\) (Year 80) plates of Hastivarman.

The numerical symbols 80, 7 and 30 occur in line 23.

As in the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates, the heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust. But as observed by Dr. Fleet,\(^5\) this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the mātrās and sometimes even to commence them at all. Otherwise, the engraving is fairly clearly done. There are six lines inscribed on each plate, the whole inscription containing twenty-four lines in all.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of three customary verses (ll. 19-23) and one concluding verse (l. 24), the inscription is written in prose throughout.

In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal (ṅ) before k in eśiṅha, line 24, (2) the substitution of anuveāra by the class nasal of the following consonant in āyaṇ-dāna, l. 18, (3) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y in -ānudhyātaḥ, l. 7, (4) the frequent doubling of consonants after r, (5) the occasional doubling of consonants before r and (6) the use of anuveāra in place of the final form of m in phalaṁ (l. 20) and mupālamā (l. 21). The letters b and v are indicated by separate signs, the solitary exception being in parivādha (l. 14). The rules of sandhi are observed throughout except in lines 5 and 17.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of three halas of land towards meeting the expenses of offering regular worship and repairing the temple of god Rāmaśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in Dantayavāgū. Of these two halas lay in the village of Haribhaṭa in the district of Krōṣṭukavarttanī and the third at Dantayavāgū itself. The gift was made into a permanent free-hold dēvāgrahara by Indravarman, alias Rājasimaṇha, who is described as belonging to the spotless family of the Gāṅgas.

The date of the inscription is given, in figures only, as the years of the prosperous victorious reign (pravardhamāṇa-viṣaya-rāja-saṅvaṭsarāḥ) 80 7; (the month) Jyēṣṭha; the day 30 (l. 23).

The charter was written by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhāṇuchandra (l. 24).

We have had as yet three published records of the reign of Indravarman, alias Rājasimha: they are (1) the Achiyutappuram plates of the Year 87, (2) the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates of the Year 91, and (3) the record under discussion.

Another single plate from Tirlingi (in the Ganjām District), apparently the last of a set, bears an inscription which is dated, according to Mr. S. N. Rajaguru\(^6\), in the year 28 of the Gāṅga era. The writer (and engraver) of this stray plate describes himself as

\(^1\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff. For a lithograph of the plates Dr. Fleet refers us to his Indian Inscriptions, No. 18. The plates are preserved in the Madras Museum. This work of Dr. Fleet does not seem to have been eventually published.


\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.

\(^4\) Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

Vinayachandra, the son of Bhûnuchranda, who has been taken by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to be the namesake of the writer of the three records of Indravarman-Rajasisňha mentioned above. Proceeding from this conjecture, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that the word read by Mr. Rajaguru as denoting twenty-eight may actually be read as eighty-eight, thus satisfactorily adjusting the date of the plate within the reign of Indravarman of the present record. The reading of the date on this plate has also been doubted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The reproduction of the plate in question accompanying Mr. Rajaguru's paper is unfortunately too obscure to admit of verification on this point. What little however remains does not seem to support the reading as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Of the localities mentioned, Kalinganagara has been variously identified with modern Kalinsapatani at the mouth of the Valisadharâ river or with Mukhalingam near Chicasole. The Krôshuktavarntani (vishkunas) is mentioned in a number of early and later Gângâ records. It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultsch with modern Chicasole. A district (âhâga) called Dantayavâgu (really vâgâ) is mentioned in the Brihatprêshthâ grant of Umavarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 5, 1, 5). But I am unable to identify both this village and that of Haribhâta.

Vinayachandra, the writer of the present record, was also responsible for preparing the draft of the two inscriptions of Hastivarman and two of Indravarman mentioned above.

The biruda Rajasimha applied to Indravarman in the present record, also occurs in the Narasingapalli and Urlam plates of Hastivarman and also in the Achyutaparam and Parâ-Kimâki plates of Indravarman.

The date of our inscription can be ascertained only very approximately. If, as is held by Prof. R. Subba Rao, the epoch of the Gângâ era began from 494 A.D., the date of our record would fall at 494 + 87 = 581 A.D. Without caring however to arrive at any one particular year, we would not be far wrong if we placed our record in the period 570-625 A.D.

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1 A List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 285, f. n. 1.
2 Ibid., no. 2047.
5 In any case, it begins with ashâ-. Of the two letters following, the second appears to be a ligature most probably with a guttural nasal (â) ; while the preceding one has a clear medial i sign. The arguments advanced by Mr. G. Randas (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 82-83) for doubting the genuineness of this stray plate do not appear to be conclusive. His reading of the date nitya=asâkhâ=citijali also is not borne out by the plate ; for, the conjunct (read by Mr. Rajaguru as âya being a possessive case-ending) coming immediately after samajatra cannot possibly be broken up into si and âya.
6 Ind. Ant., Vol XVI, p. 132.
7 E.g., Urlam pls. (Yr. 80) of Hastivarman, Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicasole pls. (Yr. 183) of Devendravarman, Above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.; Parâ-Kimâki pls. (Yr. 204) of Anantavarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff., etc.
8 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 332 ff.
9 He was also probably the same as the writer and engraver of the stray Tirlimgi grant (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) the donor of which must remain, pending the discovery of the remaining plates of the set, a mysterious personality. Prof. R. Subba Rao however suggests (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 71) that the donor may be identified with Mitavarman, father of Indrâdhirâja, mentioned in the Gôdâvari plates of Prithivimâla (J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. II ff. and pls.). This Indrâdhirâja has further been held by Dr. Bhandarkar (List, p. 266, No. 1904 and f. n. 1) to be identical with Indravarman of the Jirjinge pls. of the Gângâ Year 59 (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.).
TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Om Śvaati [*] Sarva-arta-sukha-ranañīyād-vijaya-Kalingagarrāt-sakala-bhuvana-nirmānā.
2 na-aka-sūtra-drāsṛasya bhagavatō Gokarṇagavāminās-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-pranā.

Second Plate; First Side.

8 bēṣvaraḥ śṛ- Mahārāj-Endravarmā [*] Kṛśhtukavarttanyāṁ Haribhaṭa-grāmē
dṛśvīmā.
9 maravān-kutumbinās-samājñāpayati [*] Viditam-astu vō yathāsamābhīr-asmi-
10 n-grāmē kañcād-vayasya bhūs-śchhivā Dantayavṛgām bhagavatō Rāmēśvara-bhāttāraka-
syā bali-śhra-sattrā-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-śphuṭītā-sanskāra-karaṇāya cha Dantaya-
12 vṛgāya cha kañcādābhū-asy-a śiva sarvā-sarasā-karaṇā pariḥṣṛṣṭyā-śe-bevereśa-pratishtāḥ

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 dēvagrahāraḥ-kṛitvā mātā-pitṛ-rāṣṭramanās-cha puny-ābhīvriddhayē Talavaradēva-
14 bhūs-śchhivā prati-bhūddhitais-sampradattā [*] tad-viditvā na kēnācit-parivū(bū)dhā kārya-
15 mariśvān-kahāṭrasya cha sēnā-liṅgāni uttarēṇa Kṣhatriya-taṭāka*-parivāhāḥ
16 pūrvvēn-ārjuna-vṛkhās-tato valmīka-paṅktīs-tataḥ kṛitri(tri)mā pāśaṇa-puṇja-paṅktī-
17 tatō nimba-vṛkṣaḥ dākhānāmē api taṭ-taṭāka-parivāha ēva paśchimēna kūpas-tataḥ[h*]
18 yamalak-ārjuna-vṛkṣah tato rāja-mārggās-śc-éti | Bhavishyad-rājābihś-cch-āyān-dāna-

Third Plate.

19 dharmmā(rammō=nupālyas-tathā cha Vyāsa-gitām [*] śloka-udāharanti [*] *Babhubhīr-
20 vvasudhā dāttā
dinbhīs-śc-nupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalāh(lam) [*]
21 sva-dattām
22 para-dattām vā yamād-raksha Yudhishṭīrīma s[mahī(m*) mahimatām arēṣṭha dānāč-
23 ckhṛyō=nupālanāḥ(nam) [*] [*]}

1 From plate opp. p. 23, J. A. R. S., Vol. IV.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
5 Is this arjuna a cluster of two trees of the same species? Or, is yamalak to be restored as ṣmalakṣ? In that case we have to read vṛkṣah in place of vṛkṣāh.
6 Read -śloka.
7 Metro: Śloka (Amsahubhā); and in the following two verses.
Shasṭriṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidaḥ [**] ākṣēptā chānumantā cha tāny-śva
narakē vasēd-iti [?] pravarthamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāḥ 80 7 Jyeṣṭha-divasa
30[**] [**]
24 Idaṁ Vinayachandraṇa Bhānuchandrasya sūnumā [**] sāsanam Rājasinhasya[4*] likhit-
tānu svamukh-ājñāyā [[][4*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ṫṁ Hail! From the victorious (city of) Kalinagaragāra, which is pleasant in
all seasons, the glorious Mahārāja Indravarman[5] address[the following] order to
all the householders en masse at the village of Haribhāṭa in (the district of) Kroshtukavarttanā:

"Be it known to you that We have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed
by Talavardēva[6], the Bhogika[7] and for increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and
of Ourselves, two halas[8] of land in this village for the sake of performing (rites known as) bali,
charu and sattra, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple) of god Rāmēśvara-bhāṭṭāraka
(situated) in (the village called) Dantayavāgū and (in addition to that) another hala of land
(in the same) Dantayavāgū, having constituted it as an agra[hara] for god (Rāmēśvara-bhāṭṭā-
raka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all imposi-

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance”.

(Lll. 15-18) The boundary marks of the land (granted) in (the village of) Haribhāṭa are as
follows:—On the north, the storm-water channel of the tank (called) Kshatriya-taṭāka[9]; on the
east, an arjuna tree, after that a row of ant-hills, then up to the artificial line of heaped-up
stones, then a nimba tree; on the south, the same channel of that tank (Kshatriya-taṭāka);
on the west, a well, then the twin arjuna trees, then the royal road.

(Lll. 18-23) The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses
sung by Vyāsa are quoted:—

(Here come three of the customary verses.)

(Lll. 23-24) The year 87 of the prosperous victorious reign; (the month) Jyeṣṭha, the
day 30.

This edict (śasana) of Rājasinha has been written at the command of his (the king’s) own
mouth, by Vinayachandra[8], the son of Bhānuchandra[9].

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1 Read vasēd [][3*] iti.
2 Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as 10.
3 Read śīṁhasya.
4 Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as 10.
5 Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as 10.
6 For a translation of the long string of epithets that follows see above, Vol. III, p. 129.
7 For the explanation of the term Bhogika, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 and 64. Also C. I. I., Vol.
p. 109, n. 1.
8 For the translation of the term Bhogika, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 and 64. Also C. I. I., Vol.
p. 109, n. 1.
9 In explaining the technical word kula, in Manu, VII, 119, Kulluka observes thus: adhyayan madhyaman
halam-iti tathāvāda halādvāgēṇā yāvati bhūmiraśyajñā tāl-kulam-iti vādayat. Here the connotation of hala is
not clear. In any case, hala appears to be a recognised kind of land-measure.
10 I am grateful to my revered teacher Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presi-
dency College, Calcutta, for kindly suggesting a number of corrections in my interpretation of the text of the
inscription.
No. 21.—PURSHOTTAMPURI PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA: SAKA 1232.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were brought to my notice by Mr. R. M. Bhusari, M.A., Professor of Marāṭhi, in the Osmania College, Hyderabad (Deccan). At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, supplied me with excellent ink-impressions of them. The original plates were kindly procured by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State, and their ink-impressions taken by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. I am indebted to Mr. Yazdani for permission to edit the plates in this Journal.

The copper-plates, which are three in number, were discovered in the possession of a Gōsavī at Purshottampuri on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari, about 40 miles due west of Parbhani, in the Bhir District of H. E. H. the Nizām’s Dominions. They are very massive, each measuring 1' 2½" broad, 1' 8" high and 3" thick. Their total weight is 47·25 lbs. The ends of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates have in the centre at the top a round hole 1½" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held them together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been connected with it, is now forthcoming. The writing is in a state of excellent preservation. There are 141 lines in all, of which thirty-four are written on each of the first two inscribed sides, thirty-eight on the second side of the second plate, while the last plate has thirty-five lines. The technical execution is very good, there being few mistakes of writing or engraving. In line 51 two redundant aksharas have been cancelled by incising two vertical strokes on the top.

The characters are Nāgari. Except in a few cases they closely resemble the ordinary Nāgari characters of the present time. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the curve for the medial u is in some cases added to the side and not to the bottom of the vertical stroke, see Vishnu-, l. 81 and achatyam, l. 137; the medial diphthongs are in many cases denoted by prishthamārās; the subscript member of the ligature gg like that of uŋ is denoted only by a horizontal stroke, see svargam-, l. 136; ą appears with a dot in one case and without it in another, see Śārīga-in I. 2 and 30; the form of the rare ḷh in Vinādhadeva, l. 105, is noteworthy; the letters ḷ and ḷñ appear in their modern forms, see ramay, l. 2, and āyñair-, l. 124; the letters t and ṇ, ḷ and ḷh as well as ṇ and ch are in some places written alike; the left member of dh is fully developed except in ligatures like dṛh; there was thus no possibility of confusion between ḷhā and ą, still the horizontal line joining the vertical strokes of the former akshara is not discarded, see ni-dhānam, l. 2; finally, ṇ and b are denoted by their proper signs except in vrahma-sv, l. 133.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are 59 verses in all. Of the initial 18 verses which eulogize the reigning king Rāmāchandra and his ancestors, one completely and another partly occur in the earlier Paithan plates of the same king. It is again noteworthy that in the concluding portion, which contains benedictive and imprecatory verses, there is one verse which is only a hemistich, and another, which is an Anush-

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1 In their size and weight the present plates resemble the Paithan plates of the same king Rāmāchandra—edited by Dr. Fleet, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff. Of the three plates here the first weighs 18 lbs., the second 14·25 lbs., and the third 15 lbs.

2 The aforementioned Paithan plates have a Garuḍa seal.

3 These are verses 4 and 13. The second half of the latter verse occurs as the first half of the corresponding verse in line 46 of the Paithan plates.
The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Rāmachandra of the Later Yādava dynasty. The object of it is to record the grant, by Rāmachandra, of some villages to his minister Purushottama, alius Purushai Nāyaka, for the formation of an agrahāra and the donation, by Purushottama, of the agrahāra which he named Purushottamapuri after himself, to certain Brāhmaṇas. The agrahāra consisted of the four villages, Pōkharī, Adagānu, Vāghaurē and Kurumāpāragau, which were situated in the Kānihirī-khampaṇaka (subdivision) of the Kānihirī-dēsa. The first three of these villages had three hamlets (kōṭakas) attached to each of them, viz., Saṅgāmavā, Pimpalagāvā, Pālpākharī, Pimpalavādi, Kājakāvī, Sojāpā, Simpsonhirē, Gōlegāvā and Dārāvāghaurē. The agrahāra was bounded on the east by Dāṇḍīgau, and Sādulē, on the south by Kāsavapuri, Sāvarīgavā and Harikūnagau, on the west by Rāyagau, Hivāre, Chiṅchavali and Madhēvapuri joined to Drugalēgāvā and on the north by the Gāṇa. The land of these villages was divided into 86 parts (śrītīs) of which two were assigned to two gods, whose names have not been specified, one was set apart to provide for the annual performance of the āgnishtōkā rite and the maintenance of a charitable water-shed (prapō), while the remaining 83 parts were donated to 83 Brahmaṇas, one being assigned to each. The names of the donees and their fathers together with such details as their sākhās and gōtras are given in lines 80-114. Of the eighty-three Brahmaṇa beneficaries, fifty-seven belonged to the Rigveda, twenty-one to the Taittirīya-sākhā of the Black Yajurveda, one to the Kāśya and one to the Mādhyandīna-sākhā of the White Yajurveda and the remaining three to the Sāmaraveda. Among the gōtras the following are represented:—Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Vasishtha, Vishṇuvṛttdha, Kauṭika,

1 Phulabasu means the Superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. See v. 25.
2 I have not nasalised the final nave of this and other place-names.
3 That śrītī meant an actual plot of land, not a share of the produce, is clear from the Chanj inscription of Sūmēvaradēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 281) where in line 11 some śrītīs are mentioned as defining the boundaries of the donated land.
4 The āgnishtōkā rite is performed in the cold seasons of Hēmanta and Śiśra. It consists in the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate mantras and the feeding of Brahmaṇas and supplicants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaśīra. It is believed to yield great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it in the cold seasons and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. For a description of the rite, see Hēmkadrī's Dēnakhayaya, prakarana xiii (Oktawarapuchitaṃgāti, ed. by Pandit Sadāssīv Āchārya Dīkshita, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 859 ff.) The Līlā-ṣaṁhitra, a Mahāmubhāva work of the Yādava period, mentions the āgnishtōkā fire at Pimpalagaon not far from Dēvagiri, which was visited by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahāmubhāva sect.
5 The prapō is a charitable water-shed maintained usually in summer, where thirsty travellers and cattle get free drinking water.
Agastya, Viśvāmitra, Kaṇḍiṇīya, Harita, First Ātrēya, Vishnuvṛiddha-Āṅgirasa, Vādhryaśva, Goutama, Naidhrva, Dēvārāta, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Kapi, Gārgya, Pūtimāska, Śrīvatsa and Lōbita. Unlike some other Yādava inscriptions such as the Chikka-Bāgiśālī plates of the time of Kṛishṇa and the Paithān plates of Rāmachandra, the present record does not, except in four cases, mention the family names of the Brāhmaṇa donors and it is noteworthy that at least three of these four family names, viz., Miśra, Dubē and Trivedi, are of North-Indian Brāhmaṇas.

The inscription contains two dates, one in lines 33–34 and the other in lines 72–73. Both of them refer themselves to the Śaka era and are expressed in years which are said to have elapsed since the time of a Śaka king. It is noteworthy that there is no reference in them to the king Śālivāhana as the founder of the era. This manner of mentioning the era confirms Dr. Fleet’s suspicion that the date of the Thāyā plates of Rāmachandra also, of which the original plates are lost, did not probably contain any reference to this legendary king. The earliest inscriptions which mention this king’s name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of the king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

The earlier of the two dates mentioned in the present inscription, which records the grant of the aforementioned four villages by Rāmachandra is Saturday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of Śaka 1232, the cyclic year being Sādhāraṇa. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 1232, to the 5th September A. D. 1310, on which day the aforementioned tithi ended at 11 h. after mean sunrise. The cyclic year was Sādhāraṇa according to the southern luni-solar system. The second date which registers the donation of the agrahāra of the same four villages by the minister Purushottama is mentioned as Kapilashashthi in the month of Bhādrapada in Śaka 1232 and the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa. The fortnight and the week-day are not expressly stated in this case. They are, however, implied by the mention of the Kapilashashthi; for it is well known that the latter name is given to the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the muṣṭe Bhādrapada when it falls on a Tuesday and is joined with the nakshatra Rōhini and the yōga Vyatipāta. It is regarded as particularly auspicious if the sun is besides in the nakshatra Hasta. This date also is quite regular. It corresponds, for the same expired Śaka year 1232, to Tuesday, the 15th September A.D. 1310, when the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the muṣṭe Bhādrapada ended at 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This tithi was Kapilashashthi; for on that day the moon was in the constellation Rōhini till 3 h. 20 m. and the yōga Vyatipāta ended at 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The sun also was then in Hasta; for it had entered that nakshatra only a week before, viz., at 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on the 8th September A.D. 1310. The inscription states that Rāmachandra had asked Purushottama several times before to make an agrahāra worthy of himself. The latter was evidently awaiting the tithi Kapilashashthi, a grant made on which is regarded as specially meritorious. He finally made the grant on the aforementioned day when the rare combination of the particular tithi, week-day, nakshatras and yōga necessary for a Kapilashashthi occurred in the early hours of the morning.

1 There are four gaṇas in the Atri gōtra which differ from one another only in respect of the third praśara. The praśaras of the first Ātrēya gōtra are Ātrēya, Archanānas and Śyāvāśva.
3 The same manner of mentioning the date is met with in the earlier Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 16.
4 Above, Vol. XIII, p. 199.
6 For calculations of the yōgas I have used the tables for the Śūrya Siddhānta in Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, pt. i.
Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the grant, we shall now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The genealogy of the reigning king Rāmachandra is here traced from Simha (Simhaṇa). Verse 4 states that Simhaṇa defeated Ballāla and the lord of Bhamabāgiri, imprisoned the king Bhōja on the crest of a fortress and vanquished Arjuna. These exploits of Simhaṇa are enumerated in other records also. In fact the aforementioned verse was already known from the Paśhan plates of Rāmachandra. Most of the kings mentioned in it have already been identified by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet in their respective works. Still there are a few more details about them which can now be gathered from records which have recently come to light.

Ballāla defeated by Simhaṇa was evidently the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II, who flourished from circa A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1250. The war in which he suffered a defeat seems, therefore, to have been fought in the beginning of Simhaṇa’s reign (circa A.D. 1210 to 1247). Hemādī’s Varakhaṇḍa gives credit to Simhaṇa for the annexation of the entire kingdom of Ballāla. This is no doubt an exaggeration; but as Fleet has shown, Simhaṇa seems to have annexed some territory to the south of the Malaprabhā and the Krishnā which formed the southern boundary of the Yādava kingdom during the reigns of his predecessors Bhillama and Jaitugi. The Andhra king defeated by Simhaṇa was probably Gaṇapatī of the Kākatiya dynasty who had been released from imprisonment and placed on the throne by Simhaṇa’s father Jaitugi. The battle does not appear to have been decisive; for Gaṇapatī also claimed success over his Yādava antagonist. No definite information about the third king Kakkalla overthrown by Simhaṇa was available until recently. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri; for some kings of that dynasty were known to have assumed the analogous name Kōkalla. From a stone inscription recently found at the village Uddari in the Sorab tālukā of the Shimogā District in the Mysore State, it seems however that this Kakkalla (who is called Kākala in that record) was a mighty ruler of Varāṣa. Varāṣa is mentioned in several southern inscriptions. The Hoysala king Vishnūvardhana is said to have dispersed like a gale the clouds which were the Varāṣa kings. The exact location of the country is not known, but it seems that it was situated somewhere in South India, probably to the north of the Mysore State.

2 See Sewell’s Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 135.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316. Some inscriptions describe Simhaṇa as the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the Tēlanga king (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep. for 1929, p. 142). But a similar exploit is mentioned in connection with Mahādeva also. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 194. So it is doubtful if Simhaṇa really killed a Kākatiya king. Perhaps he fought in the war in which his father Jaitugi is said to have cut off the head of Gaṇapatī’s uncle Rudra (see Hemādī’s Varakhaṇḍa, Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 273). Or he may have killed Gaṇapatī’s father Mahādeva, who also is known to have met with death on a battlefield; see above, Vol. III, p. 97.
6 Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep. for 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII. This inscription is fragmentary. It opens with the date, Saka 1198, which would assign it to the reign of Rāmachandra, but the extant portion contains epithets which are usually applied to Simhaṇa. The same draft seems to have been used in the Tilavalli inscription (J. B. B. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 33), but owing to imperfect readings the reference to Kākala, the king of Varāṣa, seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers.
7 Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 14, 20, and 70.
The next king mentioned in the present record as overthrown by Siṃhaṇa was the lord of Bhambhāgiri.1 Hēmādrī mentions his name as Lakṣhmiṃār. The Āmbē inscription No. 2 names him as Lakṣāmbuḍéva and furnishes the additional information that he belonged to the Ābhira dynasty.2 Bhambhāgiri has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. G. H. Khare has suggested that it might be either Bhāmbhōrī in the Ahmednagar District or Rājāchī Bhām near Yeotmal in Berār.3 But neither of these identifications can be upheld in the absence of a fort near by; for the name Bhambhāgiri suggests that it was a fortified place. As Lakṣāmbuḍéva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, belonged to the Ābhira dynasty, he was probably ruling somewhere in Khāndesh, which still has a large population of Ābhiras or Ahirs. There is even now a ruined old town called Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizāmpur in the Pimpalnēr tālukā of the West Khāndesh District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers, and also some old caves locally known as Rājā’s houses.4 The hill near Bhāmēr is, therefore, probably Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara, a general of Siṃhaṇa, as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakṣāmbuḍéva, the Ābhira king of Bhambhāgiri and a similar statement occurs about Siṃhaṇa in the Udārī stone inscription. This shows that Siṃhaṇa probably exterminated the whole family of the Ābhira prince.

The king Bhojā, who was confined on a hill, has already been identified with Bhōjā II of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhpur. Some southern inscriptions5 describe Siṃhaṇa as a very lord of birds (Garuḍa) in routing the serpent, viz., the king Bhōjā who resided on Pṛṇāla. Pṛṇāla is plainly Panhāḷa, a strong fort 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhpur. After this defeat of Bhōjā, the Śilāhāra kingdom was annexed by Siṃhaṇa; for the inscriptions of his governors are thenceforth found at Kolhpur and the adjoining territory. The earliest of these is dated A.D. 1218 which shows that the defeat of Bhōjā must have occurred some time before that date. The Āmbē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 also mention a king named Bhōjā who was defeated by Siṃhaṇa’s general Khōlēśvara.6 But as he is said there to have belonged to the Paramārā dynasty and to have been the lord of Chāhanda, he must be different from the homonymous Śilāhāra king. Chāhanda where he ruled may be Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. And it may be noted in this connection that a stone inscription of a Paramārā chief, dated Śaka 1308, has been found at Bhandāk,7 which lies only 16 miles north-west of Chāndā.

Arjuna, the lastnamed antagonist of Siṃhaṇa, was identified by Dr. Fleet with Arjunāvarmadēva, king of Aṇḍhīvaḍ of the Vāgheśa branch of the Chālkuya family. Though he did not come to the throne till A.D. 1261-62, Fleet thought that he might have held a command under his father Visalādeva (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and thus might have been a contemporary of Siṃhaṇa.8 Dr. Bhandākar, on the other hand, proposed to identify him with Arjunavarmadēva, king of Mālvā.9 In several other inscriptions Siṃhaṇa’s victories over both the Gurjaras and Mālava

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1 Ms. of Hēmādrī’s Pratikṣhāḍa give the place-name as Bambhāgiri (v. l. Bhangāra), but the name Bhambhāgiri occurs also in the Paithan plates (l. 26-27) and the Āmbē inscription No. 2 (l. 30). The reading Bambhāgiri which occurs in line 24 of the latter record is probably a mistake for Bhambhāgiri.
2 G. H. Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan (in Marāthī), Vol. I, p. 64.
3 Ibid., p. 60.
7 Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C. P. and Berār (second ed.), pp. 15-16.
9 Ibid., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.
kings are spoken of, but the name of Arjuna is rarely coupled with either of them. In the stone
inscription from Uddari, to which attention has been called above, Simhaha is described as a lion
who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant, namely, Arjuna, the king of the Mālava country. This
 corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar’s view that the king Arjuna belonged to the Paramāra dynasty.
Our inscription next mentions Jaitrapāla, the son of Simhaha. But the praise lavished on him
is wholly conventional and affords no proof that he even came to the throne. In fact, epigraphical
records make it clear that Simhaha was succeeded by his grandson Krisha, the son of Jaitrapāla.

Of the two verses (7 and 8) which describe the achievements of Krisha, the first refers to
his victory over Kāmapāla. This king, so far as I know, is not named elsewhere and there is
no express mention of the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. The
Ambē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 mention one Rāmapāla, the king of Benares, who was routed by
Kohōśvara. The similarity of the names Rāmapāla and Kāmapāla may be taken to indicate that
both of them belonged to the same royal family; but the description in verse 7 that the overthrow of
Kāmapāla delighted cowherds suggests that he belonged to the Abhira dynasty and he may therefore
have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh. This conjecture receives some support from the
recently discovered Tāgaoan plates which intimate a victory over a chief of cowherds (gopakapālakā)
obtained by Kēśava, a feudatory chief of the Yādava Emperor Krisha.

Verse 8 intimates Krisha's victories over the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chōla and Kōśala.
Some other inscriptions also claim for Krisha successes over most of these princes, but they do
not specifically name any of them. Hemadri, however, mentions Krisha's defeat of the
extensive forces of Visaladēva, the king of Gujarātā and the Bēhaṭtī plates describe the fierce
fight in a graphic manner. The Munōli stone inscription dated A. D. 1252-53 eulogizes
Krisha as 'a very Trinētra to Madana in the form of the king of Mālava'. The contemporary
king of Mālwā was probably Jaitugidēva for whom we have the dates V. S. 1292 and 1300.
The same inscription speaks of Krisha as the sovereign of the king of Chōla. There is,
however, no actual proof of Krisha's encounter with the contemporary Chōla king who was
Rājendra III (1246-79). The king of Kōśala was evidently the contemporary Kalachuri ruler
of Ratnapur. He was probably the successor of Jājalladeva who was defeated by Simhaha; but
we have now no means of ascertaining his name, for the last inscriptive record of the

1929, p. 143.
5 Tvaṁ rā Kōṅkha-bhūpatiṛ-bhava tad-āham Chandradēvaḥ khaṇaṃ
tvaṁ chāḍ-gōpaka-pālakō-si tad-ārā jato-smy-āham Kēśavaḥ
raksha tvaṁ vīshayaṃ niṇaṃ [cha*] tad-ārāre(arē) dhātyā grahīṣyā khaṇaṃ—
ithama(tthām) yam(n)-mṛpa-mahādīr kalakal-ākṣēpaḥ śīśu-kṛṣṇanā
t
This verse which the editor found difficult to interpret refers to the personation of the ruler of Kōṅkha
and the chief of cowherds by some boys of and Chandradēva and Kēśava (the two brothers who were feudatories
of Krisha) by others, while they were playing in the palace of Chandradēva. The description is evidently intended
to suggest the victories of the two brothers over the king of Kōṅkha and the chief of cowherds (Abhras ?).
7 Ibid., pp. 38-9.
Kalachuris of Ratanpur which can be referred to that age, i.e., the Pędřrubhandh plates of Pratāpamalla⁴, is dated K. 965 (A. D. 1214), i.e., more than thirty years before the accession of Kṛṣṇa.

The present inscription mentions only one exploit of Mahādēva, the younger brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa, i.e., his destruction of Sōma. The latter is evidently Sōmēśvara of the Silāhāra dynasty, the ruler of North Kōṅkaṇa, two records of whose reign have recently been edited in this journal.⁵ Mahādēva seems to have continued the hostilities which were begun by his predecessor Kṛṣṇa; for the aforementioned Tāsgaon plates intimate a victory over a king of Kōṅkaṇa won by Chandradēva, a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa.⁶ The description in verse 10 of the present record suggests that Sōmēśvara was killed in a naval engagement with the fleet of Mahādēva.

Mahādēva's son and successor was Āmana⁷ to whose glorification the present inscription devotes two verses. They are, however, altogether devoid of historical interest. Verse 13, of which the latter part was already known from the Paithan plates, states that Rāma (i.e., Rāmachandra), the son of Kṛṣṇa, having occupied the fort of Dēvagiri, forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmana. The next verse gives an interesting description of the ruse which Rāmachandra adopted to obtain possession of the impregnable fort. He entered it with a party of dancers who were his soldiers in disguise. When admitted inside, he rallied his foot-soldiers and attacked his antagonists apparently while they were engaged in seeing the dance. The dancers also, throwing off their ornaments (i.e., disguise), joined in the fight. Rāmachandra seems to have won an easy victory as his enemy was taken unawares. The Līḷācharitra, a work of the Mahānubhāva sect from which some extracts of historical importance have recently been published,⁸ gives a graphic account of the confusion caused by this sudden attack. Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, was then sojourning at the village Savita⁹ (v. i. Sēvatā) near Dēvagiri. Seeing that the people were panic-stricken and some carts carrying wounded persons were passing through the village, Chakradhara sent his disciple Indrabhaṭṭa to inquire what had happened. He confirmed what Chakradhara had already come to know by intuition that a revolution had taken place at Dēvagiri, that Rāmadēva had deposed Āmaṇḍēva and himself occupied his throne, that Narasimhadēva (who seems to be Āmaṇḍēva's general or minister) had fled away and that Rāmadēva had put out the eyes of Āmaṇḍēva. As this account occurs in the Līḷācharitra, which is a biography of Chakradhara, written by his disciple Mahindrakhattā, we may take it as trustworthy. The Ratnamālāstotra of Kēśava Vyāsa, another disciple of Chakradhara, furnishes the further detail that the aforementioned incident took place in the evening.¹⁰ The Sūuditākhāla of Paraśārāma Vyāsa, who

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¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.
² Ibid., pp. 278 ff.
³ See above, p. 294, n. 4.
⁴ He is called Āmana in the present plate and Āmana in the Paithan plates.
⁵ These extracts were first published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande in his Maḥānubhāva Marathi Vānamya (1925), pp. 16 ff. and their historical importance was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Y. R. Gopale in his article in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. V, pp. 198 ff.
⁶ The place-name is given as Sābhibhēkha in a Sanskrit verse cited below. It is possible to fix the exact location of this place. According to the Līḷācharitra, Chakradhara's itinerary was as follows:—Pimpalvāḍ (about 30 miles south by east of Dēvagiri) and 5 miles north of Paithan, Bhōganīrāja, Bābhulgōn (12 miles south of Dēvagiri), Savita, and Jōgēsvāri (6 miles south of Dēvagiri). So Savita was situated between Bābhulgōn and Jōgēsvāri. It seems to have occupied the same position as modern Waluj, about 8 miles south of Dēvagiri. It lies on the Dēvagiri-Paithan road. It seems therefore that the wounded persons were being taken to Paithan.
⁷ See Tatābh Sābhibhēkha samapētā saṃpatī prāpyam pariṣṭhīyam taśām | saṃpatām grāma-jaṇa- nirātīlam tām papiḥākha rājyāntara-jāta-ekrātām | cited in the Appendix to the Līḷācharitra, Part IV, edited by Mr. H. N. Nene.
flourished in the same period, charges Rāmadeva with the murder of his brother, persecution of saints and inefficient administration of his kingdom which culminated in his capture by Muhammadan invaders.1

Verses 16-18 describe the achievements of Rāmachandra. Though several inscriptions of the reign of this king have been discovered till now, few of them refer to any historical events. We have, therefore, here for the first time a contemporary account of some important events in Rāmachandra's reign. Verse 16 states that Rāmachandra defeated with ease the mighty lord of the extensive Dāhala country, subjugated the ruler of Bhāndāgāra, dethroned the king of Vajrākara and defeated in battle the prince of cowherds. The lord of the Dāhala country is evidently the Kalachuri king who was ruling at Tripuri, now a small village, 6 miles from Jubbulpore. The Yādavas were often at war with the Kalachuris. In the Pujanja inscription Śimhaṇa is called Dāhala-hrit-kutūhala, i.e., 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Dāhala country'.2 It is not known who was ruling at Tripuri in the time of Rāmachandra; for the last Kalachuri prince known from inscrptional records is the Mahākumāra Ajayasiṃha mentioned in the Kumbhi plates3 (A.D. 1180-81) and the undated Bherā-Ghāt stone inscription4 of his father Vijayasiṃha.

It is again not known who is meant by the ruler of Bhāndāgāra but it seems fairly certain that Bhāndāgāra is identical with Bhaṇḍārā, 38 miles from Nāgpur, which is now the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces. We know that Bērā was annexed to the Yādava kingdom as early as the reign of Śimhaṇa; for a stone inscription of his reign has been discovered at Amrāpur in the Khāṃgaon District5 and several villages in Bērā were donated as agraḥāras to Brāhmaṇas by his general Khōḷēsvara.6 But the eastern districts of Nāgpur and Bhaṇḍārā were probably occupied for the first time during the reign of Rāmachandra. It is noteworthy that an inscription of his reign has been discovered at Rāmṭek near Nāgpur7 and another at Lāṇji8 in the Bālāghaṭ District, about a hundred miles north-east of Nāgpur.

Vajrākara, the ruler of which was deposed by Rāmachandra, is probably identical with Vairāgarh, 80 miles north-east of Chāndā in the Garh-Chirōli tahsil of the Chāndā District. Near the village there is still a large stone fortress in a fair state of preservation surrounded by a moat. Vairāgarh is named in ancient records as Vajra or Vajragaṇḍha on account of its diamond mines which are referred to even in Muhammadan chronicles.9 It was evidently a place of considerable importance, for it is referred to in several records. Kulōttuṅga Chōla I, for instance, is said to have captured many elephants at Vairāgaram.10 The chief of cowherds defeated by Rāmachandra may, like Lakṣhmidēva and Kāmapāla, have been ruling somewhere in Khāṇḍesh.

1 Smritiśāhā (Marāthī), ed. by Mr. V. N. Deshpande, p. 26. The editor refers this work to the 14th century A. D.
2 Fleet says that Krishna destroyed Tripura which seems to be the modern Trāwar near Jubbulpore. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 527). But the expression Ya(a)ri-halja-Tripura-trimētram in the Mūṇūli inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 39), on which he relies, means only that he was Trimētra (Śiva) to Tripura in the form of the enemy's soldiers. There is no reference to Tripuri there.
7 Above, pp. 7 ff.
8 Hirāla's Inscriptions in C. P., etc., p. 20.
9 See Būrān-i-Maʿānīr (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286) and Aīn-i-Akkuri (ed. by Jarrett), pp. 229-30. In the Hāṭhigumpha inscription of Khāravela this place is mentioned as Vajrāgarha. See above, Vol. XX, p. 78.
Verse 17 mentions some more victories of Rāmachandra. He subjugated in battle the king of Palli, made the king of Kānyakubja bend low, overran the mountain Kailāsā, routed the ruler of Māhima, captured forcibly the lord of Saṅgama and destroyed the ruler of Khēṭa. The Pallirāja may have been the chief of some hill tribe like the Bhills or Gonds in the Vindhya mountain. There is no corroboration of Rāmachandra's raids on Kanauj and Kailāsā, but his other victories do not seem to be improbable. Māhima is probably identical with the place of the same name near Bombay. According to a tradition preserved in some Marāṭhī records, Kōṅkaṅ was conquered by Bhīma Rāja, the son of Rāmadēva Rāja of Dēvagiri. He is said to have made Māhima his capital and divided the kingdom of Kōṅkaṅ into fifteen mahāls or groups containing 444 villages. The lord of Saṅgama, captured by Rāmachandra, was probably ruling at Saṅgama-mēśvara, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnāgiri. Khēṭa may be Khēḍ, the chief town of the Khēḍ tālukā in the Ratnāgiri District. The place dates from early times; for the Khēṭābāra, which was evidently named after it, is mentioned in the Goa grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka 532. These three victories of Rāmachandra were probably attained in the same expedition which was mainly directed against the petty chiefs ruling in Southern Kōṅkaṅ.

Verse 18 states that Rāmachandra drove out the Muhammadans from Vārāṇasi or Benares and built a golden temple there which he dedicated to Śāṅgāpāṇi. This plainly implies that he held that holy city for some time. There is nothing improbable in this claim. It was always the cherished ambition of powerful Hindu rulers to save the holy places of North India from devastation and plunder by Muslim invaders, though express statements to that effect are rarely found in their inscriptions. There is, of course, no reference to this occupation of Benares by Rāmachandra in Muslim chronicles as there is no allusion to Muslim invasions of the Yādava kingdom in this or any other record of Rāmachandra. The present inscription does not state when this invasion of Benares took place; but it must evidently have occurred before 'Ala-ud-dīn's invasion crippled the power of Rāmachandra in A.D. 1294. It was probably carried out some time during the period from A.D. 1285 to 1290 when there was confusion and disorder in the North after the death of Balban and before the establishment of the power of Jalāl-ud-dīn.

The present inscription is the last record of Rāmachandra. It is not known how long he continued to reign after its issue. According to Muslim chronicles a large army from the North under the command of Malik Kāfūr and Khvāja Háji passed through Dēvagiri in the course of an expedition against Dvārasamudra and Ma'bar towards the end of A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11); but Muhammadan historians are not unanimous as to who was then ruling at Dēvagiri. Barānī and following him, Fīrishtā state that when Malik Kāfūr and Háji reached Dēvagiri they found that Rāmadēva was dead. Fīrishtā tells us further that the young prince Śaṅkarādēva was not well-affect ed to the Muhammadans. On this evidence Rāmadēva is believed to have died in A.D. 1309.

The present record shows, however, that he was ruling till the end of September A.D. 1310 at least and it is doubtful if he was succeeded by Śaṅkarāgaṇa before the end of that year; for Khuarū

1[There is a Pallidēsa mentioned in the Dohad Stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha), above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212 ff. It is also the ancient name of Pallna in Guntur District.—Ed.]
4In the inscriptions of the Gāhādvīlas, for instance, Chandradēva is described as the protector of the holy places Kāši, Kuṣāka, Uttarakōśala and Indrāsthāna. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 7 and Vol. XVIII, p. 16.
states in his *Tārikh-i Alūi* that the Muhammadan generals reached Dēvagiri on the 13th of Ramzān, in A. H. 710 (the 3rd February A. D. 1311) where the Rājā Rāyānī Rām Deo forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army.* 1 As Khusrāu was a contemporary chronicler*2 and gives definite dates to substantiate his narrative, his account may be taken to be correct. Rāmachandra seems to have died soon thereafter; for at the end of A.H. 711 (A. D. 1312) 'Ala-ud-dīn received the news that the Rājā of Dēvagiri was withholding the stipulated tribute.*3 This Rājā was Sāṅkaradeva who had in the meanwhile succeeded Rāmachandra.

The present inscription gives in verses 19-28 the pedigree of Purushottama, the minister of Rāmchandra, who made the grant recorded in it. In the lineage of the sage Vasīṣṭha, there was born a pious man named Bhānusūri who constructed several temples and excavated tanks. His son was Alhadēva*4 who was renowned for his learning. Alhadēva’s son was Vināyaka, the father of Sāṅvaladēva. Rāmchandra received Sāṅvaladēva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Sāṅvaladēva married Akvāmbikā who was the daughter of Sāṅgasūri, the son of Mādhavasūri of the Jāmadagnya-Vatā *gōra*. Purushottama was the son of Sāṅvaladēva and Akvāmbikā. Being attracted by his intelligence, learning and courage, Rāmchandra made him his minister. Purushottama carried on the affairs of the state very ably. He ruthlessly put down all traitors and made all people conform to the rules of conduct laid down for the *vargas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life).*8 Rāmchandra was greatly pleased with him for the execution of all his commands and conferred on him the aforementioned villages to enable him to make an agrahāra worthy of himself.

Many of the localities mentioned in this grant can be easily identified. Purushottamapurī, the chief place of the newly formed agrahāra, still retains its old name. As already stated, it lies on the southern bank of the Gōdāvāri in the Bhir District. Kānhaīri, the headquarters of the subdivision in which it was situated may be Kanhera, 8 miles south-west of Chāliṣgaon, in Khāndesh, which has a fort with a strong natural position.*7 Most of the boundary villages of the agrahāra can still be traced in the vicinity of Purushottampurī in their respective directions. Thus Sādulē is plainly Sādulī about 3 miles south by east; Kēsavapuri, Sāvarigavā*5 and Harikinibagau are respectively identical with the modern Kēsapuri, Sāvargao and Harki Nimgaon which lie about 7 or 8 miles to the south; and Hivārē and Rājagau still exist as Rājgaon and Hivrā buzurg 5 and 6 miles respectively to the west. The river Gaṅgā which formed the northern boundary of the agrahāra is of course the Gōdāvāri.*9 Of the four villages, which constituted the agrahāra, two, viz., Vāghaure and Aḍagau, can now be identified; the former is Wāghur 4 miles south by west and the latter Tiki Aḍgaon about the same distance to the south of Purushottampurī. Only two of the nine hamlets attached to these villages can now be traced, viz.,

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1. This is evidently a corrupt form of the title Rāya-Nūryāna assumed by Yādava Kings. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 317.
3. Khusrāu closes his narrative with the conquest of Ma’bar at the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1311). He died in A.D. 1325. Baran in the other hand, is, as remarked by Dowson, very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.
5. [See p. 212, n. 7.—Ed.]
6. From the *Samrītishāla* (ed. by V. N. Deshpande), p. 86, it appears that the Mahānubhāvas were subjected to oppression during the rule of Rāmchandra, probably because of their non-observance of such rules of conduct.
8. The endings *gau* and *gava*, like *gāna* used in l. 94-95 of the Paithan plates, are derived from the Sanskrit word *gāma* meaning a village.
Pimpalavādi which now appears in the form Phulpimpalgaon, about 2 miles south of Tiki Adgaon, and Galaṭānā which is probably Gohan Thādi, 3 miles north by west of Waghur. The other villages and hamlets cannot be traced on the maps available to me.

TEXT.

[Metres: Verses 1 and 32 Mālinī; vv. 2, 10, 11, 35 and 37-57 Anuṣṭubh; vv. 3, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 33 Sragdhāra; vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 28, 31 and 34 Sārdulavikṛṣṭa; vv. 6, 7, 13, 18 and 26 Upāṣāṭ; v. 20 Siḥkariṇī; v. 22, 27 and 59 Vasantatilakā; v. 25 Hariṇī; v. 29 Praharatī; v. 30 Vahkastha; v. 36 Indravajrā; v. 58 Sālinī.]

First Plate.

1 || नरिकाठारिवत्ते नामसः || निरविश्वायनिरंतरांगसुर्यो || मनु || प्रस्वलविसलिनः (छ)सः।
2 नात्याश्चर्कः || प्रवस्मसर्वांग मंगलानां निधान दत्तानाना रमयिताना || शंकः || 3 किर्तनः || [111] लक्षणारायणेऽकः || बोहसमुस्त्रज्ञमः (जम) || लीलाकाजः विजयने विषुभूमः।
4 वर्णनः || [112] मुनिः || सीमः || संवन्धे || मधु || जयति || गंगावक्षराविस्तरिविरागः || नरितः || तन्वः.
5 धनुर्धरवसः दशाः || सच्चततः || तेष्वेवकाली सहुष्ठविभिन्तततः || कथाकारः विषुवातः कोविनः।
6 तत्त्वात् चित्राभिषेककाविविशिष्टकाव्यः || संहितः || [113] वर्णां || विजयतः परा-भन्तरभुवं सं- 7 भावितारथियः || कक्षी || दलितः || चणिणे || गितिरों || भंगाविरोहिः || दुष्क्रिये || विन-वच्य।
8 भोजन्यापनिर्मान्यताज्ञानोऽनिर्धारः || संहिताः || निष्कन्तकः || निग्रन्यकः || प्रभु || भयं || भश्यं || भुजस्वः || [114] तत्पुच्छ जी- 9 चपालः || कुलकुमदविश्वविलिकोमाद्रासाधी || क्र(ह)परंपराबुझिमलस्त्रुमाद्रासाधी || चपालः || के- 10 षः || किं द्वाविनः || किमु किमु निश्चितः || किं नु जीयताचः || सलो(र्चो)द्रज्ञाकोमा पुनःविरततिर्व व्यवहार्थे।

1 From ink impressions.
2 [The intended reading possibly is chit-sat-svarūpaḥ, the expression answering to the well-known compound such-chid-ānanda-svarūpaḥ.—B. C. C.]
3 This risarga was added subsequently.
4 These dāyās are superfluous.
5 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
11 कि [(14^a)] जीणामुः प्रभविष्णुर्भावमुः भूयः-पिरभ्युत् बोः [18] पनायासानान्-निषिद्धा वैराग्यानार्थिनिर्लक्ष्मिन दि-

12 गो चमसंति [16^a] या कामपालप्रसरिते खंयवेरायतविशालवल्कोः। उद्दाम- \[चंगीकुलुः] मारेरण कणा।-

13 तस्मात्: प्रकटीकचार [17^a] र् र् गूढ़क जय घर घरजीवारी:। भराजीभर र् र् मालव मालवं त्वज भज लै तील ची-

14 लोचनः (नम)। र् र् कोण (का) कोणलिखिते भूयानासिंह जरुरभुपा याजियप्रयाण- \[चंगीकुलुः]

15 क्षणि राजनि लोके खण्डसंग वैषमाधोरिकिति यात्रामात्रिमां महंसत्य सम्बदेव:। तत्त्वातुः! यद्य-

16 संभविजीवयुक्ति पुस्तां विषयं कामकारिकामाति विश्व(त) जायत चितिर्भुजा चंभाय चिर- \[चंगीकुलुः] याकः।-

17 नास्कमिदि सीम याम्यानिही। खण्डांचिं महादेवा' एव त: कार्यानि जनि: [19] जचे। गांधरस्वाय नूरंबणनमुः-

18 ति। भुदवानवर्तरुच्य:। करतारकौकिलानु। [20] यत्र चर्चिकास्मापित विविधिन्दुच्छिश्चा। सवं दानम्यः।-

19 [म] मुक्तातननी नूतं बसुमुँवव। चंडाश्च। फिरि(क)षावलीविवरवं संस्थत लोकालो- \[चंगीकुलुः]

20 कामसंपि आत्मितियं यति: पद(दम)। [21] पञ्चवा वैरिचितिन्त्यामोचालितिनि- \[चंगीकुलुः]

21 देवराज भुजं क्षणांकः। खलमविन स राम:। [22] चादी देवरिप्रवि बर्णत्वात्र्वल्कोरवः।-

22 राजाधिकारानोदिनकिरियः (नम)। [18] पञ्चिष्टाविरियन्त्यज्जुकार्ण तन्मक्ष्मासात्तरे \[चंगीकुलुः]

1 This reitero is superfluous.
2 3 Read उद्दामेन्द्रिय।
4 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
5 The sense requires a reading like -स।
6 What appears like an arm screw on its may be due to a fault in the copper.
7 Read 'मध्यराग्राह्यम्य।'cchaksu.'
8 The engraver at first incised दासाम् which he subsequently altered to दासाम्.
23 तत्वसतय सत: श्रीकृष्ण लोकस्वर:। [११४४] श्रीराम: श्रव्यम्भो यद्यक्षतनाद्यवय-ङ्गळिः विष्णुवाचतात्त्विकः।

24 सुंदरो विवरणविविधंविष्णुवाचतात्त्विकः। [११४५] वर्णणवी व्यक्ति सवेष्ट्रुष्ट्रयस्वाभासङ्गकृतः।

25 दिव्यांकारतिनं सिंहविरि तस्म सुखः (व)ति नायकवेधः। [११५०] यन्त्रालिपिरङ्गे विष्णुवाचतात्त्विकः।

26 जितं मायागाराभवः। परिंभं यन्त्रालिपिरङ्गे एवं रचितो वज्ञाकर्त्तः।

27 नासी विजितः स गीतपरितिवांकः। स रामः कथौ (बम)। [११५४] भक्ति: परम्परां राजः। सर्वसुविजितः कविजः।

28 धिनः। कैलासमणिलः। पुत्रसम्बन्धार्मां परास्तन:। उभयं। संतुष्टं। प्रसभमका-पत्त्विती। संकेत:।

29 खेतनाधेय श्रेयः। खेतनाधेय धाःकः। स कऽधिष्ठितं परवतृं रामचंद्रः। [११५९] योः।

30 वृंदनार्थः। करारः (व) वारःतन:। वा श्रावणी:। कहच्छव्यणामोदाः। वस्त्रस्य। शाक्षीराचार्यं। वधा।

31 तु: [१२००]। स कऽधिष्ठितं। श्रव्यम्भो यद्यक्षतनाद्यवयात्त्रियर्ये। यदात्रकुलकन्या।

32 कलिकाविकासभाष्करं दैविकिरिपुरसङ्करं। महाराजाधिराजः। श्रीरामंधनेन।

33 व:। शक्रगुप्तकालातीतसंभवरसंधा। वार्षिकशाधिकादशसंस्करितः।

34 संवलस्यंख्यानं। श्रीमणिकामंडङ्गने। सं; (श)। कैलिकाणिकामंडङ्गने। कैलिकाणिकामंडङ्गने।

Second Plate ; First Side.

35 गंगानृ घोषः। तत्वविशेषस्त्रिकाद्विन्द्र याज्ञावः। पिपलमाध्यायं। पालिको-हरे। भ्रमणः।

36 अण्डाविश्वास्ति। खेतकान्ति। पिपलवाही। काजलकीवि। सुमंडळ। वाचेर। पालिको-हरे।

1 Read kahayun–nirjito.
2 What appears like a somewhat displaced anusvāra on ṣa is probably due to a fault in the copper.
3 Originally Vajrākaraṭḥ, subsequently altered to Vajrākara.-
4 This danda is superfluous.
5 The rēpha on qa has been cancelled.
6 The superscript curve of i in ti is very faint. The name occurs again in l. 74 as Pālipōkhari.
37 त्वपिविद्वान निष्ठुकानि मृदिपिनिधिः गोविष्णुगाय धार्वाधिः कुर- 38 यपारंगे। एवमेकंतुरी स्वामनु स्रविनवशेषकमक्षटिनानु तथस्तनी।
39 चिनीगुपपविचिृः जनापमुपायणयुक्तकार्यादिसमस्थादयुक्तानु वासितहीनायाय 40 जट्टेदेशाखाजायिने पुलवद्वुपावृंशलनायकस्तात शहांगमन्तोक पुस्वेनायकाः।
41 य समस्तनिराधारांपादनविनिरतेषुस्च चष्टाकरण्य चसोदकपूर्वक प्रादाय। 42 जसौंते प्रस्तित्योकाः विघ्नतेः पुरायेः सून दनि चित्तरः
43 सत्रावः सतविनीयः 44 यव वरिषः स ज्यति तथास वासभूमिकर्षः। पातर्लीप्यकथ्यमुपायणयुक्तानु यथा प्रस्तः
45 निरतिः कर्मायुक्तेः चिन्मुनवस्तमः प्रवत्ति तस्मात् ह्यागःकलुप्तिनां तन्तुथानं प्रवत्ति ।
46 ध तन्नानमस्तयकरणानुक्रम द्व तदामापुपायुपायणस्मानस्वथविषये निर्माणानां
47 सुराणां धर्मः 48 प्राचार्यवे धनिः धनिः विशिष्टा देव सीपानमानाः। किं च वीढुं किलाधी-
49 निधीरकान्ने जनूकानां व्यातालभूताविषु विश्वरीराविलयः नाथाधारः।
50 लाभ सुखमात्म यथा वक्रे। तदाय चतुर्वेदस्तीतयः

1 The name of this hamlet occurs in lines 75-76 as Stupādāhirā.  
2 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.  
3 The correct form of the title would be Māhāmapadalika.  
4 The visarga is imperfectly incised here.  
5 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.  
6 Read khādāḥ pāṭāla-, unless ek before pā is to be taken as an upadhaṃya sign.  
7 [Reading is *-Elhadāras* --Ed.]
51 व्राम्यन् विद्वते यल्लिंगमांभिंु। दुरावानगुण निगम्य रभ्मादाम्। चम्पवेसमुहुर्द्रमः।

52 मयै यथ गढ़ वानिकः निगमवाक्यान्वर्धी महान्। \(122\) विक्रमेवेशु वर्षस्यारही युन्।

53 निवासितमिद्यदस् कुपाकलपितविनिउक्तिः। \(132\) विधायकगढ़ं विचारसचिवः संपत्ती भाष्माय।

54 सुतुः सावलदेव चकुदभवस्वरूपः। ग्यातिमान्। \(124\) प्रकोपसदुरं मात्रं श्रवं मनोहरणवर्तम्।

55 समविद्य निधिशैलिन्द्रय विवयः। प्रमास्तर(वम्)। निपूणाशिवरी रामावीषीपितवर्धुपुंसकः। कुसुमच।

56 नाथवन दल्लो। प्रसादपरीकर्तः। \(125\) शुची वित्त धीमति सर्वाभिक सेवापरे सांवलदेवसुरी। दिन दिन।

57 नवतित राज्यानं वीरिः। प्रमाधा बहुगी। [च्छ] वर्ध्यः। \(126\) सर्वसाधुसनिन्यायम जामदग्नि(वम)। वयस्नवयिन्य।

58 वस्माधवसुमिरीण(च्छ)। \(14\) चक्रविक्रित विदितां गुणरब्रम्भीण वीयामदवधवधिनिः।

59 पुष्करभवद्युण्याबिदितांविनिउक्तिः। वर्ध्यात्मकांविभाषा। पुष्करसमम्भुवितां नामायमहर्षिनः।

60 महायामसंपरिभवें विदितों दीपांगमंविङ्गः। डॉण जन्त्र तरवं वय वरपु। \(8\) वीकार एकादशः। \(127\)

61 महाव्या(द्रा) हिगुणमतिः विचारसचिवः। दीनांभायं हिगुण्डद्रं प्यितिभुतक्षिमाभ्यं। देयत्वः। हिगुणवल्लतसम्म।

1 The two aksharas gha and ma, which were wrongly repeated here, have been cancelled.
2 This anusara is superfluous.
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
4 This visarga is redundant.
5 The superscript, ca in cha-as is imperfectly incised. Read pratishtha-prasanth.
6 This visarga was added subsequently.
62 येण से राज्ये यदवपतियोऽधारिणां(नम्) ॥[१२८॥]* स विचन्तीवच्छ(क्ष)लया निजा ज्ज्ञा
प्रदायः वर्णाश्रयाः। प्रवास(क्र)-
63 मानु तैः महामायेः। कौमित्रेऽभु सचिवालयाः स्वर्णाश्रयस्वयमवनपमाः।[१२९॥]*
स्वर्णाश्रयाः वर्णाश्रयाः वर्णाश्रयाः
64 बदनं कठोऽस मनस्तयः प्रवेशलया प्रतापश्रियः(सि) न नीतं ज्ज्ञा
कपोऽसु स्वर्णाश्रयाः (क्र)-
65 पृष्ठा निकन्त्राःसूर राजसूराणियंतः। स्वर्णाश्रय संधः कतं ग्रामः(क्र) ततं(लम) ॥[१३१॥]*
संधानिक्षु काशी-
66 द्वाराकेषु नीलं विजयिष्ठानं नतिः। कुपितानुपस्वाते। सुनिवचनाचारायुजितमाचारः।
67 देशु स्मृतिः परम्पिदायः भूमिः(सु) निद्रामलय(लम) ॥[१३२॥]*
स्मृतिः परम्पिदायः भूमिः
68 र तत्त्वमः प्रवेशलया कति प्रशष्टाः पौराणिः स्मृतायाः ॥ तत्त्वमेती निर्मित्वेनाः
दिविः दिविः

Second Plate; Second Side.

69 बहुः [हष्ट] ताः सजनानामहमाहिंजलिः रा(ग)रीयांविष्टिः। सनसिः चार्मिनिः दुर्जनाः
नां(नाम) ॥[१३३॥]* श्रीमनः रामनुयः। प्रस्थाबः-
70 यो तीक्ष्णयः दिवसीताहिंकर्मतिः तं वाराण्स्मणादिष्टत। तस्मां चाय
महादाराः इति तत् श्री-
71 कुमारे सतक्षरं धारापृष्टमहामनस्वयमार्यामामायामानदाराः।[१३४॥]*
धारांस्मणविचुरुआः- राजाकर्मियामाखा-
72 राजाधिराज्याः। रामचन्द्रविशेषतः सधारयाः। श्रीकुम्भकालेत्तरतंविकारेः दार्शिष्टदः।
73 धिक्कहादभवतसंस्कृतिः सापारसंवारसारसंतते भाद्रपदमातिकापलव्यश(क्र) कामेः-
देशसंवादाः कामेः-

1 Read -घन-घान्मद।
2 Read tuśmin.
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
4 The engraver first incised tuśmin which he subsequently altered to tuśmin.
5 This anuvāra is superfluous.
6 Read gāryān-च्छ्हिरास।
7 This anuvāra is redundant.
8 Read Mahāmānḍalika.
74 रिषापणावांतेनान् न गोष्ट(ख्री)रि तत्तविटानि वै(वै)टकानि न सावगीम्यान्
पालिपिंख्री न चड़गो न
75 तत्तविटानि वैटकानि न विंपलवार्दी न काजलकौरी न सौंड्रणे न वाचीरे न
tतत्तविटानि वैटकानि न सीपि न
76 दिसिने न गोलिगाम्यान् न धारवाचीरे न[*] कुशापार्गी न वभेतार्थुरे धामान्
स्वप्रविष्टवेविशेषाशि
77 नान् तत्तव्यनिविनिविपणजनपालवाणीहुजु(हुक)काशकादिसमज्ञानायूकान् यणीतिसीमि
क्ष्याक इन्ती:*
78 परिक्ष्य(स्वा) देवहायं हसि(नि)दयं प्रभुविकापाळवानि(धि)मीका हसि(नि)मीज्याधि
न्यासीमि क्ष्याका इन्तय: इर्यनया
79 भागकल्याया नानागिरेभी नानागिराक्षाव्रिम्याभ्य: चण्डीतिसीमिनित्रिम्यो देवहायामिनि
कार्यायसः
80 त्वते: खामिनिखि(पि)तथलसिद्धायं हिरण्याचलोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् न च वर्णाणि
नामाणि न तत् ब्रह्मचार्यः [**]
81 केश्रीजम्बुभसुतमहादेवमाः न कोमण्णसुतविश्वुभाः न विशुमितिनः पेदिभः न
गोविन्दभसुतोः
82 नायानाथः एते काष्यः न मन्त्रदिवभसुतलचारीयभाः न पञ्चनाभभसुतदामादिरभः न च
83 पद्मभसुतमैलानाथः न योगिभसुतवासुदेवभः न राघोभसुत: कमलदेवभः न
देवभः
84 सुनी महादेवभः जीगितभसुत: गदीभः न भा(?)मिंद्रभसुत: लघुमितिभः न
नागानाथभः
85 सुत: कालिदासभः गंगादरभिवसुत: पञ्चानाभभः एते भारताजः न सूदन
भसुतदामादिरभः

1 This name occurs above in line 37 as स्निपिविरेता.
2 Read केराक. Similar corrupt forms of names occur in some places below.
3 Read लक्ष्मीनाथ-भाट्टाब.
4 Read ब्रह्मचार्य.
5 Read लक्ष्मीदेवी.

86  
87  
88  एति जामदन(म्व)वलयः.  पशुनाभभंधसुती जातभाइः.  विनायकभंधसुती राघवनायकः.  नागनायकः.  
89  सुनपुरस्तवमदि:  नरसी(स्रो)भंधसुतंचारंदिवभागः  मंडादिभं शुतम् काम्बलदिवभागः  
89  परगरामः.  
90  भंधसुत: कृष्णभागः  एति: यशोः(शहः)।  पुष्पोऽस्तवमदि: क्रमभागः  पुष्पोऽस्तवमदि: 
91  मंडादिभं शुतम्।  नागरंदिवभागः  श्रीदिवभागः  
92  पुष्पोऽस्तवमदि:  विनायकभंधसुत:  क्रमभागः  गोविंदभागः  मंडादिभं शुतम्। 
93  क्रमभागः  नागरंदिवभागः  रामभंधसुतः  श्रीदिवभागः  एती:  कौशिकः  
94  पारमेश्वरं  श्रीदिवभागः  रामभंधसुतः  रामदेवभागः  एती: विश्वासिकः  मंगलदेवभागः  
95  लागदेवभागः  दार्दः  
96  भंधसुतः दार्दैदेवभागः  एती: कौशिकः  प्रनतभंधसुतः वैज्ञानिकः  पशुनाभभंधसुतः  दार्दः.  
97  सोरयः  गार्गराणिभंधसुत:  चक्रपाणिभागः  कम्बलदेवभंधसुत:  दार्दः.  
98  एती: धर्मसार्वभागः  भाषकरभंधसुत:  क्रमभागः  वापरदेवभंधसुत:  सिंहभागः  

1 Agastyah, which was first incised, was subsequently altered to Agasevaru.
Third Plate.

107 ऐति कौड़िया: || विषाणुसुत्सीमानान्यः || सिंधेपदिसुत ध्रादिक्षमः || विषाणुसुत सुते ना-

108 गदेवभकः || ऐति आचेयः || नागदवसुदराधिपः || कणवाचार्यसुतुपुरुषोतमः-

109 मद्द: || ऐति जाभदम्बम(ब्रह्म)वल्सै || नागदवसुदराधिपसौरेव(न): [दि]: || क(क)पदेव-

110 मद्द: || ऐति मीतमो || विषाणुसुदराधिप(त.): || श्रांगपाणिमिभः: [ि*] वीक्षभुवः: ||

111 यः || दामोदरादेशुत: || लोकहितगीतच: || लक्ष्मीवर्धनसुती || रामाणम्रभः: || चिन्त: || नारसिन्हसिंह-(चित्रवेदी(दि) सुतक

112 मलदेवभकः || प्रथमाचेयः || एक्षणावसुदूराधिपाणिदिः || काश्यपमीतां(ि*): [ि*]

113 नामभ्रान्ता || काश्यपी सामालिन: || अन्तर्गतिसुन्दरागभः: || काश्यपाचार्यः ||

दामोदरादेशु: काश्यभः: [ि(ि)]

1 Read Gautamab.
2 Read Narasinnadhāsa. The visarga which was wrongly incised after sa has been cancelled.
114 काकंभवसंतवानवभर: । एली । हरितो । रामर्मणशन्तसंसंधित: । सार्धाज़ । एले सामग: । चढे- ।

115 नदववहरमुम्रमाराहत: । पुरव: । दांकोग: । सादु: । दविण: । केसाबापुर: । सांविगव: । चरिकीनिन: ।

116 बगी। प्रविष्ट: । राजग: । धीवरे । विचवली । तुगलेगाण्डारनः पंडीत: । तेलोरी । उत्तरत: । गंगा [1*]

117 एव(क) चुतराघटविश्व: । पुश्यरामपुराणनामवियोगः । जत: । [1*] चय श्रापवनियम: । अ(का)- ।

118 चद्दांतसंदे मोजवमविषयां च वंशे: । नापिवं च विषयक् मदा शब्दार्थविनिर- । [भ्क: । [121*]] पशुकांगनानां सद: ।

119 ने न देह । बु(व) । तपायारोगी । निवारणीयः । शस्त्रार्थक वापि न धार्मिकं सलक- । मनुष्टित(हें)में(भें)विश्वविनिर: । [121*]

120 राजस्ववनानां वस्तिप्रवाणकको न सत: । चय भुमिदानमास: । चिंतासनं तथा । [चक] । चाराखा चन्दल[र]- ।

121 गा: । भुमिदानव: पुष्याणिः पुष्याणिः । [121*] अन्यत्व: पितारस्त: । बलात्त: । च दीवरे: । भुमिदानवः ।

122 तकुले जात: । तीसांसंतारविधिः । [121*] भाषिता दव दीपंते । नाग: । दिवी । मानवा: । [1*] । च श्रीवच(चद)वतः वसुधां व्रा- ।

123 एव(क) श्रवायात्तिकामद्वा । [121*] यथा अनविष्ट: पुष्यानि बीरेशं ब्रह्म: । [1*] एवं । चर्चे: । श्रीमादिविवत्रदीपितः । [121*] श्रमः ।

124 श्रीमादिविवत्रदीपितः विपुलदीपितः: । न नत(त्र) । लम्बाप्रोली । यहलव(चहा) वसुधां व्रा । [121*] । शुलीरिषिः । विन्करा दंडा ।

125 एव(क) श्रापवनियम: । सुदार्शनः । दीपाव: । वारणाः । पाग: । नीलसपत्ति भुमिदेंद्र(दम) । [121*] । संतर्यानिः दानार्थ भूमि: । प्रभवः

1 Read केसाबापुरी.
2 Read अऽसंवन्म साराधनियति.
3 Read चष्टीमा.
4 Read चष्टीमा.
126 तां वर | केशाय केशकलाय हतिीराय सौदति | [[१८४१*]] भूमिः हतिंकरैं
दल्वा(लं) चवृणी भवति मानवः | [[१८४२*]] वर्षसहस्रा-।
127 चि स्वर्णं तितिति भूमिः: बाहुकलाय(ना) चानुभुमता च नाथिवेव नरके वसेत्
| [[१८४३*]] वारिदसूतिमार्गीति चुक्तमच-।
128 वामचदः | तितिति ह्रणारिति दीपद्रव क्रुडतमः | भूमिः: वर्षामार्गीति दीर्घमा-।
| यस्माणं च | [[१८५१*]] बाय।
129 ब्राह्मणभुरामरा दीपाः | गामकां रजिवामिरा भूमर्येवकमगुलमलम | चरण(रन)
नृकमार्गीति चिवदा।
130 भूमस्मृतिवसमन्त: | [[१८५२*]] खत्तां परत्तां वा यी चरत वसुधराय(राम) | वषिः
वर्षसहस्राणि विहयां जायन्ते क्रमः | [[१८५२*]] खद-।
131 तां परत्तां वा चरतें सुपितियिः | तितिं स जायन्ति विन्दुस्वायामस्मृतायुर्त(सम) | [[१८५३*]] विवाहावसीयोक्तसु।
132 श्रवकोराययिः | [[१५*]] क्षणसपि: प्रजायति व्रजभूमस्मृतिपरावरः | [[१५०१*]] विनमिः सति
वियभद्वार विहरिः। प्र-।
133 शामिलति। कुळ समूलं दरिति च(च)हस्ताक्षरिणिपवक- | [[१५११*]] व्रजसं दुर्लुक्तातः
भुलं हंसिति विपुरुषमभम | प्रसादा।।
134 तु बलाङ्कों दया पूर्वत्तीण दशाप्रायः | [[१५२२*]] गद्यश्लोकति याति: पाय(पाय)सुदूरः।
| कांदताम्यविंदव। विपाणि च सदसों वा।-।
135 दानानां कुर्तिविनामना(नम) | [[१५२२*]] राजानो राजकृष्णाय तातीरीविचारकुण्डः।।| कुम्भोपकिंकु पश्यि व्रजभूमस्मृतम्।।
136 हारिषः | [[१५४१*]] चयं भूमिपालनपतल(लम) | पायः पायनिधीपलं दानाचिरयेव।
पलनमा(लम) | दानाकृष्णमवार्गी।
137 ति पायनादुकुंसं पदेन(रम) | [[१५४२*]] गद्यति पायणवे भूमिर्चर्चितिं तितितिबिद्व: | वर
| गद्यति विज्ञापिति भूमिसंरण।।
138 चण्डी फलं(लम) | [[१५५१*]] बहुभिवधेणु दत्ताराजभ:।।| सगरादितिः | यथा यथा
यदा भूमिस्त्राय तर्क तथा फः।।

1 Read either kum-uttanam or Kur-uttama.
2 Danda unnecessary.
3 This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.
Om! Obeisance to the holy primeval Boar!

(Verse 1) May Skrāgapāni (Vishṇu) be worshipped!—(he) whose proper form consists of unsurpassed and infinite bliss and consciousness; whose manifest power is possessed through mighty and stainless sattva; who has an extremely attractive body which is an abode of auspicious things (and) who is the refuge of those who are worsted by others!

(V. 2) Glorious is the moon, the pleasure-lotus (in the hand) of the goddess of fortune of the three worlds, which sprang from the milk-ocean which is the pleasure-lake of Lakṣmi and Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 3) Glorious is that infinite race of the moon, the creeper of whose fame shines in this world. In that race, again, there were the bright and round pearls possessed of great and attractive lustre, viz., the Vṛjñis of unblemished character. Among them, again, there is a one-string necklace formed with a beautiful thread, (viz., the Yādava family of Déva-giri which is possessed of excellent merits) which gave lustre to the necks of poets. In it, again, there is this central gem possessing the beautiful lustre of the wish-fulfilling jewel, (namely,) the king Sinha.

(V. 4) What kings were not terrified to hear that by Sinha Ballāla was vanquished, the lord of Andhra was made to suffer a defeat, Kakkalla was overthrown, the lord of Bhambhā-giri was devoured in a moment, the king Bhōja was thrown into confinement on the crest of a fortress and Arjunā was subjugated?

(V. 5) His son was Jaitrapāla, the moon to the kumuda which was (his) family (and) a very gracious temple of the goddess of heroism; who by his excellent form completely quelled the pride of the god of love, the tap-root of beauty; who was concluded to be the unique limit of the excess of magnanimity by the people who at first expressed their doubts as to whether he was Karna, or Dadhichī, or Śibi, or Jñātavāhana.

(V. 6) From him was born the lord, the illustrious king Kṛṣṇa, who frequently vanquished brave men. Seeing warriors fleeing away (before him), the regions laughed at them under the guise of his fame.

1 Visarpā is superfluous.
2 The original has māsākā which means also a bamboo. On this double sense is based the following metaphor. According to a poetic convention, pearls are produced also from bamboos.
3 Because it supplied them with an excellent subject for their poems.
4 All these were noted for their great liberality.
(V. 7) He whose activities extended to Kāmapāla and to whom extensive fortune resorted of its own accord, clearly manifested himself to be Krīṣṇa,1 delighting zealously a multitude of cowherds.

(V. 8) On the occasion of his march for conquest, princes disguised as bards sang as follows:—Collect, O old Garjara, the mass of dust in the cowpens throughout (thy) life! Do not, O Mālava, stop mowing! Cling, O Chōla, to the hem of the lower garment (of ladies)! Be intent, O Kōsala, on giving up (thy) treasure!

(V. 9) When the king Krīṣṇa went sportively to his own city Vaikunṭha in order to have a look at it, that younger brother of his (viz.), Mahādeva, ruled over this earth thereafter;—(he) whose sword, which produced the misapprehension that it was the ornamental mark of musk (on the forehead) of the Earth who was shining on his arm, caused terror among hostile kings.

(V. 10) Though he plunged the crescent moon into the ocean, removing her from her proper place, he is, strange (to say),2 still called Mahādeva by the people.

(V. 11) (Then) was born his son the king Ammaṇa, who was possessed of great strength3 and who greatly rescued the Brāhmaṇas oppressed by taxes, even as Skanda rescued the gods oppressed by (the demon) Tāraka.

(V. 12) When the Grandseer of warriors4 was giving away (in charity), all hostile kings, indeed, became eager to receive the gifts; since having continuously exposed themselves to the rays of the hot-rayed (sun), they whose minds were distressed by the reproachful words of (their) beautiful (wives), regretfully cast a (wiseful) glance at their kingdoms.5

(V. 13) Climbing the highest Devagiri by means of the ladder which were the heads of hostile princes, the (famous) Rāma, the son of Krīṣṇa, enjoys his kingdom, forcibly wresting it from him (i.e., Ammaṇa).

(V. 14) First entrance into the fort of Devagiri, then observation of the manner of dancing, afterwards rallying of self-willed foot-soldiers, then throwing off of ornaments, removal of the opponent who obstructed (his) desired object and wresting of the earth from him—these were successively accomplished by the illustrious Rāma. Hence his glory6 is extraordinary!

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1 Krīṣṇa also is known for similar deeds. He gave protection to Kāma (i.e., the god of love) who became his son Pradyumna. He was chosen by Lakṣmi (who had incarnated herself as Rukmiṇī) at her sūpaśāvatu. Finally, he used to delight herds of cows by his sweet music.

2 The astonishment is due to the fact that the god Mahādeva (whose name the king bears) always keeps on his head the crescent moon which had sprung from the ocean. The contradiction in this verse is only apparent, the figure being Vīrābhēṣaṣa; for Sōma means here the Śilāhara king Sōmēśvara whom Mahādeva killed in a naval engagement.

3 Suktiḍhora (the wielder of a spear) is also a name of Skanda.

4 Kshatriya-plāṇaḥ 'Grandseer of kings' was one of the bīradas of the Vādavas of Devagiri. The Thāṇa plates mention in two places (lines 28 and 35-36) a similar title in connection with Rāmachandra.

5 The idea seems to be that these princes were standing in the hot sun the whole day in the hope of receiving back their kingdoms as gifts from Ammaṇa. As they went home empty-handed, they were rebuked by their wives. Līlāśatrī is also the name of the first section of Bhāskarachārya's Siddhāntakīrānas. Is there, then, a play on the word chandaśānu also (meaning Bhāskara)? Bhāskarachārya is not, however, known to have written a work named Kīrṣṇaśatrī.

6 Śūka means also a verse. This verse which describes the successive achievements of Rāmachandra is superior to the following traditional verse which describes in a similar manner the successive doings of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu:—Adān Rāma-tapōvan-ābhidgamanam hatvā mrīgam kāchamān Vaidēśāparam Jātīyavaraṇam Sāgriva-sambhāsanam! Vaṭīnirdalam samudra-taraṇam Lāṅkā-puri-dūhanam paśchāta-Rāvaṇa-Kumbhakarṣa-hananaṁ etat-dhi Rāmāyanam!
(V. 15) The illustrious Rāma,—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (of Dēṣagiri), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding actions of the castes in transgression (of the dicta of the Sūtras), who surpassed celestial beings\(^1\) in that though a boy\(^2\) he was not affected by abuse,—is (verily) Śravavarman,\(^3\) who noticed an easy way of forming pādas,\(^4\) all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durgā's commentary, who derived the (intended) sense from roots shining with conjugational signs, who showed how to obtain the meaning (of abbreviations) without writing the letters (of the alphabet) in the reverse order,\(^5\) and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,\(^7\) since not even a boy (who studies his grammar) is tainted by the use of wrong words.\(^8\)

(V. 16) How can that Rāma be described?—(he) who vanquished in a moment the king of the great and extensive Dāhala country; who made the lord of the country of Bhandagāra suffer a great defeat; who deprived the king of Vajrākara of his kingdom, and who subjugated in battle that (well-known) king of cowherds?

(V. 17) How can that Rāmachandra be truly described?—(he) who only by his prowess defeated with arrows the lord of Palli on a battle-field, made the king of Kanyakubja bend low, captured by force the mighty lord of Saṅgama and crushed the chief of Khēṭa?

(V. 18) He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all agrahāras from taxes, freed Vāraṇasī from a hoard of Mīchechhas and constructed (there) a golden temple of Śarṅgdhara.

(Lines 31-42) He, the Prawdhapratapā-Chakravartin, Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious king Rāmachandra, adorned by a multitude of such excellences, the sun which makes the lotus-bud, viz., the Yādava race, bloom, the Purandara of the city of Dēvagiri, granted with joy caused by the execution of all his commands, by pouring water on the hand, on Saturday, the eleventh titki of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the (cyclic) year Sādharana when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the Kānhairī khampānaka (sub-division) included in the Kānhaīri dēṣa, together with the treasuries, deposits, trees, grass, water, stones, and all dues such as fines, taxes, and cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely), Pōkhari (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Sāgahvāna. Pīnapalagāhvana (and) Pulīpōkhari; Āḍagāna (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Pīnapalavādi, Kājālakōvi (and) Sōjanē; Vāghaure (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Simpivīhi, Gōlāgāhvaṇa (and) Dīravarghaure; (and) Kurupapāraṇa—

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\(^{1}\) Dīēy-ākriti means a celestial being such as Rāma who was an incarnation of Vishnu. He was blamed by the people of Ayodhya, because he took back his wife Sītā after her stay in Rāvana's house. (See Vālmiki's Rāmāyanā (Bom. ed.), Utrarakāṇḍa, sarga 63.)

\(^{2}\) As Rāmachandra had a long reign of about forty years, he may have been in his teens when he wrested the crown from his cousin.

\(^{3}\) Śravavarman is the reputed author of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit grammar.

\(^{4}\) A pāda is a nominal or a verbal form ending in a case-affix or a termination.

\(^{5}\) Durgā or Durgasinha is a well-known commentator of the Kātantra sūtras.

\(^{6}\) In the Māhēśvara sūtras, on which the system of Pāṇini is based, the natural order of the letters of the alphabet is reversed for the sake of the pṛatyāhāras. In the sūtras of Śravavarman, however, the natural order of the letters is retained.

\(^{7}\) In the second sense we have to make the pāda-chehhēda as jētā ādi-vaṅkriṇānā (who surpassed the primeval grammarians like Pāṇini).

\(^{8}\) The Kātantra system is much easier than the Pāṇiniian, so that even a boy can soon master the Sanskrit language with its aid. For the story of its origin, see the Kathāsaritarāśāra, lambara 1, tārāngas 6-7.
to the Mahāmāndalika Purushai Nāyaka, the son of the Phuladauc Śāṅvala Nāyaka, who belongs to the Vaiśeṣita-gōtra and is a student of the Rgveda-sūkha. The following are the eulogistic verses about him:

(V. 19) Glorious is Vasishtha, the abode of austerities, who is the sole preceptor of the world, the son of the Creator, known as his second self, (and) the foremost of the seven sages; whose wife is Arundhati whose virtue is the foremost teacher for (giving) instruction in chastity; and in a corner of whose cowpen there is the celestial cow which is a very moonlight for (dispelling) the darkness, namely, the distress of the three worlds.

(V. 20) From him another son was born like him and then from him another. Thus in course of time there sprang a noble family, an ornament of the three worlds, resembling a succession of the sun's rays causing awakening among the embodied beings troubled by the alligator-like darkness and infatuation.

(V. 21) In that (family) was born Bhānumūtī who constructed in every quarter, staircases in the guise of temples for the sake of gods who had come out (for heaven) to receive offerings in his sacrifices; and who, in order to raise up the creatures who had sunk low by reason of their (bad) deeds, excavated, as deep as the surface of the nether regions, tanks which were the mines of jewels in the form of his bright fame.

(V. 22) From him was born Aljadēva, (echo was) a treasure of austerities, and a meeting place of all fruitful excellences; in whose mouth dwelt with ease the fourteen lores even as the fourteen worlds do in the belly of Hari (at the time of world-destruction.)

(V. 23) From him was born a son named Vināyaka, the crest-jewel of (all) learned people. In the water of the Ganges, namely, his fame, even the holy places perform the purificatory rite; (and) the loud noise of the exposition of the Vedas discloses his house to the supplicants who come in haste, having heard of his virtue of liberality.

(V. 24) From that learned man sprang a famous son named Sāṁvaladēva, the friend of the love of piety, the source of glory, the essence of cleverness, the abode of contentment, forgiveness and happiness, the head of the family of compassion, the festivity of the establishment of courage, the treasury of learning, the minister of discrimination and the assembly-hall of wealth.

(V. 25) Having ascertained that like a flower he was gentle by nature, venerable, pure, capable of attracting the mind and the best abode of fortune, the king Rāma, the foremost of the Yudus, who has a keen intellect, being intent on showing favour to him, made him, (who was) vigilant, the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers.

(V. 26) Day by day there grew in the mind of the king affection for Sāṁvaladēva, who was honest, beneficent, intelligent, truthful and devoted to service even as fortune did in his home.

(V. 27) Then he married, according to the sacred rite, a wife named Akvāmbikā, worthy of himself, who was the daughter of Sāṇaṅgasūryī and the son's daughter of Mādhavaśūryī born in the family of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, and who was adorned by the jewels of excellences.

(V. 28) To these, who were designedly united by the wise Creator, there was born a son, bearing the fitting and significant name of Purushottama. This is the eleventh incarnation of Hari, who reflecting on the slight blemish in incarnating himself as the fish, etc., was seeking a noble birth.

1 i.e., he became famous by excavating these tanks.
2[See above, p 212, n. 7.—Ed.]
(V. 29) The Yadu king made him a minister of his Government—(him) who had double wisdom due to his association with good people marked by discrimination, double vision by his study of the extensive Dravis and Shrūtis, (and) double strength by his inexhaustible courage.

(V. 30) Having shown by his brilliant command separate courses of conduct for the castes and orders of life, even as a cloud shows different paths by its lightning, he poured a large shower of gold into the treasure-house of the king.

(V. 31) The crooked and hard mind of treasorous people was quickly made straightforward by his brilliant prowess, even as the hard and curved bracelet of iron is made straight by burning fire. The cruel ones among them were burnt like thorny trees and then taken out. Then the glory of the king Rāmacandra was made bright like gold.

(V. 32) When he, who had devoted his heart to the holy places like Kāśi and Dvārakā which are the treasures of religious merit, established charitable feeding houses (in them) the capacity to yield (both) enjoyment and liberation now shines in those (holy places) which, from a consideration of the declaration of sages, were (previously) held to confer liberation only.

(V. 33) While he, who is well-conducted, devoted to his lord, modest, extremely averse to others' wives and wealth and possessed of great prowess, was conducting himself as a (noble) man, displaying heroism, there generally followed, day and night, in the wake of his glory which went forth in every direction, joy in good people and great trembling in the head and heart of wicked ones.

(V. 34) The illustrious and gracious-minded king Rāma asked him many times to make an agrahāra worthy of himself for (the attainment of) well-being in both the worlds. And when he accepted that honour as a great favour, he (i.e., the king) who humbles the pride (of his foes), conferred on him villages of great value by pouring water (on the hand).

(Ll. 71-80) He, that Purushai Nāyaka, the mine of such jewels of excellences, the Mahāmāyālaka of the illustrious Mahārājādhiraṅga Rāmacandraśva, has conferred, for the attainment of his desired object, making first the offerings of gold, rice and water on the Kapilashasthī in the month Bhādrapada included in the (cyclic) year Sādhāraṇa when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the Kānahairi khampanāka (sub-division) of the Kānahairi dēśa, together with the treasures, deposits, grass, water, stones and all dues such as fines, taxes (and) cess on artisans,—the four villages, namely), Pōkhari (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Sāgāhārāṇa, Pūmpalagāhārāṇa (and) Pālīpōkhari; Adagau (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Pīmpalavājī, Kājālakōvi (and) Sōijāpō; Vāgbhaurō (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), Sinipidihrē, Gōlāgāhārāṇa (and) Dhāravāghaurō; and Kuruparpāragau—after dividing them into vrātī (i.e., parts) numbering eighty-six (and) assigning (them) to the Brāhmaṇas, eighty-three in number, who belong to various gōras and are students of various sākhās, together with two gods, agnihṭikā and prāpsa, in this manner, namely, two vrātīs to the two gods, one vrātī for (the performance of) the agnihṭikā rite and (the maintenance of) a prāpsa (charitable water-shed) (every year) and the remaining vrātīs numbering eighty-three to (the following) Brāhmaṇas. Now the names of the Brāhmaṇas:

(Here follow the names of eighty-three Brāhmaṇas together with those of their fathers, gōras and sākhās.)

(Ll. 114-117) Now the boundaries of this agrahāra land:—To the east Dāṅgigau (and) Sādulē; to the south Kēssavpurī, Sāvarīgavā (and) Harikinibagau; to the west Rājagau, Hīvarē, Chiṅcha-
vally, and) Mahādevapuru joined to Drugalogāhāya; to the north the Gaṅgā. The agrahāra, which has the other name of Purushottamapuru, has thus been formed with the four boundaries well-determined in this manner.

(Ll. 117-20) Now rules for the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. This land shall be enjoyed by these (Brāhmaṇas) and their descendants, following always the righteous path; it shall not be mortgaged or sold. No quarter shall be given to prostitutes; the custom of gambling also shall be prohibited; (and) weapons and (such) other things shall not be used. These Brāhmaṇas shall (always) be intent on (performing) good deeds. There shall be no forced contribution (for the expenses of) royal officers halting at and departing from (the agrahāra).

(Ll. 120-41) Now the praise of a gift of land:—

(Here follow twenty-three benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 141) May there be bliss and great fortune!

No. 22.—TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

In August 1936 when Mr. Vats was Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, three grants consisting of seven copper plates were sent to him by the Collector of Nasik. They were found with a Marathi Patel family, surnamed Shid, of Anjaneri village in the headquarters Taluka of the Nasik District. Three of the plates were found to make one grant, marked A and two another, marked B, both issued by a king named Prithivichandra Bhogasakti. Lines 1-25 of the former are identical with lines 1-27 of the latter. The remaining two plates were found to make a third grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III. Below are described the first two grants mentioned above as A and B.

Each of these grants was held together by two copper rings. To one of the two rings of the one marked A is affixed a tubular seal containing the figure of a lion in relief. The surface of the seal is circular and 1⅔ inches in diameter. The three plates of this set along with the rings and the seal weigh 308 tolas. There is also the figure of a boar engraved in the middle of the second half of the second plate of this grant. The plates measure 12½ to 12¾ inches in length and 7½ to 8 inches in width. As usual, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner faces only and the middle plate on both the sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of writing, 14 on each of the first, second and fourth faces and 13 on the third one.

A circumscribed lotus is incised on the uninscribed outer face of the first plate, while a large figure of a conch shell appears upside down across the outer face of the third plate which bears a postscript record of king Tejavarmans in 9 lines.

The two plates making up the second grant measure 11½ × 7¼ to 7½ inches. One of the two rings of this grant is missing and the remaining one has a tubular seal similar to that found in A. The weight of the two plates forming this grant together with the ring and the seal is

1 Such restrictions date from ancient times. See, for instance, vv. 31 ff. of the Sérpur inscription of the time of MahāŚivagupta, above, Vol. XI, pp. 192 ff.

2 The same expression occurs also in the Paithan plates. It was first interpreted by Dr. Fleet as referring to the exemption of the king’s servants from fines either for staying at or for setting out on journeys from them, (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 315). Later on he gave the alternative explanation that “the expression... may refer to ‘fines’ i.e., forced contributions of money or supplies obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions” (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 98, n. 2). There is no doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.
178 tala. In this, the inscription consists of 38 lines only; 12 being inscribed on the first plate, 14 and 12 respectively on the inner and outer faces of the second plate.

Both the grants are, on the whole, well preserved, but in some cases owing to portions of the plates being more or less corroded certain letters of grant B are not quite legible.

The characters in the inscriptions belong to the southern variety of the seventh century A.D. and are similar to those of the Valabbi and Gurjara grants of the same period. They are crowned by small circles and are more angular than rounded, mark, for instance, the letters m, n, and d. Among peculiarities of the inscription in grant A, it may be pointed out that the sign for the medial ʊ is used in two ways, cf. Pārśvarattikṣa, l. 38 and Pārśvaṃ sātanā, l. 39. The sign for initial ṭ in l. 54 deserves to be noted specially with reference to the same sign in l. 14 and 31 of grant B. Equally remarkable are the forms of letters ph and bh in lines 52 and 53 respectively. It may also be noted that both the forms of ī are found in this inscription. As regards the orthography it may be stated that the sign for upadhaṃiṣa is but once used in l. 44 of A and a consonant is usually doubled both before and after r as in gōtra, putta, parākkrama, vikrānta, kṣrīya, kṣobhaś-āryanva, niśveṣa, varama, dākhaṇya-ādhikir-guṇaś, pārṇa, dveṣya-ārīchana, Janāḍdana, etc. N is used for ansura in cānasayi (l. 6) and Sinhavarman (l. 9). The language of the records is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the invocatory and the imperative verses at the beginning and end.

As regards the peculiarities of the inscription in grant B, it may be stated that the signs for the medial u and i and the subscript r are not easily distinguishable from one another. So also is the case with r and t. The rūpha is turned round to the left of a letter so much so that it goes above it. In this inscription, too, a consonant is usually doubled before and after r. Grant A seems to contain Sanskrit renderings of certain local words or phrases e.g., kuraṇē kōvēram, l. 35, ghṛita-sīvikā, l. 37. Of the former, the sense is not at all clear, but the latter was possibly a small measure such as a ladle.¹

In both the grants, the records open with an invocatory verse in praise of the boar incarnation of the god Vīṣṇu as is always the case with the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bālāmī who were acknowledged as their overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family. Then follows the prose portion describing in usual terms the origin of the Chalukya family in which was ruling the emperor Vīkramādiṭṭya, who was an ornament of the whole earth. This is followed by the description of a ruler named Svāmīchandra whose sovereign Vīkramādiṭṭya Chalukya considered him as his son, who was an ornament of the Hariśchandra family and who enjoyed the possession of the whole of the Puri-kōṅkana, consisting of 14,000 villages. Svāmīchandra’s son was Simhavarman and the latter’s son was Bhōgaśakti, who bore the second name of Pṛthivichandra.² Much of the further portion of the inscription is devoted to an extravagant praise of this feudatory king Bhōgaśakti.

The grant marked A was issued by Bhōgaśakti after addressing the state officials etc. of Gōparāṣṭra, eastern Trikūṭa, Amrāraṇi, Mairikā, two Mahāgirihāras, and Palla Aḍhambaka divisions, and its object was to provide for conducting the worship of the god Nārāyaṇa and for dance, music, free kitchen, etc., at the temple which had been built at Jayapura by Bhōgaśvara who is probably to be identified with Bhōgaśakti himself. The endowment made for the above purposes consisted of the revenues of eight villages, viz., Jayagrāma, Ambā-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkiliākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka.³

¹ [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]
² [He also seems to have had the bīrada Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (l. 25A, l. 27B).—Ed.]
³ [See below p. 332, n. 2.—Ed.]
Kṣaṇamāgiraka and Annagrama and the income derived from certain taxes. The taxes consisted of certain levies during the yatra festival of the god from every shop in the market and every court-yard(); and on the import and export of every load of caravan; a handful of corn, and a fixed measure of ghee from (every house in) the principal village in each of the sub-divisions of Goparāśatra, Amrārājī, and Mairikā; and in like manner from other villages; one hundred Kṛṣṇavrāja rupees from the sub-division of eastern Trīkūṭa; two hundred Kṛṣṇavrāja rupees from the western Mahāgirihāra and one hundred from the eastern one; and fifty Kṛṣṇavrāja rupees from the Palla Āḍhamba sub-division. But the above eight villages, on which taxes were thus imposed, were exempted from all the usual exactions of forced labour, etc. A committee of five or ten merchants was enjoined, in accordance with the established custom of the town, to arrange for the yatra festival of the god Vīṣṇu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. The management of the temple was vested in the merchant guild of the town of Jayapura and the local merchants were exempted from (all other state) taxes.

This grant is dated in the year 461 of an unspecified era. Its scribe was Bharatāsvāmin, an inhabitant of Kālivana.

The grant B refers to the re-colonisation of the formerly deserted Samagiri-pāṭhana (the township of Samagiri) along with Chandrapuri and four other hamlets called Ambayapallikā, Savāṇyapallikā, Mauryapallikā and Kaṃśāripallikā. All these were vested in the town council of Samagiri-pāṭhana, the merchants whereof were exempted from the payment of customs duties, the apūravdhana, etc. The town council was also empowered to impose fines for certain moral delinquencies and other crimes.

The outer face of the third plate of grant A bears another inscription of nine lines in characters larger in size and slightly different in form from those of the main inscription. It records the grant by king Tējavaraman of a free pasture land in the village of Pālittapāṭaka near Jayapura, already mentioned in the main inscription. In lieu of this land belonging to the god Bhogēśvara-dēva, who is identical with the Bhogēśvara-pratiṣṭhita-Nārāyana of the main inscription, one hundred rupees were deposited by him with the merchant guild of Jayapura as a perpetual endowment, the interest of which was to be utilised for providing guggula for the daily worship of the god.

It is interesting to note that Tējavaraman, who calls himself a rājan, is mentioned also in grant B wherein he is said to have promulgated the orders contained in the grant. As Bhogasakti and his predecessors also bore no more assuming a title than rājan it is possible that Tējavaraman belonged to the same family and might even have been a successor of Bhogasakti, since his record appears as a postscript to grant A.

The great historical importance of the present grants lies in the fact that they bring to light a new feudatory dynasty which ruled in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. over the vast territory comprising the whole of Purī-kōṅkaṇa consisting of 14,000 villages which apparently included the present Nāsik District under the sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas. The first member of this feudatory family, which was named after Hariśchandra, was Svāmichandra, who acknowledged the sovereignty of Vikramāditya, the Western Chalukya emperor who, as we know, reigned from 655 to 680 A.D. It is specially noted in the inscriptions that Svāmichandra was loved by his overlord as his own son. The figure of a boar, the emblem of the Chalukya family of Bādami, engraved on the reverse of the second plate of Grant A, was probably meant to indicate respect and loyalty to the Imperial dynasty, whereas

[See below p. 236, n. 3.—Ed.] [See below p. 237, n. 3.—Ed.]
the figure of a lion embossed on the seals attached to the plates was presumably the emblem of the Hariśchandra family. Since nothing is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions to the credit of Svāmichandra’s two successors, Sīravakarāja and Bhōgaśakti, it may be concluded that they did little in raising the importance of the family.

There is nothing in the inscription to denote the era to which its date should be referred. The Chalukya emperors, to whom Bhōgaśakti’s family owed allegiance, used no doubt the Śaka era in all their grants and ordinarily it might be expected that the same would be used by their feudatories of the Hariśchandra family as well. But that the date 461 of our record cannot be referred to the Śaka era is obvious from the fact that Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti who is the donor of the present grant, was a contemporary of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 655 to 680. This is possible only if the date is referred to the Kala-churi era which is found generally used in inscriptions of the period discovered in the Lāṭa country and the Nāśik District.6 The inscription therefore belongs to the year 709-10 A.D. The Hariśchandra family, although it owed allegiance to the Chalukyas, seems to have adopted the Kalachuri era in their grants because it was current in the country.

The Abhole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated A.D. 634, tells us that this ruler had defeated the Mauryas of Kōṅkana and had subdued the city called Puri7, which was the glory of the western sea. But we know that in the concluding years of Pulakeśin’s reign his hold over the northern territories had slackened. Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family, who was probably ruling over a small territory round about Jayapura in the Nāśik District, seems to have rendered such signal services to the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, son of Pulikēśin, in consolidating his power over the western and northern parts of the empire that he was not only considered as his son by the emperor but, as may be inferred from our Anjaneri plates, also appears to have obtained from him as a reward the whole of the territory known as Puri-kōṅkana.

The Dhōṇḍhaka grant8 of the Chalukya Jayasimha-varman, younger son of Pulikēśin, shows that he was ruling over the Nāśik territory in about Śaka 580 (A.D. 658). Similarly, the Nirpan plates9 found in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāśik District record a grant by Tribhuvanāśraya-Nāgaravardhana, son of Dharāsraya-Jayasimha-varman, one of the younger brothers of the emperor Pulikēśin himself, of a village named Bāḷegrāma in the Goparāṭha visāya. Although there are strong reasons to suppose that the Nirpan plates are spurious, yet from both of these this much is clear that a portion of the Nāśik District was for some time in the possession of a scion of the Imperial family. Now our Anjaneri plates show that the divisions of Goparāṭha and others were in the possession of Bhōgaśakti and probably of his predecessors too. This was possible only if Vikramāditya had taken out the territory from the possession of a scion of his own family and granted it to Svāmichandra for his valuable services.

It seems strange, however, that no successor of Vikramāditya has been mentioned in the record, not even the sovereign Vijayāditya (A.D. 697-733) who was reigning at the time of this inscription. It need not be supposed from this that the Chalukya emperors lost hold over the pro-

vince in which Bhōgaśakti was ruling, since the latter makes a proper mention of the Chalukya family at the beginning of the inscription and engraved the figure of a boar in the middle of it showing thereby that he had full regard for the Imperial family and owed allegiance to it.

Secondly, a copper plate grant referring to the reign of Vijayāditya was found at Balsār in Gujarāt which was issued from the town of Māngalapurī by the Rājā Maṅgalarasa, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarāt grants, this record is dated not in the Kālachuri era but in Śaka 653 and this fact suggests that the record really belongs not to the Lāṭa country but to the territory above the Ghāts in the direction of Nāsik and Khāndesh. This shows that Vijayāditya’s power was acknowledged in the Nāsik District as late as A.D. 731. The failure, therefore, to mention the name of the reigning emperor in the Anjaneri grants indicates not so much the carelessness of the scribe or the draftsman of the record as the troublous times.

We do not know how long after the date of our inscription the Hariśchandra family continued to rule over Puri-kōṅkaṇa, but it seems certain that with the overthrow of the Western Chalukya power by the Rāśtrakūṭas the family of Svāmichandra suffered the same fate, for the Kanheri cave inscription of Śaka 765 (A.D. 843-44) states that the Śilāhāra chief Mahāśēmanta Pulāsaśakti was ruling over the whole of the Puri-kōṅkaṇa holding it through the favour of the Rāśtrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha. Pulāsaśakti’s father, Kapardin I, seems to have founded the Śilāhāra family of north Kōṅkaṇa at the beginning of the ninth century. This is another reason to suppose that the Hariśchandra family ruled not later than the middle of the 8th century and ended with the fall of the Imperial Chalukyas.

The mention of the Kraśhvarāja rūpakas in the inscription is important. It shows that at the time of the Anjaneri plates there were in use in the Nāsik District silver coins named after Kraśhvarāja. There can be no doubt that this Kraśhvarāja was the famous Kalachuri emperor, whose son Śākara (Śākarragaṇa) issued the Sāṅkhejja plate of Sāṅtillā and whose coins were found not only in Dēvalalā in the Nāsik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These bear the legend Paramamāhēśvara Kraśhvarāja and the figure of a bull.

The yāṭrā festival in honour of the god Vishṇu mentioned in the inscription A is interesting. That it was held in the month of Mārgasīraṣṭha is stated in l. 44 of grant A. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs that the occurrence of a special festival in the bright fortnight of Mārgasīraṣṭha is a peculiar feature in some parts of the Marāṭha country. Thus among the Brāhmaṇas of Nāsik and Ahmadnagar there is a regular Navarātra festival in this month just as there is the usual festival in the month of Āśvin celebrated all over India. The sixth day of the fortnight is called Champā-shashthi which is particularly observed among the Deśastha Brāhmaṇas. Most of the people above the Ghāts have as their tutelary deity Khapāōba of Jejuri near Poona, to whom Champā-shashthi is sacred. Khapāōba is a peculiar deity, perhaps originally equivalent to Skanda, but having quite independent characteristics such as a dog for a vāhana. It is very likely that the fair or festival referred to above dates back to the time of the present inscription.

The following localities are mentioned in grant A: Gōparāśṭra, Pūrva-Trikūṭa, Amrārajī, Mairikā, Mahāgirihāra, Palla Ādhamba[ka], Jayapura, Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avangaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, Gōparāśṭra, Pūrva-Trikūṭa, Amrārajī, Mairikā, Mahāgirihāra, Palla Ādhamba[ka], Jayapura, Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avangaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka,

3 [See below p. 292, n. 2.—Ed.]
Kahämāgirika, Annagrāma and Kallivana. The first six are stated to be vişhayas or territorial divisions. The approximate situation of Göparāśītra can be known from the mention in the Nirpan plates referred to above, of a village named Balēgrāma as situated in the Göparāśītra-viṣhayā. Balēgrāma is no doubt to be identified with modern Belgaum-Taralhā in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District. Jayapura, where the temple of Nārāyana was situated, may be Jarvad-Budracb, 10 miles south-west of Anjaneri. Jayagrāma may be Jaikhedā in the Dindori Taluka. Amphā-Avaṅgana is Ambegaon, about 23 miles north-west of Nāsik; Kalahaka may be Kokangaon, 2 miles south-east of Jaikhedā and Mradgāhitaka, Manganpara, 5 miles north-west of Jaikhedā. Kallivana is undoubtedly Kalvan in the Nāsik District, which is also mentioned in some other grants of the period.

The localities mentioned in grant B are Samagiripatana, Chandrapuri, Ambayapallika, Savānápallika, Maureyapallika and Kamsaripallika. Samagiripatana cannot now be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapuri with which it is coupled in the present grant, and which is probably identical with Chandrachī Met, 12 miles south-west of Anjaneri. Savānápallika may be Samudi, 5 miles north-east and Kamsaripallika may be Kanholi or Karohavadi, 6 and 7 miles respectively east of Chandrachī Met. Maureyapallika may be Morwadi, 3 miles south-west of Nāsik.

Grant A.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 चीमर् [10] ज्योतिषिकम् विष्णुसरसोधर्मिनिमित्तारामयमि (वम) [10] दिशिदीिपतिपरिपायानभुन मिध: [12] [10]

2 चीमलि संभविनवालिसदत्यमानान्याबिशिष्टाः सत्यिकाबिमिनि नित्यावरि:

3 भीममिति निरुपालिका [10] कारिकियपरिचयप्रासकण्यामरुपरारा भगवायणः

4 प्रसादसमालाराजवदुन्माणः चित्तमिस्नापक्षे कतावीयमिनिमित्ता जारोनीपुष्पाः च

5 बुधानमालवे सकलसहिमालिकानिहिलको महाराजपिँरपरमेश्वरः चीविक्षा भारि:

6 तववभमसादिख्यमालिकाय द्वयपिनिविन्यों चरिरधन्विन्यांशांता: (त) शरारः

7 दुव्यमानमपमालिका द्व च प्रजानामान्याकारि विश्वसिविन्यो नाम राजा वेने

8 दे चतुर्दशारायसाहसशंखः सकलमिष्ट पुरोकीक्ष्य भूकमामित्ता [10] सम्य च राजा[10] चीविक्षा.

1 We have to thank Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University for suggesting the identification of most of the place names mentioned in the grants and also for making some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

2 Expressed by a symbol,

3 Danda unnecessary.
TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI. (1).
Grant A.

ii,a.
9 मिचन्न्य पुनीत महाधन्यपाराक्ष: श्रीमोहनसिंह(सिंह)बर्मा-राज्यस्थापि श्रीमोहनसिंह(सिंह)बर्मा-राज्यस्थापि

10 चतुर्दशिनलोपाणितियों उपचित्त्य च द्व सिद्धान्तक: श्रीमोहनपरमाली

11 मायै राजा श्रीमोहनशिवायोऽमी बाल एव पूर्वजनांवायसेन क्यं समुद्रवक्षणी

12 समग्रतो जबलकिन्याधिक्षिण विशिष्ट प्रति सततमिनुब्रक्ष ब्रह्मणयुक्त सुविदंथि इ

13 व महानीयवियदयादाना चिन्यविक्षिप्तशिविन्यानंकत: सत्यवादी प

14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्ष: माध्यमार्यमार्यमार्यमार्यमिक्षणी महाव[व]य

Second Plate; First Side.

15 भून इव जनानांनानीपरेणालात्त्वतः सर्वबिचित्रविषयादश

16 बलदेव इव नुमगोतानंतविविन्योतकोडासुन्दरोतपभागत्याः

17 चण्ड विक्रूलत व्रतुष्क इव मकलुपुरविजनमनोऽह वन्यहोतर्विपिन पर-

18 कलङ्कितसु: वनवर्णाुरार्यमरितिव सततमिनुब्रक्षादानार्गितक: पश्ची-

19 तत्तत् मुद्रक्षमण्डित: स्थानको जलाधाय इव प्राणिनां धशाविन्द्रदकारी

20 जातिंमनंकरिता: प्रवीचिति महाप्राकार इव चिनी विवासभवनाः

21 जातिमनंकरितरतिहितनान्तस्वत्तपालनपर: परमश्चों महास्व(व)भ

22 सततमिनुब्रक्षादिकल्कलादानार्गितक: नारायणानुः

23 ग्राणतपरस्त 1 ऊसबरमणितिव विश्व: पुरोहितविवर्तनांकरमुः भारत-

24 ग्राणतपरस्त 1 ऊसबरमणितिव विश्व: पुरोहितविवर्तनांकरमुः भारत-

25 चतुर्दशिनलोपाणितियों उपचित्त्य च द्व सिद्धान्तक: श्रीमोहनपरमाली

26 देवकुलकल्लादानार्गितक: नारायणानुः

27 चिन्तकाते प्राणोमार्यमार्यमार्यमार्यमार्यमिक्षणी महाव[व]य

28 भून इव जनानां नादात्त्वतः सर्वबिचित्रविषयादश

1 Davada unnecessary.
2 Read -prapuutr-tdin.
4 Read ḍhuṣṭhītān.
4 [Reading seems to be Palluṣṭhākmaka-viṣhayaṁ(yān) Pratāhādā-marpaddāṁ(dāṁ). In l. 39 the first name is read as Palluṣṭhāma.—Ed.]
Second Plate; Second Side.

29 देवातिविवं सुरासुरगुणं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुखं नायं विषुवतःवास्ते
30 ति मला जयपुरे भोगिन्द्रप्रतिष्ठिताय पुराणपुरुषाय परमानं भगवं
31 ते नारायणाय गमनगुप्तघन्दीपसम्भा(क्रा)जनपलेपनब्रह्माय नरगीतावादी
32 पेलंगमीतकावाय सचाय खंडमुखंदः संकराचार्यं च [1] मातापिलानामके पुजार
33 घुमे चषो खाम्रा खादा नानानानि च प्रतिपादितानि [1] ते खादानामि जययामः
यायमे
34 चक्रिये [1] पालितपालकः कोकिलाचक्रं कलहकः महाकालः [2] वै
सारावहिसेवू
36 देवेश निर्मीमि च प्रयेगेन रूपकः देवेश यातीलवे दातव्यः [1] गीपराजामराजीमेषि
37 रिवाण्याद्वृषु यज्ञिकायभि सूक्तकः शुभमेतिका च चानावातारं इत्यरे
38 द्वापि खादये [1] पुरीक्ष्ट्रिकुटिविये कपश्राजकृपकं १०० [1] महागिरिधारे
इति
39 कपश्राजकृपकं १०० पुरीं गतः १०० पशूदज्ञिये कपश्राजकृपकं [1]
पश्चात् ५०
40 वे चाद्रो खाम्रानि स्वर्यादशस्वर्त्तिष्टिविविद्यातिकार्याकर्षणः चचाधित्रात्रप्रवेशः
41 चालानानिधिका: चाचाधिकारिष्टिमण्डितिकालीनः यः

Third Plate; First Side.

42 तस्मादहस्म्याय: प्रवलपपवप्रीतिदिवस्यज्जलतरंगवर्गेण
43 जीवलीकमलकार चयममाधियुनमंतैः प्रायकित्वं [1]
44 वाणिक्षुःङ्कमहिंद्रस्वाति नारायणमस्वलमस्य मार्गशीर्षसाहस्य प्रकाशान्
45 देवेश विष्णुविवशोचवस्वायतित्वाः [1] ये वाचनातितिरहस्यवतिरहस्यः
46 स्थिरामानं वातुमोहितं स प्रकाशकमेशापातकैःकृपाः [1] ख्याति [1] यदिति

¹ A figure of a boar is engraved here.
² [Reading seems to be Muda. — Ed.]
³ [Reading is mālaka. See below p. 235, n. 3. — Ed.]
47 बकुङ्कुन्तनिदित्तुकुन्यी निदित्तुकुन्यी तेजस्वी सर्ववर्षज्ञः देवस्वम श्रीमद् योगस्थितः
48 अंगस्वर्णवस्य १विषाणिन्यैः [१] विषाणिन्यैः शानकावसिन्यैः वाणिजकावसिन्यैः
कृष्ण जीवकी
49 वा काराचिन्द्र नासिकः य वनं च खलित मिनित्स च पदश्चिमेक्षणापातकः [२] संयुक्तः
क्षारदितिः
50 खरं वर्षसहस्त्राणि खरं मीदित्ति भूमिदानः [२] श्रावङ्गेति चातुरूमला च तानिष्टेन
नन्दके वेषितः [[२]]
51 पूर्वद्वारान्हि विजयित्वो यदानां युधिष्ठिरः। महिन हतितिनां श्रेष्ठ दानास्तेष्यावनपालनम्[३] [[३]
52 वहुभिम्बस्य भूमी राजभिम्बस्य गाराधिनः [३] यथा यथा यदाः भूमिस्वरूपः तस्य
तदा फलं (नाम) [[४] [४]]
53 विधायकोक्तिरास्य शुक्लकोटिर्खानिः [३] कथायोहि न जायते भूमिदायं
हरिति वे [[५] [५]]
54 संवर्गसङ्कटवत्तुद्वे एकचक्षुविकः ४०० ६० १ श्रास्तुं चिन्तितं कविवन
55 वास्त्वेन भक्तिमानिः ||

Third Plate; Second Side.

Inscription of Tejavarman.

1 चीर खसित श्रीतिजावराजाः (राजेन) जयपुरस्वर दिविणः (श्लाक्ष्यं)
2 दिविण पालिन्यापको गोपार्वो मुखः [१] तस्य च प्र-
3 माण चतुर्विंदु दुम्भदिति (क) सहितः [४] शैलिमा गाधी ख्यापि [२] सीमा-
4 खत्वा तदेव प्रमाणः [३] तस्य गोपार्वस्ये भोगेश्वरस्व भूमिनि
5 न्यायानं ज्योतिः च स्वरुपाणि रूपकमाः द्रंतं तस्य च रूपक
6 शत्स्व हिथि: गुप्तभूमिः भोगेश्वरस्व वर्षपालिवर्येऽ
7 नगराण यावदचालकेष्वयाः प्रायथ्यं यी वास्त्रः
8 न्यायां कार्येः स पदश्चिमेक्षणापातकसंस्कृती भ-
9 विषाणु ||

1 Dhi which was first omitted is written below the line in smaller character.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 मा which was at first omitted, is written below this line.
4 तस् was at first omitted and then written below the line.
5 Read karishyati.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Òm. Victorious is the form of Vishnu manifesting itself as the boar, which troubled the ocean and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk.

(Ll. 2-6) In the family of the illustrious Chalukyas who belong to the Mânavya gûra praised over the whole world, who have been nourished by the seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained an uninterrupted continuation of prosperity through the protection of (the god) Kârttikeya; who subjugated all the kings in an instant at (their having) a sight of the boar-insignia which was acquired through the favour of the lord Nârâyana; and who are the descendants of Hâriti—(was born) the Mahârâjâthîrâja Paramêsvara, the illustrious Vikramâditya Vallabha, the sole forehead mark (tilkâ) of the whole earth.

(Ll. 6-28) Living upon the favour of his (Vikramâditya's) feet and being unto him like his own son, was the illustrious king named Svâmichandra, who was an ornament of the Harîschandra family, who delighted his subjects like the autumnal bright full moon and who enjoyed (the possession of) the entire Purî-kônkaṇa consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The son of this king Svâmichandra was the illustrious king Simhavârman, who was great in strength and prowess. And this illustrious king Simhavârman's son was the illustrious king Bhûgâsaṅkî also known as Prithivichandra whose glory like that of the moon is resplendent on the earth embraced by the waves of the four oceans; who even as a child, was imbued with inborn knowledge acquired by constant application in his previous births; who is ever engaged in the worship of the god Vâsudèva, and is well versed in the sacred lore; who like Yudhishthira is adorned with the virtues such as justice, modesty, compassion, charity, courtesy etc., and is also truthful; who like Bhûmasena is a great hero and has filled the circle of his entire kingdom by his manifest prowess; who like Arjuna is adept in the art of war and is a follower of the teachings of Krišňa; who like Baladèva is given to the enjoyment of dance, music, merrymaking, flirtation and sports and (at the same time) would be heroic in a moment; who, though endowed like Pradyumna with a physique which attracted the hearts of all damsel, has no desire for the wiles of others; whose (right) hand, like the trunk of the leader of wild elephants wet with the incessant flow of ichor, is moistened on account of his being constantly engaged in performing charities; who quenches the thirst of beings like a pond of sweet water adorned by multitudes of lotuses and lilies; who is the abode of splendour like a large tank of lotuses blossomed by the rays of the rising sun; who like the ocean is steadfast, is the protector of numerous kings and is profound and noble as the ocean is used to keep within its boundary, protects numerous mountains (in its depth), is profound in depth and contains large (aquatic) animals; who is ever eager to perform acts of charity such as (the construction and endowment of) temples, tanks, free kitchen and water stalls; who is given to the contemplation of Nârâyana; who is the ornament of the Purî-kônkaṇa vishaya as the Kaustubha gem is of Vishnu; who is skilled in (ascertaining) the real import of the Mahâbhûrata, the Purânas, the Râmâyana and in king-craft; who is wise, sagacious, learned and intelligent; who is endowed with irresistible strength, valour and (the attributes of) utthaśakti, prabhuhsaṅkâti and mantrâśakti; who is the god of the three worlds (Trîbhuvanâkṣkâs) — the same illustrious king Bhûgâsaṅkî commands all his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc., placed in charge of the vishayas of Gopârâshtha, eastern Trikûţa, Anmârâja, Mârîkâ, two Mahâgirihrâsas and Palla Ādhamba- [kâ] which have been acquired by the prowess of his arms (and all others)²:

¹ If kshamâ is taken in the sense of happiness then this phrase might be translated as "who had conquered (i.e., acquired complete possession of) happiness."

² I would translate ll. 25-28 as follows:— Bhûgâsaṅkî commands all his sons, etc., and all the districts of Gopârâshtha, etc., up to the boundary of Prêtahradî, which were conquered by the prowess of his own arms and courage!—Ed.]
(Il. 28-49) "Be it known to you that having recognized that no other pre-eminent deity excepting the god Viśva-deva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction, who is the supreme god, and who is the god of gods and demons, I have made to the god Nárâyana, the Primeval Being and the supreme spirit, installed by Bhogéśvara in (the town of) Jayapura, in order to augment the merits of my parents and myself, an endowment of eight villages together with the taxes thereof so as to provide (at the temple) for perfume, flowers, incense, light, ablations and unguents and also for dance, vocal and instrumental music, free kitchen, repairs and upkeep. The names of these (villages) are Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittāpātaka, Kōkīlabhāka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, Kāhīmagiraka and Annagrāma. As to the taxes, the stall tax is to be levied in the market places, a rupee each is to be paid on the occasion of the god’s yātā at the entry and exit of each caravan of merchandise. Mūjaka (handfuls) of corn and Xālīkās of ghee are to be levied from (every house in) the principal village of each of the vishayas of Gōparāśṭra, Anmarājī and Mairīkā, and in like manner from other villages too.³ (Taxes to be collected in cash are) 100 one hundred Krishnārāja rupees from the vishaya of eastern Trikūṭa; 200 two hundred Krishnārāja rupees from the western Mahāgirīhāra and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty Krishnārāja rupees from the vishaya of Pallūdwamba. (In consideration of the above) these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexatious interference; they are not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops (and) they are to enjoy rights over wealth underground. This grant shall last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth endure. Therefore, viewing the world as unsteady as the waves of the sea ruffled by a strong wind, this grant of ours is to be upheld and maintained by our descendants. The yātā festival of the god Vishnu should be arranged by (a committee of) five or ten merchants for a whole fortnight in the month of Margasirha in accordance with the established custom of the town. Whoever, blinded by the darkness of ignorance, shall confiscate or assent to confiscation (of the grant) he shall be guilty of the five great sins. Since this temple has been entrusted to (the care of) the town merchants, on them shall devolve the proper worship and service of the divine Lord. And the following town convention is laid down. The local merchants shall, for ever, be immune from customs duties and feeding expenses (of officers on duty). Whoever shall violate this convention, shall be guilty of the five great sins.⁴"

(Il. 50-53) [Here are four of the usual imprecatory verses.]

This grant was written by Bharataśvāmin, an inhabitant of Kālivana in the year 461 (expressed both in words and in figures).

Inscription of Tējavarman.

(Il. 1-9) Īm hail. The king Tējavarman has given a free grazing ground (within the limits of the village) Pālittāpātaka situated to the south of Jayapura. For the demarcation thereof along with (the temple of) the goddess Durgā stone sculptures of cows have been set up on all four sides. That is the measure of its extent. In order to compensate for the land belonging to

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³ This term is still used in Mahārāśṭra.

⁴ I should translate the passage as follows:—'One load (of corn) and one sātikā of ghee from the principal village of the districts of Gōparāśṭra, etc.; and in the same proportion from the other villages also.' I would connect mātaka, which seems to be the reading here, with the word mātu or māta (Hindi māta), meaning a 'bundle' or 'provision bag'. Sātikā is apparently connected with sātikā of the Purāṇas which is equivalent to 4 palas or approximately 14 kilos. See Edward Thomas—Ancient Indian Weights, p. 26. I am, however, unable to suggest any meaning for kōtrā in l. 35.—Ed.]
Bhōgūvadāva now converted into a pasture, one hundred rupees have been deposited with the merchant guild of Jayapura. And from the interest of this one hundred rupees should be met, year after year, the cost of guggula for the (worship of the) god Bhōgūvada until the sun, moon and stars endure. Whosoever shall interfere with this shall be possessed with the five great sins.

Grant B.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 श्रीं ज्योतिरित्तम विषोऽवाराः चैविष्ठातापव(अम) [*] दिव्याणाम[द]ेकयः
2 विशालभवनः वयूः; [*] श्रीमाला सकल्मूलसमस्तृध्यमानमानमानमान-
3 अर्जुनान्थाणां समयीकाराभस्मादिकमादिकमित्तानां कार्तिके-
4 यदिरहणासाधकारणयानसाधकोऽसाधकभगवारायणसादस-
5 मासादित्ववारालंकारणायचारणायकारणायमहाराजाः
6 चारीगीतेवरानेपेश्वरे विभवीरमेश्वरेन्द्रकर्नलाः महाराजागिरिराजप-
7 मेधारीविविधानिविचारादिविचारादिध्वजसादिध्वजाराजावी
8 चरित्रविमलसांत्वकार्ङ्गुल: यद्युपमासाधकारणलस्माः चव प्र-
9 जानामार्गस्थायी वैभातिलवायी नाम राजा देवमें चहुँद्राग्रामसहस-
10 संहृः सकलमुः(म)पिः पुरीकार्णां भूमि मार्गीतोः [*] तत्षय च राजः वैभातिल-
11 चेक्कर
12 पुच्छुसतूरूदित्तिततत्रांगिरिरिताय दृष्याय चन्द्र चव

Second Plate; First Side.

13 विश्वातारा[**] दृष्याविचारावायासाधिया राजा तिरिक्यासत: तिरिक्यासत: योसो वाल
14 एव पूर्वजानांभासनः सवं समुदयंग्रारी भूमिवतो वासुदेववर्धानव-
15 भिं प्रति सततममिलयोवः सव्यवाय चन्द्र सिद्धियाः दव नवविनयदयादातिति-
16 ध्यातिभिः माः गोर्गनकारवादी च भूमिसतः दव प्रकटपार्वकामान्नसामीक्षराः
17 ज्युभाभिमंडलो वेव्राजमुख चर्जुन दव जनाकानांमार्गवस्त्रवृत्ति समारितिचित्री-
18 रत्न वश्वितेच दव नृत्यविद्वादितविनादनारायणा खुबीतमोमान्थव: चारण विव-
19 कुछौ वश्वितेच दव सकल्युगिततानिहारं वव्हार्यवित् परकलसानि-
20 सुहः वनवारणयुवाप्रितिरिव सततममिलयादानारिकातिः पञ्चाः[तल]-

1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 One mūna is redundant.
Inscription of Tejavarman.

Grant B.
TRANSLATION.

(LL 1-28) [Common with Grant A.]

(LL. 29-38) "Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri along with Chandrapuri and the three hamlets of Ambayapallikā, Sāvāṇēyapallikā and Maurēya pallikā as well as Karisāripallikā have been recolonised by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants Elda and Karaputā. The merchants residing in Samagiri (paṭṭana) shall, for ever, be exempt from the payment of custom duties throughout the kingdom; their property shall not escheat to the state in the absence of a male heir; nor (shall they pay registration fee) owing to partition of joint property and they shall not have to provide

1 This portion within square brackets is completely effaced and the reading is restored from Grant A.
2 This portion within square brackets is badly corroded and hardly any letter is visible.
3 [Reading seems to be [A]mmēya.—Ed.]
4 Ḩa is written below the line.
5 Tedē is redundant.
6 [See above, n. 3.—Eds.]
7 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs me that umbara (derived from Skt. udumbara) wood is still used for the door sill in Mahārāṣṭra and that therefore the sense is partition of the joint family property.
accommodation or provisions to the state officials. (The town council is also empowered to levy the following fines:——) Rupees one hundred and eight for outraging the modesty of a virgin; rupees thirty-two for adultery; rupees sixteen for the mutilation of ear; rupees four for bruising the head; rupees one hundred and eight if a merchant’s son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter; and should one be caught in the actual act of adultery whatever eight or sixteen elders of the town council shall determine shall be final. This has been promulgated by the illustrious king Tējavārman.

No. 23.—A NOTE ON THE RAGOLU PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN AND THE CHALUKYAN CONQUEST OF KALINGA.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription on these plates has been published by Dr. Hultsch in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. In the spring of 1922, when I happened to visit Jeyapore (Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency), the owner of the plates, M. R. R. G. Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., offered them for sale to the Government Museum, Madras. They have been subsequently bought and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

One important point to note in connection with this record is that in line 4 Dr. Hultsch gives a reading *samāndāgata-tahapati-sāna*. I may suggest that a more correct reading would be *samāndāgata-grihapati-sāna*. This could be read clearly on the original plates and the facsimile plate given also shows the reading. It may be noted that in this inscription the subscript letter *ta* has the shape of an inverted narrow cup with unequal arms and carries with it a small upward stroke in the centre of the top with which it is joined to the main letter. For example, see the letters *sta* in the expression *parihritas-ta* in l. 10, *ita* in *pravrittaya* in line 11 and *nta* in the expression *ch-ânamantâ* in l. 20. On the other hand, the subscript letter *ga* being of the same shape is broader and has equal arms unlike *ta*. Moreover, *ga* generally bears no stroke on the top though in a few cases when it is attached to the main letter above, such a stroke is formed by the upward extension of the proper left arm; see *Kalingādhīpati* (l. 1), *Kalinga-vishayā* (l. 3), and *svarga* (l. 19). The sign for *ri* of gṛi is partly damaged in the facsimile plate. It is likely that being close to the slightly raised margin, it has not come off clearly enough in the ink impression. But it is not totally invisible on the facsimile plate. The existing traces may be compared with that of *vri* in *vṛiddhayā* in l. 6 and that of *hri* in *parihrita* in l. 10. As for the letter *ka* of the expression it is quite clear on the facsimile plate as well as on the original. The suggested reading suits the context much better than the existing one with the proposed emendation.

The word *grihapati* or *grihapatika* (‘a householder’) occurs in many Prākrit inscriptions as the attribute of a donor or a relative of a donor under the Prākrit form *gahapati* or *gahapatika*. In one or two cases *kudumbika* (Sanskrit *kutumbika*) i.e. householder and *kutumbini* (wife of a householder) are also mentioned. In the Eastern Chālukya copper-plates the royal order of gift is invariably addressed to the *kutumbins* of the granted village, to whom the *grihapatikas* of the Rāgolū plates correspond.

It is interesting to note that the grant was issued by the early king Saktivarman of the Kalinga country from Pishṭapura which was also famous as the capital of king Mahēndra whom Samudragupta conquered with many other kings of the Dakshināpatha. Barring this, the men-

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2 Lüders’ *List*, Nos. 1121 and 1127.
tion of the place in the Rágól plate would be the earliest and the first in a copper-plate record in point of time which, judging from the characters of the plates, may be said to be about the 4th century A.D. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was of the opinion that it was even earlier—some time even prior to Samudragupta. The subsequent mention of the place is in the Aihole inscription of the early Cháulkya king, Pulikēśin II, which refers to the Cháulkya capture of Pishṭapura, i.e., the Cháulkya conquest of the Kálinga country. These events must have happened before Saka 556 (=A.D. 634-35) which is the date of the last mentioned inscription. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the Cháulkya conquest of Kálinga by the capture of Pishṭapura, must have happened in or before the year A.D. 634. Pishṭapura subsequently became the provincial or independent seat (vāsaka) of Vishnuparvada who, with the title Mahārāja, issued the Tilmāpuram plates from this city. This record with the Chipurupalle plates of this same king issued in his 18th regnal year would tend to show that the Kálinga country was under the Eastern Cháulkyas from this period.

The discovery of the copper-plate inscriptions of the later kings of the Eastern Cháulkya dynasty, viz., Kokkilavarman-Mahārāja (A.D. 709) so far north as the village Muṇjēru in the Bimlipatam Taluk of the Vizagapatam District, the mention therein of the Madhyama-Kálinga country in which the village granted by the king was situated, together with the mention of Elamaṇchili (the modern Yellamaṇchili in the Sarsasiddhi Taluk of the same District) as the vāsaka (residence) of the king, show that the Cháulkya dominion in the Kálinga country continued to last even up to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In the same tract of country has been found a copper-plate grant of his son Mahi II. A grant of the later Cháulkya king Bhāma I (A.D. 888-918) also records the gift of a village in the Elamaṇchili-Kálingadēsa and Devarāṣṭra. These records go to prove that the Cháulkya kingdom in the Kálinga country lasted even down to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The Cháulkya authority here seems to have been opposed for a time after the close of the first quarter of the 10th century A.D., since we are told in an unpublished copper-plate grant of Amma II that after the short reign of Vikramādiya II (A.D. 925-926) who was killed and succeeded by Yuddhamalla II whose reign lasted for seven years (i.e., A.D. 927-934), the feudatory Sabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha (i.e., Rāshtrakūta) forces and others rebelled and apportioned among themselves the northern Cháulkya territory for seven years. We may here infer that the revolution and usurpation in the Kálinga country occurred in and lasted throughout the seven years' rule of Yuddhamalla II. The recalcitrant feudatories and their allies who had usurped authority were driven away by Cháulkya-Bhāma II who recovered the Kálinga country and ruled over the entire Cháulkya kingdom for 12 years. The troubles in the Kálinga country did not end here but again recurred in the time of Amma II (the son of Cháulkya-Bhāma II), who after reigning for 11 years had to proceed to the Kálinga country in wrath against Krishña (probably Rāshtrakūta Krishña III) who was evidently interested in fomenting trouble against the Cháulkyas in the Kálinga country. We may conclude that the Cháulkya dominion in the Kálinga country practically came to an end or at least grew very weak about or after A.D. 950. Taking A.D. 633 as the probable year of the Cháulkya conquest of Kálinga as stated at first we may say that the Cháulkya dominion in the Kálinga country lasted roughly for three centuries.

1 Above, Vol. VI, p. 11.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 317.
3 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 16.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 106.
7 Ibid., 1917, p. 117.
8 Ibid.
No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVETAKA.

By B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lud), Ootacamund.

It has already been pointed out¹ that the Ganga rulers who issued their charters from Svéataka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.² In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that Bhaṭṭaputra Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhaṭṭa Bódhāna, of the Vatsa gōtra and the Chhāndoga charaṇa, the donee in the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman,³ is identical with Bhaṭṭa Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant,⁴ coming likewise from the Badakhimedi Estate,⁵ as the name of the donee's father, gōtra and charaṇa in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarman, while in the second it is Dānārṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Pṛthivivarman. Since both the records are issued from Svéataka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarman and Dānārṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor's father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarman and Dānārṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled⁶ in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarman's charter are given respectively as Saṁdhivigrāhin Śrīsāmanta and kamśāra-kulaputraka śrīśeṣṭhin Śrīsāmanta Śvayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Gaṇjām plates of Pṛthivivarman.⁷ This Pṛthivivarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarman's father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.⁸ The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son's regime after the father's death. From this we may also infer that Indravarman was the immediate successor of Pṛthivivarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant are different persons and not those who served under Pṛthivivarman and Indravarman. Thus we may conclude that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows:–

1. Pṛthivivarman⁹ (P. P. M.)

2. Indravarman (P. P. M.)

3. Dānārṇava (P. P. M. Rāṇaka).

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.
² Ibid., p. 133.
³ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.
⁴ Ibid., p. 264.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 129.
⁶ Both Indravarman and Dānārṇava bear, like their father, the imperial title of Paramēśvara-Paramabhātāraka-Mahārājādvīhhiraja, though curiously enough Dānārṇava bears an additional title of Rāṇaka, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.
⁷ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 201.
⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 79.
⁹ He is stated to be son of Mahindravarman, whose identity is not certain.
No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA: SAKA 991.


The present plates are stated to have been discovered in 1933 by one Narasā Reddi, a resident of Charāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadri Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3½" in diameter and 4" in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 tolas and the ring and seal together weigh 57 tolas.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a horse seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a chaunt.

Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse in the Anushtubh metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra:

Visva-viśvaṃbharaḥdiśivarāṇa[mandaṁ]-vandita[m-vadā]ṁ [1*]
Śāsanaṃ Virarājendra-Rājakāśarivarmanam [2*]

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the prakāśi and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the rāja-bhāshā Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Saka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōja king Rājakāśarivarman Virarājendraveva and registers the royal gift of the village Chēriyam alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvedimangalam in Pulīnādu made from

1 Registered as C. P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.
2 The chaunt and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parāntaka I at Pillaiyapakkam (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōja temples.
3 This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.
4 The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōja kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōja officer, was couched in that language.
5 The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village' suffix, like Buddhām, etc.
Kāñchipuram, to three Brāhmans named Sōri-tiṣya-Kramavittāṅ, Mundaya-Kramavittāṅ and Pallaya-Kramavittāṅ of the Aṭṭe-ārā and Bahudhāṅ (Bōdhāṅ-sūrā and of the lineage of a certain Rishikēṣa (Rishikēṣa)-Bhatṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-Śaṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōla seals\(^1\) we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālāṅgāṉu plate exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōla emblem, the tiger\(^2\), is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chērā dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

\(^1\) The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the birudas of kings, such as Tribhuvanāṅkūṭa, Visheśvararāddhi, Prabhunē, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (S. I. J., Vol. II, p. 501) has been defaced in the Anushūthā metre running round its margin. In the Vījanāgara, Nāyaka and Sētupati copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manual of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōla seals, however, have one full verse in the Anushūthā metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, UTTAMA-Chōla, Rājēndra-Chōla and Kulōttunga-Chōla I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of UTTAMA-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla—

\[ Saśvat[?]-viśvambharā-nēтраm \]
\[ Lakshmi-jaya-[sa*pravaham] \]
\[ ṣāsanam = ṣāveṭam \]
\[ śrīmad-Rājakēśarivarmanmanath* \]

—(Anbil Plates).

(b) UTTAMA-Chōla—

\[ Nyaitiānām ṣāsanām kurvatā-ṣāsanām chakrabhābhyātān \]
\[ ṣāsanām bhūpatel-ētat \]
\[ Parakēśarivarmanmanath \]

—(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājārāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

\[ ētat viśa-tīrpa-sāṇi-māṇi-mālāpaphāticāna \]
\[ ṣāsanam Rājarajajyaya Rājakēśarivarmanmanath \]


(d) Rājēndra-Chōla—

\[ Rājad-rājaya-malkuta-śāriṣi-rātānāyā ṣāsanam \]
\[ ētat=Rājēndra-Chōla Parakēśarivarmanmanath \]

—(Tiruvālāṅgāṉu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in ll. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōttunga-Chōla—

\[ Pāyam kāhōṅiśvara-sahā-chōṭā-rātānāyā ṣāsanam \]
\[ ērī-Kulōttunga-Chōla Rājakēśarivarmanmanath \]

—(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

\(^1\) It may be noted that king Virājēndra claims to have set up pillars of victory (sāya-bhadra) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (S. I. J., Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahendragiri inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla I (No. 396 of 1896) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.
position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōla seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōla over the Pandyas and Chera kings. The other objects such as the pair of chauris, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the ashtamangalam,¹ which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of ashtamangalam objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvallaṅgāju plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest², the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukyas. Though Virarājendrā claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan varāha-lāṅchhama has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial ṵ in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced loop (l. 2). The ra-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the ri-symbol in some cases (ll. 2, 47, etc.). La and lo are often interchanged (l. 29) and sa is wrongly used for cha in some cases (ll. 167, 176). The rules of sandhi are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same varga. The use of the anurasāra in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a rēpha are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol: followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the visarga, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmadhirāja was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyākumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the Travancore Archaeological Series⁵ and by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao in a previous volume of this Journal.⁴ As the Kanyākumari record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacunae and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit prasasti of the Chōla dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyākumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections—the mythological, the historical, the donatory and the signatory.

Section I (Lines 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāryapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājakēśari and a Parakēśari are then introduced, and the genealogy is

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¹ The ashtamangalam objects are (1) a mirror, (2) a pūrṇa-kumbha, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-goat, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects, in which a snatā is and a ṣaṅkha also occur.
² The king claims to have captured the sākarakkoṭi (i.e.) the varāha-banner of the Chālukyas, along with other royal paraphernalia. (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 66).
³ Vol. III, p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.
⁴ Ante., Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.
No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVETAKA.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LUSI), OOTAMUND.

It has already been pointed out\(^1\) that the Ganga rulers who issued their charters from Śvētaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gangas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.\(^2\) In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that Bhāṭṭaputra Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhāṭṭa Bōdhanaka, of the Vatsa gotra and the Chhāndoga charana, the donee in the Badakhmedi copper-plates of Indravarman,\(^3\) is identical with Bhāṭṭa Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava’s grant,\(^4\) coming likewise from the Badakhmedi Estate,\(^5\) as the name of the donee’s father, gotra and charana in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarman, while in the second it is Dānārṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Prithivivarman. Since both the records are issued from Śvētaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarman and Dānārṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor’s father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarman and Dānārṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled\(^6\) in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarman’s charter are given respectively as Saṁdhīvigrāhin Śrisāmanta and kaṁsāra-kula-purokha śrēṣṭhin Śrisāmanta Svayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Ganjam plates of Prithivivarman.\(^7\) This Prithivivarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarman’s father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.\(^8\) The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son’s regime after the father’s death. From this we may also infer that Indravarman was the immediate successor of Prithivivarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava’s grant are different persons and not those who served under Prithivivarman and Indravarman. Thus we may conclude that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows:—

1. Prithivivarman\(^9\) (P. P. M.)

2. Indravarman. (P. P. M.)

3. Dānārṇava (P. P. M. Rāṇaka).

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\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 133.

\(^{3}\) Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

\(^{4}\) Ibid., p. 204.

\(^{5}\) Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 139.

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\(^{7}\) Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 201.

\(^{8}\) Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 79.

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No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA: SAKA 991.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A. AND V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The present plates have been discovered in 1935 by one Narasā Rēḍi, a resident of Charāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadrī Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3½" in diameter and ⅜" in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 tolas and the ring and seal together weigh 57 tolas.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a tiger seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a chaūrī. Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse in the Anushtubh metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra:

\[\text{Viśvar-veśvambarādhisair-[m]anditair-vandita[m-ida]jm [[*]}\]
\[\text{Sasanaam Virarājendra-Rājakēsarivarmanmaṇḍaḥ [][[*]}\]

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the prākṣasti and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the rāja-bhāṣa Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Śaka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman Virarājendradēva and registers the royal gift of the village Chēṟāmā byś Śūdrāntaka-chaturvedimāṅgalam in Puli-nādu made from

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1 Registered as C. P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.
2 The chaūrī and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parantaka I at Pillaiyakkām (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōla temples.
3 This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.
4 The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōla kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōla officer, was couched in that language.
5 The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village' suffix, like Buddham, etc.
Kāñchipuram, to three Brāhmans named Sū(Srō)triya-Kramavittaṇ, Mundaya-Kramavittaṇ and Pallaya-Kramavittaṇ of the Āṭrēya-gūtra and Bahudhānya (Bōdhāyaṇa)-sūtra and of the lineage of a certain Rishikhēśa (Hṛṣikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarā-yaṇa-Saṁkṛanti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōla seals¹ we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōla emblem, the tiger², is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

¹ The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the birudas of kings, such as Trihinduvaṇṇa-kaśa, Viṣhva-masiddhi, Prabhakarana, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 301) has a defaced legend in the Amśuḥpūḍa metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sētu-pani copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōla seals, however, have one full verse in the Amśuḥpūḍa metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla, Rājendra-Chōla and Kulōṭṭunga-Chōla I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla—

Saṅvat(i) viśwambara-nētram Lakṣmi-jaya-[sa*]vṛuham |
śānamū śāvatam śrīmad-Rājēkṣarivarmanmaṇaḥ∥ —(Anbil Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōla—

Nīlīyānāṁ śānamū kurvabāvīśaṇam chakrabhūḥbhrīṣa |
śānamū bhūpatē-tat Parakēśarivarmanmaṇaḥ∥ —(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājarāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

Etat viśva-śṛṇi-jaṅgā-śāna-vittam ∥

(d) Rājendrachōla—

Rājad-vijaya-vaṅgā-śrīni-ratvalaṁ śānnavam ∥
etad-Rājēndra-Chōlaṁ Parakēśarivarmanmaṇaḥ ∥ —(Tiruvālaṅgādu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in II. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōṭṭunga-Chōla—

Punyam kṣaṇa-tvaram-sabhā-chūṇa-ratəṇaṁ śānam ∥
śrī-Kulōṭṭunga-Chōlaṁ Rājēkṣarivarmanmaṇaḥ ∥ —(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

² It may be noted that king Virarājendrā claims to have set up pillars of victory (jaya-bhaktarathas) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahendragiri inscription of Rājendrachōla I (No. 306 of 1896) also has the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.
position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōka seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōka over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. The other objects such as the pair of chauris, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the ashtamāṅgalam,1 which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of ashtamāṅgalam objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest, the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukya. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan varāha-lāṅchhana has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial i in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced loop (l. 2). The ra-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the ri-symbol in some cases (ll. 2, 47, etc.). La and la are often interchanged (l. 20) and sa is wrongly used for cha in some cases (ll. 167, 176). The rules of sandhi are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same varga. The use of the anusvāra in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a rēpha are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the visarga, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyakumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the Travancore Archaeological Series and by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao in a previous volume of this Journal.4 As the Kanyakumari record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacune and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit prākāsti of the Chōla dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyakumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections—the mythological, the historical, the donatory and the signatory.

Section I (Lines 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājakēsāri and a Parakēsāri are then introduced, and the genealogy is

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1 The ashtamāṅgalam objects are (1) a mirror, (2) a pāra-kumbha, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-goad, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects, in which a cavarī and a senkha also occur.
2 The king claims to have captured the śakarākṣote (i.e.) the varāha-banana of the Chālukyas, along with other royal paraphernalia. (S. I. I., Vol. III. p. 66).
3 Vol. III. p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.
further traced, though with no direct sequence, through a few more Purānic kings up to a certain Manorathā, after whom the names of a few quasi-historical members, such as, Parunētκiśī, Karikāla, Vallabha, Jagadekamalla and Vyālābhayānka are mentioned,—the whole prakāśa being a manifest attempt on the part of the composer to give his patron a pedigree going back to high antiquity. This portion has been discussed with characteristic fulness by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.

Section II (ll. 194-169).

The really historical portion commences with the name of (Parakēsari) Vijayalaya, and from this king down to Rājendrāda, the predecessor and elder brother of Virarājendrāda, this inscription furnishes some useful information about the several members of the Chōja family. These facts have also been dealt with in detail elsewhere.

Coming to Virarājendrāda, the donor of the present grant, his military and other achievements are then described in seven verses (vv. 75-81). It is stated that when king Rājendrāda went to heaven, his younger brother Virarājendra who had deprived his enemies of their splendour, succeeded to the extensive kingdom in accordance with the prescribed laws. Having killed at Kudal-Sangama the kings of the Karnāta-vanīka, this powerful Chōja ruler increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by the addition (to its numerical strength) of these kings, who had themselves become celestials. With the help of a single elephant, he destroyed the Kuntala army and created a new river of blood, whereat the ocean-god was delighted.

This king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered back the Vēngi and Kalinga countries, which had been inherited by his brothers but which had been left uncared for by them and had therefore been captured by his powerful enemies. Having defeated the strong armies of his opponents and having destroyed many of their fortresses, he ruled his kingdom in prosperity.

This Vira-Chōja, called also Karikāla-Chōja, destroyed the strength of the Kali-age and bestowed numerous dharma-sānas (ediets of charitable gifts). Further, he embellished the crown of the Dāmeś in the Dabhra-sahā (i.e., god Naṭarāja at Chidambaram) with a ruby called the ‘Trailokya-dēna’, which looked as if the progenitor of his own race (i.e., the Sun) had himself mounted on the top of the crown, so as to cause annoyance to the moon, the ancestor of the dynasty of his enemy (i.e., the Pāṇḍya), which is also worn as the crest-jewel by god Śrīkanṭha.

This king founded several brahmandas under the name of Virarājendra in the Chōja, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgarāti and Kulīta countries, and pleased forty-thousand Brāhmans learned in the Vēdas, by munificent gifts of lands.

The regnal year of the king is quoted as the 7th corresponding to Śaka 991, Saumya (ll. 159-160). The same regnal and Śaka years occur also in a record of his from Yōgi-Mallavaram

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2 Ibid., ante, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.
3 In this battle several generals lost their lives, but who were the kings of the Karnāta-vanīka, who are also said to have been slain is not clear. In Ep. Cava., Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Abhavamalla is described as an enemy of the Karnāta kings also. Probably this is a loose description of the panegyrist.
4 This achievement with a single elephant also occurs in the Tamil text in S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 66, l. 6.
5 In addition to this gem, the king presented to the god a pedestal with the name of ‘Virarājendra’ engraved on it—(No. 217 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1912).
6 Kulīta referred to here cannot be the country of the same name in the Punjab, identified with Kulu. A general of the Chōja king Rājendrā-Chōja I is said to have defeated a Kulīta chief named Vimalalāditya (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1351), and so this Kulīta must be located near about Vēngi and Utkala, and ruled over by an Eastern Chālukya feudatory.
7 No. 273 of 1904.
in the Puttur Division of the Chittoor District. The locality where these two inscriptions were discovered, namely the Chittoor District, has perhaps to account for the useful quotation of both the regnal as well as the Saka years in them, for such double citations are somewhat rare in inscriptions of this period in the southern districts.

Several Sanskrit and Tamil birudas of the king are also enumerated in this portion of the record (ll. 155-8), some belonging to him by his own right as a scion of the Chōla family, such as Rāvikulatilaka, Chōlakulasēkhara, etc., while others were acquired by him as a result of his victory over the Chāḷukyas, such as Sakalabhuvanāśraya, Āhavanallakkalukāla, etc. The title ‘Āhavamallanāśaiśemnadi-yen-kanda’ is of particular interest, as it claims for him victory over Āhavamalla, as many as five times. Pāṇḍyakulāntaka refers to his victory over the Pāṇḍyas.

These and other achievements of the king are further elaborated in the short historical introduction commencing with the words ‘Viramēy tuṇaiyagavum’, etc., which follows thereafter (ll. 160-68). It is herein claimed that Rājakēsivarman Virarājendrā took the head of the Tennaṅ (Pāṇḍya), levied tribute from the Chēra king, subduing Siṅgala-dēsam (Ceylon), saw the back of Āhavamalla five times in battle, fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers by recovering Vēṅgai-nādu which, however, he gave to king Vijayāditya (Vijayāditya VII) who had submitted to him, gave Kaḷāra back after conquest to the (Kaḷāra ?) king who fell at his feet soliciting his help, drove away Sōmēśvara (Sōmēśvara II) from his Kamaḍa-dēsam, and gave Iraṭṭapadi-seven-and-a-half lakh country to Vikramāditya (VI). Incidentally, Virarājendra is also stated to have defeated the Chāḷukya king at Muḍakkāru, apparently on an earlier occasion, and to have thus cooled his anger.

From a study of the elaborate details contained in the variant historical introductions preface to his lithic records, it is seen that the reign of Virarājendra, though it occupied a short span of only seven years, was crowded with campaigns conducted in as many as four war-fronts,—on the west against Āhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brothers in battle, on the east against Āhavamalla’s feudatory, the Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya, on the south against the Pāṇḍyas, the Chēras and Ceylon, while on the north he is said to have invaded Kaliṅgam and carried his raid as far as Chakkaraṅkottam, in extension of his Vēṅgī campaigns. Virarājendra began his military career even as a prince and appears to have taken part in the wars against the Western Chāḷukyas undertaken by his predecessors Rājādhērāja I, Rājendradēva and Rājāmahendrā, and what they had failed to accomplish themselves, he claims to have brought to a successful finish. Soon after the death of Rājendradēva, he is said to have returned to Gaṅgāpurī (Gaṅgaikondacholapuram) direct from the battlefield for his coronation and to have again started out on that very day to prosecute the war against Āhavamalla. In all, he credits himself with having routed Āhavamalla in five pitched battles. These facts have been reviewed in a thorough manner by Dr. Hultzsch, but the sequence of events in this Chōla-Chāḷukya conflict as worked out by him seems to require slight revision.

Before examining this question, however, a few relevant facts bearing upon this period may be quoted here, for purposes of easy reference.

1. Rājendradēva’s rule extended from 28th May 1052 A.D. to A.D. 1063, his highest regnal year so far known being 12.

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1 There is only one instance (No. 230 of 1928-29) in which he is styled a ‘Parakēsivarman’.
2 Kaliṅgam and Chakkaraṅkottam were in close political connection with the Vēṅgī kingdom at this period, and the political changes in Vēṅgī had their repercussions in the other two southern territories.
4 Antē, Vol. IX, p. 218 and No. 144 of 1898. His 12th year, if correct, will have commenced in June 1063, and he did not probably live long in that regnal year; but the details given in this record (Nos. 144 of 1898), work for February, A. D. 1063, which, however, fell in his 11th year.
(2) A record of Rājamanikēndra dated in the 4th year, gives astronomical details which correspond to A.D. 1062, July 22. In a record dated in his 3rd year, this prince claims to have worsted the Chāḷukyas at Muṇjakāru.

(3) Rājamanikēndra did not rule independently and probably predeceased his father; so Rājēndra may have chosen Virarājēndra as heir-apparent, some time before his own death.

(4) Virarājēndra’s date of accession has been calculated to fall between 11th September 1062 and 10th September 1063 A.D.²

(5) He is said to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by the 4th year, and by the end of the 5th year, he claims to have defeated him in five engagements.²

(6) A record of the 5th year which recounts several of his achievements gives astronomical details agreeing only for A.D. 1067, September 10, Monday, and serves as an important chronological landmark.

(7) Āhavamalla (Sōmēsvara I) drowned himself in the Tungabhadra on Sunday, 30th March, A.D. 1068.³

(8) In the disputed succession that followed Āhavamalla’s death, Virarājēndra sided Vikramāditya against the latter’s elder brother Sōmēsvara.⁴

(9) The date of Sōmēsvara (II)’s accession was 17th April A.D. 1068.⁵

(10) The highest regnal year of Virarājēndra found in his own inscriptions is 7, and in two records of his successor Adhirājēndra, his 8th year is also quoted.

(11) As Kulottunga-Chōlā’s accession took place on 9th June, A.D. 1070, Virarājēndra must have passed away early in his 8th year, i.e., towards the beginning of A.D. 1070, and Adhirājēndra, who succeeded the latter, must have had a very short independent reign.

**Virarājēndra’s campaigns against Āhavamalla—**

Now as Virarājēndra boasts of the title ‘Āhavamallagai-sūrmañi-vēgu-kapāla’ (i.e., he who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times’), all the five engagements must have been directed against Āhavamalla-Sōmēsvara I during the latter’s lifetime, i.e., before 30th March A.D. 1068. As Rājanahāndra and Virarājēndra both claim to have fought the Chāḷukyas at or on the bank

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¹ No. 80 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1935-36.
² S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 743. The name Muṇjakāru means a river with a sharp bend’, and so it may have been a simple descriptive name of a devious river, which later became its distinctive name. This Muṇjakāru may be different from the Kūdal-Sangamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name. It has to be noted that the name Muṇjakāru is Tamil in form and if this was its original name in its locality, we may have to look for it in some place where Tamil was current. If, however, a Telugu or Kannada name had been appropriately paraphrased into Muṇjakāru, its identification becomes somewhat difficult. As another instance of such transformation may be mentioned the name Kāndai (or Kandaivai) in the vicinity of Kūdal-Sangamam, which appears to be a Tamilised poetic form of a Telugu or Kannada name. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya suggests that it may perhaps be identified with Kandana (vēlū) i.e., the modern Kurnool. Similarly Kondai, the scene of another battle, may perhaps be identified with Kondavēl or Kondapalli.
³ *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218. This interval can be narrowed down further. Sewell dates it after March 10, A.D. 1066—The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 342.
⁸ The *Takugﾈgapparamai* (v. 774) also confirms the friendship of this Chōla king with Vikramāditya VI.
⁹ Nos. 15 of 1890 and 418 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
of Muḍakkāru, and as there is no great possibility for two separate battles at the same place by two kings within a short interval, it is likely that both Rājamahendra and Virarājendra took part together in the same battle, and as such, this must have happened in about the beginning of A.D. 1062, when Virarājendra was only a prince.

In the present record Virarājendra states that, on the very day of his coronation, he proceeded against his enemy Āhavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūdal-Saṅgamam in the north. This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Virarājendra's coronation could have taken place only after Rājendra's demise in A.D. 1063, this first battle of Kūdal-Saṅgamam by Virarājendra, as king, will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But on the other hand the Manimāṅgala inscription mentions that after the notable victory at Kūdal-Saṅgamam, the king was pleased to ascend the virasindhaśanam along with his consort Ulagamaṇḍuḍaiyāl and donned (mēndu) the crown (vijaya-maṇimāṅkutam). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūdal-Saṅgamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Manimāṅgala record has to be understood in the sense that the king signalled his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremonial after his return from the battle-field.

As Virarājendra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by his 4th year, he must have defeated him on two other occasions in addition to the Kūdal-Saṅgamam battle. These are mentioned in the Tamil preamble beginning with the words tirucclnar, etc., i.e., (1) a campaign against Gaṅgapādi in which Vikkalaṇ and several sāmanas were routed and (2) another, against the Western Chālukya army in occupation in Vēṇgi, when the Chālukya general named Chāmūndarāja was killed. The Muḍakkāru battle may have to be placed in one of the early campaigns.

Two other expeditions are also specified in the above prāsasti to have been undertaken before the end of the 5th year of his reign. One of them was a battle on the bank of an unspecified river, when he slew a number of Chālukya and other generals. The other was arranged to be fought at Kūdal-Saṅgamam again, in response to a challenge issued by Āhavamalla fixing a tryst there, but as Āhavamalla did not turn up in person, Virarājendra waited for him at Kāndai (or Karandai) in its vicinity for over a month. In the skirmish that, however, ensued between the latter and the Chālukya garrison that was near by, three Chālukya generals were killed. Virarājendra proceeding thence, overran Vēṇgi and gave it back to Vijayāditya, and raided the territory as far as Chakkarakkotām.

Thus the five occasions in which Virarājendra 'saw the back of Āhavamalla' were—(1) the campaign against Gaṅgapādi in A.D. 1062, (2) the first invasion of Vēṇgi in A.D. 1063, (3) the battle of Kūdal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064, (4) the battle on the bank of an unnamed river in

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1 Taking the 4th year record of prince Rājamahendra from Mārāṇiyūr as belonging to the beginning of that reignal year, the Muḍakkāru battle, if it took place at the end of the 3rd year, may be dated in about March A.D. 1062.

2 This battle is referred to as early as the 2+1st year (No. 452 of 1918) or 2nd year+230th day (No. 113 of 1896) of the king. So Virarājendra's actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvōrriyūr (No. 136 of 1912) dated in the 2nd year which commences with "vimūna-tvam," but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (vv. 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūdal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle has been tentatively identified with a place on the confluence of the Krisnā and the Tungabhadra. This will take us near Nandikotkūr in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chālukyan territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kūdali at the junction of the Tungāk and the Bhādrā (The Coins, pp. 321—22).


A.D. 1066, and (5) the encounter at Kāndai (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which was followed up by a second invasion of Vēṇī towards the middle of A.D. 1067. As already stated, all these military campaigns must have occurred before Āhavamallā’s death in March A.D. 1068, and before September 10, A.D. 1067 which is the date of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription⁴ of his 5th year mentioning them.

His Vēṇī campaigns—

From his records it is learnt that Virarājendrā undertook two expeditions against Vēṇī during his reign as against Āhavamallā’s power in that region. The Chōla influence which had prevailed in that territory since the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (A.D. 1000) suffered an eclipse in the middle of the 11th century A.D. About A.D. 1062, soon after the death of the Eastern Chāḻukya Rājarāja I, his brother Vijayāditya appears to have wrested the power into his hands in preference to Rājarāja’s son Rājendra-Chōla, who must have been a very young prince at the time. Taking advantage of the indifference of Rājādhērī and Rājendrādeva in Vēṇī affairs, referred to in verse 77 of the present record, Āhavamallā found it a good opportunity to invade Vēṇī about this time or somewhat earlier⁵ and made Vijayāditya VII his feudatory. Virarājendrā’s first campaign was therefore directed against Āhavamallā’s army in Vēṇī, but except for the defeat of the Chāḻukya general Chāmunda Rāti in an engagement, this expedition does not appear to have accomplished much. It is possible that on the receipt of the news of death of his elder brother Rājendrādeva, Virarājendrā had to rush back to the Chōla capital in the middle of this campaign for his coronation, and as Āhavamallā appears, in the meantime, to have mustered his forces for another fight, the newly anointed Chōla king was obliged to depart from the capital again on the very day of his coronation, posthaste to meet his enemy at Vada-Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. In the second invasion undertaken about A.D. 1067, a fierce battle was fought in the vicinity of Vijayavāḍa (Bezwada). Āhavamallā’s power having been broken, his feudatory Vijayāditya appears to have also submitted and transferred his allegiance, for the time being, to his Chōla conqueror, from whom, it is said, he got back his territory.⁴ Virarājendrā’s raid through Kāḻingam and as far as Chakkarakkottam was only in continuation of this Vēṇī campaign.

There appears to have been a third occasion in which Vēṇī was invested by the Chōla army. This campaign which is described only in the Tiramukkūṭal inscription⁵ is stated to have occurred after the Ceylon expedition, and so has to be dated in about January or February A.D. 1068 approximately. Though it is not expressly stated as to what had necessitated it so soon after the last campaign a few months earlier, in which Vijayāditya was given back Vēṇī, a clue seems to be afforded in the statement that the Chāḻukki (ach-Chāḻukki)⁶ came out with an army twice in numerical strength to what he had marshalled on a former occasion. This

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2. In ante, Vol. XXII, No. 35, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar states that the succession of Vijayāditya was not disputed. Prince Rājendra was perhaps too young to make a strong protest.
3. In a record of Sōmeśvarā dated in Śaka 975, his son Sōmeśvara (II) has the title ‘Vēṇīpuravarādhāvarā,’ thus postulating Vēṇī connection so early (above, Vol. XVI, p. 53). A record from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 986 in the reign of a Vishnuvardhana is attributable to this Eastern Chāḻukya Vijayāditya who was then probably a feudatory of the Western Chāḻukyas (S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1013).
4. This event must have happened before A.D. 1067, September 10, which is the English equivalent for the details furnished in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription dated in the 5th year of the king, which refers to this episode (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 30, p. 67).
6. The expression ‘ach-Chāḻukki’ used here probably refers only to the Eastern Chāḻukya Vijayāditya, who has been mentioned just previous to the description of the Ceylon campaign.
inscription dated in the 5th year states that Virarājendrā defeated Āhavamalla five times, ending with the battle of Karandai. In later records\(^1\) of the 7th year, the Western Chālukya king continues to be mentioned as having suffered defeat the same number of times. So the enemy encountered by the Chōla at the subsequent battle of Konḍai; (probably Konḍavīḍu in the Vēṇgī territory), could not have been Āhavamalla, but was in all probability Vijayāditya. The latter who was a Western Chālukya feudatory in the initial years of his reign, appears to have transferred his nominal allegiance to the Chōla conqueror, and as the price of his submission, got back Vēṇgī. It is possible that, a short time later, he attempted to throw off the Chōla yoke and mustering a large army opposed the Chōla king at the battle of Konḍai. The Chālukya army was, however, repulsed, and the victorious Virarājendrā is then stated to have planted a pillar of victory at Sūṭṭukkal\(^2\) and marched into Kaliṅgam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam, defeating and killing some Chālukya generals.

**Further Chālukya hostilities.**

The Chōla-Chālukya hostilities did not, however, cease with the death of Āhavamalla. In a record dated in the 6th year,\(^3\) Virarājendrā claims to have defeated Sōmēśvara before he had had time to take off his necklet (kaṇṭhikā), to have burnt the Chālukya capital Kampili and to have set up a pillar of victory at Karaṇḍikkal. Another dated in the 7th year,\(^4\) states that Sōmēśvara was driven out of Kannaḍa-dāśam and the Raṭṭapādi-seven-and-a-half-lakhs country in its entirety was given to Vikramāditya (VI) who had submitted to him. The kaṇṭhikā or the necklet was the conventional emblem of heir-apparence\(^6\) of the Chālukya dynasty, as differentiated from the makuṭa or crown, the emblem of royalty, and the Sōmēśvara referred to here was evidently the second of that name. The above-noted claim of Virarājendrā has therefore to be understood to be but a poetical way of saying that the Chōla king swooped down on the Chālukya capital evidently in aid of his ally Vikramāditya,\(^8\) immediately after the death of Āhavamalla and before the quondam heir-apparent Sōmēśvara II put on the crown of royalty, i.e., in the interval between 30th March, A.D. 1068, the date of death of Āhavamalla, and 11th April A.D. 1068, the actual date of accession of Sōmēśvara II. The result of this campaign has, however, been exaggerated by the Chōla panegyrist, for Sōmēśvara appears to have ceded only a portion of his territory to Vikramāditya, as evidenced by his own records being simultaneously found in other parts of the kingdom, and Vikramāditya, the protégé of Virarājendrā, appears to have himself continued in a subordinate capacity, as suggested by his investiture with the kaṇṭhikā only. The claim for a Chālukyan victory made in the Shikarpur record,\(^7\) which must have been dated some time later than April, A.D. 1068, may be noted in this connection. It is stated therein that Virarājendrā thinking that this was an opportune occasion, invaded the Chālukyan territory with a large army and laid siege to Gutti; but when Sōmēśvara II opposed him with a powerful cavalry force, he was forced to flee. The Chālukya records are silent about the burning of Kampili, while there is no mention of the Chōla reverses at Gutti in the Chōla records. It may be inferred that the Chōla king was successful in the beginning of this campaign, and that later he sustained a defeat at Gutti in about the end of A.D. 1068, which put an end to his military aspirations in the north.

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\(^1\) The Kanyākumari inscription and the present copper-plate. Nowhere has Āhavamalla been described as having been defeated six times or more (aṇumadi-vaṇ-kaṇḍa, etc.).

\(^2\) The expression Puli-Sūṭṭukkal has been taken to be the name of a village (ante, Vol. XXI, p. 226). But it may also be taken to mean a ‘stone pillar of victory with the mark of a tiger on it’, which was probably set up at Konḍai itself.


\(^4\) Ibid., p. 263.

\(^5\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 267.

\(^6\) This political pact was also cemented by the marriage of Virarājendrā’s daughter with Vikramāditya.

\(^7\) Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 188.
His campaign against the Pândya.

In regard to Virañjendrā’s southern campaigns, the one against the Pândya is in a way confirmed by the existence of his inscriptions\(^1\) at Kanyakumari (Travancore), Āttār (Tirunvelveli District) and Tirupputtūr (Ramanad District). Before the 3rd year of his reign, he had appointed prince Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-Chōla as the Chōla-Pândya viceroy\(^2\) over the Pândya country in continuation of the previous system of administration, but this Chōla prince was not left undisturbed for long, for according to a record\(^3\) dated in the 3+1st year, Virañjendrā marched against a certain Śrīvallabha, apparently a Pândya, and killed his son Virañkēsari. As this campaign has not been referred to in the Tiruyeṇkāḍu\(^4\) record dated in the 2nd year +239th day of his reign but is mentioned in the Karuvār inscription\(^5\) of this king dated in the 3+1st year, it has to be placed towards the end of his 3rd year, i.e., in about A.D. 1065. This victory also appears to have been of a temporary nature, for Virañjendrā’s successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had again to go to war against the ‘five Pândyas’ a few years later.

His campaign against Udagai.

In the course of this southern campaign, the Chōra must have also felt the impact of the Chōla army and consented to pay tribute. The Kēraḷa king and his sons are described to have fled before the mad elephant of Virañjendrā in a battle at Udagai\(^6\) and to have hidden themselves in the western ocean. In an inscription\(^7\) copied at Kiḻkōr in the South Arcot District, dated in the 29th year of Rājarāja I, the king is stated to have burnt the city of Udagai\(^8\) during his Malaināḍu campaign. From these references, it is clear that Udagai was a city in the Chōra dominion, and was, in all probability identical with Udaiyam pēṟūṟ, the big city of the Udaiyas (the Chōras)\(^9\) in the northern portion of the Travancore State, which is only three miles distant from Trichūr and which in the olden days was an important place in the Chōra territory. The Chōra contemporaries of Rājendrā-Chōla I were Rājasimha and his son Rājarāja who figure in the Mannārkkōyil inscription\(^10\) of Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pândya, but who the contemporary of Virañjendrā was, is not clear.

His conquest of Ceylon.

The conquest of Sinhālam is only briefly referred to in the present record; but the Tirumukkūḷāy inscription\(^11\) dated in the 5th year of the king, describes this campaign in some detail and refers to his defeat of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu and the subjugation of the island ‘girt round by the waters of the sea’. Though this is perhaps a sweeping claim, it has to be conceded that a portion of the island was under Chōla sway at this period. As the Mapīmaṅgalam record of the 10th September A.D. 1067 does not refer to this expedition, it will have to be placed towards the end of that year, about November or December A.D. 1067.\(^12\) Virañjendrā’s predecessor Rājendradeva had also invaded Ceylon and an inscription\(^13\) of his is found there. Inscriptions\(^14\) of Adhirājendrā, the successor of Virañjendrā, are also found at Polonnaruva (Ceylon). The latter

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\(^1\) Nos. 400 and 401 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928-30 and No. 110 of 1928.
\(^2\) \(S. I. L., Vol. VII, No. 863.\)
\(^3\) \(S. I. L., Vol. VII, No. 863.\)
\(^4\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^5\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^6\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^7\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^8\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^9\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^10\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^11\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^12\) \(S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 29.\)
\(^13\) \(S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 1408.\)
\(^14\) \(S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 1408.\)
did not perhaps lead an independent expedition against the island during his very short reign and may be presumed to have participated in his father's campaign only. No records attributable to Virarājendra have, however, been found in Ceylon.\footnote{See also ante, Vol. XVIII, p. 332 and f. n. 2. The Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon has kindly informed us that there are no inscriptions of Virarājendra-deva in Ceylon.}\footnote{S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 203.}

His campaign against Kāḍāram.

Another overseas victory is claimed for Virarājendra over Kāḍāram. In the later historical introduction of the 7th year commencing with ‘vīramīya-tūṣāyīgavaram’\footnote{The conquest of Kāḍāram (Kedah in the Srivijaya kingdom located in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendra-Chōra occurred about his 13th year corresponding to A.D. 1026. As Virarājendra lived up to A.D. 1069, he may have been a young prince capable of participating in a military expedition, 43 years earlier.} this achievement is introduced between the second invasion of Vēngi in A.D. 1067 and the last campaign of Virarājendra that we know of, which was directed against Sūmēśvara II (A.D. 1068). As his father Rājendra-Chōra claims to have invaded Kāḍāram himself by about A.D. 1026, it is possible that Virarājendra, as a young prince, had accompanied the Chōla army in that campaign also. Such a campaign to the distant Kāḍāram towards the close of Virarājendra's reign appears problematical and has to be confirmed only by future researches. The express statement that the Chōla king conquered Kāḍāram and gave it back to the (Kāḍāra) king who had supplicated him, seems to imply that an expedition, at least under an able general though not personally led by the king himself, may have been sent against this far eastern country in aid of his ally. If it was an accomplished fact of his reign, it may have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1068. The friendly relationship between the Chōla and the Kāḍāram kings seems to have been continued down to the 29th year of the reign of Kulōtthuṅga-Chōra I (A.D. 1099), when two messengers (dūtar) of the Kāḍāram king came to the mainland to obtain from the Chōla monarch some concessions on behalf of the Baudhā-vihāra at Negapatam.\footnote{Ante, Vol. XXII, p. 268.}\footnote{Ep. Cart., Vol. VII, Sk. 136.}

Thus Virarājendra's short reign was a period of strenuous military effort to keep up the weakening Chōla power and prestige to some extent. The several campaigns of his reign may thus be briefly reviewed, in their probable chronological sequence:

1. the first campaign against Gaṅgapādi in A.D. 1062;
2. the first invasion of Vēngi in A.D. 1063;
3. the first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064;
4. the southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya and Chēra in A.D. 1065;
5. the battle on the bank of an unspecified river in A.D. 1066;
6. the clash with the Chālukyan army at Kānda (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the middle of A.D. 1067;
7. the second invasion against Vēngi, the battle of Vijayavāda and the restoration of Vēngi to Vijaya-ditya before September A.D. 1067;
8. the expedition against Sūmēśaḷam in the end of A.D. 1067;
9. the overseas campaign to Kāḍāram in the beginning of A.D. 1068;
10. the third expedition against Vēngi and the battle of Kōndai in about February A.D. 1068;
11. the campaign against the Western Chālukya Sūmēśvara, the burning of Kāmpili and the erection of a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal in April A.D. 1068; and the installation of Vikramaditya VI in a portion of the Western Chālukya dominions; and
12. the battle of Guttī in about the end of A.D. 1068, wherein Virarājendra suffered defeat at the hands of Sūmēśvara II.
Though this warlike king was so much occupied in his wars during his short reign, for not a year, except perhaps the last, passed without his army being engaged in some campaign or other, he appears to have found time to attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is said to have presented many agrahāras to Brāhmans and several benefactions to temples owed their origin to his munificence.

In this context, it may be remarked that the Chōla version of the Chōla-Chāḻukya war appears to give a slightly exaggerated account of Virarājendradēva’s victories. The Chāḻukya records, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the reverses were not always on the Chāḻukyan side alone.1 In fact, the two parties appear to have been fairly well-matched, with the result that the hostilities were protracted and the opposing armies met in as many as five different engagements. The Chōla army no doubt took the offensive and carried the war into the enemy’s country, as testified to by the scenes of battles which were all located in Chāḻukyan territory, and except for the Chōla reverses in the death of Rājādhirāja I in the earlier battle of Koppam and later at Gutti, Virarājendrā’s independent campaigns appear to have met with a fair measure of success; but the fact that he is described as having restored the conquered dominions—viz., Vēṅgi to Vijayāditya VII and Raṭṭipāḍi to Vikramāditya VI—seems to indicate that his hold on the conquered territories was not of a permanent nature. His Pāṇḍya and Chāṟa conquests also appear to have shared the same fate. This policy of restoration adopted by Virarājendrā may have been due to considerations of statecraft by which he had tried to placate the kings on his frontiers or to the insufficiency of his own resources which had weakened his hold on his conquests so far away from Chōla headquarters. Whatever the reason, the provenance of his inscriptions with the exception of the Kanyākumari, Āṭtur and Tirupputtūr records reveals that his authority extended over a restricted area only, comprising the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts of the Madras Presidency with a portion of the adjoining Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Kolar and Bangalore Districts of the Mysore State, added thereto.

The circumstances under which the king died are not known. As a record2 of his 7th year is dated on September 10, A.D. 1069, and as two records of Adhirājendrā refer to the 8th year of his predecessor, Virarājendrā must have been alive till at least October A.D. 1069, and he may have passed away sometime later in the beginning of A.D. 1070. It is possible that there is some reference to his last days in an undated record from Tiruvorriyūr,3 in which provision was made for worship in the local temple for the welfare of the king and for the prosperity of the queen’s tirumānagalyam. Virarājendrā was succeeded by his son Adhirājendrā, a portion of whose short period of rule must have merged into his own reign. The prayer offered for the welfare of Adhirājendrā in a record from Kūṭuru4 in the Tanjore District, dated in his 3rd year, seems to indicate that this king was himself suffering from illness at the time and his records end with the 4th year. As his successor Kulāṭṭuṇaga-Chōla I ascended the throne on 9th June 1070 A.D.,5 Adhirājendrā could have ruled independently for only a short time in the first half of A.D. 1070.

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1 The Chāḻukya title ‘the shatterer of the pride of the Chōla monarchs’ (ante, Vol. XV, p. 91) and the foundation of a temple called Chōla-goṇja-Traipurushadēva at Anjugera (S. I. I., Vol. XII, B.K. No. 103) may be noted. An invasion led by Prince Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya in the reign of Trailokyamallē, against the Chōla king in A.D. 1064 is referred to in S. I. I., Vol. IX, Nos. 127 and 128.


3 No. 128 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1912.

4 No. 280 of 1917.

5 No. 15 of 1890 is dated in the 3rd year +200th day of reign.

4 Ante, Vol. VII, p. 7, f.m. 5.
What became of the several Chōla princes, sons of Rājendrādeva and Virarājendra, is not apparent. Of those, if any, that may have survived the numerous campaigns of this period, there was perhaps none strong enough to occupy the Chōla throne after Adhirājendra. So the enterprising Eastern Chāluksya prince Rājendra-Chōla II, son of Chāluksya Rājarāja I, grandson of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I, and son-in-law of Rājendrādeva, who was thus intimately connected with the Chōla royal family, availed himself of this opportunity to quietly succeed to the vacant Chōla throne. This political step not only helped to relieve the tension in his own country where his uncle Vijayāditya was still reigning, but also gave Kūlottunaga-Chōla I a large tract of new territory to rule over, until such time as, with the demise of his uncle, he could consolidate the Chōla and Chāluksya fortunes into one line.

Section III (ll. 170-191).

This section relates to the object of the grant. At the time of making the gift recorded in the present charter, the king is stated to have been seated in the front hall (tiṟṟukkāvāram) of the audience-hall (tiṟṟukkālākkam) called Rājarājan in the temple of Tiruvēgamam-Udayar at Kānchipuram, a nagaram in Eyyir-kōṭam, a sub-division of Jayaṅgoṇḍaḻa-maṇḍalam. The village Chērām alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvedimaṇgalam, which was granted to the three Brāhmans of the Āṭtēya-gōtra already referred to above, is said to have been situated in Iraṭṭapāḍi-kōṇḍaḻa-maṇḍalam, that had been captured by Virarājendra-deva in the campaign, which he had undertaken immediately after his coronation and in which he had defeated Āhavamalla and his sons on the battle-field at the northern Kūṭal-Saṅgamām.

The boundary-line of this gift-village is then described in detail. Starting from Kuppārī in the east, it passed through several landmarks, such as rocks, sluices, etc., and ended at a hillock called Kāḍatti-malai. The land enclosed by this boundary-line belonged to the village Chērām alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvedimaṇgalam. In this connection it may be noted that the boundary-line was not marked out, as was usual in such cases and in this period, by the circumambulation of a she-elephant (puṇi-kuladu) and that though it was drafted by the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇaj, it is lacking in the sententious clauses and schedules regarding tax-exemptions, irrigation-privileges, etc., similar to those mentioned in the Tiruvāṅgādu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. After the description of the boundary-line, the verse which is engraved on the seal of this copper-plate grant is also repeated here, to stress the fact that the foregoing charter was the order of king Virarājendra-deva.

Section IV (ll. 192-211).

This section constitutes the concluding portion of the record and contains the names of the signatories, imprecatory verses and such other routine matters. The name of the adhikāri-gal who drafted this order is given as Guṇanidi-Aruṅmoligal alias Mīṇavaṇ-Mūvendavēḷar of Parakēsariyallur in Tirumāraiyur-nādu, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikkāmāṇi-vaṇānādu, a district of Sōla-maṇḍalam. The tirumandira-olai officers were Tōrṇamayān Pāpanāsala alias Viraṅdavallabha-Brahmādhiraṇaj of Kāyākkūli, a brahmādēyঃ in Kurumbūr-nādu, a sub-division of

1 See the table given at page 128 of Trans. Archi. Series, Vol. III.
2 The 'adoption' theory has been ably refuted by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar in ante, Vol. XXII, p. 272. Whether Kūlottunaga's succession was peaceful or was attended with civil war and bloodshed has also been the subject of much speculation.
3 Virarājendra was staying in the same place while issuing another record (S. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 60). A palace named Sōḷakāraṇa-vaṅgai and thrones called Rājendra-vaṅgai-Māvalivāpaṇaṇa and Abhimānākām are also referred to in his inscriptions (Nos. 182 of 1915 and 462 of 1968).
4 See En. 1 on page 284.
Jayaṅgopaṇḍaśāla-valanādu and Arulmoṇi-Rājendrāśāla alias Jananātha-Viluppazhaiyān of Śēna-
maṅgalam in Virāṇaḷa-valanādu.

The composer of the Sanskrit prakāśi was a certain Chandrabhūshanā-Bhaṭṭa who is re-
ferred to later by the paraphrased name of Śāśibhūshanā-Paṇḍita. He is evidently identical
with Chandrasēkharabhbūshanā-Bhaṭṭa alias Virarājendra-Brahmādhiraṇa mentioned in an
inscription1 of the king from Gaṅgakinḍaśāḷaḻapuram, where a large number of the king’s of-
cers are enumerated, among whom Guṇandhi-Arulmoṇi alias Mānavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷar of the present
record also finds mention.2 A certain Chandrabhūshanā-Paṇḍita figures in two records3 from the
Bellary District dated in A. D. 1054 and 1068, and it is possible he was identical with the com-
poser of this copper-plate grant. In collaboration with this panegyrist, the officer named
Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇa is said to have drafted this copper-plate charter finally, and got
it engraved by Śāhikaraṇ-Kūḍāṇi alias Karṇākara-Āchārīyān, a Tacehāchārīyān of Kuvalāḷa-
m in Kuvalāḷa-nādu.

A few imprecatory verses are then quoted, and along with them there is one more verse in
the Mālīnī-mētre added here, as an exhortation made by king ‘Rājarāja’ whose head is ornamented
with the lotus-feet of Hara, enjoining all future kings to protect this charity. As this reminds
us of the title ‘Śivapāḍasēkhara’ borne by the Chōla king Rājarāja I, it appears probable that
like the supplicatory verse ending with ‘yāhātī Rānabhadbhṛañḥ’ this Chōla king also got a similar
verse composed for use in Chōla documents. Or as an alternative, it may be suggested that the
verse refers to Virarājendra himself, who is given the titles ‘Rājādhirajā’ and ‘Rājarājaṇ’ in
the Tirumukkūḻal inscription,4 in which case the attribute used in this verse may be understood
as indicating simply the king’s intense devotion to Hara.5

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, the village Chōrām in Pulīnāḍa may be
identified with Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, where the copper-
plate set was discovered. Raṭṭapāḍikopāṇḍāla-māṇḍalam, which took the new name from
the time of Rājendrādēva who conquered Raṭṭapāḍi, is represented by the tract of country
round about Punganur in the Chittoor District, and the adjoining Chintamani taluk of the Mysore
State. There was also another sub-division known by the name of Raṭṭapāḍikopāṇḍāla-valanādu
in the Pudukkottai State. The names occurring in the description of boundaries are too vague
as to be identified now6.

TEXT.

[For metres of verses 1—81 see above, Vol. XVIII. p. 31.]

First Plate.

1 Svāsti Śilī || Yaḥ kartā jagad-ut(d)bhava-sthiti-layān-ut(d)bhūtayā līlayā yō vāchāṁ

2 adhināyakas-trayati yam su

3 rvajñāt-aikāśraya [[||] yat(d)-bhakti-pravaṇār-apāya-vihamas-tāryyō bhaṇ-āṁbhōni-

4 dhur-dēyād-waś-sa vi

5 bhūtim-indu-sakal-āpaṇā Bhavāṇīpatiḥ ||||-1-|||-Māyām-āyāminīṁ yō vahati jagad-idaṁ

6 raṇjāyantī-rājantīṁ jānā-ā-—

S. I., Vol. IV. No. 529, l. 27.

"Ibid., l. 29.

Jas., Vol. XXI. p. 232, l. 7.

King Parāntaka also describes himself as ‘Smarāri-charaṇambuja-ākhaṇam’—(S. I., Vol. II. p. 388).

The Tabelldar of Punganur, who was addressed, has not been able to render much help in this matter.
4  jāma-prasūti(tim) spuṭa-ruchi-vapuṣṭa yōgabhāj-āgabhājā \[*\] satv-ā-satv-ānuṅkampī shti-
ta'-madita-mahā-tāpā-sū-
5 nām-pasūnāh Sambhus-sam-bhugnā-pāpā-vyatikriti bhavatas-sa prapātāt prapatāt ||-2
   ||- Chakrē chakrēṇa
dxīyā-prakāram-ātibalaṁ yas-samastāṁ samastam pātā pātāla-mūl-āhita-Balir-anūṣām
   bhāsūrājām suṇaṇām \[*\] sa-
dyas-sa dyatv-āghaṁ vō Harī-akihila-jagad-rakṣaṇāṇa kṣaṇāṇa svairath svair-anuṣā-
   lēsair-īva dharaṇī-
gatais-sambhavat(d)bhir-bhavat(d)bhuḥ \[*\] ||- 3 ||- Ādau dēvas-sīsākṣāṁ-upanāta-sam-
   yāḥ pratyavēksh-
9 ām-adabhrāṁ-bhīrhat(d)-vīśv-adhīnāthas-samuchita-samay-ārambham-āmbhas-sasārajja
   \[*\] tasmin-nikshipya bijan-nijam-ajara-2ba-
10 lain sa trīloki-karaṇdham-brahmāṇḍan-tēṇa chakrē vyadhita vidhiṁ-api srasātum-ikṣatam
   vidhiyam \[*\] 4 ||- Tasām-
11 jējātas-tādānīṁ sakalam-api jagat sa-prapaṅchāṇa Viriṅcchāraḥ(chaḥ) kurvvan\[*\] duvṛvāra-
   vīryān-ajanayad-apānān Brahamā[ḥ] karm-
12 ma-niśthāh[ḥ]|*| tēshāṁ-ekas-nvā-sēsēhair-api Vidhi-vibhavair-ggarbhīto nībhara-śrīra-
   vīśvavag-ṛcērī-mānirchīs-tribhavum-
13 bhavanāṁ sañcakasāñcakārā \[*\] 5 ||- Tasām(t)d vismēra-patmā(dnā) sana-nayana-chaya-
   spakṣa-dṛisēt-śṛjīta-śrīśā-śrē-
14 yas-sampatti-bhājān-dhuri gaṅṭa-guṇāh Kaśyapa[ḥ] pasyākō-bhūt \[*\] anyōti-ōṁmarddha-
   nēna śrīyam-īhaدادhātō
15 yat-prasūtaṁ-sūr-ādīya nīrvvyaṇān-nirijayaṁ prachurum-upachitān-ambūrahā-śrāṅ-
   gāṇ ||-6 ||- Tasāmā-jējātas-tādā-
16 niṁ samayyakrit-a(d-a) samas-svaiḥ prabhāvair udāraṁ-vvīśv-trāṇa-praṁñāis-sūtataṁ
   atitaraṇ-nirijayan svān>Vī-
17 vasvān \[*\] nīdṛā-mudrā-vibhōdām prathamaṃ-anubhavan-yaṃmayāk-hālimmāṁdī-
   dhātur-vakt-āravindais-saha saka-
18 [a-guṛō-satma(dnā)-patma(dnā-jākāśe ||] 7 ||- Yaso-ōdasyat(d)bhir-ūrōd-avatana-
   sam-atī\[*\] vīṣṭatair-anuṣu-śūlair-bhūvā-

**Second Page; First Side.**

19 t̐kārttasvar-āṇḍam prathamam-abhiṅgaḷat kālīm-ēv-ābabhāse \[*\] yat(d)bimbaḥ karṇī-
   kātyaṃ nivahati kīraṇaḥ ke.-
20 sarirāḥ-hita-śrī-utt(d)gūḍhair-ddid-dal-auṅghair-paraṅchita-ruchō vyōma-paṅkērhaṣya
   \[*\] 8 ||- Etasēyā-
21 bhūt-tanajō Manu-samaḷa-tanur-blūḥbhūjām bijam-ādyam yēn-aiṅkēteṇa yōgān-muni-
   bhīr-abhihitā māna-
22 vīyaṁ praŋ-eṣti \[*\] lōkānāṃ-ekamandyaḥ pravidhad-atulam śarmana dharmma-prapaṅ-
   chaṅ-bhūṣyān bhāśvat-sūt-

1 TAS has kīta instead of sthīta. [T.A Sindicates the readings given in the Transverse Archaeological Series, Vol. III. No. 34. as made out from the Kanyākumari Inscription.]
2 TAS has jagad-drambhām instead of samay-ārambham.
3 TAS has ajam=akihila instead of ajam-balum.
4 TAS has kṛiteṇ instead of kureṇa.
5 TAS has avatamasat-tāti which is obviously a misreading for avatamasamṇtī.
6 Of the syllable ke only the e sign appears in this line, while the letter k occurs in the next.
23 tvāt pitaram=iha\(^1\) sutaṁ yah\(^2\) prakāśichakārā |||\(-9\) |||: Tasya=Ekeśhākur=abhūd=yaśōbhir-amalair=ddikṣhv=ātatai- 
24 sōbhitas=sūnus-sānushu bhūbhiritam sūra-gaṇair=yyat-kṛttir=ut(d)gīyatē [\(*\)] yasya=āmitrates-naradiśrīya-virahī- 
25 jajitram=mahas-sarvatō durvvāra\(^4\)-prasaraṁ vyajēṣṭha balavan-Mitraṣya tējha param \|||\(-10\) |||: Tasya=ābhiḥ-tana- 
26 yasya=saṃmunata-nayāḥ prēkhī Vikukshīn=nripō rakshām=aksāta-vikramas=saṃakārot kshūmanādālaśya=āsya yaḥ [\(*\) a- 
27 nyōnya=pravimarddanēna mahatī yā pārthivist-labhāyatē tāṁ sūtē śrī(āri)yam=aśramāṁ kshitiḥbhūtāṁ yat-pā- 
28 dayōr=anāti |||\(-11\) |||: Putras-tasya Puranājayas=saṃabhavat saṅgrāmam=ājanmu(gmu)- 
29 shāṁ=jētā bhūmibhūjāṁ=ji- 
30 gīshur=surūn jaiō \(^2\) [sa] mānyas-tataḥ [\(*\) Jambhā\(^6\)ṁ rivīṣhaham vīdūrya kacakde 
31 sād-dēvar-adhikra-pramāḍa-gaditāṁ prāptaḥ Kakusth=ābhīdam \|||\(-12\) |||: Prithva- 
32 bhabhiy=vātāṛā kilé kul-āḍripā 
33 samas=aśamast-āvaniśī-vandita[h] [\(*\) vivēda yasmin=nripatau sa-nandadh(thu)r=ṇna vēpahūj[r]=m-āpi cha yāchitia-jana[h][\(*\) ||| 
34 13 \|||: Amūshin=varītā=bhūm-mahati Kuvalāśvō narspati[r]=Harēr=tviryair-ddddhy- 
35 air=atibhūtām=ut(d)bhāsita-tana- 
36 b[h] [\(*\) sa. Dhundhun=daiti-yendram bahāla=sikōtā-sindhu-pīthaṁ hitam lōkāy-āmsai vidad- 
37 haddi=avādhir-udōha- 
38 ta-balaḥ \|||\(-14\) \|||: Vamsē=smiṁ=ut(d)bhabhuv=ś(a)d bhuta=ma[hjma-bhanē=brājitasī- 
39 āmārārēr=ānāś vīvanvahhar-ārīti-prāśama- 
40 namānām karttum-utsiddha-kṛttih [\(*\) Mānḍhātā nāma rājā jana-nayana-mah-ānandā- 
41 sandōha-dāyī yasya=ādarmaṇa-kśhayāya 
42 vyācharad-sti-javāch=chakram=chakravāḷḥ \|||\(-15\) \|||: Tāsmin=nripē parama=tējāsi śāsat̄- 
43 īmāṃ bhūmīn=chāchāra hariṇā- 
44 Hariṇās-sahā-āpi [\(*\) sarvō mithas-sahajam=apāy=ajahōt\(d\)=vīrōdhān-dharmma=tv=ādhar- 
45 muna-virahān-na tathā chakārā- \||| 

Second Plate; Second Side.

38 16 \|||: Udayam=īya daddhanas-sat(d)=gupair=ādhānānas-satatam=asad-āpāyē vṛttdhi(ddhi)- 
39 mātyā=ānāvāyā [\(*\) udajāni Muchukundaḥ 
40 kundh[kunda]-gaurair=yyasōbhīḥ pāriṇata iva chandraś-ōbhamāṇō mayūkhaḥ \|||\(-17\) \||| 
41 Sa trātun-tridvan-trivishṭapā- 
42 sadān-nāthena yāthāniśvāhinā hantuṁ samprayīyāsat-aṭi-tarasā saṣadhōdaḥ prāṇīchitaḥ [\(*\) nirnīdram=tr-aharinān- 
43 dashūnaś-avighna-nripas=tēshām svarggam-atīva-durggam-akarōd-yuddhē 
44 hatānām-āpi \|||\(-18\) \|||: Āsmin=va- 

\(^1\) TASS has iha which is the correct reading. 
\(^2\) TASS has yah instead of yah. 
\(^3\) The corresponding reading in TASS is doubtful, though it has been given as drīkī-āti-prasarami. 
\(^4\) Read Vīkukti=nripē. TASS has Vīkukshīnā. 
\(^5\) TASS has the same reading, but it is corrected into jāmē. 
\(^6\) The intended reading of the last sthā of this verse seems to be: anna vēpitum=m-āpi cha yāchita-janaḥ. 
\(^7\) TASS has harīd-vēryair-dddhurṣāir which appears to be the correct reading. 
\(^8\) Read yāthā=devāhā. 

CHARALAPLATESOFVIRAJENDRADEVA:SAKA991.

42 mśē-bhavad-abhibhavann-ōjasā rājābṛi(vr)ṇdān labdh-ānand-d samitishu Hariśchandra- namā narendrah [*] dītsām-ēkām dadhad-ā.

43 pi nayan Kauśikīyān-dhānāyaṁ vīram vyakṛitām-īna tathā yas-sa-putrān kaḷatram ||-19|| | Āsid-ātra-ānva-.

44 vāyē Sagarā iti nripas-tarjītaḥ-āśeṣa-hūpō yēn-ārādhyē-pi kāman haya-makha-nikarāis tāṅśi-.

45 tō Dēvarājaḥ [*] yat-puratāṇaḥ prabhūvāl-lavāna-jalāndhau sāgaratvam prapaṇaḥ śeṣeśa-ānām vāri-.

46 dhīnām-api sakāja-gurus-sāgaratvaṁ echakāra ||-20|| | Āsid-astra Bhagīrathnāḥ kshiptatir-vvaṁśe.

47 sva-vahā-ot(d)bhavān-uddhurtum Kapila-prakāpa-dahana-jval-avali-bhāsmitān [*] svām-

48 vasudhān-nayan-Tripaṭhágān-chakrā sa Bhagīrathim-ma[ī]tyān-apy-amṛtān vyadhāt surasaṛid-vāri-pravā-.

49 ha-sprīṣām ||-21|| | Avyayē-tra sumahaty-avatirṇaṁ-sarvva-bhūpati-guṇaṁ haripūr-

50 na-varṇaṁ kṣhāmā-arkha-hālīm-Rita(tu)parṇaṁ ||-22|| | Iha samajani bhūpas-

51 ta-bhuvana-tāpāṁ-sātrīt-āri-pratāpāḥ [*] ari-yuvati-vilāpas-sphārit-ōdāma-kōpaṁ-

52 sphita-kirtir-DDhīpaḥ ||-23|| | Asamin-amā-schatushtayēna bhagavān varṣe- janiṣṭhā

53 vasundhārām-ātibalair-brahaśīr=mahā-rākhashaṁ [*] Rāmō Lakshmaṇa-sahyutō-thā

54 bharrataŚa[tru]gna-.

55 yuktas=tv-iti* dvandvāṁ Vishnubhūja-yuga-dvaya-tulām-arjjasvalām yad-yayau ||-24|| | Pitari tanaya-vṛttā-.

Third Plate; First Side.

55 m bhrāṭrīshu bhrāṭri-vṛttam yuvatīsāḥ patī- vṛttām śatrave śa[tru]-vṛttam [*] mnishu

56 vṛttanā sakalam=avhila-nātthās-śikṣayāmaṁ lōkam ||-25|| | Na kroḍhena jaghāna Rāk-

57 shas-patimā kāmē-.

58 na na prēyasyīn sa pratyāhīrtavān-mahīśa-charitam kartavyaṁ chakrē param [*] nó chēt

59 kin-tapasi sthitāṁ

59 sa Malayē śūdān=jaghaṁ-āśinā kiṁ v-anatya-kānti-dhūty-uṣpachitō-tatyaṁ Sītāṁ

puṇāḥ ||-26|| | Sētu.

59 nūṣṭum kapi-balām-asaṇu bhadhavan=naikam-abdhau chakre vakrētara-guṇa-nidhī=

dharmma-se[tū]n=aśeṣā-

1 TAS has the same reading; but it should be corrected into Kauśikīyārthanāyān, as has been suggested above, Vol. XVIII, p. 36.

* TAS has āra[bhē]=pi.

** TAS has nikaṛē.

* Read śūdē-āri as in TAS.

* Read -ddhirāshīlai as in TAS.

* TAS has yuktas=sauna.

* The syllable ka is engraved above the line.

* TAS has [dra]na[m] for punāh.

* TAS has bandhayain for bhadhavan.
Third Plate; Second Side.

73 r-anyair-ddhanyaiḥ Kavēra-sutā-taṭā-dvaya-vasumatim-eka-chchhāyām-anēka-phalāṁ vyadhāt [ ]-[ ]-A-
74 mara-sariti suṇānam bhūyas-tapās-charaṇaṁ jānā vidadhāti taṭe tasyāḥ kričchhran-tri-vishtapa-kāmyāya [ ] iha virachitam
75 suṇānam ghōran-tapās-cha surālayā-d api sūbhatare tīrēŚ vāsāṁ sthīrikurtet satām [ ]-[ ]- Anvaśāt-tam-anu Rā-
76 jakēsari vāsarāḍhipa iv-āsama-dyutīḥ [ ] Chōlabhūpa-tanayō nay-ādhikaḥ kṣōṁīṁ u- jaladdhi bāḍhit-āhit[h][11]
77 ||| -36 ||| Tat-sutas-tu Parakēsārī nripō matsarī-kshitipa-viryya-śātanaḥ ||* sat-sakhaḥ kshitim-imām-apilayat(d)
79 rggah ||* jajēn yajñair-ājñayā va(cha) prakāmān-dēvān-chhatrūnms³-tōshayan bhṛeshya- yaṁ-cha- : ||| -38 ||| Asmin-vaṁśe Vi-
80 rasēn-abhidhānō jāṭō nīt-āśeśa-lōk-ābhitāpah ||* rējē rājā tējasā bhānu-tulyāḥ kalyā-
82 ri-prakara-vinatī-vyakta-vīcchhinma-kōpah ||* Vṛitrārātarīj-jhāṭiṭi samare nīrjītō yasya bāṇaṁ-mimitrī-
83 bhūtas-satataṁ-abha(ja)d-Vyāghrakētu-ddhva(jatvam) ||| -40 ||| Avanim-akhila-pāra-vāra-dhi(t)jēr-abhiraṁ-ōpa-
84 ratim-avirata-śrīs-sāstīṁ-māśa-śrīh ||* nīja-bhuja-balalī-kṛṣṭa-rajanya-lakṣmir-īha samajani vaṁśe bhū-
85 putiḥ Pushpakētubh ||| -41 ||| Asmin-vamaṁśe Kētumāl-abhidhānō jāṭō rājā-Ājātasaatu-pra-
86 kāsāh ||* hṛtīvā sarvva-kṣamaḥbhrītāṁ kētú-mālāṁ yēn-āvāptaṁ Kētumāl-abnīdhānām ||| -42 ||| Samudraji-
87 nāma narādhīrājō babhūva vaṁśe-trā viśāla-viryyaḥ ||* pūrvv-āpar-āmbuṇōnīdi-
88 nā(m)i(sa) raḷēna paṇēna Madrē-
89 sa-sutāṁ sa lēbbē : ||| -43 ||| Śrīmaty-ata kula babhūva mahita-śrīh Paṇchāpāknyō nripō nirvavyāj-āti-
90 thi-pujān-orjītā-manā yaksān sa paṇch-āṭithīn ||* vidbyā(ddhva) paṇcha śīrā-sva-
91 sōṇitam-asau tair-yācitas-sa.
92 tvara[ni] kōśhā[na]-tā[î] sakalaṁ-apāyayad-atas-tat-pālanat Paṇchapaḥ ||| -44 ||| Abhavād-
93 vibhavair-ijyān-digīt.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

91  śān-īha vaṁśe nripatis-sitāṃ-su-kāntaḥ ||* Dramiḍas²-sa Mṛidasya samprasādād-sjayan- mṛtyum-anatayaya-
92 prabhāvah ||| -45 ||| Atr-ābhū[da]-a[m]ala-guṇah kulē-tula-śris-tējasvī samiti Manorath-
93 abhidhānāḥ ||* yō ḫavā jhāṭiti manorāthān-arinām bandhhnāṁ-akuruta sat-phalān balēna : ||| -46 ||| ātastmūn Parunetkīli-
94 prabhṛṭayō vaṁśe dharadhīśvarā bhūyāṁsas-tūlit-Āmarēṣvara-bala-ēśrī(ē)-(rī)-vikramā jaṁjīrē ||* yēśhām-ā-ja-
95 ladhi khamān samavatānī₁₀ vyāptaṁ yasōbhīś-śubhār-s-brahmaṁḍa[m-a]-kapoḷa-[a]-dēṣa-
96 samayaṁ viśvaṁ-jagad-rājatē : ||| -47 |||

1 TĀŚ has matsam[vitam-a]nivṛryya-śāsanaḥ.
2 The corresponding reading in TĀŚ is uncertain.
3 Here n is superfluous. Read =chhatrūnms=
4 TĀŚ has lōk-āhita[cha]
5 TĀŚ has tarjītō.
6 TĀŚ has jāṭa-śam[pā-pra]kāśā.
7 TĀŚ has [paṇya]na. sa-sutāṁ [sa]lo[bha].
8 TĀŚ has sōḍaram.
9 TĀŚ has nṝṃrīdās.
10 TĀŚ has sapatana-, which is ill-suited in the present context.
Asmin kule kula-dharidhara-sannikasaḥ kāl-śāma-vitat-śrū-yaśaḥ-pratānaḥ [\*] āśīt kṣatīśaś-tilakaḥ Ka-

rikāla-nāma Chōjas-samuddhataś-ripu-kṣhipalā-kalāḥ ||-48 ||- Sa Kāčerīn-dūrikritāsakāla-sasyāṁ vidhāvatīm

payah-pūrānī-sphārār-avānim-avīnī-śuddha-śaṛaḥ [\*] pratīrthībhūtābh-bhr-narapatī-śīrā-

[\*] śīla-baṭa-piṭaka-pratīrthī-bhūmīṃ-tri(d)bhir-śayr-ūnu-

[\*] nād-āraḥ śvār-āgrāsara-samam(mañ) ||-49 ||- Asmin kule sakāla-pārththīva-vandya-pāḍō jātō-

bhiṣata-gūṇa-saṁ-

hati-bṛihita-śri [\*] uṃjvasval-ō(d)bhaṭa-nīj-śrātīma-pratīpās-santāpit-śri-salabhō

Vṛalbhaḥ mahīśaḥ ||- 

50 ||-- Il-ānuvyā-śhād-śmarēśa-tulyaḥ prāṣṭa-vidvaj-jana-tāpā-sāyāḥ [\*] samasta-

rājānaka-bhūri-vallabhāḥ\*

kshamādhikāntah Jagaśekkaramallah ||-51 ||- Vanaśe-sūm-ari-rāja-vandita pada-dvandv-

ārvindah kshamī rāja Vṛalbha-yāmin-

karaḥ samabhavat sūnōs samanō ravēh [\*] dōr-duṇḍ-āchita-khādga-khaqdita-rūpē-

yasāy-ōṛjita-śri-jushaḥ

kōp-ōṃgṛī[\*] ṛdhyād-arang-śाru-salilais-siktaḥ param śāmyati ||-52 ||- Anvayā-tra Vījāyālīṇa-nāma śārvabhiṃsā

sakalā-kshiti-nāthāḥ [\*] yat-pāda-śmṛīta-yugma-ajajaraḥ śēkharikritam-aśēsha-mahi-

śaṅ [\*]-53 ||- Nivēśayām[\*]

sa sa Chōja-dēśē nīveśītāśēsha-gūṇa-pravṛddhām [\*] Kaṇṭāsa-ādīyār-amaraḥ prāgītān-

Tačchāpuṛi-nāma pu-

rīn-nārendraḥ ||-54 ||- Adityavānma(mm-ā) bhavat-śasya putraḥ Kōḍāṇḍarām-ābhi-

tayāḥ[\*] prasiddhiḥ [\*] utpluta matta-dvīra-śīrā.

samātāhā-jagāhā yāh Pālavarājām-ājau :||-55 ||- Asy-ōbhūt-śanayaḥ parākramavātām-

ēkādhīpaḥ kshmā-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

bhūjām vīraśri-nilayaḥ Parāntaka iti khyātaḥ kṣamādhiśvarah [\*] vēl-ōdyāna-vihārībhir-

mmadalakājair-āyantā vā-

raja-ādīhīrvarai-vvāryantē mada-sindhubhūṃ pratiśāsin pāthāmśe pāthōṃdhiṃ ||-56 ||- Ha-

tv-śau Pāḍyam-akalēnē balēna ṣaṅkaṃ hṛityā tādlyām-aklihaṃ vasu vīryāśāli [\*]

bhūmāchākapār Ma-

dhūrān yad-adhaḥ-śkrit-āśri-sēbhē ṇatasas Madhūrāntaka-namādhīyam ||-57 ||- Yāj-

jīgaya Vījāyā-śpāma-

dyutiḥ Krīshṇārājam-ajjata-nāraṇāhīpāṣ [\*] bhūri-vikrama-vivardhita-dyuntē Vīra-Chōja

iti tēna kṛityātē ||-58 ||- Yat-tē-

rṇair-jalānādhi-uddhataiṣr[\*] bal-aughās-saṅvyattē samiti jagāhā śīnḥalēśān [\*]

tat-sūrva-kṣhipa-

ti-vandhyamāna-pādas-so-nvartthām-abhajata śīnḥalēntak-ākhyām ||-59 ||- Drīshṭāntah

cō-syā rūṇās-sakalā-gūṇa-

1 TāS has samutihita.
2 TāS has rājāntaka-bhūri-bhallah.
3 Read samabhāva as in TāS.
4 TāS has narēnlot-āśeṣa.
5 Read ābhūthāyā.
6 Read ṛgūd-ṛtō as in TāS.
7 Read tatus as in TāS.
116  nidhēś-āśaknuyāt kō-sya vaktum bhūya[h*] ślāghyān guṇ-aughān-upāsāmita-ripōr-vvikram- aik-āśpadava[y] [*]
117  yō vit(d)vat(d)-vipra-bhōgyān-anupama-vibhāvān-Virānāraśya-ādyān-ātyagryān-agra- hārān-vyadhita vidhir-iva sva-
118  rggam-ast-ārī-varṛggaḥ ||-60 ||- Amushya tanayō-hbhavat(d) vibhūr- Arindam-ākhyēś- nripaḥ kshapakara-sama-dyuti[h] kshapi-
119  ta-vair-paksh-ōtkarāh [*] yadiya-bhūja-vikrama-śravaṇa-sambhavat- sādha(sādha)saśrī- nṛṇipair-vanabhṛt(d)-guhā-griha-ni-
120  vāśibhi[h] sthiyatā ||-61||- Asakrd-akrita rājānas-vasviram-ājā-vidhiyāṃ-vyadhita Vidhi-samānas-sam-
121  pādaṁ sajjanānāṁ [*] atanuta nuta-viryyō vyāpadāṁ śātravānām-atulayad-atula-śrīs- chandra-kāntin sva-kāntyā : ||-
123  Pāṇḍya-bhūpārit-laṅghayat(d) girim |||-63||- Chakāra kārśu ripūn-āśeśhāṃs-taṭāra bhūrīn samar-ānu-
124  burāśn [*] jahāra ṭāpam budha-samhatinān-tatāna santāpam-ssajjanānāṁ ||64||- Akhila-guṇa-
125  nidhānāt(d)-bhūmipālīt-amusmād-udajani naraṁtāh Rājarāj-ābhidsānaḥ [*] sa khalu ruchhāra-đējā kānta-nē-
126  tr-āravindō Dhanada iti param yad-Rājarājēna tulyāh |||-65||- Saṅjahāra samarē sa pārti- thvān-ū-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

127  jjahāra vipadas-sa bhūtalāt [*] ajahāra cha makhān-anēkāsō vyājahāra yad-asunritan- na tat |||-66||- 
128  Saty-ākṣayē sthiratarkē bata Rājarājē Satyāśrayaḥ kila palāyata manda-buddhīḥ [*] natyā ķayanti 
129  sa-bhaya ripavas-tam-ājau na tyājayat-ayam-asūn-arbhīś-śriyas-taiḥ |||-67||- Tasya sū-
130  nur-anayasya śāsitā Pākaśāsana iv-āri-śanasāḥ [*] Śambarāri-ruchśar-ākṛttīr-nṛṇipas- sambabhū-
131  va Madhurāntak-ābhidṭāḥ |||-68||- Ajayad-ajita-viryyās-saurya-saundaryya-sālī Vijaya iva sapa-
132  nnā(tnā)n Kunda(nta)janāṁ-adhiśān [*] aharata sa kiriṭam kshatriyāṅ-ṅihantā[h] prasabhām-abhūhat-ārīr-Jāmada-
133  [gnyajsa vīryāt |||-69||-] Jahāra hāran-tuhināmsu-kāntam Satakraṭor-vvikrama-nirjī- tāriḥ [*] vihā-
134  ra-bhūmin-nīja-sainikānaḥ sa cū-ākarōt samyati Mānyakētam |||-70||- Sva-sānāḥbhīś- 
135  n-apratīkita-Kulūt-ōtkalapatiḥ Kaliṅgān-Vaṅgēndraś-saḥ baha[la]-viryyān vidalayan [*] sa 
136  Gāngām-ut(d)garjjan-nīja-kari-ghaṭā-ghāṭita-ṭaṭān(ṅ)-ghaṭair-jhārē bhūbhīñ-makuta- nhitair-uddhī- 
137  ta-jalāṃ |||-71||- Ullāmghirā-ṃbdhūbhīḥr-uddhata-bāhu-viryyār-nnīrdhāta-[vai]r-ī-nara- nāṭha-bala-prapāṇchaḥ [*] 

1 TAS has Vīma-ṇdruṁ, which has been rightly guessed to be meant for: Vāṇa-ṇdruṁ, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 45, n.
2 TAS has pāṭīta.
138 sainyair-ddadāha sa Katāham-adaddha(gdha)m-anyai Rajēndra-Chōla-nripatiḥ kim- asāddhyam-asya :||-72 |||- Tasya-ā.
139 saṁs-tanayās-trayas-traya iva khyatāh kratōrg-agnayaḥ's-tēshān-tu prathamāh kṣhitīśatila ād Rājādhirlā.
140 jō nripaḥ [*] yaḥ Kalyāṇapuran-dadāha nripatin-nirjītya Karmāțakān-ādāy-Āhavamalla-vāraṇa-gaṭhāṃ Kō-
141 lāpṛan-ṭch-ākshīpōt |||-73 |||- Tasmin gatē trividvam-uddhita-lōka-sōkas-tasya-ānūjāh kṣhitim-imām-akhi-
142 lām-arakshat [*] Rājendradēva-nripatisa sa ripūn-uṣēshān Śesh-ōpam-ōt(d)bhaṭa-bhujaḥ prajāyaṃ vyanai-
143 shit |||-74 |||- Tasmin-yātē trividvam-anujas-tasya nistējit-āriḥ prajyaṃ rājyaṃ vyadhita vidhivat(d).Vīrārā—

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

144 jōndradēvaḥ [*] atyut(d)bhitāṃ samadhik-balā Rājaraṇjadendēvaś-śātuv-ṛtaṃ vyā-
145 jyato jāvāt(d)-bāhyam-ā. Bhavāntaraḥ=cha :||-75 |||- Hatvā Kūṭala-saṅgamē kṣhitībhṛtaḥ Karmāțata-vaṁś-ōt(d)-
146 bhavān saṁyāṇa yaṭābbhujāṃ prava-
147 rddhayaṃ yas-tair-ddēvabhūyaṃ gataiḥ [*] yēn-aikēna gajēna Kuntalā-balān-nirhatya ta-
148 ch-chhūptaiḥ kītv-anayāṃ sa-
149 ritaṃ samudra-paritām[*] santoṣhito vēringīḥ |||-76 |||- Bhṛtrībbhyāṃ samupēkṣitaṃ jana-
150 padai vaṁśa-kram-ābbhāga-
151 thāṃ krāntam vairi-mahīsvarair-ātibalair=Vēṅgīn(ō)-Kalī[ū]gān-api [*] jītvā śātuv-param-
152 parām-ātibalāṃ bhitvā cha
153 durgga(ṛgga)[*] bahuḥ=cha śrīmān-Vallabha-Vallabhaḥ kṣhitipatiḥ kṣhēmēṇa tām sō-nva-
154 śit |||-77 |||- Vṛchchōla-nripatiḥ Kari-
155 kāḷā kālayan kali-balaṃ sakalāṃ saḥ [*] dharntma-sāsana-samuchchhayam-nehchāṃ vyaṭanōt(d)-Bharatasāra-samētām |||-.
156 78 |||- Dēvasy-Āḍrisutāḍhipasya mahatas-Trailōkyasār-ābhūdhani śrimad-Dabhraśabha-
157 nātasya mukutē māgikka(kya)m-ā.
158 rōpitam [*] manyē vairikul-ādīmasya sāsana-Śrīkaṇṭha-chūḍāmaṇīr-bharīng-arṭthan=
159 nīja-vaiśnākṣit sa bha-
160 gavān bhūnus-samārōpitam(taḥ) |||-79 |||- Chōla-Tuṇḍira-Pāṇḍyaćalu Gamgavātī-Kulūta-
161 yōḥ [*] Vi-
162 rājēndra-nāmn-āsau bhramadēyān-akalpayat |||-80 |||- Chatvāriṇiṃsat-saharaṇī bhrama-
163 nānān-trayīvīḍa(dā)m [*] atōshayad(d)-bhūmi-dānair-ō(a)sthāpayād-aditi(sthīram |||-81 |||- Svasti śrī [*] Sakalabhuvānāra-
164 ya śrī-mēdinīva[1] labha Mahārājādhirlāja Paramēśvara Parmāpaṭṭāraka Ravikula-tilaka Chōjakula-kē-
165 kharā Pāṇḍyaćak-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallaṇai aṁmaḍi vēn-kaṇḍa Rāja-
166 sēkhaṇa Rājāśra-

1 Here the vīraṇga is redundant. Read aṣayas.
2 Tās has mānūta.
3 Read sāmudra-vaṁśitaṃ as in Tās.
4 Tās has bhitān.
5 Here cha is redundant: read bahuṇ.
6 Read bhīṣṭāraka.
Sixth Plate; First Side.

kkondu tanndan-piranda munavar virada-mudittu vandu-paandu Vijayadittaapkkum. 

udalum-aruli-kaalal-adainda maanarkkum k[kaadara]m-eindu kuudutt-aruli Somisvaranai 

Kunpadodesans kaivyidhuttarati-tthan-adainda Salukku Vikramadittanai enjissi niga 
la-kaanpikai-kaati Iraattapadi jirai-ilakkanam-eindu kooldturali vijaya-al 

nihassattu Ulagamuludaiyaloudum virirund-arulina sakravattigaal sri-Viraraj 

jadendevar murath-Chalukkaiyai Mudakkarris mudugu-kaanpdu muqim-ariya Iraattaraja-ku-

la-kalan igal Virarajendra puyan-koopdu nukkii-viakma Jayangop 

daalo-maandalattu2 Eyi-kottattu nagaram Kanchepuratt Udaiyar Ti 

ruvengambam Udaiyarr koyllil-stenpakattu tiruvolakka-maandapam R 

jarajnul muqil tirukkavayattu ejundaruli Uttaram-ayana-samkranti nangru 

danani cheydarulaniyru[*] muqi-kavitta muhurttam mohurttam-agav-sejuttup-poy 
vadiko 

-tvppuon Virarajendra vada-Kudal-samgamattu pp[ora]i havamallaiyum makkalai 

yum puraugu koopdu Iraattapadi koondalol maandalattu Pluli nattu- 

chCheram-a 


Sixth Plate; Second Side.

triya-Kramavittaum Mundaya-Kramavittaum Pallaya-Kramavittaum 

ullittarkum 

ivarga avayattarkkum danamaa-kuudutturalin Chrram-aana sri-Madurantaaka- 

(schattuvv) 

dinangalattukku simantanam |[-purvandikku Kupperryum paschat Nattuvaan-kuru 

1 Read adippadutta. 
2 Read Vijayadittaarku. 
3 Read Salukki. 
4 Read chakrarvattigal. 
5 Jayangudaalo-maandalam is similarly described in another record of Virarajendra dated in the 7th year from Perumbet (S. I. L. Vol. III, p. 203). For a variant see l. n. 3 on same page. 
6 Read chatureddi. 
7 Read Bothisana-sattratu. 
8 Read Rishikessa-Bhatta.
kkaiyum paśchāt-<kKoṭiśkāyavāyum Puṣṭiṣkūvāyakum Śirukaṇṭuषaṣku mṛkṣu
182 Aṛṇḍiy-<u> śvēngunṛṛum paścāt Ādīmuṇḍakal Vauvāl-pārāy
183 yum adukku mṛkṣu Puṇḍārukṛuhchihyā Vāḍa-kuṭuṣkaṭiyum adukku mṛ-
184 ku Oḷug-pārāyum paścāt Andīyulājālim-kKuṇḍaṇi-pārāy-
185 yum paścāt Uṣhai-kuṭuṣkaṭiyum adukku vadaṇκu añakkāl-
186 lum adukku vāḍājpadiyum adukku vadaṇκu Taniṃṣṭu ma-
187 [da]iyum adukku vadaṇκu Mōṭṭā-puṭṭaṭiyum adukku-<kkjniṇku
188 Trikōṇa-muṭṭa-<mādaiyum Kāmāmṛa(ra)-<sūnyiyum paścāt Perumbal<ma-<u
189 lāgā-<kkaṭattī-<māliy[<i] kāṭitu [†] sāṃtaram samāpti || Viśavī-<vīśva-
190 mbharaṭṭaśair ṇṇaṇditaḥ<v<am><i><vvidida(ta)m<*>-sānanam Virājēndra-
191 Rāṣa-kāśārvā<
192 181 mmnaṇaḥ || [82]|<*> Virājēndradevasya vikramaśya prakāśanam [|*] Chandrabhū-
193 <maṇṭa-<bhata-Bhattē-
194 Seventh Plate; First Side.
195 192 na rachitaṇa śuddha-buddhīnā || [83]|<*>-Tīrūvāyom[inda]rāla i-<sāsanah-<chevyvit-
196 tār Adikāra] tiru mṛvuṃpaṇā-<vīṭa-<tīr-<vēndar-<nāṭi-<vānduṇa paṇji-nikkī
tīr-<vēndar-<nāṭi-<vānduṇa paṇji-nikkī
197 ulag-<aṃḍa viran Viṣṇa[rā]jēndran aḷīya-<tōl<Maṇu-neriṣya vālajā<ra
198 Sōja-<maṇḍalattu Kṣatriya ya[<i]<jākmaṇja-valanāṭtu-tīrṇanaiyūr-nāṭu-p<Paṭaṇē-
199 rinalūr <kīvānu Gupanidi<Arulmōliyār<śa Minav<Maṇvēndavēl<śa || Tiru-
200 mandira-<lai Jayaṅgunkāsa<la-valanāṭtu-<kKuṇumbūnāṭtū brahmaṇāyaṃ-<Kā-
201 yākkuṇi Gu(Ku)<nājanā-<gārattu Āpastambha(ba)-<sūtrattu Tōunayan Pāpanāsa-
202 nā-<aṇa Virāśaṭavaḷabha-Brahmādhīraṇ ān ||- Nattināṇḍa-valanāṭtu Virāṣaṭa-va-
203 laṇāṭtu Śeṇadevaṇgal<maṇ-<daiyān Arulmoji Rājēndraśolānā āna Jana-
204 nāḍa-Vijupparaiyaṇ ān ||- Sāmānyā-yam dharmam-<tā(n<*>)-<ṭripāṇām<*> kāle kāle
205 pālīmiya<*> bhavat(d)bhīṣ(bhīṣh) ān<*> tasmād-<tān bhāvinaḥ pāttiθiθēndran bhūyō bhūyō
206 yāceha-
207 tē Rāmabhadraḥ<*> || [84]|<*>- Sukritam<*>-idam<*>-ajāraṇa rakṣhayatē dishu diṣān sakala<nri-
208 [p]iṭi-vandyas-sō<*><*)
209 yam-<ṅgūmiṇo vaḥ [†]<*> Harā-charaṇa-saṅvastha-bhīṣmaḥ mūrdhā-v[<i]<k<īl<a]><<t<ara<<tam<<p<<num<<m<><<o<>><<n<><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><<
208 bhūmis-tasa yaśa taidha phalam || [85]|<*>- Paripatan-adhiṣṭayaṅ Mahāraṅaka-Brahmā-
209 dhīrājan-a-
209 Seventh Plate; Second Side.
209 [tanva] sāsanam-<tē dēṣa-madhyē śva-pati-kārya-viṃsēyaṛththam buddhiḥ krita [Saṣṭi-
209 bhūṣaṇa-
209 paṇḍitēna sārdhaḥ? || [87]|<*>- Tīrūvāyom[jind-aru]la i-sāsanam-<jut<u>taḥ veṭṭi-

1 It is possible that the expression Kudattī mālaiyīḷī may be the name of a hill, or it may mean having traversed (kudandū), it terminated (kūṭīḷūra) at a hill (mālai), which may have been a landmark in that locality, without however, having a specific name.
2 Read -<n-<nanditaḥ.
3 The correct reading is dharmō-<tā<maṇipātanō.
4 Read pāḷaiṇyō.
5 The verse is defective; and the following corrections may be suggested: sīkaṃ<ta-<tācbaṭṭāḥ; nṛpati-<sa<ra<śī<ma<na<ma<na-chitkēna mūrdhā-<nāṭi<sa<ma<na-<kā<ma-<p<<num<<m<><<o<>><<n<><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><><<
6 This verse is also corrupt, but no corrections are suggested.
Seal of the Charala Plates.

Seal of the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chola.

From photographs (ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE).

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Res. No. 1984 E'59-265

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-155) — Sanskrit verses 1 to 81.

(Ll. 155-158) — Hail! Prosperity! Sakalabhuvanāśraya, Śrīnādinīcallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhatēraka, the forehead mark of the solar race (Ravikula-tīka), the crest-jewel of the Chōla family (Chōlakula-sēkhara), Death to the Pāṇḍya family (Pāṇḍyakulāntaka), Death to the family of Āhavanalla (Āhavanallakula-kāla), the foremost of kings, who saw the back of Āhavanalla five times, Rājāśraya, Rājarājendra, Vira-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, Rājakēsarivarman śri-Virarājendradēva—

(Ll. 159-167) In the seventh (regal) year (corresponding to the) Śaka year nine hundred and ninety-one (expired), and the (cyclic) year Saumya, of (this) Chakravartīgaś Rājakēsari śri-Virarājendradeva—who, with heroism as (his) help, with liberality as (his) only ornament, wielded the sceptre, and dispelled the dark Kali (-age), took the head of Teṇṇavaṇu (i.e., the Pāṇḍya king), levied tribute from the Chēra (king), subdued the Siṅgāla country, saw the back of Āhavanalla five times on the fierce battlefield, recovered Vēngai-nādu and (thus) fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers who were born with him, gave the territory to Viṣayaṭīya who came and submitted to him, gave Kaṭāram after conquest to the (Kaṭāram) king who had approached his feet (i.e., submitted to him), routed Sōmēsvara so as to abandon the Kannāda country, invested the Chālukya Vikramāditya with the necklace (kaṇṭhikai) so as to shine in the eight directions and bestowed on him the Irāṭṭapāḍi—Seven-and-a-half-lakh country, after conquest, and was pleased to be seated on the throne of victory, together with (his) consort Ulagamulududaiyal :

(Ll. 168-180) while (this) warlike Virarājendra, the god of Death to the family of the Raṭṭa king, whose anger abated only after seeing the back of the obstinate Chālukki on (the bank of) the Mudālkāṇṭu, was pleased to be seated in the frontal portion of the audience-hall called Rājarājan in the southern portion of the temple of god Tiruvēgamam-Udaiyār at Kāṭhuchipuram, a nagaram in Eyyir-kōṭṭam, (a sub-division) in Jayaṅgonḍaśōja-mañdalam, which is ruled over (by the king), having been conquered by the strength of his arm and made his exclusive property, and was pleased to offer gifts on the day of Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti;

(he) gave to the Brāhmaṇe Śrōtiya-Kramavittan, Mundaya-Kramavittan and Pallaya-Kramavittan and others and their descendants of the varga (lineage) of Rishikēsava-Hrishikēśa-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīyā of the Āṭrya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Bauḍhāyana)-sūtra, a Brāhmaṇ (resident) of Chērān alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimañgalam,

(the village) Chērān alias śri-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimañgalam in Puli-nādu, (a sub-division) of Raṭṭapāḍikondaśōja-mañdalam, which was captured after seeing the back of Āhavanalla and his sons in the battle on the bank of the northern Kūdal-Saṅgamam, when (he), Virarājendra of the beautiful spear started out on the auspicious moment in which he was (himself) crowned.

3 These Sanskrit verses have been ably translated by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in True. Archl. Series, Vol. III, pp. 150 ff. and by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in ante, Vol. XVIII, pp. 48 ff.
(Ll. 180-189) The boundary (of this village) ran to the east (of) Kuppēri; then Nattuvankurukka; then Koṭṭikkanuvāy; then Pulugiyārur and Seṅgurur in Arpundi which is to the west of Sirukanuvāy; then (the rock called) Vavālāppai in Andimuḍakkū; Vajakurukkai in Puṇarkuruchéti to the west of it; (the rock) Oługupāyai to the west of it; then Kunḍaṟaṟappai (rock) in Andī; then Čhaikkurukkai; to the north of it Mukkallu; to the north of it Vārarāḍi; to the north of it Taṅimuttu-madai (sluice); to the north of it (the pond called) Mōṭṭān-kutṭai; to the east of it Tīṅkōnumut-
madai (sluice) and Kāṁmāra-sunai (spring); and then passing through and inclusive of Perumbāḷam, it reached the hill. The boundary (line) ends (thus).

(v. 82) This (is the) order of Viraraṟjendra-Rājaṟravarman, which is honoured by all the happy kings of this earth.

(v. 83) This (panegyric) illuminating the prowess of Virararjendradēva, was composed by the pure-minded Chandrabhūshaṇa-Bhatta.

(Ll. 192-196) At the order (of the king), this grant was caused to be issued by the officer (Adhkāra) Guṇaṇide-Aruṟmoliyār alias Miṇavaṇ-Muṃdēndavēḷ, the kilavap of Parakēsarīnaḷḷūr in Tirmnāṟiyūr-
nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valanāṇu, (a district) of Śōlamaṇḍalam, which was prospering in accordance with the eternal and ancient laws of Maṇu, under Virararjendra, the hero who is resplendent with the goddess of wealth, who is worshipped by the charioted kings and who rules the earth suppressing evil.

(Ll. 197-201) The Tirumandira-
īlai (verse) Tōṇamaya-
ṉaṇiśān alias Virasri-
valabha-Brahmādhirāja of the Kuṉājina-gōtra and the Aṕastamba-sītṛ of Kāyaṟkudi, a brahmaṛēva in Kuṟumbūṛ-
nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-valanāṇu, and Arulmoji-Rājarēṇḍrasōḷaṇ alias Janaṇaṇa-Vilupparaiyān of Śēṇdamaṇḍalam in Vinuśēṛa-valanāṇu, (a sub-division) of Nittavinōda-valanāṇu.

(v. 84) Imperatory.

(v. 85) "Let this charity be protected by the future kings of all the dominions" thus does king Rājarāja, who is worshipped by all the kings and whose lotus-like hands are cooped (in prayer), supplicate with his head marked with the ornament in the shape of the lotus-feet of Hara.

(v. 86) Imperatory.

(Ll. 206-21) In collaboration with Saṅbhūṣaṇa-Pandita, this excellent charter was completed by Madhurāṇtaka-Brahmādhirāja, so that the royal gift may be known in this territory.

1. Saṅkaṟaṟ-Kāḻḍi aliases Karupukara-Āchāriyaṇ, the Master-carpenter (Tachchāchāriyaṇ) and a resident of Kuṇallāś in Kuṇallāś-nāḍu, cut (engraved) the letters of this royal charter.

Do not forget charity; there is no support other than charity. Let all sentient beings protect (this gift).

No. 26.—DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

A. Ghosh, M.A., Patna.

The dynasty of the Paṇḍavas of the Lunar race, ruling in Southern Kosala for about a century and a half, is known to us from eight inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. It is

1. Kaṇaṇaśig is probably kaṇaṇaśig, 'a ravine between two hills.'

*To the list given in D. R. Bhandarkar's 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 229, add Mallār plates of Mahāśīvagupta, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.*
perhaps desirable for the purpose of the present note to reproduce here the genealogy derived from these inscriptions:

```
Sūryadhāsa
   Udayana
      Indrabala
         Nannadēva
            Iśānādeva
               son
               son
               son
               Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarīn
               Chintādūrga

Mahāśāṃkha-Tīrtha
               daughter
               = Nannadēva

Chandragupta
           Harshagupta
               = Vāsaṭā, d. of Sūryavarman of Magadha

Mahāśāṃkha Bālārjuna
          Raṇakēsarīn
```

The date of these kings is anything but certain. Kielhorn tentatively proposed to place them in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. on some a priori grounds. This date has been responsible for a theory that has gained some popularity, viz., the Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān plates of Amogha-varsha as having been defeated by the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (c. A.D. 793–814) is to be identified with the Pāṇḍava king of that name. It is overlooked that the Sanjān plates deal with the conquests of Gōvinda in a strictly chronological and regional order (more certainly than the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta). The mention of Chandragupta along with Nāgabhaṭa and the separate recounting of Kōsala make it definite that it is not the Pāṇḍava king who is intended there.

Of late some scholars have tried to establish that Tīravarā, an important king of the Pāṇḍava line, ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D. The object of this note is to show that such an early dating is not possible on palaeographical grounds.

A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Sūryavarman, the Varman king of Magadha whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Harshagupta the nephew of Tīrva, was no other than the Maṅkari of that name, who, as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Śiva in

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1 It is not definitely known whether he was an ancestor of Udayana.
2 He is probably referred to under the veil of a metaphor in the Bhandak inscription, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 631, n. 4.
3 There is nothing to show that he ever became king.
4 I am inclined to think that Nannadēra mentioned in the Bhandak inscription (loc. cit., p. 624) is no other than this Nannadēva, his mention being necessary owing to the fact that he was ruling when his cousin Bhavadēva repaired the monasteries mentioned in the inscription.
5 He is referred to as nrisa in line 10 of the Bhandak inscription.
6 He is probably the elder brother of Chandragupta referred to in line 5 of the Sirpur inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 190.
7 Above, Vol. IV, p. 257.
8 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.
A.D. 554. But, as I have said elsewhere, this identification is highly doubtful, for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukhari Śūryavarman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Asīrgaḍ and Nālandā seals of the Maukhari, and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Śūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadha, the Maukhari of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kauñj.

It is now practically certain that the Śrābhapura line, consisting of Prasannamātra, his sons Mahājayaṅarāja and Mānāmātra, and Mānāmātra’s sons Mahāśudāvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, preceded and not followed the Pāṇḍava kings in Southern Kōsala. Professor Mirashi holds that Mahāpravararāja (who issued his Thākurdiyā plates from Śrīpur) ruled in the first half of the sixth century and was ousted by Tivara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A.D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view: the Khārōd inscription of Indrabala and Iśānadeva shows that even before Tivara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as had been held by the Śrābhapura kings. The fact that Tivara is the first king of his line who is known to have made Śrīpur his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father and grandfather was situated elsewhere, as no copper-plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of issue of the charter) belonging to them has as yet been found.

Having seen that there is no sure ground for placing Tivara in the second quarter of the sixth century, we may turn to an examination of the palæographical chart attached hereto. The Ārag plates of Bhimaśena of unknown lineage are dated in the Gupta year 283 = A.D. 601; it is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period with which we are now concerned, and as such affords a convenient standard of comparison. It will be seen that the characters show typical Gupta forms throughout. Comparing this record with the Bhāndak inscription of Nānadēva, which according to Professor Mirashi’s chronology must belong to c. A.D. 500, we find that every letter in the latter presents a more developed appearance; in d all and ง there is now a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; looped tripartite ย has given place to the bipartite form: the right vertical of ง projects a bit above the curved top—an important development which led to the ultimate separation of the left and right limbs of the letter, leaving the left limb to develop independently into the Nāgari and proto-Bengali forms (which tendency of separation is already noticeable in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta, where the horizontal cross-bar of the letter has turned into a curved inward prolongation of the left member, the right member being thus a separate entity); in ฉ the left limb is no longer a vertical straight line but a curve, and the right downward stroke shows a tendency to hang below the base line. The persistent occurrence of late forms in the Bhāndak inscription marks it out as definitely much later than the Ārag plates; a fortiori the possibility of its being placed a century prior to the latter cannot be considered. It is also evident from the chart that the letters of the Kauñḍḍā plates of the Śālodbhava Dharmarāja have practically the same forms as those of the Bhāndak inscription.

1 Hārāḥā inscription, above, Vol. XIV, p. 110. This theory was first started by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed., p. 512 n.
2 Two Maukhari Seals from Nālandā, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.
3 Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 10.
4 P.R., A.S.W.C., 1902-04, p. 54.
5 The letters in the chart have been traced out of the published impressions of the respective inscriptions. They do not claim the preciseness of mechanical reproductions but may be regarded as accurate for all practical purposes.
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<th>Harahā Inscription of Iśānavarman A.D. 554.</th>
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*Note: The characters are written in a stylized script typical of ancient inscriptions.*
It will be readily admitted that it is not strictly scientific to compare the Hårähā inscription with the inscriptions of the Pândavas owing to the great distance separating them; but if it were allowed, it could be easily shown that the Hårähā inscription is distinctly earlier, so that Sûryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harshagupta.

It is clear, therefore, that the ascription of the Bândak inscription to a date earlier than A.D. 650, i.e. at least fifty years after the date of the Arang plates of Bhîma-sēna, is a palæographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We may now proceed to examine some incidental facts and identifications arising out of these tentative dates.

1. Some scholars have found a reference to Tivara in the Pulômbûrû and Ipûr grants of the Vishnuvardîn Mādhavarvarman,1 which refers to an invasion of the city of Trivara by Mādhavarvarman.2 But from the wordings in the inscriptions it is not certain that the expression Trivara-cingara should be taken to mean 'the city of King Trivara' and not 'the city called Trivara'. King Tivara of the Lunar race, who is proposed for identification with this Trivara, is not known to have founded a city of his own;3 on the other hand, the city of Sripura was the capital of Southern Kōsala before, during and after the reign of Tivara. It appears to me that there is much probability in the view of this Trivara is a place-name, being a partial Prakritization of Tripuri, and giving rise in due course to Tisar or Tewar, by which name the ancient Tripuri is now known. Even assuming that Tivara in the above inscriptions is the name of some king or prince, there is little likelihood of his being identical with the Pândava Tivara, in view of the fact that the date of the Pulômbûrû grant is most probably A.D. 594,4 which is much too early for one who, according to the chronology proposed here, flourished towards the end of the seventh century.

2. The Kōndēda and Nivinā plates of the Sàilôdhava king Dharmarâja say that Mādhava, the younger brother of the king, became a rebel; being defeated at Phâskîkâ he took shelter with another king Trivara,5 but was again defeated along with Trivara at the foot of the Vindhya. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Nivinā plates, proposes to identify this Trivara with Tivara of Southern Kōsala. Dharmarâja, being the grandson of Mādhava-Sainyabhîta II, the author of the Gajām plates of A.D. 619,6 must have flourished in the latter

3 For this reason the analogy of Pravarapura and Yāyātînagara cited by R. S. Pachhamukhi (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 99, n. 5) cannot stand. Nor is it possible to agree with him (loc. cit., p. 91, n. 6) that the superscript -i-sign in Tivara is distinctly long in the Pulômbûrû and Ipûr grants. In both, at any rate, it is clearly short.
5 R. S. Pachhamukhi (loc. cit.) tries to prove that the date of the grant is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the forty-eighth year of the king who was defeated in c. 631 by Pulakṣēn II or his brother Kûjâ-Vishnuvardhana. As Pulakṣēn's conquest of Kaldā, Kûsala, Pahthapura, Kûjâ and Kāśîhpura, recorded in vv. 26 and 27 of the Aihole inscription (above, Vol. VII, p. 6), were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishnuvardhana was the governor of Vêngi from c. 616 to 633 (cf. D. C. Ganguly, I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, p. 443), it seems very likely that the Vishnuvardîns were ousted by the Chhâlûkas in c. 616. The fact that the son of the donor of the Pulômbûrû grant of Mādhavarvarman was the recipient of the same village in the reign of Jayasimha, the son of Vishnuvardhana, (above, Vol. XIX, p. 254), does not prove that Mādhavarvarman just preceded Jayasimha in time; the two kings might well have been separated by two short reigns of a successor of Mādhavarvarman and of the Chhâlûka Vishnuvardhana. [But Jayasimha is definitely known to be the successor of Vishnuvardhana.—N. L. R.]
6 Or Trivara, as the word is spelt in the Nivinā grant.
7 Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.
half of the seventh century, which, according to our chronology, was also the date of Tivara. The identification proposed by Dr. Chakravarti is, therefore, highly probable.

3. Namsarajà, the son-in-law of Tivara, may perhaps be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of the same name who is known from the Tiwarkhād and Multāi plates to have lived in the first half of the eighth century. It is to be noted that both of them are said to have acquired the pañcha-mahāsāhaba.

4. Harshagupta, the nephew of Tivara, seems to find mention in the Dhulāi plates of Karkarājā, which says that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga won victories over [Kirtivarman] the Karnātaka (Chālukya) king, who had defeated, among others, a king named Harsha. As Harshagupta flourished in the first half of the eighth century according to our chronology, it is very likely that he was the senior contemporary of Kirtivarman II, who began his reign in c. A.D. 744.

5. Lastly, it must be admitted that we are not aware of the existence of any Sūryavarman in Magadh in the first half of the eighth century, who could have married his daughter to Harshagupta. Not much is known about the history of Magadh in the seventh and eighth centuries; but we do come across references to some chiefs whose names ended in varman and who therefore may be regarded as having formed a Varman dynasty. (The Sirpur inscription says that Sūryavarman was born in the Varman family.) The Korean traveller Hwui Lun, for instance, refers to the contemporary Magadh king as Dēvavarman. Further, Cunningham points out that in A.D. 692 the king of Eastern India was known in Chinese as Mo-lo-pa-mo or Malavarman. For earlier times we may recall the names of Pūrṇavarman, who, according to Huen Tsang, restored the Bōdhi tree at Bōdhi-Gaya, and of the Mañikhiśvarā nāgara-rāja Yajñavarman, Śāṅkūvarman and Anantavarman, known from the Barābār-Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions. We may prolong the list by adding the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyānavarman mentioned in the Kaumudimahātāva, a drama which, it has been shown, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 700. There is thus an almost continuous record of the existence of Varman rulers in Magadh who were probably usually feudatories, assuming independence under favourable circumstances.

No. 27.—NILAGANGAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF AMBADEVA-MAHARAJA: SĀKA 1212.

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

The subjoined inscription² is engraved on a slab set up in Survey No. 307/3 about two miles to the north-west of Nīla-Gangavaram in the Vinukonda Taluk of the Guntur District. The

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 186: Kāśikā: Kāśikā-nar-ādhīyan-Čheda-Pāṇḍya-ir-Harsa. Vajra-veśākhi-veśāka-vadā-kakām (=* Kāśikākṛta-vajra-veśākhi-vadā-kakām). Vajra-veśākhi-vadā-kakām (* Kāśikākṛta-vajra-veśākhi-vadā-kakām) kipadhravij-yak saha.(sa) jīpāga (**). (This verse only refers to the Kāśikā army, responsible for the defeat of Harsa and others, as being venerated by Dantidurga. Harsha mentioned here is identified with the Harsha of Kannauj who was defeated by Pulakesī II. Kirtivarman II is not known to have waged wars against any king of Kāśikā or Čheda or Pāṇḍya kings.— N. L. B.)
⁴ Beal, Life of Huen Tsang, p. xxxvii.
slab is broken into two fragments both of which contain writing on the front and back sides. They are mutilated in parts and so a few letters are lost in the invocatory and imprecatory verses. The inscription consists of 66 lines and the writing is fairly well preserved. At the top of the slab are carved a couchant bull, the sun and the linga with a dagger below them. I edit the inscription below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The alphabet is Telugu-Kannada of the period to which the record belongs. The hooked vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter ड to mark the aspiration, deserves notice, see pravṛddhi (I. 24), paribṛddha (I. 25), jāl-śvarīdha (I. 26), etc. Orthography does not call for any special comment except that a consonant before a रेपha in the body of a word is usually doubled as in Bhārgava (I. 18), bhāne-arkka (I. 31), satra (I. 51), etc., but in devdaś-ārth-ōparāg (I. 33), svarū (I. 38), this practice is not observed. Dental ं is wrongly substituted for lingual ं in svaranaya (I. 44) and palatal ः for dental ः in samkhya (I. 31). There are a few mistakes of the engraver as in Sadar-ādiḥbiḥ (I. 40) for Sagar-ādiḥbiḥ, satraṇīmpī triś (I. 42) for सत्रणिर्मीत्रिद्. The language is Sanskrit (verse) in ll. 1-51 and Telugu (prose) in ll. 52-60. ll. 61-66 also contain a verse in corrupt Sanskrit the sense of which is not quite clear.

After invocation to the Varaḥ-āvadāra of Vishnu, the record introduces the kāhatra clan created by Brahmā and states that there were some heroes in it, who remained undaunted even though the whole kāhatra race was discouraged by the acts of Bhārgava, i.e., Parasurāma, and that they were in consequence known as Kāyasthas. In the Tripurāntakam inscription of Anbādeva, the origin of the family-name Kāyastha is explained as born of the body (kūya) of Druhiṇa (i.e., Brahmā). In this Kāyastha family was born Ganga-Yāhini. His sister was Chandaladevi who bore to Ambakshmāpa two sons viz., Janarddana and Tripurāridēva. The latter’s younger brother was Ambādeva who had captured the royal glory (sāmbrājṛya) jyotislakhunā, l. 29 of Guriṇḍāla-Ganādhīpa a meteor to the Mājāva king. The inscription further states that king Aniba granted on the date specified in ll. 31-33, the village Mollakalluru alias Śīvapura to the temple of god Mahāśivarā (I. 33-35). Then follow five imprecatory verses (I. 36-38). The record was composed by Nammananandana who bore the goddess of speech. The Telugu portion repeats the date and adds the name of the donor as Mallināthayāngāra of Remīdrēva residing at Tripurāntakā-kshētra. The gift was probably placed in his charge to be managed on behalf of the temple. At the end is added a verse in Sanskrit which seems to refer to the construction of a flight of steps at the eastern gateway of the temple, by Kumāra-kṣhitibhṛit (i.e., Kumāra Pratāparūdrā).

The details of date are given in ll. 31-33 and ll. 52-54 as:—Śaka year (expressed both in chronogram and numerical figures), bhānu (12) and arka (12) i.e., 1212, Vikṛtā, Bhādrapada, ba.15, darśa, Tuesday, solar eclipse (devdaś-ārth-ōparāg). The eclipse probably covered twelve digits (urdhaha-kalā) of the Sun. These details regularly correspond to Tuesday, September 5, A.D. 1290 when the nakshatra was Uttarā-Phalgunī.

The inscription is important as it furnishes a specific relationship between Ganapadeṇḍāra Ganga-Yāhini the Cavalier of Kākatiya Ganapatī and Gandapeedāra Anbādeva which was not known hitherto. As stated above, Gangadeva’s sister Chandalambā or Chandaladevi was married to Amba-kāsabhā or Ambadevā who was the father of Anbadeva. Since the record states that she bore to Aniba two sons, viz., Jannigadēva and his younger brother Tripurāridēva it may be surmised that Anbādeva was probably born of a different mother. In the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, the pedigree of Anbādeva is given as follows: In the Kayastha family was
born Gāṅgēya; after him came his sister’s son Janārddana (udabhavat-tad-anu dvibhujō nripa[g*) svasur-apatym-anushya Janārddanah ll. 8 f.), his younger brother Tripurārīḍēva and the latter’s younger brother Ambadēva as Upendra was of Indra. The names of the sister of Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni and her husband are furnished here for the first time. Rangachari and Sewell have misunderstood the relationship between the several chiefs of the Kāyastha family and have thus given a wrong genealogy.

It may be noted that the Tripurāntakam inscription as well as the present record specify without ambiguity the connection between the four members of the family which put together stands as follows:—

Brahmā
Kāyastha family

Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni
(Śaka 1172, 1176, 1179)

Chandadaladēvi m. to Amba-
kshmāpa I (Śaka 1166)

(By different
wife)

Jannigadēva
(Śaka 1180-1190)

Tripurārīḍēva
(Śaka 1190-1194)

Ambadēva II
(Śaka 1194-1230?)

The Kāyasthas were a powerful family of feudatory chiefs who played a prominent part in the politics of the medieval period in the Telugu country. They started their career as cavaliers (Turgu-sūdhanikas) under Kākatiya Gaṇapati and styled themselves as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Maṇḍalika-Brahmarākṣasa and Gaṇḍapaṇḍara. Ambadēva the most powerful chief of the family assumed the epithet Ghaṇḍikōṭa-Maṇorathapuravar-āḍhīśvara and ruled from his capitals Valla-
rupaṭṭapa and Ghaṇḍikōṭa the former of which is Valla near Cuddapah while the latter is the modern Ghaṇḍikōṭa in the Jammalmaḍugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In order to understand the extent of their power and territory, it is necessary to study their records critically, and to facilitate such a study, a classified statement of their principal dated records is given below specifying in each case the name of the overlord under whom the chief ruled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date.</th>
<th>Chief.</th>
<th>Overlord.</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 11664</td>
<td>Ambayadēva</td>
<td>Gaṇapati</td>
<td>Satrasāla (Pallav Tkt., Guntur Dt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 11722</td>
<td>Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaka 1176-798</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Though the Tripurāntakam inscription contains the specific relationship namely ‘sister’s son’ (svasur-apatym) between Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni and Janārddana it has been missed by all writers on the Kāyasthas who nevertheless proclaim that the inscriptions do not disclose the connection between them. See also Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905, Part II, page 63.

3 Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 539.
4 No. 314 of 1930-31 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 No. 283 of 1905 of the same collection.
6 Nos. 231, 176 of 1905 and 233 of 1937-38 of the same collection.
From this tabular statement, it is apparent that a certain Āṃbayyadēva was the earliest member of the Kāyaśtha family who governed a portion of the Guntur District round about Satrasāla where his inscription was secured. Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni appears to have simultaneously held service under Gaṇapati in the Cuddapah District where his records are found. Both of them are given the epithet Dāmōdara-marina-dēśa-paṭṭa which is likewise adopted by the two successors, viz., Tripurārī and Āṃbadēva along with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits. Āṃbadēva, the younger brother of Tripurārī whose records range in date from Śaka 1194 to 1224, could not have held any administrative authority as early as Śaka 1166 which would otherwise invest him with the governorship of the territory for nearly 60 years which is far from likely. Further, this would lead to the contingency of assigning no period of rule to his elder brothers Janniga and Tripurārī who have, however, issued several records as governors under the Kākatīyas. It is therefore reasonable to think that Āṃbadēva of the Satrasāla inscription is an earlier member and different from the homonymous chief the younger brother of Tripurārīdēva. The earlier Āṃbadēva may be identified with Āṃbakshāmāpa mentioned in the present record as the father of the three brothers. Since the earliest reference to the defeat of Dāmōdara of the west is found in connection with both Āṃbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni, it is likely that both these officers had a share in the event.

Whether Āṃbakshāmāpa’s principality was confined to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District or extended as far south as the Cuddapah District where his son’s inscriptions are discovered, there are no means to decide. But it is quite probable that Āṃbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni governed different parts of the Kākatīya kingdom separately and on the death of the latter

1 V. Rangachari, op. cit., Guntur 502, and Cuddapah 850.
2 Nos. 610 of 1907 and 550 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. See Rangachari, op. cit., Cuddapah 824 and Guntur 520.
3 V. Rangachari, op. cit., Guntur 500 (No. 573 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).
4 Nellore Inscriptions, Vol. I., Darsi 57, 60. The Śaka year 1151 appears to have been wrongly read for 1192 and the cyclic year Pramādī for Pramōḍūta which corresponded to 1192. Śaka 1151 does not combine with Pramādī at all.
5 Ibid., Darsi 1.
7 The identification of Āṃbakshāmāpa with Āṃbadēva made in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1930-31, Part II, para. 18, is not tenable.
apparently without issue, his territory passed to the nearest relative, viz., his brother-in-law Animbādeva I or more probably the latter's son Janārddana. This would account for the tracing of Animbādeva (II)'s genealogy from Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni who had, otherwise, no direct kinship connection with him. Thus from Janārddana's time the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs comprised a large area from Pānuṅgal to Māravāḍi or Kaivāra, i.e., from the Nalgonda District (Nizam's Dominions) to the Cuddapah District. From the table given above it is clear that Janniga must have come to power some time after Śaka 1179 as Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni's latest inscription is dated in Śaka 1179 and held the governorship till Śaka 1192 which is the earliest date for Tripurārā. Tripurārā was succeeded by his younger brother Animbādeva II in Śaka 1194, who continued to rule till at least Śaka 1224 in which year his Lēpāka inscription is dated. It is significant that the Kārempūḍi and Nandālur inscriptions of Janniga bearing the Śaka date 1186 do not refer to the overlord whereas his earlier inscriptions of Śaka 1180-82 introduce him as a feudatory of Gaṇapati. The Dūrgi and Pōṭlapāḍu inscriptions of Śaka 1191 and Śaka 1192 belonging respectively to Janniga and Tripurārā mention Rudramahādēvi as the reigning monarch. But Tripurārā's inscriptions of Śaka 1194 and almost all the records of Animbādeva II from Śaka 1194 to Śaka 1224 are issued by the chiefs independently without acknowledging the suzerain power. This omission to mention the reigning monarch, if it signifies anything, may be taken to reflect the unsettled political conditions in the country due to weakness at the centre, particularly between Śaka 1182 and 1186 and Śaka 1192 and 1194. This is borne out by a study of the political events that happened at this period in the Telugu country. The most important document that furnishes many political synchronisms for the history of the period is the Tripurāntakam inscription of Animbādeva-Mahārāja dated in Śaka 1212. It states about Animbādeva that he (1) acquired the title of Rāyasahasaramalla after defeating Śripati-Gaṇapati; (2) routed Kēśava joined by Sōmidēva and Allugānga; (3) vanquished Mallikārjuna who was a heretic of Gods and Brāhmans; (4) gave his daughter in marriage to Rājaṇa son of king [Bō]leya who had celebrated several sacrifices, together with the Nandanapura country (Nandālur) as dowry; (5) reinstated Mannagandagōpāla at Vikramamahāpura (Nellore) in his kingdom which he had lost; (6) captured the treasures of the Pāṇḍya princes; (7) defeated Dāmōdara of the west; (8) took the head of Eruva-Mallidēva; (9) was honoured with rich presents by the king of Dēvagiri who was pleased at his valour; (10) destroyed Kādavarka and (11) was helped by his friend king Parākramapāṇḍya with strong cavalry forces. Most of these exploits are confirmed by the contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences as shown in the sequel.

A record from Tāḷḷadurududur1 belonging to Jagatāpi Gāṅgēyadēva-vaḷchālamahārāju, son of Allugānga, and bearing Śaka date 1244 describes the chief as Gāṅgāpēṇḍārya-Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni-sarvesvar-bandikāra, i.e., robber of Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni's wealth and as 'one who obtained the (regal) fortune by churning the ocean of Sēva (i.e., Yādava) army, indicating thereby that the Chief had rid himself of the Yādava domination by Śaka 1244. From an inscription2 at Nilāru in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District dated in Śaka 1137, it is learnt that Jagatāpi Dāṇḍidēva-vaḷchāla-

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1 This area roughly included the modern Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Districts.
2 In one of the Lēpāka inscriptions examined and copied by the Telugu Assistant of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, in 1938, Gaṇḍapēṇḍāyar Tripurārādēva-Mahārāja is introduced as ruling Mulli-nāḍu from Valluripatanna in Śaka 1226, Kṛdhuṇ (A. D. 1304) and making a grant of the village Lēbāka as a sarvamānyā-agrādāra to the temple of Allājanāthadēva. This is a solitary record of Tripurārā belonging to such a late date. If he is identical with the brother of Animbādeva II, we have to presume that he continued to rule conjointly with Animbādeva till Śaka 1226.
3 No. 263 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
4 No. 305 of 1933-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 No. 345 of 1920.
mahārāja probably an ancestor of the above chief was a subordinate of Yādava Simhaṇa. And Gaṅgāya-Sāhiṇi is stated in a record² of Saka 1176 belonging to the reign of Kākatiya Gaṇapati, to have defeated a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa who may be the same person as the Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa of the Jōti inscription⁴ (Siddhaut Taluk, Cuddapah District) dated in Saka 1169. The Telugu poem Nīvecaṇāṭṭa-Rāmāyaṇamu records that Gaṅgāya-Sāhiṇi who had been deprived of his kingdom by a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa evidently the above-mentioned chief, took refuge under Manna-Janapāla who restored the lost kingdom to his protege by vanquishing Rakkasa-Gaṅga. This event must have occurred between Saka 1169 and Saka 1176. Alluganaga who was probably connected with Rakkasa-Gaṅga in some unspecified way, as their names, their territory and the hostilities they both bore against Gaṅgāya-Sāhiṇi would indicate, must have taken vengeance against his opponent Gaṅgāya-Sāhiṇi, which was reciprocated by Ambadēva who as stated in his Tripurāntakam inscription, routed Alluganaga and his allies. Thus for three generations the Kāyasthas ranged themselves against the Jagatāpi-chēḍāvamahārājas who appear to have rebelled against their overlords the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. It is likely that Gaṅgāya-Sāhiṇi and his relatives were the friends of the Sāvina kings and that they suppressed the rebellion of the latter’s subordinates who, however, ultimately became independent by Saka 1244 when the Yādava power was on the wane. It must probably be with the help of Ambadēva during the governorship of Jannigadēva that Yādava Mahādeva wrested from Kākatiya Gaṇapati the honour of paśchāmahābada as recorded in the introduction to Vṛatakhayāṭa of Hēmādri⁶. We know that this event took place in about Saka 1183 during the last days of Gaṇapati⁴. On the death of Gaṇapati the whole country was plunged in utmost disaster and chaos and the internal rebellion and the danger from the neighbouring powers were too much for the queen Patīdilhati Rudramahādevi to cope with in the beginning of her reign. Accordingly several Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs such as Ėruva-Manumulidēva, Vijayagaṇḍagōpala and Siddayādēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja are found issuing their inscriptions independently without referring to their overlord,² in Saka 1189, 1185 and 1189 respectively, i.e., within a few years after her accession to the throne. Soon, however, the Kākatiya queen appears to have consolidated her power and reduced the refractory chiefs to subjection. She must have first subjugated the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva by about Saka 1190; for he expresses his loyalty to the reigning monarch in his inscription of Saka 1191. Thereafter, with the help of the Kāyastha chiefs of whom Ambadēva appears to have taken a prominent part, the turbulent officers were brought down on their knees since, in the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, Ambadēva boasts of having taken, evidently on behalf of the Kākatiya ruler, the head of a certain Ėruva-Manumulidēva who must be identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Ėruva-Mallidēva. Simultaneously with or shortly after this achievement, the defeat of Alluganaga, Sōmidēva, Kēśava, Mallikārjuna, etc., ascribed to the chief in his records appears to have happened. Kāḍavaraṇa, i.e., Kōpperuṇtingadēva II (A.D. 1243-1279) who had been reduced to subordination by Kākatiya Gaṇapati as can be surmised from his Drāksharāma inscription in which he calls himself the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-Mahārāja (Gaṇapati-Mahārājaśyajñān pravarīrayatat)⁶, must have attempted to throw off his allegiance to the Kākatiya banner on the death of Gaṇapati. In fact he has caused to be engraved a highly pedantic inscription at Tripurāntakam in which he glorifies his past achievements including the numerous rich gifts he had

¹ No. 231 of 1905.
² No. 563 of 1915.
⁵ Nos. 190, 272 and 175 of 1905.
⁶ S. I. I., Vol. IV. No. 1342 B.
made to the temple of Bhūmēvara at Drakshārāma, without mentioning the Kākatiya overlord who was reigning at the time.\footnote{The record is unfortunately not dated. But it must be assigned to a date subsequent to Saka 1184 in which year Köpperuṇiṅgadēva figures apparently as a subordinate of a Kākatiya king. The defeat of Köpperuṇiṅga called here Kāḍavarāya must have been accomplished some time before Saka 1201 the last year of the chief and after Saka 1194 when Anbhadēva succeeded to the chieftain. Anbhadēva's Tripūrāntakam inscription of Saka 1194 does not refer to any of his exploits mentioned above whereas his epigraphs dated Saka 1207, 1212, 1213, etc., narrate them in detail. Anbhadēva appears to have been puffed up with the signal victory he had gained over his powerful rival Köpperuṇiṅgadēva, proclaimed himself as a quasi-independent chief and to have held that position till the very last year of his rule. It is, however, certain that he did not turn a rebel against the Kākatiyas or attempt to subvert their sovereignty. For a record from Malyāla\footnote{In the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District refers itself to the reign of the Kākatiya king Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja in Saka 1212 and 1213, thus marking the extent of the Kākatiya rule in the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs during the same period. Tripūrāntakam (Kurnool District) and Nilagaṅgavaram (Viuukonda Taluk, Guntur District) where Anbhadēva's inscriptions are found, were situated within the Kākatiya dominions. It is therefore possible that though Anbhadēva maintained a semi-independent status like the great Feudatory families of the Dekkan, i.e., the Western Gaṅgas, Bāṇas, etc., under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, etc., in the medieval period, the Kākatiya suzerainty was acknowledged in the territory of the Kāyasthas as shown above. In course of time, however, Anbhadēva's power suffered heavily in consequence of which he appears to have been deprived of his principality, since an Upārapalle inscription\footnote{Of Rudradēva dated Saka 1[2]*36, Pramādi, refers to the reduction of Ghaṇḍikōṭa by a subordinate of the king. Another fragmentary inscription\footnote{In the same place, without date, states that the king appointed Goṅkaya-Reddi, a servant of Juṭṭaya, to the governorship of Khaṇḍikōṭa and Mulikināṇḍu districts. This shows that Anbhadēva had been subordinated under the orders of the king and his territory annexed to the Kākatiya dominions some time before Saka 1236. In one of the inscriptions\footnote{At Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulikināṇḍu, Penampādi, Pattapināṇḍu, Peḷakallu and Nāntavādi under Pratāparudradēva-Māharāja in Saka 1230. We know that these nāḍus had been subject to the administration of Anbhadēva, but it is not definite whether Anbhadēva continued to rule till Saka 1230 or he had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Saka 1236 as stated above.} at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulikināṇḍu, Penampādi, Pottapināṇḍu, Peḷakallu and Nāntavādi under Pratāparudradēva-Māharāja in Saka 1230. We know that these nāḍus had been subject to the administration of Anbhadēva, but it is not definite whether Anbhadēva continued to rule till Saka 1230 or he had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Saka 1236 as stated above.\footnote{No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kaṣhitibhīrīt in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Anbhadēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.} at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulikināṇḍu, Penampādi, Pottapināṇḍu, Peḷakallu and Nāntavādi under Pratāparudradēva-Māharāja in Saka 1230. We know that these nāḍus had been subject to the administration of Anbhadēva, but it is not definite whether Anbhadēva continued to rule till Saka 1230 or he had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Saka 1236 as stated above.\footnote{No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kaṣhitibhīrīt in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Anbhadēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.}} of 1905.}}  

TEXT.  

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1 Vārāhaṁ vapur-avyād-vō mahī-\textit{nu}  
  \item 2 hariṁ yasya daṇḍiṛ-agra-viśraṁaḥ mahi
\end{itemize}

1 No. 197 of 1905, see Madras Epigraphical Report for the year, part ii, p. 46.  
2 S. J. I., Vol. IV, No. 1341.  
3 The chief came to power in A.D. 1243 and ruled for 36 years (Historical Ins. of Southern India, pp. 162 and 376).  
4 No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kaṣhitibhīrīt in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Anbhadēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.  
5 No. 328 of 1905.  
6 No. 260 of 1935-36.  
7 No. 406 of 1911.  
8 No. 329 of 1906.  
9 From ink-impression.
Nilagangavaram Inscription of Ambadeva-Maharaja: Saka 1212

Second Fragment; First Face.

3. tējas-samunmāhita
   4. [jiyā]

Second Fragment; First Face.

5. [ka] tama
6. tāṁśur-anārataṁ
7. yathā-mārgga-pravarttakaṁ
8. kṣatram vartryam-ajjanatā
9. kṣatra-lokē-[py]-avikriyāḥ
10. Kāyasthāḥ kati vāśrutiḥ
11. ta[h*] śrimān Gāmbaya-Sāhīṇīḥ [*]
12. rṣyāśta-tēja-aruṣita-dhātitih
13. Sura-sākhiṇa iva
14. Sūrabhiḥ Kanal-ēv-ānirikarasya kalyāṇi | sarvva-
15. janinā sahajā Chaṇḍaladēvi badђhav-āśya
16. kṣaṁpaṭād-astūt-ēyaṁ Chaṇḍalāmē būtā-dvayaṁ(yam) [*]
17. Vasudēvād-iv-āśyaṁ Dēva-dvītaṁ-sāpī | Pratyarththi-
18. prthvipati-maṁ-ratna-prabhā-paśaṁgūkītā-pūda-pītha-
19. ĥ | Janāṛddanāḥ kṣāmāḥ-paṁjanaṁ jā[jāyā]yān-abhū-
20. nipāla-lokas-tasya-anuva[h*] śri-Tripurārāvah
21. saṁdaryāya-saṁdhārṣita-Manmatha-śrīr-vidyā-
22. vilās-āśpadam-āvīrāstā | Āyushmān-Āmbadē-
23. va-kṣiti-paṁjana-saṁhyā-prthvīm prāśasti prāchih-
24. kshō-pāla-praṇīhita-samara-praṇīh-pāṛīṇa-bāhuh |
25. prahya-pratyarththi-prthvī-paripā[ṛ]ha-makuta-syātā-mā-
26. nīkṣa[y*]-nīrya[j*]-jvāla-jālāvājīha-spa[ṛ]ha-pada-kamala-dvāṁdvā-
27. saṁdarsaṇīyāḥ || Ayaṁ mahā-bāhrur-avīka-raṁ-
28. gē mānya-śrīyō Māḷava-dhūmakōṭī[ṛ] gurvī-
29. m Gūrīmāla-Gaṇāḥhipasava saṁbrā[m]ra[j]ya-lakṣmī[ṛ]
30. sahasā jahānā

First Fragment; Second Face.

31. Śākṣē bhāṁn̄va(haṁ)-arkka-saṁ(sam)khyā-vilasati Vikrīte vatsa[rē]
32. Bhādra-māsē darē Bhāumasya vārē | sukṛidini (sukṛitini ?)
33. samayē dvādaśārddha-śparāqe [*] prādād-Ambā-kshh-
34. tīṇḍraḥ prati(thī)ta-Sivapuraṁ Mollakullūrī-nāma-grā[ma]-
35. m Māheśvarāya | prakāṣṭita-ma*

Second Fragment; Second Face.

36. . . . . . . . . . . . . . yaṁ dharmma-
37. . . . . . . . . . . . . . pālaṁ-yō(niyō) bha-

* Metro: Annahubh.
* This syllable is superfluous.
* Metro: Indravajrā.
* Daṇḍa superfluous.
* Metro: Āryā.
* Metro: Uppajjī.
* Metro: Sruddhārā.
* Metro: Sruddhārā.
No. 28.—BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā tahsil of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his Archæological Survey of India Reports, Vol XXI, Part I, p. 161 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar,7 but it has not

1 Read pārthivēndrān.
2 Metre: Śālīnt.
3 Read kṣīrāb.
4 Metre: Indrājaśā.
5 Metre: Śrīnārājanā.
been edited so far. It is edited here from good stampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters have disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three aksharas. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters we may note that kh consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; th shows a vertical stroke on the right; r exhibits two forms—one with a loop as in kridara, l. 3 and the other without it in Šabara, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A. D., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of sandhi (as in atō arthē for atō-arthē in l. 4) and of gender (as in kapatthēdān for kapatṭhē-yām in the same line). The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that b is throughout denoted by the sign for v, see Šavara and Valādīhikrīta, both in l. 1 and vrahma-stāṇīca in l. 2.

The record opens with Ōm namāḥ and refers to a commander of the army (Balādīhikrīta) of Šabara. His name which is partly mutilated appears to be Śiva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śākara-nārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but, as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The illustrious Šabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Šabara, named Šimha, mentioned in a fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F. E. Hall has called attention in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspatī of the Kaunḍinya gōtra, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Šabara named Šimha placed the kings of the Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin evidently at Bhilsā where he composed a stōṭra in praise of the god. From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Šabara chief Šimha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chēdi generalissimo. The Šabara of the present inscription, too, was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king, for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon to which General Cunningham has drawn attention refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Šabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspatī, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology,

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Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one Narasimha of the Sulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Krīṣṇārāja—the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood. As Kesari, the son of Narasimha, was, according to the inscription, appointed Tantrādhīpa (Minister for home affairs) by Vakpati-Muṅja (circa A.D. 972 to 995), Krīṣṇārāja can be placed about A.D. 950. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (A.D. 982) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde has discovered on a pillar of a dilapidated mediaeval temple at Maser. This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Krīṣṇāpāra. The god was evidently so named after a king named Krīṣṇa who consequently must have flourished before A.D. 982. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the above-mentioned date for Krīṣṇa. This Krīṣṇa is probably identical with Krīṣṇāpāra of the Chaudela family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions at Daudri, in Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsa. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chaudela king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 954 to A.D. 1002. Krīṣṇāpāra may, therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 960-85. From the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. 1111, we learn that the Chaudela kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvar or Bhilsā in the south. It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Krīṣṇa or Krīṣṇāpāra in charge of the south-western portion of the Chaudela kingdom extending at least from Daudri in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Krīṣṇārāja’s minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. The Kalachuri suzerain to whom he owed allegiance was probably Śaṅkaragāṇa. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kāratalī stone inscription of Lakshmīnārāja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called a parama-raiṣhava or devout worshipper of Vishṇu in that record.

TEXT.

1 सीढ़िः  [1*] श्री नमः  [1*] श्रीश्चाःरसलक्षणाविविक्तः  [शिव]—

2 भर्ति-समस्त्र (श्री) भक्ति-विनांत: योऽत्समसम

3 श्रीशंकरारियंत्रें खलभिया (चा) धद्द्वा सदृशः 10

1 Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State, for 1930-31, p. 10.
2 I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.
3 These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, see his A. S. R., Vol. X, pp. 94-5, plate xxiii, and edited by Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.
5 [Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa here apparently refers to an image of Harihar.—Ed.]
6 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. This king must now be called Lakshmīnārāja II in view of an earlier king of the same name; see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 ff.
7 From inked estampages.
8 Expressed by a symbol.
9 Read Baladāhkripa.
10 The omaha of the word kāra is very faint. Some word like cha may have been lost after kridaraḥ.
TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3) Success! Om! Adoration! [Śiva], the Bāla-dhikṣā of the illustrious Śabara . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to . . . . . . the ascetic residing in the temple (which is the only one) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas venerated by . . . . . .

(Ll. 4-5) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (our) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa . . . . . .

No. 29.—JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN: THE YEAR 39.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The plates which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up along with pieces of old pottery in course of excavation of an old temple in the village of Jirjtingi near Tekkali in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. They were secured by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., who made them over to Mr. R. Subha Rao of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry. Mr. Rao subsequently published them in the Society’s Journal. In view of the great importance justly attached to this record for the early history of the Ganga kings of Orissa, and considering its rather inadequate treatment by Mr. Rao, I re-edit the inscription from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

These are three plates of copper, each measuring 8½ by 3½. Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole through which passed a ring, 3 in diameter, the ends of which, however, remain un-soldered, owing to the fact that the seal which must have been fixed to this ring is missing. The weight of the plates is 50½ tolas, and that of the ring 12½ tolas, making a total of 69 tolas. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. The first and the third plates have writing on their inner faces only, while the

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1 Used in the sense of asmin-arthé.
2 Read vajbhibharati.
3 Read supathāyan.
4 The original perhaps contained pūtakāna samyuktā bhavishyaṭi.
5 Read “sy-it.”
6 Khala-bhikṣā, lit. alms at a threshing floor, was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee the record does not make clear. The Kārtitali stone inscription of Lakshmanarāja (II) (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.) refers in line 34 to the donation of four khala-bhikṣās.
7 Brāhma-stamba occurs in verse 14 of the Jabalpur and Khairā grants of Yaśākarna, (above, Vols. II, p. 4 and XII, p. 212) but there, too, the correct expression evidently is brahma-stamba meaning ‘a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.’ The same verse occurs in the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha. Dr. Hall’s transcript of it gives the reading brahma-stambhā. See J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 117.
The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and have resemblance to those used in the Gödaṇvarī plates of Prithivimūla, Gökāk Plates of Deśja-Mahārāja, the Srungavarapukōta and Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, king of Kaliṅga.

The script of the Jirjīgī plates has further some obvious resemblance to that employed in some of the early inscriptions from Cambodia.

The inscription under discussion furnishes examples of initial a in lines 1, 4, 8, 14 and 22 and of initial ā in l. 24 as well as of final m (ll. 18 and 21) and l (l. 25), which are so indicated by their smaller size. The northern form of l is employed in -sakala- (l. 1) and -lataḥ (l. 8).

The numerical symbols for 1, 9, 20 and 30 are contained in the date in line 25.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of two of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among orthographical peculiarities deserving notice are (1) the use of the jīhvāmūliya in l. 21; (2) the use of the guttural nasal in place of anuvāra in -nistrīṇa (l. 5); (3) the doubling of dḥ and the change of the first dḥ into d in -ānuddhyātas (l. 10); (4) the doubling throughout of a consonant after r; (5) the occasional doubling of a consonant before r, as in saṃgṛtāya (l. 13).

In Taittirīya (l. 13) the doubling of the first letter is ungrammatical. Both b and c are indicated by the sign for the latter, exceptions being saṃsaṃbhaddha (l. 11) and kuṭumbina(śa) (l. 12). The rules of sandhi have not been observed in a few cases.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant, which is non-sectarian in character, by Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikaliṅga, a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. The grant is issued from the city of Dantapura and concerns the village of Jijjika situated in the Vōukhara-bhoga, which is given away as an agrahāra, in equal shares, to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudravāmin, and the former's (i.e., Agnisvāmin's) son Rudravāmin, who belonged to the Vīśṇuvṛiddha gōtra and the Taittirīya sūkhā.

The date is given, in figures only, as in the Year 39 on the 21st day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year in all probability refers itself to the Gaṅga era. The present record, therefore, may be considered as the earliest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅga kings discovered so far.

The charter was written by the king's Sāndhivigrahāika Dēvasimhādēva.

There has been lately some discussion over the question of identity and antecedence of Indravarman, Lord of Trikaliṅga, of the present record. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies the donor

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3. Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.
4. Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.
5. The next oldest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas yet available is the Narasingapalli plates of Hāstivarman of the Year 76 (see Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.). There is much uncertainty about the reading of the date in the stray plate from Tirilīṅgi which has been assumed by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) to belong to the Year 28 of the Gaṅga era. Much of this uncertainty will undoubtedly be removed when the remaining plates of the set come to light and clear impressions of them are made available to scholars. It seems therefore premature, just now, to doubt, as has been done by Mr. G. Ramdas (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 82-3), the genuineness of the Tirilīṅgi plate on what appears to be very flimsy grounds.
of this grant with Adhiraśa Indra, who, as recorded in the Gödāvari plates of Pṛthivivimūla, is said to have overthrown in battle one Indrabhaṭṭaraka. This latter potentate has been equated by Dr. J. F. Fleet with the Eastern Chāluṭkya king of the same name who was the younger brother of Jayasirinasa I and father of Vīṣṇuvardhana II; while according to Drs. Kielhorn3 and Jouveau-Dubreuil,4 Indrabhaṭṭaraka should rather belong to the Vīṣṇukundin dynasty. We along with Mr. Subba Rao5 are inclined provisionally to subscribe to this latter view.

It seems that the Vīṣṇukundins being hard pressed by the Eastern Chāluṭkya kings pushed further northward from their original home in the Kistmā district6 of the Mādras presidency. Their chief opponents in this direction were the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga who had then only recently eked out an independent principality in and about the Ganjam district. The two contending armies seem to have met each other in the heart of the delta of the Gödāvari, possibly somewhere near the modern town of Rajahmundry. As has been claimed in the Gödāvari plates, victory rested for the time being with the Kaliṅga forces. And it is quite probable that Indravarman returned in triumph to his capital at Dantapura. The victory over the Vīṣṇukundins further prompted him to assume the (then rather anomalous) title of ‘Lord of Trikaliṅga’ (Trikaliṅgadhēpatis), seeing that his hold over the three contiguous districts of Gödāvari, Vīzagapataṁ and Ganjam7 now became practically undisputed. To this victory may also be attributed his description in our inscription as ‘the thousand-rayed (sun) in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas’. Indeed, the might of Indravarman may be said to have dispelled the threatening clouds of a dangerous foreign offensive.

At this point it becomes necessary for us to take into consideration a number of kings whose records should be placed on paleographical grounds in the period A.D. 400-500, roughly indicating the interval between the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. These are Anantavarman of the Srungavarapukōta8 and Siripuraṁ9 plates, Śaktivarman of the Rāgōla plates,10 Umavarman of the Brīhatprāśṭhā11, Dhavalapēta12 and Tekkali13 plates, Chaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti14 and Tiriritthāna15 plates, Ananta-Śaktivarman

1 J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 119. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, assumes on the evidence of the Rāmatirtham plates that it was the Vīṣṇukundin monarch who emerged triumphant from this struggle (Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 91).
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 120.
4 Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 76 and 91.
5 In an earlier study (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 159), Mr. Subba Rao held that Adhiraśa Indra of the Gödāvari plates should be identified with Indravarman of the Agyutapura (above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.) and Pñet-Pñet-Pñet (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.) plates. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, was inclined to identify Adhiraśa Indra with the Indravarman of the Chīcōla Plates of the Years 128 and 146 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.).
7 However, no inscriptions of Indravarman expressly under his own name have turned up yet from either of the districts of Gödāvari and Vīzagapataṁ. The Ganjam district on the contrary remained the stronghold of the Eastern Gaṅgas throughout their history, as can be judged from the imposing array of copper-plate inscriptions beginning from the Jirinjī plates onwards.
8 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.
9 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.
10 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
11 Ibid., pp. 4 ff.
14 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.
of the Madras Museum plates, Nanda-Prabhañjana varman of the Chicacole plates and Viśākha
varman of the Körōshaṅḍā plates.

All of these potentates, with the exception of Viśākha varman, call themselves ‘kings of Kaliṅga’ (Kaliṅga-dhvāpari). It is probable that these kings rose into prominence in the period following the withdrawal of the arms of Samudragupta from the south. After him the Guptas never actively interested themselves in South Indian politics, thus affording ample opportunity for these chiefs, as they originally were, to raise their heads and assume regal distinctions. Naturally, as some of them were living contemporaneously with others, they fought vehemently among themselves for control of the territory now covered by the districts of Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam. Their objective, at least that of some of them, was perhaps the Orissa littoral, pushing through the districts of Gajjām and Puri right up to the outskirts of Balasore and beyond that the important port of Tāmralipti on the Bay of Bengal. This was the period which coincided with the gradual rise to power of the Eastern Gaṅgas under the capable leadership of Indravarman. It is not yet possible, in the absence of more substantial details of historical value, to make out the relation, if there were any, in which all these early ‘kings’ stood to one another. While some of them like Saktivarman, Umavarman and Viśākha varman may have flourished before the time of Indravarman, it is probable that others like Anantavarman and Nanda-

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. Here we may in passing be permitted to dwell a little on the significance of the prefix ‘Nanda’ coming before the name of this king. Dr. D. C. Sircar’s suggestion (Journ. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, p. 66, f. n. 2) that it denotes ‘Prabhañjana varman of the Nanda family’ seems to be somewhat speculative as it is without a parallel in the early history of Kaliṅga. A simpler and more reasonable explanation would be that ‘Nanda’ is here used as an honorific adjective (qualifying Prabhañjana varman) in the sense of ‘one who pleases everybody’. In fact, another variant of the same word, ‘Nandaka’, has the significant meaning of ‘one who gladdens one’s family’ (cf. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1912, p. 535). The names of some of the early Pallava kings like Śiva-Skandavarman, Viṣṇu-Skandavarman, etc., could be cited (as suggested by Dr. Sircar in *Successors of the Sūravāmanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 166-67) as parallel instances of such honorific prefixes being in common use in South India from an early time.
3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.
4 Mr. G. Ramdas, however, advances (above, Vol. XXI, p. 24) two plausible reasons in support of his supposition that Viśākha varman was a Kaliṅga king. These are (1) Körōshaṅḍā plates, ‘formed a part of the Kaliṅga Country’, and (2) Srīpura from which the Körōshaṅḍā plates were issued may be identified with Siripuram (Vizagapatam district) which is close to the ancient district of Varāhavartani of Kaliṅga. Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao, on the other hand, suggests (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49) that Srīpura of the Körōshaṅḍā plates may rather be the Siripuram, a village near Chicacola, the find-spot of the inscription of another ‘king of Kaliṅga’ (Kaliṅga-dhvāpari), viz., Anantavarman.
5 A most convincing and significant evidence of this having been the actual state of things is afforded by the Srungavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 56 ff.), ‘Lord of Kaliṅga’, whose grandfather, Gupavarman, is called ‘Lord of Dēvarāṣṭra’ (identified with modern Yellamanchili tāluk of the Vizagapatam district) and who himself issued his grant from Pīshāpura (identified generally with modern Pīshāpura in the Gōdāvari district). Both of these countries constituted two distinct kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta.
6 About this time the Balasore district seems to have been in the hands of a group of chiefs, of obscure antecedents and relation, who called themselves (with one exception) mahārāja. Four inscribed copper-plates purporting to belong to their rule have recently been published by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff.). Incidentally, there is one more (rather imperfectly studied) inscription belonging to one of these chiefs which escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This latter record I hope shortly to deal with in this journal.
7 This of course is more of the nature of a conjecture as we have no more a basis than that of the indefinite evidence of paleography of the records concerned. It seems rather distressing that some of these ‘kings’ did not think it worthwhile to put on record the names of their fathers.
Prabhaṇjanavarman lived contemporaneously with Indravarman. It is even possible that the latter was originally a petty chief of no political position, wielding his influence over a small stretch of territory in the Gōdāvari valley. In course of time he collected a large following, with whose help he set forth to carve out an independent realm for himself. The Ganjam district conveniently abutting on the Orissan frontier and affording avenues for further northward expansion, satisfactorily answered his expectations. And while yet endeavouring to build up the nucleus of a future empire, disquieting news reached him of clashing of steel at his rear in the Gōdāvari valley. In all haste, Indravarman prepared and launched an offensive, and, ultimately, after what must have been quite a number of fierce engagements, succeeded in maintaining his hold over the Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam districts, while improving and fortifying his base in the Ganjam district.

Unfortunately, the material at our disposal does not permit us yet to develop in fuller details the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga power. What we have contented ourselves with doing is to suggest the broad outlines of a story which after all may not be quite out of tune with those hectic days in the history of Kaliṅga. At least, and it appears to lend some force of conviction to our line of argument, it would explain the claim, though somewhat conventionalised in form, of Indravarman in our present record (II. 4-7) to have subdued in more than one battle many 'chiefs' by his own prowess. It does not seem to be an empty pandering to the vanities of a disillusioned patron by his scribe. No other epithet could describe the feat of this valiant soldier more aptly.

Of the localities mentioned, Dantapura is referred to for the first time in this record. It occurs next in the Purle plates of Indravarman (year 149). The place had a Buddhist association in that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of the Buddha is said to have been brought over there by one of the Master's disciples and a stūpa built over it. Subsequently, it was taken away to Ceylon. A verse preserved in the Dīgha Nikāya, and incorrectly reproduced in the Mahāvastu, speaks of Dantapura as the capital of the Kaliṅgas. It is also mentioned as such in the Mahāyovinda-sutta. The Jātakas refer several times to this city, which fact doubtless establishes its antiquity. Many suggestions have been advanced in regard to the identification of this ancient city. Sir Alexander Cunningham located it at modern Rajahmundry on the Gōdāvari. Mr. Ramdas places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole. Professor Sylvain Lévi identified this Dantapura with the Paloura of Ptolemy and was inclined to seek for it somewhere near modern Chicacole. Mr. N. L. Dey, on the other hand, suggested its identification with modern Dānton on the river Kāsai in the Midnapur district of Bengal. According to Mr. R. Subba Rao, Dantapura may be looked for in "the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā, three miles from Chicacole Road Station" of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. According to another view, "the place must be near

4 See now, Raśilal N. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay 1939, p. 401, s. v. Dantapura.
5 Geography of Ancient India (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 592-3.
7 L. Renou, La Géographie de Ptolémée, L’Inde (VII, 16), Paris 1925.
8 P. C. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Draavidian in India, pp. 163 ff; especially, p. 171.
10 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VI, p. 73.
the Chilkā Lake and the old route from Malud." Pandit Nilakantha Das, finally, believes that "Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath."1

A like divergence of opinion prevails over the question of connotation of the geographical expression Trikaliṅga. According to Mr. R. D. Banerjí,2 Trikaliṅga comprised within it the tracts of country anciently known as Kaliṅga, Tōsala and Utkala; while Dr. R. G. Basak believes3 that it included Udra (Orissa proper), Königoda and Kaliṅga. Mr. G. Ramdas lastly holds that Trikaliṅga denoted "the highlands intervening between the coast (sic) strip called Kaliṅga and the Dakshina-Kōsala or the modern Chatisgarh (sic)."4

The village of Kijjika which was given away, is evidently, as already suggested by Mr. Subba Rao,5 the same as the modern village of Jirigī, the find-spot of our record, in the Tekkali Zemindary of the Ganjam district. The Vōnkhara-bhōga, in which the village granted was situated, I am unable to identify.

The date of the record is given as the 21st day of Vaisākha of the year 39 of the prosperous reign of the Gaṅgas. The epoch of this era being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age. Failing all other help, we are constrained to fall back on the solitary evidence of the palaeography of the record under discussion. Taking all things into consideration and leaving a reasonable margin on either side, we would refer this record to the period 475-550 A.D.

TEXT.6

First Plate.

1 Ōh! Svasti | [I]|[II] Amara-pura-pratisparkhdhi-śri(śri)mad-Dantapurād-bhagavatasakalā-bhu-

2 vana-tal-ōtpati-shtiti-pralaya-hētūḥ Paramēsvarasya satata-prājā-

3 m-āvāptaḥ-puṣya-saṅchaya-prabhāva-nirast-āśeṣha-duritō Gāṅ-āmala-kula-

4 gagana-tala-sahasrārasūḥ anēka-chāturuddanta-samara-vijaya-

5 vimala-vikōṣa-nṣṭriṇaśa dhāri-ṣamākrānta-sakalā-sāmanta-

6 nṛpulī-maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-ādhipatiś ca maṇḍal-āadh

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 atulā-va(ba)la-samudray-āvāpta-vipula-vibhava-sampā-latā-

9 maṇḍapa-chchhāyā-viśranta-suḥṣiit-sādhur-vā(bā)ndhav-ārthiti-janaḥ

10 mātā-pitrī-pād-ānuddhyātās-Trikaliṅg-ādhipati-śrī-Mahā-
Second Plate; Second Side.

14 Rudrasvāmi-sūnāvē Agnisvāminē tat-tanujāya cha Rudrasvāminē
15 saṃvibhaye-arddhēn-a-samudr-āḍri-śaśi-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭhaṃ-agraḥārān- kṛtvā
16 sva-puṇy-āyū(y)r-yyaśā-v(a)(ba)la-vardhhan-ārtth[a][n] mātā-pitrtrō- cha puṇy-āvaṇta-
17 yē ṭ sarvva-kara-parihārā[ḥ] 11 parihritya ch-āyāṁ graṇāḥ
18 prattāḥ ([*]) tad-ēvaṁ bhavadbhūḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryāday-ōpasthēyam [[*]]
19 bhavishyataś-cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi | dharmma-krama-vikramā-

Third Plate.

20 ṇām-anayatama-yogād-avāpta-bhūmaṇḍal-ādhirājyair-āpimā(p-īmāṁ)
21 mahīm-anuśāsadbhūḥ kram-āgataṁ dānām(m-i)ty-anupālayanām ||
22 api cha ślokaṁ bhavatāḥ || Svad-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ mvā(vā) yatnād-rakṣha
23 Yudhishtīra ṣahā[ḥ] mahī[ḥ]n[ḥ] mahīmatāṁ śreṣṭhaṁ dānāḥ-chhrēyō-nupālanaṁ-
24 Shashtiṁ varsha-sahasrāṁ śāyō mātāḥ bhūmīd[a][h] || āchchhēttā ch-anuṃa-
25 ntā cha tāyā-eva narakē vasēt [|| 2[*] pravardhamāna-saṁ 30 9 Vaiśākha-di
20 1 [||
26 likhitam-idaṁ mahārājñō sāndhivigrahikā-Dēvasīṅgha(simha)dēvēn-ēti [||

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Om Hai!

From the beautiful (city of) Dantapura, which vies with Amarāvatī (the city of gods), the glorious Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikaliṅga—who has had all his sins removed by dint of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through his constantly doing obeisance to Śiva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the entire world; who is a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas; who has his pair of feet made tawny-coloured by their contact with the lustre of brilliant rubies inlaid to the crowns of all the sāmanta-śrankahā and maṇḍalādhikariḥ whom he had subdued by his stainless and unsheathed sword while winning many a battle of four-tusked (elephants); who has his friends, the virtuous, relatives

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1 The stop seems to have been indicated by a single dot. This is however superfluous.
2 Read samaṃbaddha-
3 Metre Anushṭubh; and in the following verse.
5 Read mahārājya.
6 I have preferred to leave these two titles untranslated accepting the strictures passed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 114, n. 2) on the common practice of rendering such technical expressions into (meaningless) English.
7 Chaturaṅga signifies, traditionally, the far-famed mount of Indra, viz., Airāvata. [See above, Vol. XXII, p. 178. n. 4.—Ed.]
and suppliants enjoying comfort under the shade of an arbour, as it were, of his enormous wealth obtained by his unequalled might and exertion; who is devoted to the feet of his parents—issues (the following) order to all the assembled householders of the village of Jijjika belonging to the Vōñkhara-bhōga:

(L. 12) "We have granted this village, in two equal shares,—after making it an agraḥaṇa which is to last as long as the ocean, the mountain, the moon, the stars and the sun, and freeing it from all impositions, for the increase of Our own religious merit, life, fame and strength as well as for the acquisition of religious merit of Our parents—to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin and to his (Agnisvāmin’s) son Rudrasvāmin, who belong to the Vishūvriddha gōtra and are religious students of the Taittirīya sākhā.

"Therefore, you should abide by this (order) according to usages obtaining heretofore.

"I also exhort the future kings:— Even having obtained possession of the entire world by means of right, inheritance, or conquest, while ruling on this earth, they should always preserve this gift."

"And there are also two verses:

(Verse 1)—O Yudhishṭhīra! Most excellent among the possessors of land! diligently preserve (a gift of) land given by yourself or given by somebody else. Maintenance (of a donation) is more meritorious than donation (itself).

(Verse 2)—A donor of land enjoys himself in heaven for sixty thousand years. A confiscator (thereof) and one who consents (to the confiscation) remain in hell for the same number of years."

(L. 25) The increasing Year 30 9; the day 20 1 of (the month of) Vaiśākha.

(L. 26) This has been written by the king’s Sāndhīvīraḥika'Dēvasīnrhadēva.

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1 For a note on bhōga, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64.
2 Dr. A. C. Burnell quotes (Elements of South Indian Paleography, 1st ed., Mangalore, 1874, pp. 64-66) passages from old texts like the Yājñavalkya Dharmasastra, the Mādhyamā, the Śrīśrinandrika, etc., to show that common usage required that the Sāndhīvīraḥika, among other officials of the same rank, should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant (vaiśākhaṇa).
No. 30.—POONA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAYADITYA; SAKA 612.

By Madho Sarup Vats, M.A.

This grant, consisting of three copper-plates each measuring 9½ x 4 in. and held together by a big ring, was purchased by me in 1936 at Poona as Superintendent of the Western Circle. To the ring, which is 3½ in. in diameter, is affixed a projecting seal, somewhat oval (1½ x 1¼ in.), of which the countersunk surface is relieved with the figure of the boar (incarnation of Vishnu) as is usually found on grants of the Western Chalukyas of Badami. The seal is however without any legend. The weight of the three plates together with the ring and the seal is about 3 lbs. and 14 oz.

The first and the third plates, as is usual with such grants, are inscribed on the inner face only and the second or the middle one on both. The inscription, which I have edited from the original plates, is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of 35 lines of writing, i.e., nine on each face except the last one which has only eight lines. The orthography is generally regular, though in a few places the rules of sandhi are not observed, e.g., in Vishnu Vīrāhām (l. 1), "smāhīḥ dvādaśaḥ" (l. 23). It is wrongly observed in bāllindu (l. 18). A consonant followed or preceded by \( r \) is generally doubled as in kṣobhit-ārṇavaca (l. 1), varitamāṇe (l. 24), paurvēvasūyām (l. 25), etc.; and in sagṛtrāyaṁ (l. 2), putrāyaṁ (l. 3), pavitrīkhyātā-gūtrasya (l. 6), maithra (l. 11), etc.

Except the grantee, the property granted and the date, the present record agrees very closely with the published grants of the Chalukya sovereign Vinayaditya. It opens with the stereotyped description of the Chalukya family in which Pulakēśīn I, Kirtivarman, Satyāśraya (Pulakēśīn II), Vīkramaditya and Vinayaditya Satyāśraya ruled as direct descendants. When Vinayaditya was encamped at the village Maṇchāha, which is probably no other than Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nasik, he issued the grant at the request of his queen on the full moon day of Vaiśākh, Saka year 612 expired, corresponding to his 10th regnal year in favour of two Brahmans named Durgaśarman and Raviśarman of the Kaśyapa gōtra. This date corresponds to Friday, 29th April 690 A.D. The property granted consisted of a field measuring 50 niśavatmas of land in the village of Tūradeś, presumably as the modern village Torch in the Bijāpur District. The record closes with the name of its writer Śrī-Rāmepūnyasvāllabhā, the high minister of peace and war who is mentioned in all other grants of the king.

As several inscriptions of dates earlier and later than that of the present grant have already been found, this record adds very little to our knowledge of the history of the Chalukya family.

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2 [See p. 291, n. 1 below.—Ed.]
3 The difficulty of reconciling the dates given in Śaka Samvat with the regnal years of Vinayaditya has already been referred to by J. F. Fleet in editing the Sorab copper-plate grant of this king, cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 148-49.
4 [The gift was made kāra-pūrṇa-dharmo-ārtham which I take in the sense of kāra-dāna-dharmo-ārtham, i.e., for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage). Apparently the girls were given in marriage to the two Brahmins donees by the queen. The 'gift of a girl' to a learned Brahmin entails great merit and according to Dharmaśastras this should be accompanied by grant of lands among other gifts. See Hāmādri, Chaturvarga-śaktiśāmyā, Dānakhaḍa, Pt. II (ed. S. A. Deekshita, Benares), pp. 649-50.—Ed.]
TEXT.

First plate.

1 सैसि [II] कालाकाव्यां विषयः वाराहः कीर्तिप्रायवेदः (म) [I] दक्षिणाकर्तर्द्रा

2 क्षति [II] कीर्तिप्रायवेदः विषयः वाराहः कीर्तिप्रायवेदः (म) [I] दक्षिणाकर्तर्द्रा

3 चाणक्यमयालिंगपाँडमाधोपधोपविनिमयः कार्यसंगदेशप्रमाणप्रमाणं

4 पापसत्यां भगवतं वर्णमाणसमाचारवादवादकार्तिरि

5 श्रीकृष्णादिनंदनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं

6 विश्रामलग्नयुवाक्रमाख्यानकृपागतिप्रमाणप्रमाणविप्रदौकृतिज्ञानज्ञानययानं

7 विकारानाशिप्रत्यंत्वमार्गप्रमाणप्रमाणविप्रदौकृतिज्ञानज्ञानययानं

8 श्रीकृष्णादिनंदनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमारकुमाररक्ष्यानं

9 राजयोगलक्ष्मेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं कृपागतिप्रमाणप्रमाणविप्रदौकृतिज्ञानज्ञानययानं

Second Plate : First Side.

10 श्रीकृष्णादिनंदनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं

11 श्रीकृष्णादिनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं

12 तराज्यभिज्ञखरिङ्गेश्वरकुमारकुमारकुमाररक्ष्यानं

13 मुममत्कोवितसपनालामदीर्दवस्वस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथ

14 श्रीकृष्णादिनंदनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं

15 मुममत्कोवितसपनालामदीर्दवस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथ

16 श्रीकृष्णादिनंदनं चलुक्यां कुलमलदुर्विजयीहरिङ्गेश्वरकुमाररक्ष्यानं

17 मुममत्कोवितसपनालामदीर्दवस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथस्वभाविलितिनाथ

18 तु: प्रेक्षा राजायान्वितस्व चेतनानीहल्ल्वल्लमतिसुमें

1 Read Vīlaśāsana sanghast.
Second Plate; Second Side.

19 बैराण्याधववल्लभवेष समस्तविषयमोघमनादितिहिततमानीनः

20 रूपमः अलबनवकल्लावुधिहिः स्व शीरामलाहासुरेव स्व चुपाकुमः

21 क्ला(व्या)त्सरसुराम त्व राजाशाह्यवाहा त्व विनयादित्वस्त्याध्याओऽधिकः

22 वैविक्षममहाराजार्जप्रस्थाक्षरवक्षयांवस्माधापथति वि-

23 दितमस्तु कौशाम्भि हादिशीत्यपुष्टः(तथा)तिष्ठु शक्तिवेच्चतीतिष्ठु प्रव-

24 स्मानविजयाध्यास्तंबार द्रामी वर्तमाने 'सम्भोज्यामधिवस्ति विज-

25 यस्क्षावारः वैषाश्चर्पीणां महादेवीविश्राप्यो वान्धायां

26 वाशपभागस्बाज(ब्याप्कः) डुग(व्या)गाम्याश्रितार्यां राजमानो तीर्थव्यामे पखाग-

27 अचैन्यविष्यां शर्वसारिषां सर्वभूमि(या)परिद्वाभं दत्तः[*]

Third Plate.

28 तदवामाभिरस्सवइश्रवश्च राजभिराबृहथ्यादीनों विषास्ति

29 सविराष्टि[चं]चलवमवग्लक्ष्यारचिन्तां(रा)राष्ट्रविशममवानां

30 वर्षाचारीपुमि[ः] खंडनातिविधिशेषं परिपालनीयसुकं च भगवता वे-

31 द्वासनेन भ्यासनेन [*] वहुभिभियुढ्यां भुका राजभिरस्सगरादिभिष्यकः यः

32 खा यदा भूमस्तथा तथा तदा फल(नम) [*] खंडातु समग्रहे दुः-

33 कस्मनाय पालन(नम) [*] द्रान वा पालन वेति द्रानाद्वियोपालन(नम) [*]

34 द्रान तां यो हरेत वसुथ्यां(रा) [*] प्रिट्य वर्षसह्राणि विधायं जायते

35 महाराजायविष्यहितोरामपुव्यसमेन लिखितभिम्ति शासनं [1]

1 [I read Maishul-grāmam=—Ed.]
2 Read =Sagar-adībhika/yauga.
No. 31.—ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

BY MADHO SARBUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

This grant consists of two plates which are held together by two copper-rings, one of which has an oval seal containing the letters śri-Jayabhata embossed below a peculiar symbol resembling a flying Garudā. They were found with a Marāṭhā family surnamed Shid of Anjaneri village in the Nasik District along with two copper-plate grants of Prithivīchandra Bhogasakti, dealt with above, and measure 12\(\frac{5}{8}\)” × 9\(\frac{5}{8}\”). The first plate contains 18 lines of writing and the second 21.

The characters belong to the southern variety and closely resemble those of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates of Jayabhata III and IV issued in the years 456 and 486 respectively. With the exception of the attestation in the last line, its paleography is similar to that of the Chalukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants of the seventh century A.D. found in Gujarāt. The characters in the attestation are cursive and differ from the rest of the inscription. Often a dot has been used in the record to denote a mark of punctuation.

The record is dated the 11th day of the dark half of Āśvina, Tulā-sankrānti, (Kālachūrī) Samvat 461 corresponding to A.D. 709-10 and was issued from Bharukachchha (Browne). The introductory portion, containing the description of the family of Jayabhata, agrees with that given in the two grants mentioned above. The genealogy starts with Dadda (II) who was born in the lineage of Mahārāja Karnā and who protected the lord of Valabhi who was defeated by Harshadēva (identified with Dharasena IV who suffered defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj). His son was Jayabhata (II) and his son Dadda (III) Bāhusahāya. The latter’s son was Jayabhata (III), the donor, who was a great devotee of Mahāvīra and had obtained the five great sounds (samadhyagata-paṇche-mahāsabha).

The beneficiary in the present grant was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa son of Vasuvāmin of Dābhilya gōtra and Chhandōga Kauhuma sākhā and a resident of Brahmapuri.

The property granted consisted of three pieces of land totalling 60 nivartanas in and around the village Tauranakā situated in the Nāndipura Vīshaya: the first measuring 52 nivartanas, the second 5 nivartanas and the third 3 nivartanas.

The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it extends the date of Jayabhata III from the year 456 of the Nausāri plates to the year 461.

The grant mentions certain places situated in the Nāndipura vīshaya which has already been identified with Nandod situated on the Karjan river in the Rajapilla State. The places mentioned are the villages of Tauranakā, Jayapura, Vidvēraka and Bhūtishōhi and the river Karilīnī, Tauranakā, in and around which were situated the three plots of land granted, seems to be the modern Toran (also called Toramal) on the Karjan river which seems to be the river Karilīnī of our grant situated about 2½ miles north of Nandod. It is possible that Jayapura is the same as modern Jitpur, 6 miles east of Nandod and about 8 miles south-east of Toran or Tauranaka of the grant. Bhūtishōhi and Vidvēraka, however, cannot be identified but should not be far away.

1 See above, pp. 225 ff.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 113 ff. Professor Mirashi has since proved that this grant is referable to Jayabhata IV, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.
4 [The date would correspond to Tuesday, 23rd September A.D. 710, when the sun seems to have entered the Tula-rāśi.—Ed.]
5 [See below p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]
6 [This is apparently identical with the modern village of Bhuchhād, about 1½ miles south-west of Toran the western bank of the Karjan.—Ed.]
from the neighbourhood of Nandod. It is interesting to note that the present topography of the place agrees fairly closely with the description given in the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1. श्वस्त्र [I*] श्रीमत्कक्कलातु सततज्ञानिनिवासभुवि द्वियासन्तापविधिरिषि दिनानाथ-विस्तारितानुभावं बिजुकुलोपपातियमानविभवं

2. लिनि मरति महाराजकार्यांवें कमलाकार द्व राजचुऽ(हस:) प्रवलकालिकां-विलसिताकुलितविसलभावी

3. दारचरितविस्थापितसकलोक्षालमानकः परमेश्वरी हरिदेवाभिभूताभिभीपतिप्रियाप्रिया विज्ञातब्रह्ममेत

4. दिक्षुरमहायज्ञाविभयोपितानामः श्रीदेवस्य सुतंगकितागतप्रण्यज्ञानीपुवसंविषयसंधीप-चौयमानमः

5. नोन्निर्तिणमुकक्ककतककवः(वंश) संदिहरिदाहरुलितप्रतापानवी निषिद्धनिधिस्दुः(स्वंग) धारादरुतातिकारिकुशमुक्ताकल्पसंरक्षः

6. लोकसिद्धिष्यशकुऽ(गोविं) काव्यशिलितदश्वधूवदवनसरिजः श्रीजयमत्स्वाभासी महाभुषण-नृप्रौद्यमञ्चनाधिकः

7. मन्त्रविस्तारतायुर्मनस्तप्रविष्ट(लेख) वर्षालयमेवथी बुलितसकलकालिकानासानियः प्रणविज्ञानम-नीरत्वियवह्वतीततविविवः

8. संपादनानविनिताशिष्यशेव पारिवर्तनान्वितानी मदविस्तारस्वातितविस्तारस्वातितविस्तारप्रशित-गृहुगाराधिरः

9. चणप्रभावी विप्लवायपतिनरपमितानाभुदरनिश्चितनिरक्तियाविस्तारपरमर्घमानः प्राच्य-प्रतीच्चाधिधीत

10. राजविज्ञातकमाष्टायांगमानपतिसहिष्परिवारितानिककाँज्यविवेष्टनप्रकृतिमुज्ञविष्याततवासमुक्तायाः

1. [There is a Virampura about a mile to the west of Jetpur or Jitpur which may be the Brahmapur, the place of residence of the donee.—Ed.]
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Should be —vilaśit-ānākula..
4. Stotra has been repeated.
11 परनामा । परसमाखिरसमविगतप्रभमाग्निदीवसुधधृः सतुप्रेक्षपसमयस्य वनचारित
गजचारापातः

12 नपसपससिद्र्वुदगीनदावानन्ती दीनानाथपुरि सुचकलवजनवसुकुदाकर्कीदीनगीरी भगीर
रहीप्रवाहः

13 ्व विपलनोऽधिमयः शान्तसुरविः समुहृतकलकालारस्तः[वा]हिनीपतिरालिद्रवः
सुभुजवलपपालमोऽदुः

14 राधरा परसमाखिरसमविगतप्रभमाग्निदीवजयभट्ट सुशिखली । सज्जनिव राजसामानभीमोहिनः
विषयपत्रार्द्धः

15 घाम स[6] विचारिकारिकाभीमसुद्ध्वयुक्तः वाण्डविदितः यथा मया भारापीतीरामन
वैविकासुधः

16 उद्भवे ।[7] ब्राह्मणवनिवासिस्तारुवधयसामायुखःभियस्मिन्नवर्तः[वर्त]हङ्गक्रोऽयसभावः
ध्याप्यवस्थामिश्रः

17 ब्राह्मणव[व्र]प्रायः बृहिष्कृष्णदेवविदेशविश्वविनिष्टप्रभमाग्निरादित्वः[विद्व]वस्यप्रायः ।
नान्दीपुरविविहारः

18 तौराकासप्रभुः पूर्बक्रमदितिभागः । धाप्यवाचितसंप्रभूम महर्षणः यथा-
ठाटनान।

Second Plate.

19 पुर्वः जयपुराणमायो प्रया कृतिनिर्वागवर्तासनः(भृ) सरी(र) [18] द्विविदः
[हृ(कृ)] दर्मिवकोलस्विभिमेतारामः

20 ल कुतुम्बिकारिकावर्तकारिकाभीमध्वादित्वः[वर्त]मूलाञ्च(स)सुधितो वद्विभिमुखि वचनः । तथा
पघः तौराकासः ।

21 मातृ विशेषभाषायो प्रया तथा चेत्मदिशाभिभी ब्रह्मचार तथा तथा
वद्विभिमुखि वचनः । उत्तरः वद्विभिमुखः

काभे पंचप्रति(न)वर्तनालिणः भुविनः । यथावाचित्वानन। पु

1 Mark of punctuation unnecessary.
2 [Tho plate reads Törupaka—Ed.]
२३ वर्द्धकांडार्दिकृतुकुर तारसकृतवर्द्धिकृतुकुरी दर्शावतः कारिकानी नदी

परस्तः लघुभूपलङ्कितवर्द्धकांडार्दिकृतुकुरी दर्शावतः कारिकानी नदी

उत्तरः श्राकाः शालाकांदर्दिः कांदर्दिकृतुकुरी राजकीयविधिका च। यदेवं चनुरागादे

२५ सीरालिः भूमिष्ठः। तराविः भूमिष्ठः। दर्शावतमकोभीमानी कार्यः। कल्पका-

प्रविश्वविनिवर्तनस्याः। भूमिष्ठः यथारागातताः

२६ पूर्वतः कारिकानी नदी।। दर्शावतमकोभिंतीकृतमी परस्तः। भूमिष्ठः। कोरीत्वमीमासः।

[१४] उत्तराति(तत्) कोरीत्वमीमासः।

२७ कारिकानीन्द्रीयिती।। एवविस्मृतानुसारः राजाधामपीरायानिपुणः। चरित्रायिः।

सोप्तः।

२८ पत्रविस्मृतानुसारः।। चरित्रायिः।। सदयपारः।। सीरालिः।। सर्वराजः।।

कोरीत्वमीमासः।। पूर्वतः।

२९ देवविस्मृतानुसारः।। भूमिष्ठः।। शालाकांदर्दिकृतुकुरी।। चित्रशालाकांदर्दिकृतुकुरी।।

पूर्वपी।। पीचारा।। कोरीत्वमीमासः।। विस्मृतानुसारः।

३० रत्नाकरार्दिकृतस्वरसूज्यवहः(श) कादेशः।। तुलासिकामः।। राजाधामपीरायिः।।

प्रतिपादितः।। यदीश्चित्तवा।। चनुरागादे।। मुः।

३१ जलः।। कार्यः।। कर्यगः।। प्रतिपादितः।। वा न कृतिकाः।। शालाकांदर्दिकृतुकुरी।।

गामिनीमिभवायत्वायिः।। भूमिष्ठः।। चित्रशालाकांदर्दिकृतुकुरी।। गामिनीमिभवायत्वायिः।

प्रतिपादितः।। विस्मृतानुसारः।। चरित्रायिः।।

३२ पालितश्च।। शालाकांदर्दिकृतुकुरी।। गामिनीमिभवायत्वायिः।।

वानमेधितः।। समाधिपीरायिः।।

३३ पालितश्च।।[१४] चालितश्च।। च भगवः।। वेदयासेन वामेन।।

वर्षसष्ठाणि।। खर्चितः।। भूमिष्ठः।।

[१४] चालितश्च।। चालितश्च।।

३४ भूवः।। नरः।। वानमेव।।

विस्मृतिशालाकांदर्दिकृतश्च।।

[१४] चालितश्च।।

खर्चितः।। भूमिष्ठः।।

३५ राजभूमिग्रामादिबः।।[१४] यथसः।। वष्णुः।। यथसः।। भूमिष्ठः।। तथा।।

तथा।। भूमिष्ठः।। चरित्रायिः।। तथ्यसः।। भूमिष्ठः।। चरित्रायिः।।

[१४]

1. Omit śtu which is redundant.
TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Ṫḥm. Hail! From the illustrious Bharukachchha:—

(L. 1-19) [Common to Gurjara grants. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80.]

(L. 15-30) Today on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja while the sun was in the Tulā Saṅkrānti, I have given with libation of the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyana, son of the Brāhmaṇa Vasusvāmin, resident of Brahmapuri, of the Chāṭurvidya community and Dākhiliya gōta, a student of Chhandoga-Kaṭthumā (kāṭkā) for the performance of the five mahāyajñas, viz., bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihoṭra and ātithi, a piece of land measuring 52 nivartanas in the north-east of the village Tauranaka² included in the Nāndipura vesaya, bounded on the east by the path leading to Jayapura village and the pond adjoining the Hastinikā streamlet, on the south by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Dipa, which is comprised in the marsh indicated by the Chhōḍam tree, and also by the streamlet rising from the fringe of the marsh and flowing southwards; in the west by the path leading from the village Tauranaka to the village Vidvēraka, and the Amāra (?) tree as well as the streamlet flowing into the Dhammāpa stream; and in the north by the Dhammāna stream—this piece of land thus bounded on all the four sides; and a plot of land measuring five nivartanas in the marshy tract to the south of the same village (Tauranaka) bounded on the east by the proprietary field of the householder Rāvalla included within the limits of Baradaka; on the south by the Karillini river; on the west by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Vijadharmac comprised within the limits of Baradaka marked by Laggustu (?), and on the north by the donated land belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and by the royal pasture land—the land thus bounded on all four sides; and (lastly) another plot of land measuring 3 nivartanas in the marshy area alongside the embankment and situated to the south of this plot of land, bounded on the east and south by the Karillini river; on the west by the boundary line leading to the village Bhūṭishōḥi; and on the north by the vituti (?) of the Karillini river marked by the Kaulla tree—these plots of land with the boundaries detailed above and measuring in all sixty nivartanas together with the uparikara, bhūta, vāta, pratyāga, etc.

(Ll. 27-38) [Are common with the published Gurjara grants, especially the Nausāri plates. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 80-81.]

(L. 38-39) Written by the army chief Sahabhaṭa son of the army chief Durgabhaṭa. The army chief Bāvulla (acted as) the Dūtaka. Recorded in the year 461, 11th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja. This is the sign manual of myself—the illustrious Jayabhaṭa.

1 Daṇḍa unnecessary.
2 Read "ch-chāḥpaṇḍu-nupalavam" iti.
3 [See above, p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]
From a photograph.
No. 32.—THE PUNJABI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king Krishna-devaraya of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river Krishnâvâni some time after his conquest of the Kaliṅga country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the Čhālanândalam which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are: Čendamândalam,2 Tirthanâgar,3 Elavânsâr,4 Neyyappâlu5 (S. Arcot District), Tiruvâsilâr,6 Tirukkanâdsâvâlam,7 Perumâlu,7 Koṟukkai,8 Tirunâgiri,9 Paraśalâr,10 Punjâi,11 Âkkûr,12 Tillaiyâdi,13 Tirukkaṇâdaiyâr,14 Čendâlu,15 Huippâppâlu,16 Talainâyâr,17 Tirumândâlakâkudi18 (Tanjore District), Tiruppaḷâtturâi,19 and Kaṟânaḷâr20 (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The script of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The language is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the Čhâla inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, those found at Paraśalâr, Punjâi, Âkkûr and Tillaiyâdi; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to Gaṇapati and Śiva, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of Kṛishnâdevâraya in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the Kṛishnavâni in Saka 1439 (A.D. 1517), remitted 10,000 varaṇam (gold pieces) in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Čhālanândalam. The remission comprised the dues called jōḍa and arâsâvârâ; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following: śâlavâri, nilavâli and mārvam pâla pîvârâgalum.21

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

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1 No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2 No. 125 of 1904.
3 No. 142 of 1906.
4 No. 381 of 1908.
5 No. 335 of 1907.
6 No. 80 of 1911.
7 No. 210 of 1917.
8 No. 235 of 1917.
9 No. 496 of 1918.
10 No. 167 of 1925.
11 No. 184 of 1925.
12 No. 226 of 1925.
13 No. 235 of 1925.
14 No. 251 of 1925.
15 No. 214 of 1926.
16 No. 137 of 1927.
17 No. 157 of 1927.
18 No. 223 of 1927.
19 No. 288 of 1933.
20 No. 511 of 1905.
21 See n. 4, p. 262 below.
others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishnadevaraya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of “Catuir” of Nuniz, a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishnadevaraya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catuir mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya’s reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king’s northern campaign up to Simhachalam and Potamunir, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign. “From the Puri Anavaraonu and other Telugu works, however,” says Krishna Sastri, “we learn that Krishnaraaya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Potamunir, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati’s dominions, devastated the country of Oddadi and burnt his capital town of Kataka (i.e., Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters.”

He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Oddadi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Potamunir or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: “This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Simhachalam records, viz., that Krishnaraaya was at Simhadi in the beginning of Saka 1438, and that in Saka 1441 he made over to the temple at Simhachalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishnaraaya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Oraya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Charminar side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishnaraaya’s capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catuir. Sewell thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the ‘Catuir’ of Nuniz is identical with Kataka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishnaraaya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

\[\text{Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9, pp. 176-82.}\]
the Gajapati king to flee and burn his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Very likely Nuniz took Catur to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnadevaraya started against Catur.

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnadevaraya's expedition against Catur is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catur was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: "After Crisnaraao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orissa, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catur," and he also says: "after the king returned from Orissa he never went again this side." These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catur had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catur with Kàtaka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catur should be sought in the Tinnevelly District. The Pandyar ruler of Kayattar was, he thinks, besieged at Kayal by Krishnadevaraya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catur was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnadevaraya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Piranmalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnevelly District including the sea-coast, and Krishnadevaraya's expedition must have brought this about. But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catur is on the Charmãodel side. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Krishnâ river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattar which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kayal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catur must be taken to be a variant of Kàdavar ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catur is a geographical name—"Catur, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years." It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeeomhein in Azie (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

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1 Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 320, 322.
3 A yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten empire, pp. 8-11. Dr. Aiyangar’s statement that Nuniz’s description of the capture of Catur is exactly that which is given of the siege and capture of Śivanaamarudram in the Krishnadevarajavijayam (p. 9) is not supported either by the text or by the summary of it in Sources, pp. 139-31. His other citations from literature, e.g., Pārijātapharāyana, are not more helpful. The Konkūr-dhakka contains a good account of the Ummattur campaign, but it has no resemblance to Nuniz’s account under reference.
name Aṇai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obberaja, a captain of the Vellore army, i.e., of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Again we find Singama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of \( \frac{3}{4} \) mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1629. Passing over unimportant references to the place we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Sirinanga, a nephew of the ruling king Veśkāśa II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timaraja, the chief of the rebellion.

We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr (Katoer, of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and 'on the Coromandel side' which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz's Caturī. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch=2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Palecatoe among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II, that is, some time about 1440 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: 'This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years'. It seems probable that 'the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years' and in whose land Caturī lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Cēnuvaru 'prepared to attack Caturī, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charmandēl side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called . . . . . and is surrounded with water'. The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Caturī may well be taken to mean that this was the 'principal city' in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Krishnarāya's war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Krishna Sastri has observed: 'The choice of the bank of the river Krishpadī for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōla-mandala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Krishnarāya was about this time, viz., the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kaliṅga country against 'Caturī', which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack'. Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Krishnarāya returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription dated Śaka 1438 that Krishnarāya had already accomplished the conquest of the Kaliṅga country as far north as Katakā, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Krishna Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Śaka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezwdwa was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamil country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhātī), the monarch had attended the mahāmakhām festival in Kumbhakōram
and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the Kāyasāhakamu.\(^1\) Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkṛānti of the Īśvara year, and the visit to the Krishnā river and the shrines of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bezward on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1317.

It is possible that Krishnārāya's presence at Bezward was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultan of Golconda, Kuli Kuttā Shāh. \(^2\) Late in his life the Sultan boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājahmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.\(^3\) The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Krishnādeva-rāya himself after the capture of Dēvarakonda by Kuli Kuttā Shāh.\(^4\) The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nunız as having occurred after Krishnārāya's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kuli Kuttā Shāh of Golconda.\(^5\) If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Krishnārāya at Bezward receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Siva and Vishnu temples of the Chōḷamaṇḍalām were Jōḍi, Sūlavari, Nilavali (Nilavari), Aṟanupērū, and other taxes (piravari).\(^6\) These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (I. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made: Jōḍi is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on inām lands. It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government.\(^7\) In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the mānyakēsikē which the holders of inām lands like Brāhmans and Fakirs paid to the State.\(^8\) Thus Jōḍi was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their inām lands. The rate is unknown.

Sūlavari is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word Sūlā in the Tamil Lexicon is: 'Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped'. No authority is cited in the Lexicon, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

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\(^1\) Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 125-9.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
\(^4\) A Forgotten Empire, p. 322.
\(^5\) No. 288 of 1903.
\(^8\) Cf. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, pp. 229-30,
the Śālavāri was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

Nilavadi seems to be only a variant of the usual Nilavadi land tax, levied on lands which were not ināms, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

Arastupēru is another difficult term. Wilson notes that Arasu means 'privileges allowed for watching', and 'Arastikkēran', a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty. 'Pēru' is an abstract noun from Tamil peiyal, 'to get', and means 'receipt'. Arastupēru then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i.e. to the king—aravamaniykkuruttayirugir (i. 30); or aravamani kayakkilpadinupudiyirugir (No. 288 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1621 which is mentioned in the epigraph dated Saka 1448, Vikrama, Mithuna, bā. Tṛitiya. Friday, Tiruvēnam. It states that one Kāriya Mānuka Bhaṭṭar Āpatimāyār waited on Krishnēvaraya at Vijayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of Jośi and Śālavāri on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tirukkājāyir, but was not given effect to till then. The Śūndanēranalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, the Śiva and Vishnu temples in which were benefited by the remission. Chōḷamaṇḍalam comprised the region south of the Gāḍilam, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭjīkkārī. This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōḷa country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or simais. They are the Irāṇḍāṟṟapparṟu Bhuvanaṅkavīra (Bhuvanāṅkiri) paṭṭaṇa-chēhirmai, Taṇjāvūrpaṭṭaṇa-chēhirmai and Tiruchchiniṟṟappalī-chēhirmai. In the Vijayanagara days a simai was a smaller division than a rāja, and its exact relation to the more ancient kōṭḷam or nādu is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the simai was a larger division than the nādu or kōṭḷam. The Bhuvanāṅkiri paṭṭaṇa-chēhirmai covered the northern part of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanāṅkiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north), in the Chidambaṟam taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaṅkaṟira, a title borne by two Pāṇḍyan kings, Māṉavarkaṟu Kulaśēkara I and Māṉavarkaṟu Kulaśēkara II, who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Irāṇḍāṟṟapparṟu Bhuvanaṅkavīra paṭṭaṇa, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gāḍilam and the Vellāru. Taṇjāvūrpaṭṭaṇa-chēhirmai is probably all the territory covered by the present Taṇjore and had its headquarters at Taṇjāvūr. To the west of this was the Tiruchchiniṟṟappalī-chēhirmai with its headquarters at Trichinopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāṣṣaṟṟa-chēhirmai, mentioned before Taṇjāvūr-chēhirmai; Vitramadakku-chēhirmai...
and Perambūr-chīrmaī and Kulīttaṇḍanaī-chīrmaī, mentioned after Tiruchchirāppalī-chīrmaī. It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chīrmaī is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kulīttaṇḍanaī-chīrmaī that covered by the modern Kulīttālaī taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made; and arranged by taluks they are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kānṭāmpulūr</th>
<th>Chidambaram taluk.</th>
<th>S. Arcot District.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mannārkōyil</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nāsaiyūr (Tirunāsaiyūr)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiruchchonnapuram (now Tiruchchinnapuram)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirumūṭtam (now Śrīmūṭtam)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Udaiyārkōyil</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirumānākkulī</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiruppādirippulīyūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiruttīnanagar</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiruvantirapuram</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Tyāgavalli</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śendavaṇmangalam</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraśvānāsūr</td>
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<td>Tirunāmānalūr (Tirunāvallūr)</td>
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<td>Tirunarunkōndjai (now Tirunārunkōndjai)</td>
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<td>Tīṭaṅkuḍi</td>
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<td>Penāṅgalam</td>
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<td>Kuruchī</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Pandājanallūr</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śrūkūḍi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sūryādevanāyanārkōyil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirukkoḍikā (now Tirukkoḍikāvāl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirunditevāṅkúḍi (Tiruttīvaṅkúsī)</td>
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<td>Tirumāṅgalakkūḍi</td>
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<td>Tiruppanandāḷ</td>
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<td>Tiruvelliṅāgūḍi</td>
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<td>Tirupāṇnagār (now Upplīyappāṅkōyil)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ākkūṛ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iḷarurāṅkūḍi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iḷupappattu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irāsurumāḷayam (now Irāsaiyarapēṭtai)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Korukkai</td>
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<td>Korulām</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Pāluvūr</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pariyāḷūr (Tiruppariyāḷūr)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Perumulai</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Talaṅchhangaḍu</td>
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<td>Talāṅkaṇṭha</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tīlāyāṭi</td>
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<td>Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirukkoḍaiyūr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tirupanipāḷi</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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<td>Tīrulaṅḍūr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tīrūvalpputtūr (Tirūvalpputtūr)</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 No. 355 of 1907; No. 125 of 1904.
Tirukkōṇḍiṉāvaram  Nannilam taluk.  Tanjore District.
Tirumaraṅaḻ  Ditto.
Tirumēchēñṟū  Ditto.
Tiruppattūr  Ditto.
Tiruppugāḷur  Ditto.
Tiruvaṉāchīyam (now Śrīvaṉāchīyam)  Ditto.
Virküṭi  Ditto.
Tēṉṟū  Ditto.
Nallūṟu  Negapatam taluk.
Āčekāpuram  Pāpanāsam taluk.
Śrīmāvīṅappagaram  Shīyāli taluk.
Tādaṇankōyil  Ditto.
Tirukkuraiyāḷur  Ditto.
Tiruchanagari  Ditto.
Tirunagari  Ditto.
Tirunangur  Ditto.
Chandralākai (Śendalai)  Ditto.
Tāṭēṉhāvūr  Ditto.
Tirumalāḻpādi  Ditto.
Tiruppunturuttu  Ditto.
Tiruvaiyāṟu  Ditto.
Tirukkōṭṭuppalli  Ditto.
Valḷam  Ditto.
Kāṟṉapūr  Musiri taluk.  Trichinopoly District.
Āṉḷārōṟyil  Ditto.
Tiruppalāṭṭurai  Ditto.
Tiruchēṉirkōḷḷithal  Ditto.
Gaṅgaiyōkkōpam (Gaṅgaiyōkkām)  Udaiyāṛāḷgam taluk.
Pāḷūṟ  Ditto.
Tillaiyōḻivilṭṭam  Ditto.

TEXT.

1 Šubham-astu|| śrī-Gaṅāṭi[pataye] namaḥ | Namas-tuṅga-śī[-]
2 rāṣ-chumpi[ta-]chanti[n]-chāmara-[chāravē]  trailōkya-nakar[-]āra[-]mēpa[-]mula.Ś
3 stampāya Śampuṉ̄vē[|] śubham-astu  Śvasti Śrī Vijayāt-
6 n-mahārajaḍhiraṉa rājaparamēśvara hariya[ari]rāya-vībāṭan[14] bhā-

1 Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.
2 Read Guṇādhī.Ś
3 Read -chumbi.
4 Here [a] is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.
5 Read chandu-. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is chānte.
6 Read -nagar-.Ś
7 Read "mēhā.
8 Read -mēla-
9 Read stambhaṇīya.Ś
10 Read Śambhaṇī. In No. 226 of 1925 it is "bhūte.Ś
11 The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 235 of 1925 it is "bhutaya. The usual form
   is Vijayābhuyaya.Ś
12 Śaka 1499 in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.
13 No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give Māgha.Ś
14 Probably stands for śudhā; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is
   Pushyamāṭtā paṟṟapakāṭtā.Ś
15 Paṟṇami nāṭ in No. 226 of 1925, and nāṭ in No. 235 of 1925. Paṟṇamiyinārē in No. 235 of 1917, and "yilē
   in No. 214 of 1926.
16 In No. 167 of 1925 it is ariyarāya-vībāṭa, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is vībāṭa.
7 shaikku-ttapuva-rāyar1-gaṇḍā2 Yavaṇāraśā3-sthāpanāchāriya4 Pratā-
8 parudra-Gejapati-saptānga-haraṇa śrī-Virapradāpa5 śrī-Vira-Krishnadevarāya-ma-
9 hāryāyā Solanaṇḍalattu Vīṣṇuṣṭhānam7 Śivasthānam mudaḷāna
10 devasthānāṅgaḷukku sōḍi araṇupēru4 saravam[ā]nyam-āga viṣṭa taṇ-
11 ma16-sātaṇa irāyasam śrī(nā)11num Vijayāṅgara12-paṭṭaṇattil13 irundu pūruva14
12 dikkul vīṣalīya7-yātraī āga purappaṇṭu Udayagiri-uttarākamum sādīchhu15 Tirumalai
13 Irāguttamā14-rāyanaiyum pidditu konḍu Vijikkonḍai17 Nāgār-
14 ronakonḍaiVELłamukuṇḍa18 Konḍa[v]iKonḍa[i]ppalli19 Irāsā-
15 maventiapuram21 mudaḷāgya durgalāgalun-gaṭṭikkonḍu22 Pratāparutt[i]ra2* Geša-
16 path23
17 Kumāraṇ Virabhadrāśaṇa24 Geśapati25 Pratānapūpatai26 Prakalata27 Sirachchantiraṇ.28

Malluk-Kān29

1 Reading is tappurēga in No. 235 of 1925.
2 The reading is rāgarāṇḍa in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
3 The reading is rāya in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.
4 In a few other copies Krishna Deva takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title mēvarāyaragāṇḍa; in No. 511 of 1905-1906 are the titles mēvarāyaragāṇḍa and attadikkuṟṟa-maṇi-dhayankara, while in Nos. 74 and 288 of 1903, 80 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles ashtadikkuṟṟa-maṇi-dhayankara and mēvarāyaragāṇḍa.
5 Read Goja.
6 Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read “pratāpa.”
7 Vīṣṇu temples alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.
8 In No. 288 of 1903 the taxes are said to be jēdiyal sālavari nilavēli araṇupēru narum pala piya-variyalam. No. 511 of 1905 reads: sōḍi sālavari araṇupēru piya variyalam undāna yellām. In No. 355 of 1907 only sōḍi and sāla-
9 variy are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions sōdiyal, nilavēli and araṇupēru while No. 214 of 1926 has sōḍi, sāla-
10 variy and araṇupēru.
11 Read sarva.
12 No. 74 of 1903 reads: viṭṭupaḷitta arulina dharmma-sādana rāyaṣam; 125 of 1904 sarvamānyam-dga-paḷi-
13 lita dharmma, 511 of 1905 as āga tīru ucamparīrga tanma, 80 of 1911 vidachchikṣēti pāḷitta dharmma. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word dharmma-sādana-rāyaṣam in Grantha.
14 No. 226 of 1925 reads nāmaṃ.
15 The letter n is superfusious.
17 Read pūruva.
18 The reading is yātraīyaṛa śītāḷī Udayagiri-durgaganum sādhiṭṭu in No. 74 of 1903.
19 No ma in 167 of 1925.
20 The reading is Viṇikonda in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.
21 Read Nāgarjunaṇkoṇḍai; “konḍa in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
22 Veḷḷamkuṇḍa in No. 167 of 1925 where Veḷḷa is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.
23 Konḍappalli in No. 235 of 1917.
24 Read: “mahendrapuram.
25 Śādhiṭṭa viṇikkoṇḍaṃ in No. 74 of 1905; sāṇīkoṇḍa in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [sādhi] tīru-kkattikkonḍu in No. 167 of 1925.
26 Read Gaṇapatī.
27 Perhaps stands for śeṣaṇaṟṟum as in No. 511 of 1905: jayaṇ in No. 226 of 1925 and jayaṇa in No. 235 of 1925.
28 Read Gaṇapatī.
29 Read pradhānavāpatī.
30 Prakalatan in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.
31 Read Sirachchandrag as in No. 235 of 1925.
32 Kāñcan in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with Karṇa, and in No. 511 of 1905 with Kāṇa.
17 Utañḍakāṇaṇī mudalāna pāṭīga2-sāmantargalaiyum śivikiramanamāga2-ppiṭijittukkon-
18 Ṭu Prataparuttira Čeṣa(Gaja)patiyaiyum muṟayıakkutti4 Śingāṭirikku5 elundarooli
Poṭṭanūrīl
19 jayastampa(bha)mum nirivruttī6 Śoḷamanḍalam7 dēvastānam8 Tiruchchirāppallī9
Śantalaγa10 Tirukkā.-
20 tuppallī Tirunagirā11 Tirumāṅgūr Tiṭṭiruvelundūr12 Tēvār Tiruvēṇnagar.13 Agalāṅgaṇ
21 Tiruvanṭirapuram14 Tirumāṇikulī15 Tirupattur16 Vaiygal Tirumūṭam Tiruppaḍīrupulī-
22 yūr Tiruttīṭinaiγar Īraivānāsūrī17 Śendavaṇañgalam Tirunāvallūr Tiṭṭaiκūḍī18
Tiruṇā.-
23 raiyur19 Kāṇṭṭampuli20 Tiyaγavalli21 Śirāmavīṇagar Tiruvelliyaṅgudi Pan-
24 daṇannalī22 Talaicchāṅga23 Kūṛuchchi24 Tiruppāṅgūr Koṛukkai21 Talaināya[ka]jn23
25 Tiruṇaṅgalkātūr Tiruviśālūr Tirutēvaṅkūḍi24 Śuriyadēvanāyanārkoṭī25 Ti-

1 Read Uddayanī.2
2 Read jīvaṁgraṇāmāga, jīvaṁgraṇāmīṣa in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.
3 In No. 511 of 1905 it is muṟiyaveṣṭi.
4 i.e. Sinolāḍīrīkku as in No. 226 of 1925.
5 The reading is pōṭvittu in Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911, and ebāḍittu in No. 125 of 1904.
6 Śoḷamanḍalā-naduvil in No. 74 of 1903.
7 In No. 125 of 1904 the word Tiruttīṭinaiγar follows the word dēvastānam.
8 In No. 511 of 1905 has the following text: -Tiruchchirāppallī-chchimai vadaγarai Irājaroja-valaṇāṭṭu Maṇaṇāṭṭu
Pāḍeγu-keγavāyagur nāγuvar Pōḷalivaramaṇuvaiyā-γuvar kōṟī śādī śālavari piγvarī araṅγ-
pēru upadavum Tiruṇaḷapāli Vallaṃ Tāṭāvār Tiruppāṇḍūrtu Tiruvaγiγu Tiruvēṇnedūr Irājaroja-pāḷaṇγam
Tiruṇāṇjīyam Tiruppugalūr Poḷuvār Pādaṇānallur Tiruppaṇāndū Tirunagur Tirumāṅgur Tāṭālankerīγul Śigōli
muṇḍalāna iraṇḍārurpiγur-śīrmai, etc. No. 288 of 1903 has Tiruchchirāppallī-nēvaṇḍi teγkaraIrājarojikōrva-vala-
ṇāṭṭu Tiruṛpπāṇāṭṭu muṇḍalāγiga Śoḷamanḍalattu iraṇḍu . . . pπarṇi-śīrmaγ-āṇa Kīṟippaṇγattu-śīrmai Rada-
evattu śīrmai Tāṭāvār-śīrmai pattu muṇḍalāna Visḥkuṇṭham Tiruvēṇnedūr, etc.
9 Read Chandralēkai.
10 No. 167 of 1925 reads Tirunagur clearly.
11 Followed by Tirupparippālur in No. 125 of 1904.
12 No. 355 of 1907 reads Rāṭeṇṭiraṇṇagur.
13 Tiruvanṭirapuram in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.
14 Tirumāṇikulī in Nos. 236 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes Tiruva-
ṇṭirapuram.
16 Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., Koṛukkai, Tiyaγavalli.
17 Before Tiṭṭakudi we have : Tiruṇoṟṟiγvudai and Tirukkōḍigā in No. 125 of 1904; in No. 226 of 1925
it is Tiṭṭaiκūḍī. After Tiṭṭaiκūḍī we have Penuṇḍagam in No. 125 of 1904.
18 Tirunārav in No. 226 of 1925.
19 Udaiyarkōḷi, Manurkōḷi and Tiruchchirapuram before Kāṇṭṭumullūr in No. 125 of 1904; Kāṇṭṭum-
20 Mentioned earlier in No. 125 of 1904.
21 Kāṇṭṭumullūr is followed by Pāṇaṇṇalūr, Akṭṭhapuram and Kūṛuchchī in No. 125 of 1904.
22 Mentioned after Tiruṇaḷiγgudī in No. 125 of 1904.
23 Kūṛuchchī in No. 167 of 1925, 226 and 235 of 1925.
24 Talaināyaγam in No. 125 of 1904, Talaināyaγam in No. 235 of 1917, Talaināγar in No. 226 of 1925 and
Talaināγam in 235 of 1925.
25 Tirumudiyaṅkūḍī in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.
26 Śuriyadēvanāyanārkoṭī in No. 355 of 1907; Śuriyadēvanāγur in No. 235 of 1917 and Śuriyadēvanāγur
in No. 235 of 1925.
26 rukkôdîkā Kurgâlam Sirukudi  
27 tûr Nallîr Andârākûyil Gengâkoṇduam  
28 mulâdâbîgā Châlamândâlattu yirâp攴râppaṟṟu  
29 Tânjâvûrpâḷta-ĉêchû(r)mâi Tiruchchirâpâḷli-chên(r)mâiy-  
30 șînataûm pûruva-mulâdâbîgâ pûruva  
31 tu-varûgirî sêdî arasûpêru patinâyirûna  
32 danda devâtánamkâlukkum makara-sâkârânti puṇpiṭha-kâlattile Kivîtiṣiravâvû  
33 trastâlû Undâvîlî Anântâśyi śânantîyam Geśavàdâi Mallukâcchinâdër  
34 āgas- āgas-ţârâpuṟuvamâga chehrauvaṃaśiṣyamâga vîṭṭu tanma-śâdana  
35 pâlîtîtî yinda yirâyîda piramâjâttîlë ellâ-tëvattānângâlîm  
36 sîlâ-śâdanânam puṇpiṭha ellâ-tëvattânângâlukkum pûṣai punârâkram āngârânga  

1 Sûrûkudi in No. 210 of 1917.  
2 This is followed by another Sîrûkudi in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.  
3 Tiruvâḻîpputûr in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvâḻîpputûr in No. 226 of 1923.  
4 Gandasâkârâkâpuram in No. 125 of 1904.  
5 Tirunâpîcchhârî in No. 126 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.  
6 This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Periñâlû in; No. 167 of 1925 Pârîsâkârû, No. 226 of 1925 Aâmûr and 235 of 1925 Tûlînâyîsîtânum and Itâgârkûvî. 74 of 1903 has: kośamânda  
7 naaśu maṇḍalâm Sêndanîmaṇḍalam uâdîyâr Ayuttukatârâjitânyâgîr Tirunâyîsîtânum Kośamânda Murugâmûnâr Meñmâñnañgû Negpurûsîmî-ĉâruamângâlû Vâlsûmnârśuvaṟṟum maṇram uṭpâṭa deyvâ-tâhânanagîr fâvinâsañgûr uṭpâṭa  
8 Sêndanîmaṇḍâlâm Vîshnuvâtânângâlûlë pûruva mulâdâbîgâ arâmanâgihku āruttuvâruppâ ṣêdi poṭ pośaṇâyiram.  
9 Kûpûrâpîsîmañcchhîmâ in No. 226 of 1925; Pûrûrâpîsîmañcchhîmâ in No. 226 of 1925.  
10 Rîsha “ṇeṭṣe” pura-śârmai mentioned before Taṉâvûr in No. 226 of 1925; mulâdâbîgâ after it in Nos. 22 and 235 of 1925.  
11 Chûrma uṭpâda in No. 235 of 1925.  
12 Read “âthânam.  
13 Read “kîṭânum.  
14 Read “tukîṭânum.  
15 Read “prûnna mulâdâbîgâ.  
16 Read “sûraṇa goli.  
17 Read “tukîṭânum.  
18 Read “śâkârânti puṇpiṭhâ kâlattile Kivîtiṣiravâvû.  
19 No. 210 of 1917 adds Periñâlû in; No. 167 of 1925 Pârîsâkârû, No. 226 of 1925 Aâmûr and 235 of 1925 Tûlînâyîsîtânum and Itâgârkûvû.  
20 No. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.  
21 Paśupurãnâ in is found in No. 355 of 1907.  
22 Read “mûṣãmângâlukku; m is superfluous; “mûṣãmângâlû kalîtû in No. 80 of 1911.  
23 Read “Krishnakûṭî; Kîṣṭânamâ in No. 235 of 1925.  
24 Uṇḍâi in No. 235 of 1925.  
25 Gâjendî in No. 226 of 1925; Deśâkârû in No. 235 of 1925.  
26 Read “Mallukâcchinâmèvû; Mallukâcchinâmèvû in No. 226 of 1925, and Mallukâcchinâmèvû in No. 235 of 1925.  
27 Reading is saunâdhûyîlum in No. 226 of 1925.  
28 Reading is dhârâpûrâpûrâmû in No. 226 of 1925.  
29 Read “dhammândakana roṣasamum as in No. 226 of 1925.  
30 Read “roṣam.  
31 Read “saddhamum.  
32 Read “dûṣṭânum.  
33 Read “dûṣṭânumaṇḍâlukku; dûṣṭâ in No. 226 of 1925; dûṣṭânumaṇḍâlû in No. 167 of 1925.  
34 Read “pûṣai.  
35 Reading is pûnânâsûrâgîm[m] in No. 167 of 1925.  
36 This proceeds pûṣai in No. 167 of 1925.
Let there be prosperity. Obeisance to the blessed Gaṇapati. Salutation to Śiva who is beautiful with the moon kissing his lofty head like the chāmara and who is the main pillar (the cause) of the creation of the city of the three worlds. Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal order issued on the day of the full moon in the bright half of the month of Pushya of the year Īśvara which was current after the expiry of the prosperous and victorious year Śālivāhana-Śaka 1439, by the glorious Mahārājaḥhirāja, Rājaparamēṣvara, the conqueror of hostile kings, the destroyer of those kings who break their word, the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas, the confidant of the kingdom of the Gaṇapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, the glorious Vira-Krishnadevarāya-Mahārāya, conveying the charitable edict to remit jōdi and arahupēru as sarvamāṇya to the Śiva, Vishnu and other temples in the Chōja country. We (the king) started from Vijayanagara to the Eastern region on a tour of conquest, took the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumalai Rāhuttariṣṭα, took Vinikondai, Nāgārjunakoṇḍai, Vellamukoṇḍai, Koṇḍavidi, Koṇḍapalli, Rājamaheṇḍrapuram, and other forts, captured Virabhadrasena Gaṇapati, son of Pratāparudra Gaṇapati, Pradhānabhpatri, Prahlātan, Śirachchandran, Mallu Khān, Uddanḍa Khān, and other feudatories as prisoners, and defeated and killed Pratāpa-Rudra Gaṇapati. We then went to Śiṅhvādi and set up a pillar of victory at Poṭṭanur. On the auspicious day of the Makara-saṅkrānti on the banks of the river Krishnaveni in the presence of Anantaśayin of Uṇḍavillai and Mallikārjunadēvar of Gaḷavādai, We issued with libation of water a royal order evidencing a sarvamāṇya grant to the respective Śiva and Vishnu temples of 10,000 varāhams being the contributions of jōdi and sālavari payable by them. The temples were those viz., of Tiruchchirappalli, Śāntalagai, Tirukkattuppalai, Tirunagari, Tirunāgūr, Tiruvaḷundūr Tēvūr, Tiruvenṇagari, Agalāṅgāṇi, Tiruvantirapuram, Tirumāṇikūli, Tiruppattūr, Vaigal, Tirumuttam, Tiruppādiripulyūr, Tirutināṇamagai, Iraiavānāsir, Śendavānāngal, Tirunāvallūr, Tiṭṭaiurūr, Tirunārāiyūr, Kāṇṭḥampalūr, Tiyaṅgavallī, Śrāmanavīṇagai, Tiruvelliyangūḍi, Pandai

1 Read: ā-chandrāditya-dhārayuva; in No. 226 of 1925 it is ā-chandr-ārka-dhārayuva.
2 Should be ākṣamānī as in No. 226 of 1925.
3 The reading is nadattukkoḍu in 235 of 1925.
4 No. 226 of 1926 has sukh nationals.
5 The reading is dharmattukku in No. 226 of 1925.
6 The syllable gi is superfluous.
7 Should be akhitaṁ as in No. 235 of 1925.
8 The reading is pariṇāma peryaj in No. 235 of 1925.
9 Followed by another tāragi in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.
10 Read: go-brāhmanāraiyum.
11 Prasārānī in No. 226 of 1925.
12 The reading is dōkkatil in No. 226 of 1925.
13 Followed by the words brahmanastu and stī-Virupākṣa in No. 226 of 1925, and stī-Virupākṣa only in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 235 of 1925.
14 Sākapāṇam rājyam-udhyatē—Kāmadaka.
The protection of another’s gift is twice as meritorious as making one’s own. By the robbing of another’s gift, one’s own gift becomes devoid of merit.
inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It is dated in words as well as in numerical figures in the year 926, without any specification of the month, fortnight, tithi or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalschuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalschuri year 926, to A.D. 1174-75. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, viz., that which occurred on the onāvāyā of the pūrūṣamāna of Pauha, on Tuesday, the 26th November A.D. 1174. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha’s grant if it was made in the same Kalschuri year in which the record was put up. It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918 to K. 928.

After three māṇgala-dākas in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśīva and Vāstuśīva only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Purushaśīva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarna’s prosperity. Next is mentioned Saktiśīva in connection with Gayakarna. His disciple was Kirtiśīva who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasimha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his glorification. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśīva. He belonged to the gōra of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gokarna, Gayā, and other tīrthas, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kirtiśīva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth, being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Bṛhadānas constructed by him, is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśīva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kirtiśīva for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kirtiśīva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages which was named Tekabhara, was situated in the viśaya (district) of Navapattala and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāda and Vaḍōha in Samudrapata which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalschuri kings of Tripuri from Yaśaḥkarna downwards. It may, how-

1 I take vṛddh-parvati in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. Parvati also means 'a saktirūti, but in that case the particular saktirūti would have been specified.
2 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95.
3 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 18.
4 This Vimalaśīva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.
5 I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmanasambhu mentioned in the Mālāpuram inscription (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 1147 ff) in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadeva on whose feet several Kalschuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāsha is also mentioned as living in Benares in the Sārṇath inscription of Mahāpāla, dated V. 1083, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next eligible name is that of Purushaśīva who was the guru of Karṇa’s son Yaśaḥkarna. But the second akara of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like ma. Besides the guru of this Śaiva pontiff was apparently Vimalaśīva, mentioned in verse 8, while the guru and the paramāru of Vāmanasambhu were Śomaśambhu and Sāhūvāmaśambhu respectively. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadeva was a Kalschuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic. See A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies, pp. 102 ff.
6 Saktiśīva and Kirtiśīva may be identical with Saktisambhu and his disciple Kirtisambhu respectively mentioned in the Mālāpuram Inscription.
ever, be noted in this connection that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Góvinda-
chandra* mention the Saiva Áčhārya Rudraśiva, not Purushaśiva, as the Rāja-guru of Yaśa-
karṇa. Perhaps Yaśa-karṇa had two Rāja-gurus in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the
guru of Jayaśīla, occurs in his Jubbulpore Kótwali plates also.6

The present prakāsa was composed by the poet Saśidhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya
gōtra. He composed also the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadāvī, while his elder brother
Prithvidhara was the author of the Tāwar inscription of Gaya-karṇa. The present record was
incised on the stone by Nāmadāvī, the son of Mahidhara. His father was the engraver of the
aforementioned stone inscriptions of Gaya-karṇa and Alhaṇadāvī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with
Tikahāri, 5 miles south by west of Jubbulpore. The vishāya (district) of Navapattalā7
in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākharā which
lies about 8 miles west of Tikhāri. Samudrapāṭha is probably Samand Pipārā, 4 miles south of Jubbulpore.
There are several villages named Kunda or Kundān near Jubbulpore, one of which may
represent the ancient Kāṇḍarāvīḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vādōha can, however,
be traced in the Jubbulpore District.

**TEXT.**

[Mātras: Vv. 1, 18, 23, 25, 36, 38, 41, and 44 Gaḍāni-kāvya; vv. 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-15, 20-22, 24, 27, 29-32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, and 49 Anushṭhit; v. 5 Vānāṣtaka; v. 8, and 47 Upāṣṭī; v. 10 and 46 Indrāṣṭha; v. 16 and 26 Upāchekhāparśika; v. 17, 25
and 33 Upāṣṭī; v. 19 Vīṣṇū; v. 23 Vasantālakā; v. 34 Praharāṇi; v. 39 Mūlīni; v. 40
Srivālikā; v. 50 Ārya.]

1 निंदा. ॥ [*] भी नाम: विषय: ॥ विशिष्टत्वद्वारा सन्नयनामको विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार नि: विषयानुसार

2 मधुकितांचलांधेखाचारविध: ॥ [१*] हवापलिक्ष: चित्तविनिबिध ॥

3 ज्ञ विश्राण्य तं सुम: ॥ [२*] अगतामायकसौमिद: हिर: विषय: विनामायवत् ॥ [३*]
4 चक्षुःचारितमभृत्यः ॥[१७॥] तदन्यः चिक्षपरमतरायः । कृत्स्माति वेणः[ः] ॥[१६॥]
 ॥[१७॥] ॥[१७॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]

5 मः ॥[१८॥] गिय्य विमत्तिविवाहितमाधाराः पदः स्वीयः ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]
 ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥] ॥[१८॥]

8 गुणामणिव ॥[१२॥] प्रीति: पांच रसस्तीलों खिलति: पावः सताम । भक्ति-
 ब्रह्मचर्यवतस्त्र समस्य ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥]
 ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥]
 ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥]
 ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥] ॥[१२॥]

9 मीला श्रीयः ॥[१२॥] यशोऽमात्तकननसाधिपुत्र प्रायुः(व्र)भुताभुत्यमगाभा ।
 ग्रंथिका क्षितं तथा सक्षिप्ते विदा निक्कुलमकारभुवः ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] वी-
 ग्रंथिका देवदर्शनः ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥]
 ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥] ॥[१३॥]

10 श्रीयः मात्रविवेचनीतिहासीं प्रशांप्रतिपुराण्यविवेचनीतिहासीं तदार्थतिलोकांत विद्या-
 सामुद्र यथा ॥[१४॥] ग्रंथिका त्रिपियाय ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥]
 ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥]
 ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥]
 ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥] ॥[१४॥]

* About 18 aksharas are gone here.
* About 30 aksharas are lost here.
11 स्व नमोन्मोहणाय:। नीवे चरितं यस्म श्री:। कालोत्तरी:॥२४॥
कल्पितकथलुत्कार्यभागभुवः। तस्म त्रितिकेता:। शिर[विलय \]
स बृहस्पति:॥२५॥] चैन चेव?। — — — — — —
नरसिंहनन्दन्याय वभुवः।

12 भुजवाय स:॥२६॥] न चंदन वसमति न च चंदईनीं चके न सारविर-भूमः च विशेषः:। नेनुसिनर:। परशुरारे तथापि भविष्य चारे यतः। स
चति कौशलितवित्त:। सुरूट स:*॥२७॥] यमोहिनरुकिविविशकोरविविविविविविविविविवीः:।
पुरुसक सर्वीशा विवे-

13 ककुसैविवि॥२८॥] हेतु च विपुत्तिमनोभोविपिः प्रसारंचंप्राप्तिमानषमोपिः। धन-प्रतिकीपिः। शिवास्तरात्मक्षु नोपो न च सदिशा:॥२९॥] कन्दुरिकाण-
. . . . . . . 'यति प्रदीपः: . . . . . . . ॥ उ स यशौ तेर्विनाशिष्णि
सवः।

14 यापि विषाममसुदुरिदिधिरा:॥३०॥] विषामिषजारणिगोचि। सैपायवत्रंत:।
प्राप्तिमा:। कियतो न प्रतिष्ठा। परमहिनः॥३१॥] धैर्या सम्यगीतिविदे-
विप्रयायान्तर्थार्नारः॥३२॥] वर्ष:। — — — — [राजानमभु] — — — — — — वर्ष:। [जा]शयनवितिः। समभवः-

15 विषानि पुर्वमि च प्रागस्तन मूल्यात्माम तपास्यावरामामिः॥३३॥]
झामातावधारे श्रीवं सचे(व)पु चंदित।। कथा पदार्थावधारे की(व)हा
च सुदुरसंह:॥३४॥] दशिनायनस्य कुम्भोपिनिराधिकाम:। बुध(व)मुयः
यथा विक्षु(व)पीयो(ब)भाव म-

16 विद्वद्य:॥३५॥] जिन्द्रुपुरुसात्मादमामिः। ध्यू:। प्रलंबके तन्नोजन
चक्षुमेव जमाब्दम॥३६॥] चौरविन वैदान्यावनिधिम तर्थ याहुः।
— — — — नम्भारिन्व दशिनः॥३७॥] प्रभुमोक्षेष्वः॥-वावेदार्थार्थायः

17 द्वाकवाक्य शुरादित्वः। शैव तर्थ विन्दिविविवाधार सम्प्राप्तकुमारसुब्धायः
॥३८॥] कल्याणुप्रतिशम्यः। स एव। [तथा]विल(व)भावः। कलिव्युक्तमन्द-पल्लम।। [यथा]वागितः विक्षु(व)धममाधिगम्य ध्ये सैल्ये न खलु।। [स्वरः]वद्यवेषु
॥३९॥] जा-

1 About 6 aksharas are missing here.
2 About 7 aksharas are gone here.
21 सचानं ज्ञातिगता "सचानं ज्ञातिगता

22 व्याचरणं न च चिन्तित च चिन्तित

23 रूपाकाव्यिति कहतं न यथाकथि

24 सिति च [II.41.4] उदात्तवारिकः [सच्] दामादिकाविशिष्टमिः

1 The siṣṭapaka is dropped here according to the Viśvādīka on Panini VIII, 3, 36.
2 The second sāstra here means “the breast”.
3 The form autéṣṭa can also be correct. In that case the root is yuṣ and not dyuṣ. — B. C. C.
4 Tānti seems to be used here in the sense of “a snare”.
5 Vīlakṣaṇa (si), (blooming) seems to be used here in the sense of vīlapat (shining).
6 Read kvachid-am.
25. ब्लाहीकामा, कौन्तं देव[नदीमिय] विचुवी विस्तार[रेत्रत्विणी] ||[8:8]***[8:8]***

26. च शान्तायः प्रभुः न[च]ः दायुः ||[8:8]***

TRANSLATION,

Success! Oṃ! Obeisance to Śiva!

(Verse 1.) Having become a meritorious person’s son of righteous deeds, (Śiva) who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, rises from the Kāraṇḍavatī river¹ (?!), and completely destroys the (evil) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2.) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses.

(V. 3.) We praise [Śiva], whom they see.

(V. 4.) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine.

(V. 5.) Those whose direct knowledge failed.

(V. 6.) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time, the family.

(V. 7.)

(V. 8.) Having installed his disciple, Viśnuśiva, in his own place, he.

(V. 9.) Whose dear fame.

(V. 10.) (He) who was named Viśnuśiva, who caused great bliss, who...

(V. 11.)

(V. 12.) His disciple named... Śiva, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life...

(V. 13.)

(V. 14.) like multitudes of merits.

¹ Two akṣaras are inadvertently omitted here. Read - mane-ranyakadvandram.
² Atukanāra is grammatically incorrect. Read - tukanārakāta-ātman.
³ Read Suhnuvatah pravatāh-uttara-nava-katāh-nakā-pi.
⁴ There is an ornamental figure here.
⁵ There is some allusion here, which is not clear to me. Monier-Williams gives Kāraṇḍavatī (which is perhaps intended here by kāraṇḍa-pārṇa) as the name of a river.
(V. 15.) He, (though) possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (and) was devoted to Śiva.

(V. 16.) Purusāśīva, the best of men, who was conversant with, was his disciple.

(V. 17.) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of Yaśākaraḥ as that of (Indra), the lord of immortals, through Brihaspati.

(V. 18.) His disciple, Saktiśi, (who augmented) the (two) royal powers of the illustrious king Gayakarna, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19.) The prowess of the king Gayakarna, the hostile king forcibly.

(V. 20.) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21.) The disciple of him—a marvellous tree entwined by the creeping plant of noble fame—(was) Kiritiśi.

(V. 22.) He caused the prosperity of the king Narasimha.

(V. 23.) (Unlike Śiva) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Vishnu for his arrow. Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (as Śiva did those of the demons). Hence he (was) clearly Kiritiśi (Śiva in glory).

(V. 24.) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25.) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion and was devoted to Śiva (even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has a bright disc of the moon on his forehead, is mounted on the bull and is attached to Pārvati), he was (unlike Śiva who is called Ugra and wears serpents) neither dreadful in appearance nor attended by backbiters.

(V. 26.) The great lights, the Kalachuri family.

(V. 27.) In the gōta of Viśvāmitra which is the friend of the world, how many Brahmānas, adorned with benevolence and other (virtues), have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēshtin (God)?

(V. 28.) Their, with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vedas which they had studied in the right manner. Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

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1 For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see Mahābhārata, Drona-parvan, adhyāya 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitrakālī Press ed.).

2 There is a play on the word sriśka meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

3 Śrīnāsā is to be interpreted in two ways: (i) Śrīnāsā meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (ii) Śrīnāsā meaning 'attached to Pārvati'.

4 Ugra is a name of Śiva.

5 Deśijāra (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) a backbiter.

6 Mañjīrī is one of the four śādrama which Yogins cultivate.
(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that gōtra Madhusūdana who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the pada and krama texts of the Riks and understood their meaning.

(V. 30.) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men, even as the rise of the star Agastya, the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (from slumber).

(V. 31.) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (his) wife named Uṣṇa, who resembled Pārvati, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32.) Having studied the Vedas and understood their contents, he, observing vows, [pleased all people] like the southern breeze.

(V. 33.) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsā, Gokarna, Gayā and other holy places, he received (initiation in) the Śiva vow from Kirtīśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (i.e., Śiva).

(V. 34.) (May) this Vimalaśiva, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world! (the tree), having come under the shade of which a multitude of Brāhmaṇas does not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35.) In the case of only this (Vimalaśiva) who is solely devoted to exertion are seen (the following), viz., birth in a caste (viz., Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (handsome) form which can turn back the god of love (in discomfiture), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to the politicians (and) blessed silence.

(V. 36.) (The goddess of) speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā’s face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishnu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa.’—This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused…….in the minds of magnanimous people!

(V. 37.) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(him) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

(V. 38.) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas (who approach him) as supplicants, his piety increases in an excellent manner, day and night with the libations of water (poured at the time) of making gifts like a sinew of religion. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas, whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.

(V. 39.) Showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader…….. The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (viz., Vimalaśiva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies………

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1 The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of Sarad or autumn. [There is also a veiled reference to the sage Agastya who is associated with the propagation of Aryan culture in the south.—Ed.]

2 There is a play on the words daksā, dvija-pati and rāhīṣ. Daksā gave only one Rāhīṣ (i.e., the star Aldender) to the moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalaśiva gives hundreds of rāhīṣ (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star Rāhīṣ is personified as the daughter of Daksā and the favourite wife of the moon.

3 In this verse also there is a pun on words like dvija-pati, kalā, etc.
(V. 40.) Though he is ever looked at with great eagerness by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he nowhere suffers the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed by the king in many worthy affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in the performance of obligatory and occasional religious rites. 

(V. 41.) ..................(There was) no discriminating action which he did not perform; (there was) no gift which he did not confer; (there was) no deserving person whom he did not honour many times (and there was) no holy place on the earth which he did not sanctify with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities. 

(V. 42.) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings and glory increase like his lustre. 

(V. 43.) With what ornaments (supplied by him) does not the earth surpass heaven?—(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas? 

(V. 44.) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva—who by his counsels has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes, (to whom) the king Jayasimha (bows) becoming very humble through devotion spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river, is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age! 

(V. 45.) He caused a temple of the moon-crested (Śiva) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kṛśna out of reverence for him. 

(V. 46.) To this god named Kṛśna, Jayasimhadeva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on the occasion of the sun's eclipse. 

(V. 47.) Of these, the village called Tākabhara is situated in the vishaya (district) of Navanattali and two others (viz.,) Kandaravādha and Vudhā in the district of Samudrapāta. 

(V. 48.) The poet Śaśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharamidhara who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, born in the family of Mannya, has composed this praśasti with pleasure. 

(V. 49.) Nāmadeva, the son of Mahādeva, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters. 

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures, 926. 

(V. 50. May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament! 

No. 34.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF BRAHMA-TANTRA-SVATANTRA-JIYAR: SAKA 1282.

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

Kanchipuram in the Chingleput district was an important place of pilgrimage from very early times. Portions of this town and its environs were in the olden days known according to their religious associations, as the Buddha-Kaṇchi, Jina-Kaṇchi, Śiva-Kaṇchi, and Vishnu-Kaṇchi. The inscription published below is engraved on the north wall of the second prākāra of the Vara-dāra temple at Little Conjeevaram, otherwise called Vishnu-Kaṇchi, which is very sacred to the Vaishnavas of the south.

1 Kara-muttai means also ' one who is near at hand.' The statement ' Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near.' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent; the intended sense being as given above. The figure is Vimalabhadra.

2 Buddha-Kaṇchi is referred to in No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924-25 (Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1924-25, para. 56). Jina-Kaṇchi is represented by Tiruppuruttikurung near Conjeevaram; Śiva-Kaṇchi and Vishnu-Kaṇchi are respectively the modern Big and Little Conjeevaram.

3 No. 74 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919.
The characters in which the record is engraved are Tamil and Grantha, the latter being employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is Tamil with an admixture of Sanskrit words, and is somewhat illustrative of the type of Vaishnava composition prevalent in this period and locality. The record is very well preserved, and its orthography does not call for any comment.

The record does not quote any king's name but is simply dated in Śaka 1282 and contains the astronomical details—Vikāra, Mesha, su. 1, Friday and Aśvati—which yield the equivalent A.D. 1359, March 29. It states that a certain Vaishnavadhāsa who had been given the title of Brahma-vyākhyātā of the Śākta doctrine by the god (Hastigiriśa), was in charge of a matha evidently at Kāṇchipuram in Śaka 1282. This information is of interest for the religious history, as it enables us to identify this first pontiff of the matha with the direct disciple of the great Vedānta-Dēśika, the erudite scholar, keen controversialist and deeply venerated Vaishnava ascārya, whose literary and religious activities are said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D.

As mentioned above, the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded; in that it purports to have been issued by the deity himself. In the Tamil records of this temple, the god is called Arūjappurumāl or Tiruvattiyur-nilagurudiyarpamarasvāmin, or the great lord who was pleased to stand at Tiruvattiyur. The village-name Tiruvattiyur having been Sanskriticised into Hastigiriśa, the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as Hastigiriśa, by which name he is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent Perumāḷaitan and other Bhūtās, the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the abhiseka-mudūpa of the temple on the throne named Viraṇāvālaṇa under the canopy called the Ariyāvāllāṇa-pandal listening to the chanting of the songs of Śaṅkara, was pleased to confer the title of Brahma-vyākhyātā of the Śākta doctrine on a certain Vaishnavadhāsa and to put him in charge of a matha and its properties, so that he may propagate the tenets of the Rāmaṇa-dāsāyana to the Vaishnava laity, and maintain the library which he had collected, probably in the matha premises. A sentence at the end adds that this divine order (tirunūryām) was engraved on stone by the temple-accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in this inscription, couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that this convention was adopted by some of the Vaishnava temples in the Tirunelveli District in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., and in some instances in the South Arcot and Chingleput Districts also. Some Saiva temples also appear to have sparingly copied this procedure in drafting their documents at this period. In such cases, the occasion when and the place wherefrom the orders were issued are given at some length. Some instances may be quoted.


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1 Dēśika is believed to have been born in A.D. 1269, Śukla, and to have died in A.D. 1370, Saunyā. The present record is of help in confirming the period of his literary activity as the second half of the 14th century A.D.

2 The artificial ramp formed by an enclosed mudūpa is called the 'Tirumādār' or 'piri', on top of which the shrine of Varadārāja is located.

3 Compare the verse composed in praise of this Jīyar.

4 This is analogous to the instances in which kings are described as having been seated in particular halls of their palaces and on particular seats, while issuing the orders contained in the respective epigraphs.
2. Nāyaṅār Tiruvilaikal-Nāyaṅār Adi-ayana-tiru-mañjañam seyyarulji Irāmānunja-
tirumangalattu Nālukavi-perumall-Virāsimhashanattu Śri-Śāthakōpan tirumuttin-
pandal-kkō Nāchchimārūdan chēndaru-rinodu engalai arulappādattarulji nammu-
daiyā adiyārīl ... nammu-daiyā kamāran Hariyanān kamāran Hariyanān, etc.—(Tirukkoṭiyilir, No. 356 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

3. Nam bhaktar Malai-mañjalattu Tālaikkudī Śēndapiran-Periyānān Yādavariyañukku nam-aṭukkaiippuram ... selvedāga nam maganār Virā-

The reigning king of the time is referred to in these records as nam pilla or nam kumāran 'the god's son or favourite', and in response to his formal petition that a particular transaction may be made, the god is described as sanctioning it and issuing a ratificatory order to that effect to the officials concerned. This convention does not, however, appear to have been in vogue for a long time. Adi-Chaṇḍēsvara, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṅmars, is considered to be the steward-in-
chief (māla-bhīritya) of Śaiva temples, and the documents relating to them are drafted in his name. Similarly also Vishvaksēna or Śēnai-mudaliyār is looked upon as the Manager of Vaishṇava temples. It is one step further to assume that the orders were issued directly by the god him-
self.\(^1\) Such divine mandates are called arulappāṭu; and in the Śrīraṅgam temple, god Rāṅgarāja is even now conventionally considered to look after the affairs of his temple himself and issue the necessary orders through the mouth of his temple-officials.

Before proceeding to examine the contents of this record, a few expressions occurring in it may be explained.

(L. 2). Viravallāṇaṁ siṁhāsaṇam and Ariyavallāṇaṁ-pandai are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoysalaj king Vira-
Ballāḷa III\(^2\), while the second may have been named after some one having the title 'he who is as powerful as a lion',\(^3\) but whose title it was is not known.

Nam penḍugal—viz., Vishṇu's two consorts, Śri and Bhūmi.

Śāthakōpan-pāṭu keṭāṅka—Śāthakōpa is the name of the Vaishṇava saint Nammāḻvār, whose Tiruvāyāmul is considered equal to the Vēdas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for this service in Vishṇu temples are often men-
tioned in inscriptions.\(^4\)

(L. 3). Perumāḷdāṇ—Perumāḷṭāṇ or Perumāḷdāṇaḻ would ordinarily mean 'a devotee of Perumāḷ (Vishṇu)'; but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent, super-

\(^1\) In these instances, the records commence with a Sanskrit verse specifying that the orders emanate from the god himself—

(a) स्वयंवशास्त्रसम्बन्धसुधीरविकारकारणम्

शासनम् शासनाम् शमी: स्वयंवशास्त्रसम्बन्धसुधीर

—No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

(b) प्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकांजिलहेऽप्रत्येकां

शासनम् शासनाम् शमी: स्वयंवशास्त्रसम्बन्धसुधीर

—No. 51 of 1938-39 of the same collection.

\(^2\) Ballāḷa III was camping at Kaṭhipuram in Bhāvakā (Sāka 1256)—No. 401 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In two other records from the same temple, one of which is dated in Śaṅka 1283, in the regime of Śāluva Maṅgu, the god is described as seated in a similar manner while issuing the orders.

\(^3\) A liquid measure called 'Ariyavallāṇaṁ-nāḷi' was current in this temple at this period—(No. 343 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

\(^4\) Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, part II, para. 35.
vising the sacred business of the temple (nam viṣṭu karunam kēṭkum), in whose presence and that of the Bhaṭṭas of the temple, the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name ‘Vaishṇava- 
dāsa’ occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning ‘the servant-devotee of Vaishṇava’ rather than as the personal name of the donee in the record; for according to the 
Guruparampara-prabhāvam, the original name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was Pēraruḷa-
layyan of Viravallī and his dāyaṇāma on becoming a saṅgyāsīn was Pēraruḷa-Jiyān.

(L. 4) Samāraṇānam adukku vēṇum mutṭukkalum—seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the maṭha itself and the requirements therefor. It is usual for 
every maṭha to have images of some deities for worship. In this connection, it may be noted 
that on the eve of the demise of Vēdānta-Dēśika, some images are said to have been bequeathed 
to his disciple Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.²

Postakāṅgalam idukku vēṇum upakaravaṇagalum—By postakāṅgal (pustaka), manuscript 
bundles are apparently meant. The upakaranas are the accessories and paraphernalia required 
for running a library—such as probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles, 
spare sets of cadijan leaves for copying work, and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

Rāmaṇujā-darśanam—is the Viṣṇuśāiva-siddhānta as codified and expounded in his Śri-
bhāṣya by the great Vaishṇava apostle Rāmaṇuja (A.D. 1017-1137). It was he who had raised 
this system to an unassailable eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary 
style, by the training of a number of able exponents and siṃhāsaṇādhipatis³ from among his 
numerous disciples.

(L. 5) Nam Rāmaṇujam-uḍaiyārum nam samayattil uḷḷārum—Rāmaṇujam-uḍaiyār appears 
to mean the ‘followers of Rāmaṇuja.’⁴ The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahma-tantra-
svatantra-Jiyar as the pontiff was to receive the acceptance of Rāmaṇuja’s followers and the 
Vaishṇava hātya (samayattil-ūḷḷā).

(L. 6) Ivaṇṇku nām mūḍatapadiyum uḍuttapadiyum pūṣātapadiyum kuḍutṭom—means that the 
flowers worn by the god, the clothes used by him and the sandal-paste and unguents utilised for 
his worship were presented to the Jiyār as a mark indicative of the god’s love to the recipient. 
This expression is found used in some inscriptions⁵ and in Vaishṇava literature.

As regards Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the donee of the record, some information is avail-
able from Vaishṇava literature. Among the South Indian religions, it was Vaishṇavisim alone 
that had developed the ‘historical sense’ to an appreciable extent, and there are therefore 
several biographies of the Vaishṇava āchāryas available, collated under the names of Vaibhavaś 
and Guruparamparās of varying volume.⁶ One such work dealing with the life of the great 
Vaishṇava reformer Vēdānta-Dēśika is the Guruparampara-prabhāvam⁷ in Tamil prose by Trītiya-

¹ Guruparampara-prabhāvam (Tamil, Madras), p. 114; see also f. n. 3 on p. 319.
² Ibid., p. 138.
³ There were 74 siṃhāsaṇādhipatis who were selected. Their names are given in the reply to question No. 24 
of the Trīṃśatprāṇāṭaram, Paḷāṇadaivaikka, p. 30.
⁴ The following expression from No. 51 of 1938-39 from Śrīnāmam may be compared—Kodava kodanavar 
nam bhavakal ... nam Rāmaṇujanai-uḍaiyār nam pōḍuvar, etc.
⁵ Compare No. 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
⁶ There are many biographies of Dēśika available. The Vēdānta-Dēśika-vaihindra-prabhāsīka by Doḍḍay-
āchārya is in Sanskrit.
⁷ Published in Madras in several editions. Dvitiya-Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the āchārya of the 
author of this work is said to have written the Paṇḍrāgirappadi-Guruparampara-prabhāvam, which is not 
extant.
Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar. Shorn of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox hagiography, this work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations later than Dēśika, may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather the following details about Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the first of that name, who was a disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika:

Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar belonged to the Kauḍinīya-gōta and was originally called Viravalli Pērarulājaya. Well-versed in all the śāstras, he became an ardent disciple of Dēśika and assumed the samāyāsā garb under the name of Pērarulāja-Jiyar. When the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam was looted by the Muhammadans in the first quarter of the 14th century, Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar fled along with his aghārya to Satyamaṅgalam (in the Coimbatore District) and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after some years. He was taught the Bhagavat-vishayam (Arāyirappadi) by Varadāchārya aliya Naiyārāchārya, the son and disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika, in Kali 4440, Bahudhānya, Āvanj, śu. 2, Hāstā (= A.D. 1338, August 18). On one occasion, he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam and was honoured by Dēśika with the title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra'1 he who is a master in Brahmu-tantra'. That accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the régime of Tirumalai-Srinivāsa-chārya2 who had been installed as Dēśika as the Śrikeśvara-duṇavendra of the Kāṇchipuram temple, Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar overcame a Kashmirian pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of 'Paryāya-Bhāṣyakāra'.3 Some time later under the direction of god Venkaṭēśa in a dream, he accepted the Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple, and during his tenure of office there, he installed an image of Vēdānta-Dēśika in a matha built by him at Tirumala, as well as in a maṇḍapa in the Gōvindaṅga temple at Lower Tirupati. He stayed at Tirupati for a long time expounding the Vaiṣṇava philosophy to his disciples Ghaṭikāsatakam-Ammaḻ, Kiḻambi-Naiyār, Kōmāṇḍūr-Achāṁ, Pillaiy-Appai, Pērarulājaya-Appai, Kandājai-Āndjar, Viravalli-Pillai and others. After his demise he was succeeded by Pērarulājaya-Appai. Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was the author of two small works—the Divyaśuri-stuti,4 and the Āghāryāvatāra-ghaṭitāra.5

Though these biographical details may, in the main, be accepted, a few omissions may be noticed. The Guruparamparā-prabhānam does not contain a reference to the founding of a matha at Kāṇchipuram and to the installation of Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in it as its first pontiff for the propagation of the Rāmānuja-darśana, as stated in the present record, nor do the Tirupati inscriptions corroborate his Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple. But these points notwithstanding, Brahmu-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of

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1 The present record conventionally states that god himself gave the title.
2 Guruparamparā-prabhānam, p. 138. He was the author of a religious work called the Prabandha-nītikāśā.
3 A verse composed by Ghaṭikāsatakam-Ammaḻ in praise of this Jiyar reads—

पुराः परित्याजकराय प्रसन्नात्स्वे निजन्वति।
मन्दरतिश्वतनाय विद्ययश्रुणः भवः।

4 The colophon reads—व्रजनायान्तिकासं दिव मुद्रितां

5 His colophon reads—व्रजनायान्तिकाः प्रकाशयति

शारोपायास्वार्धवश्च संस्कृतिः प्रकाशयति।
Vedanta-Deshika, because of the fact that the investiture of this unique title of ‘Brahma-tantra-svatantra’, herein attributed to the god himself, had been made more than a decade prior to the demise of Desika and that this acharya’s name figures in three important pontifical lists.1

The matha which was thus started at Kanchipuram under the pontificate of this Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in A.D. 1360 grew in importance and appears to have latterly removed its headquarters to Melkote in the Mysore State, where it became popular under the name of the Parakala-matha. There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of this matha, and a short sketch of its history has been given in the granth-opasanihara of the Alankara-maravihara,4 a work on rhetoric composed recently by one of its pontiffs, also called Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.

At about this time in Saka 1300 there was in the Varadaraja temple at Kanchipuram, a minor matha called the Veda-matha, which was presided over by a certain Vedendrasagara—sripada and which probably specialised in the teaching of the Vedas.4 Another important Vaishnava matha which came into existence in this period was the Ahubalam-matha,2 whose founder Srividya, son of Kijambhi Kesavacharya of Tirunayaparam, is, according to orthodox tradition, believed to have assumed the Samnyasa-dharma in Saka 1320 (A.D. 1398) under the name of Adipan Satyakopa-Jiyar and to have been its first pontiff for a period of sixty years till A.D. 1458.

Vedanta-Deshika is stated in the Gurupara-parama-prabha-mam to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Sarvajna-Singabhupala and to have composed the Subhishita-nielsen for his delection.9 The same chief is said to have honoured Nayanaracharya, the son and disciple of Desika, with the gift of a panalquin and other paraphernalia, when this acharya went to the northern parts in his religious tours. It follows therefore that Brahma-tantra-svatantra was also a contemporary of this Singa. According to the Velugotivai-vaisaisvali7 dealing with the history of the Racherla chiefs, there were three chiefs of the name of Singa. Of these, Singa III who came to power in A.D. 1425 had the title of Sarvajna.8 The author of the work on rhetoric called the Rosaryava-sudhakara was a Singa son of an Annavota; and he has been identified with Singa II and has been assigned to about A.D. 1380.10 There was another earlier Singa I who flourished about this time and was killed by a certain Tammalja-Bommayya in A.D. 1360. It is no

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1 In this connection the following orthodox three-fold ‘lists’ may be noted:
(a) Mantriratha-guruparampara—Emberumana, Kijambhi-Achchan, Kijambhi Ramana Appullan, Srijangaraj, Appullar, Desikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
(b) Srijhshya-guruparampara—Emberuma, Tirukkurapputir-Pillai, Esgajvan, Nadadhar-Ammal, Appullar, Desikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
(c) Bhagavad-vishaya-guruparampara—Same as in (b), Desikar, Nayanaracharya and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.

8 See PaJamaanakam, Part II, p. 28.
9 Published in the Mysore Sanskrit Series.
5 Vide Tirupati Dvastiham Report (1930), p. 214, where these traditional dates are questioned and are postdated by a cycle of sixty years.
6 Guruparampara-prabhamam, pp. 120 and 139. Two other works named the Tatwasandaka and the Raksayasanakaka are also stated to have been composed for the same purpose.
7 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Velugotivai-vaisaisvali, Introduction.
8 Vasantaraya, brother of the latter Singa III, made a gift of four devrapalaka images to the Varadaraja temple at Kanchipuram (No. 683 of 1919) in Saka 1530.
9 His date has been discussed in Sringara-Srinatham (Telugu) by Prabhakar Sahiti, p. 170, etc.
doubt tempting to identify the author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, with the chief who honoured the two ṛṣhivas.\(^1\) As Vēdānta-Dēśika is believed to have passed away in A.D. 1370,\(^2\) and as Naiyārāchārya had also attained to literary fame before A.D. 1360, their contemporary has been considered to have been Śiṅga I of A.D. 1360, who lived within the life-time of Dēśika but who is not known to have had the title of Sarvajña or more appropriately, Śiṅga II who actually began to rule later, but who may have been a young chieftain at the time of Naiyārāchārya's visit administering a portion of the territory in conjunction with his father Anavōta, for whom, however, records up to Śaka 1307 are found.

The existence of one other Śiṅga at this period may also be noted. In the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka\(^3\) dated in Śaka 1280, only two years earlier than the date of the present record, it is stated that a village which had been granted by one of the chiefs of Kōrukoḍa to a Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the seventh of that name, was transferred to the temple of god Raṅganāthha by his mother, on the death of the latter without issue. This grant indicates that the Kōrukoḍa chiefs were devout Vaishnāvas and that a descendant of the famous Bhaṭṭar family of Śrīraṅgam was honoured by one of them. This Mummaḍi-Nāyaka is stated to have had two younger brothers, one of whom was a Śiṅga who was ruling over a portion of his brother's territory with headquarters at Kōṭipura in the Godavari District. His father was a Kūna. But the chief, to whom Dēśika\(^4\) had dedicated the three works referred to above, is said to have been the son of a Mādhava-Nāyaka. If this is so, he cannot be identified either with the Rēcherla Śiṅga, son of Anavōta, or the Kōrukoḍa Śiṅga, son of Kūna. His identity must therefore remain undetermined for the present.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a *collection of manuscripts* (or a library) which was kept in the *matha* and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep, as envisaged in the expression *iva tēṇīṇa postakāṅgalum idukku tēṇīṇa upakaraṇāṅgalum*. It is well-known that in the medieval centuries, religious institutions of all denominations, Śaiva, Vaishnava and Jaina, flourished in South India, either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended as seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these *mathas* called *Mathādhīpataī*, *Mudaliyārs* or *Jiyārs*, on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended, and who, in turn, enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for their services. Then there were also the *Ghaṭikāṭhānas* (i.e.) * establishments for holy and learned men*, and smaller educational institutions of which there were many in the land, which were responsible for the intellectual well-being of the community. The munificent donations made for the

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\(^1\) Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has kindly brought to my notice a reference from Mr. M. Doraswamayya's article in the *Tirumalai Śrī-Vekatārasvaram*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51 ff., wherein Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author, has been assigned to a period before A.D. 1370, on the strength of the fact that the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has been quoted from by the *Channalāra-chandikā* of Viṣṇuvārā, which latter is referred to in the *Alakāravasudhākāra* of Bhōganāthha of about A.D. 1370.

\(^2\) The Sanskrit verses engraved in the Śrīraṅgam temple eulogising the restoration of the Raṅganāthha image by Gopaṇārya, are stated in the *Gurusarampara* to have been composed by Dēśika himself. If so he must have passed away soon after this incident.


\(^4\) *Life and Literary Writings of Dēśika*, by M. K. Tāthāchārya, where the following is quoted...
maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions; but though no specific references to libraries as such, are found in them, it is, however, reasonable to infer that when these mathas, ghatikas and pithasalas were functioning properly, they must have been maintaining well-stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers as well as the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in mathas and other places in South India, bear ample testimony to the fact that the library was a fairly well-recognised institution of medieval religious and student life. But specific references to libraries as such are, as stated already, rather rare in inscriptions. A record of the Western Chalukya king Trailokyamalla-Ahavamalla dated in Saka 980 (=A.D. 1058) from Naga in the Hyderabad State mentions that Dandanatha-Trinatha Madhusudana, a general of the king, received from his master among many other endowments, a gift of land for the maintenance of six Curators called Sarasvati-Bhan-
drigas who were placed in charge of the library attached to the college (Ghatikasalas) at Naga-av-
agrahara, which had several hundred students on its rolls. Another interesting reference to a Sarasvati-bhadra or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph engraved on the east wall of the third prakara in the Ranganatha temple at Srirangam in the Trichinopoly District. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the uttamottama type, should have been provided with a library as well. The record states that in an auxiliary manadapa which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of three presiding deities of learning—viz., Hayagriva, Sarasvati and Vyasa-Bhagavan, by Palapalli Nilakanta-Nayakar. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysala Vira-Ramanatha, in whose 14th year inscription (A.D. 1269) he is mentioned, the library of the Srirangam temple was in existence from the middle of the 13th century A.D. A pustaka-
bhadra as an adjunct to the Advaitic Sankara-matha at Sringeri in the Mysore State is mentioned in two epigraphs from Vantyala near Perduru in the South Kanara District, which belong to the early Vijayanagara period. One of them is dated in Saka 1328 in the reign of king Bukka II and registers a gift of land for the maintenance of a certain Puranika Kavi-Krishna-
Bhatta, who was the Curator in charge of this library, while the other dated a few years later in Saka 1354 in the reign of king Dvararaya II, relates to another gift of land made to the Curator's son Kavi-Sankara-Bhatta, who evidently succeeded his father in his office.

TEXT.


2 perra Asvati-nal abhishika-mandapatru Vira-Vallalan-sinhasanattu Arienavallan-pandal-
kil namum nam peindugaludan Saatakopa-pattu-kkijainikra nam vidhi karumam kistkum

1 Several inscriptions relate to the provision made for the maintenance of such educational institutions, notable among them being those copied from Epagaram in the South Arcot District (No. 333 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), Kavanur (An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1933, Part II, para. 35), etc.

2 The Inscriptions of Nagai (Hyderabad Archit. Series, No. 8), p. 7.

3 No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1933-39.

4 In this connection it may be mentioned that the Pashkara-Sankita (published at Mokkote, Mysore, 1934), one of the three authoritative works of the Panchatara school, has a chapter entitled 'Jhana-pratishthanam', giving rules for the formation of a library in a temple. This reference was brought to my notice by Mr. S. Parchaswarthi Ayyangar of the Devasthanam Library at Srirangam.

5 No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

6 Nos. 283 and 284 of the same collection for 1936-37.

7 This word is written below 'Svasti sri' in slightly smaller characters.

8 Svasti sr and several other Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters.

9 May also be corrected into nam visru karumam.
This is according to the sacred order.

Hail! Prosperity!

This is the order of the glorious Lord of Hastigiri, the god of gods, which is red with the brilliance of the gems in the diadems of the (suplicating) lords of the celestials and of the Asuras:

"In the month of Mēsha of the (cyclic) year Vikārin, on a Friday with prathamā-tithi of the first fortnight and Āsvatī-nakhshatra, while We, in company with Our consorts, were listening to the songs of Sațhakāpā, seated on the throne (named) Viravallāṇ under the canopy (called) Ariyeṇavallāṇ in the abhishēka-maṇḍapa (of the temple) —

on the representation (made) by Perumāḷtāṇa, who supervises the (sacred) business of Our temple (nām vidu), and by Our Bhāṭas, We were pleased to assign to a Vaishnavadāsa on whom we had bestowed the name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyāṇ, the maṭha which had been set apart for him, the lands belonging thereto, the worship to be conducted therein and the expenses therefor, the books which he had accumulated and the accessories required for them (i.e., their maintenance), so that he may propagate Our Rāmānuja-darsanam, and after him, the disciples selected by him may, in succession, take possession of these and continue (the work).

We directed that the followers of Rāmānuja (Rāmānuja-udaiyār) and those of our Vaishnava somayam shall accept him (i.e., his pontificate) and carry on (the work).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper, and We presented him (in token of Our regard) what had been used (as garlands), what had been worn (as clothes), and what had been anointed (as ungents) by Us."

As thus graciously commanded (by the god), this is the writing (or signature) of the temple-accountant Pērārulāpīrāṇ.

The Saka year in which this sacred order was written (engraved) is One thousand two hundred and eighty-two.
No. 35.—KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LUGD.), OOTCAMUND.

It was early in the year 1935 that the late Babu Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta, a well-known Jain antiquarian, kindly placed at my disposal a couple of inked estampages of the subjoined inscription for decipherment and publication. He informed me that the inscription appears on a stone pedestal which is in the possession of Babu Bhagwan Das of Silao in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District. This gentleman, I understand, owns a collection of antiquities. He could not tell the exact provenance of the present piece, as the collection had existed in the family from before his time and is apparently not properly enlisted. Considering, however, that Silao is situated between the famous archaeological sites of Nalanda and Rajagriha, it is probable that the find hailed from one of these two places. But, as will be shown below, it is more likely that the piece belonged to Silao itself.

From the estampages supplied by Babu Puran Chand, I could read a considerable part of the epigraph. For its complete decipherment, however, an examination of the original or, at least, a set of better impressions was essential. During the summer of that very year, I had occasion to visit Silao, but unfortunately I then missed Babu Bhagwan Das there. Consequently I had to go disappointed without seeing either his collection or the inscribed pedestal in question.

About two years later, Mr. J. K. Roy, the then Custodian of Nalanda Museum and Monuments, at my request, got a fresh set of impressions prepared, which he kindly sent to me along with his description of the sculptured piece. In December 1939, Mr. Amalnanda Ghosh, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna, further obliged me by furnishing me with two photographs of the damaged sculpture and three impressions, on thin paper, of its inscription. The new material enabled me to read the inscription almost entirely.

As may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, the pedestal is elliptical in shape and has, in its centre, a remnant of the kneeling statue, carved in the round, which once surmounted it. The pedestal stands 9' high, and measures 20' at its longest and 14½' at its broadest. The extant portion of the figure shows that it represented a person seated in the attitude that is technically called bhūkṣāsana. The symmetrical lines seen on its right leg suggest folds of the bhūti or the lower garment. Further, the pedestal has, at its bottom, a tenon, about 6' long and 4' wide, which shows that the present sculpture was placed on a larger pedestal by the side of some other statue or statues. This is borne out also by the posture of the present image, as judged from its surviving portion. The posture recalls to one's mind certain representations of Garuḍa, Vishnu's vāhana, depicted as offering worship with folded hands or waiting on his master. In the present instance, however, the figure represented, as is disclosed by the inscription, not Garuḍa but Kāśyapa who, as will presently be shown, was a famous disciple of the Buddha. We may thus conclude that the present image, representing Kāśyapa in worshipful attitude, was originally installed next to the statue of his teacher, Gautama Buddha, in a shrine or a sanctuary somewhere near the modern village of Silao.

The pedestal is partitioned into two by an inward curve. The inscription runs along the upper land and consists of three lines, each measuring about 21' in length. It is

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1 Silao is a railway station on the Bukhtiarpur—Behar Light Railway section of East Indian Railway.
2 See below p. 331.
slightly weather-worn, especially on the right-hand extremity where a few letters in the
first line I have not been able to make out. Again, due to erosion, parts of letters and
signs of superscript रेप्हा have, at certain places, been rendered obscure. In most cases,
however, they can be made out from the moulds on the back of an estampane. The
average size of the letters is $\frac{7}{8}$.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Kielhorn described this
type as “the Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet”\(^1\), while some other scholars more
appropriately call it “the Eastern variety of Nāgarī”\(^2\). The script of the present record
bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghősārāvī inscription\(^3\) of the time of the
Pāla king Dēvapālādeva who reigned from c. A.D. 801 to c. A.D. 840. In view of this
consideration, the present inscription, which neither bears a date nor mentions any ruler’s
name, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is entirely in verse, all
the three stanzas forming but one sentence. The following points are worthy of note in
respect of orthography, a consonant followed by a Ꞌ is very often reduplicated, Ꞌ is
used for Ꞌ in yas=cha, l. 2 and Ꞌ=cha, l. 3, and ꞌ is used for ꞌ in Vauddha, l. 3.
The sign of ꞌaṇḍhra appears twice. Grammatically, the form amit-ardhān, l. 1, is wrong.
As an adjective of kṣetra, it ought to be amit-ardhāna. Similarly the use of the feminine
gender in the word adiption saṁkhāṭik-ādir, l. 3, is incorrect. In a compound like the
present one, it should ordinarily be treated in the neuter gender. The exact sense of
the expression yānti dravīdhā, l. 2, in the given context is not clear to me, though I have
rendered it as ‘vie with one another’\(^3\). Of lexicographical interest are the terms puraṣa,
l. 2, and saṁhāṭikā, l. 3. The former in all probability is meant to be an equivalent of
purata which is equally of rare occurrence and means ‘gold’. The latter appears here
as a synonym of saṁghāṭi or saṁghāṭikā which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and
denotes ‘one of the three robes of a monk’ (tri-chīvara)\(^4\).

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account of Kaśyapa may not be met with. We have, however, certain references in literature, which are of great value to us inasmuch as they not only bear out the information imparted by our inscription but also supplement it. It will, therefore, be interesting to cite them here.

The events narrated in the inscription evidently follow the order of their sequence. It may further be observed that each of the nine attributive clauses refers to one distinct happening connected with Kaśyapa’s life. To sum up the whole, Kaśyapa (1) occupied the position of Surapati for seven times successively in some of his former births, (2) was born on this earth in a wealthy family, (3) renounced the world, forsaking his wife Kāplīyā, (5) showed sympathy with the wretched, so much so that it excited the admiration of the gods, (6) worshipped the Lord with intense piety, (7) received the Lord’s robe at the time of the latter’s nirvāṇa, (8) expounded the Law and finally (9) attained nirvāṇa on the mount Gurupāda.

In literature, it is the later Pāli works like various Aṭṭhakathās that furnish us with a somewhat detailed narrative of Kaśyapa’s early life, which may be summarised as follows: “His boyhood’s name was Pippali Māṇavaka”. He was born to a wealthy Brāhmaṇa of the Kapila gōtra at the village of Mahātīthī (Mahātīrthha) in Magadh. From the very beginning he was averse to worldly life. He would look after his parents so long as they lived and afterwards turn a monk. But when he came of age, his parents exhorted him to marry. He refused to do so. However, when his mother persistently remonstrated with him on this point, he devised means by which, he thought, he would have his way and, at the same time, would not inure his mother’s displeasure. He got an image of a young lady of supernatural beauty fashioned of pure gold, bedecked with glittering jewels and daintily clad in red. He presented the image to his mother, declaring that if he were to have a bride of that form, he would fain go in for wedlock. He had fancied that neither would such a paragon of beauty be forthcoming, nor would he marry. This, however, did not dishearten his mother. She rather imagined that her son was very fortunate and that he must have done meritorious deeds in his former births, not alone but in company with a lady of golden hue (suvarṇa-vaṁśa). She, therefore, at once called in a council of eight Brāhmaṇas, handed over the gold idol to them and charged them with the duty of finding out a damsel of the requisite beauty to be the bride of her son. The Brāhmaṇas mounted the idol on a chariot and set out on their mission. They travelled far and wide until at last they reached the city of Śāgala in the Madra desa, where they found a girl who in grace and charm far excelled the gold image, not to speak of resembling...

1 Owing to the portion left unread here, it is not clear what event was described in this sentence.
2 This obviously adverts to the occasion of the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rājagriha, convened and presided over by Kaśyapa.
3 It will be clear from Dr. G. P. Malalasekera’s Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names that the Buddhist literature knows of numerous personnages bearing the name Kaśyapa or Mahā-Kaśyapa. A fairly exhaustive description of the Kaśyapa of our record is given in that work under Mahā Kaśyapa Thera (Vol. II, pp. 476-483), which winds up with the remark that “Mahā Kaśyapa was so called to distinguish him from other Kaśapas, and also because he was possessed of great virtues.”
4 Śāgala or Śākala has been identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. See Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 686 f.; N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 173 f.; B. C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 53 f. The country of the Madras lay between the Ravi and the Chinab; see N. L. Dey, op. cit. p. 116.
it. She was Bhadrā Kāpilāyaṇī, daughter of an equally well-to-do Brāhmaṇa of the Kausika gōra. She shared the propensities of Pippali Māṇavaka, like him not caring for conubial felicity. Finally, however, their marriage was settled in spite of them. They married, but did not lead a married life. An opportunity offered itself and they forsook each other, renounced all and turned ascetics.

"Pippali Māṇavaka, with a single robe on and a bowl in hand, left home in quest of the Buddha. He saw the Lord seated under a bōdhi tree called Bāhubhutatara somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā. It was there that he received his ordination (upasamāpada) from the Lord. Later on Pippali Māṇavaka, now Kāśyapa, presented his silken sāmghāṭi to the Master and accepted with alacrity from the latter his coarse and threadbare robe in exchange. So ardent was Kāśyapa’s faith that he attained the position of an Arhat only a week after his ordination."

Āsvaghōṣha has also left us a brief sketch of Kāśyapa. Therein Kāśyapa is said to be Rājādi-gōh-ākhyā-deśī which compound Cowell translates as ‘an inhabitant of Rājagṛha’. We have just learnt from the Āthakathās that Kāśyapa hailed from a village called Mahātīṭtha in Magadhā. In the light of this information we may explain the above expression more precisely as ‘an inhabitant of the country named Rājagṛha’. We know that Rājagriha was then the capital of Magadhā. And in the present instance the country is denoted simply by the name of its capital, which practice has not been uncommon. In this way Āsvaghōṣha’s statement on the point of Kāśyapa’s native land is not at variance with the information contained in the Āṭṭhakathās. Again, according to Āsvaghōṣha’s description, Kāśyapa had performed six years’ hard penance before he met the Master.

Āsvaghōṣha does not allude to Kāśyapa’s marriage with Bhadrā Kāpilāyaṇī, which event is, however, confirmed by references in certain stories of the Buddha’s former births. Thus in the Āṇātamanatā Jātaka, the Buddha identifies the characters of that story in the following manner: “Kāpiḷāni was the mother of those days, Mahā-Kassapa was the father, Ānanda the pupil, and I myself the teacher.” Similarly in the Rūthīḍatala Jātaka, the chaplain was Kassapa and his wife was Bhaddakāpiḷāni. Again, in the Sūma Jātaka, the father was Kassapa and the mother Bhaddakāpiḷāni."

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1 The name Kāpiḷāyaṇī (or Kāpiḷa or Kāpiḷaṇī as we shall have it later) is apparently derived from Kāpila, which, as we know from the Apanāsa (P, T, S, edn., p. 553, verse 47), was Bhadrā’s father’s name. The same source gives her mother’s name as Suchmata. A detailed account of her also is found in Dr. G. P. Mahasekera’s Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names under Bhadda Kāpiḷāṇī Therī (Vol. II, pp. 354-55).
2 This summary is extracted from an account of Kāpiḷaṇī urukhāśita, which is given by Mahāpandaṭha Tripiṭakākhāya Rāhula Sākhārīyāya in his Buddhācharyāṭa (Hindi), pp. 41 ff., and which in turn is based upon the following works: Theragāthā-Āṭṭhakathā 30; Sāhyada-Nikāya Āṭṭhakathā, 15, 1, 11; Aṇguttara-Nikāya Āṭṭhakathā 1, 1, 4.
3 E. B. Cowell’s edition of Āsvaghōṣha’s Buddhāchārīa, XVII, 12:

5 Compare such cases as Avanti and Kāśi.
6 V. Faurell’s edition of The Jātaka, No. 61.
It may at once be recognised that Kapilāṇi and Bhaddakāpilāṇi of the Jātakas and the Aṭṭhakathās, and Kāpiyā or Kapila of the present inscription are but variants of one and the same name and refer likewise to one and the same person, namely Kāśyapa's wife.

It may parenthetically be pointed out that according to the Aṭṭhakathās it was, as noted above, somewhere between Rājagaha and Nalanda that Kāśyapa's first meeting with the Lord took place. That position almost corresponds to the modern village of Silao. May we then suppose that the statue of Kāśyapa was set up there in order to sanctify the spot and thereby to commemorate the first meeting? In that case, the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal under discussion, as has already been hinted, must be Silao.

Now if we compare the above descriptions with the account given in our inscription, we shall find that most of the details do agree. There are, however, certain points which it has not been possible for me to corroborate by literary references. In the first place, Kāśyapa is stated to have acted as Indra for seven terms on end. He must have attained such a distinction as a reward for highly meritorious deeds on his part; but I have not been able to find any mention of this fact in literature. We are told that Gautama Buddha himself was Śakra in twenty of his antecedent births, that there is a Śakra in every chaṇḍāla and that the office of Śakra, which is in fact the sovereignty of the Tāvatiṣṇa angels, is held only for a limited period by the same individual. It is said of Kāśyapa that 'he bestowed his favours only on the poor', which sentiment is echoed in dīn-anāth-āṅgata-manasah of our inscription, l. 2.

We further learn from the inscription that the Buddha, while entering nirvāṇa, gave away his saṅghāṭi and other things to Kāśyapa. I could not find this event related in any of the Buddhist canonical works. All that we know in this connection is this, as we have noticed above, that the Lord and Kāśyapa exchanged their saṅghāṭīs shortly after their first meeting. However, the information from the Chinese sources in this regard is in perfect agreement with the account of our inscription. According to that, Tahtāgata, on the point of attaining nirvāṇa, addressed Kāśyapa and said inter alia: "The golden-tissued Kashāya robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitreya when he has completed the condition of Buddha."

Finally we come to the nirvāṇa of Kāśyapa himself, which is stated to have taken place on the mount Gurupāda. Here, too, the Chinese record is in full concord. In the Divyāvalī-namālī, the name of the mountain is given as Gurupāda, while elsewhere it is also called Kukktapa. The identification of this hill has long been a subject of keen controversy among such eminent scholars as Cunningham, Beal and Stein until at last the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought the issue to a successful close by offering a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Cunningham contended that three bare and rugged hills in the vicinity of Kurukhā, 16 miles to the east of Gayā, represent the Kukktapada, taking the name Kurukhā to be a contraction of Kukkuta-vihāra or Kukktapāda-vihāra and, at the same time, presuming a connection between this last and the Kukktapada-giri. Beal had his objections to this identification, for, to him

1 See R. C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pali Language under the word SAKKO (Śakra), p. 419.
3 S. Beal, Si-Yu-Ki (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, 143. The Tibetan version records that Mahākāśyapa 'changed the garments which enahrounded the Blessed one for others from his store'. W. W. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 144.
6 Beal, op. cit., p. 142; Beal, Travels of Fuh-Hian and Singh-Yun, p. 132; H. Kern, Mānussottarajuddeshī, p. 49; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 151.
the location did not agree with the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Moreover, he has emphatically pointed out that the Kukkuṭārāma or Kukkuṭa-vihāra must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri. Stein had occasion to visit this part of the country in the winter of 1899, and, with a view to arriving at a definite opinion regarding the identification, he made a thorough survey. After a close examination he came to the conclusion that the Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri or Gurupāda-giri is represented by the Sōbhāsthī hill, a part of the Mahā hill, in the district of Gayā. Stein's identification met Beal's objections to some extent, but was not totally convincing. Finally Banerji investigated the matter further, and conclusively proved that the modern representative of the Gurupāda-giri is to be found in the Gurpā hill in the district of Gayā. This identification is warranted not only by the name Gurpā being phonetically a corrupt form of the Gurupāda itself, but also because it satisfies all other considerations, as detailed by the author. Nevertheless, some scholars even now, knowingly or unknowingly, adhere to Cunningham's discarded identification of the Kukkuṭa-pāda mountain with Kurkhār.

Judging from the description of the pedestal as well as from the nature of the inscription on it, the statue of Kāśyapa in question must have been one of considerable artistic merit, typifying the art of the Pāla period. It is greatly to be regretted that the major portion of the statue itself is not forthcoming. It would have been a unique specimen inasmuch as the known sculptural representations of Kāśyapa are few. In fact, as far as I know, we do not have a single entire piece of this kind. At Bishanpur in the Gayā district, Beglar noticed one image of Kāśyapa. "On a small bas-relief," so runs his description, "representing a figure seated cross-legged in Buddha fashion is inscribed Ye Dharmma Rāṣṭi Maha Kāśyapa (sic.); this statue is clearly therefore one, of the venerable president of the first synod, and is the only one I have seen or heard of, of one of Buddha's disciples." The present whereabouts of this statue are not known. Even in 1899, when Stein visited Bishanpur, he found it missing, for he writes: "I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of Mahākāśyapa." It may in passing be pointed out that plastic representations even of the Kāśyapa Buddha, who, as has been shown above, is sometimes mixed up with the Mahā-Kāśyapa, are equally rare. The Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra has recently acquired an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha, carved in the round, standing on an inscribed pedestal; but the upper half of it is missing. It belongs to the Kushāna period. The preserved part, from the girdle downwards, shows it wearing a dhātī, a mālikālā, and a uṣṇī.

4 With regard to the identification of the Gurupāda-giri, the reader is also referred to Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 326 ff. and pp. 720 f.; and to N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, under Gurupāda-giri, Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri, Gurpā-Hill, Kurkhār and Sōbhāsthī Hill.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 90.
8 The image is fully described and the inscription is edited by Mr. V. S. Agrawal in the Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, December 1937, pp. 35-38 with Plates; and in the Annual Report of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, for the year ending 31st March 1938, pp. 2, 6, with Plate.
Kasyapa Image Inscription from Silao.

Left side.

Right side.

Scale: About One-Half.
Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, informs us of the existence of an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha enshrined in a vihāra to the north-west of the Boddhi tree at Bødh-Gayā. "It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light." There is presumably a reference to this representation of Kāśyapa in the Bødhi-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, wherein homage is paid, in the beginning, first to Śākyakabandhu (i.e. Gautama Buddha) and then to Mahā-Kāśyapa, assuming that Hiuen Tsiang, too, meant "an image of Mahā-Kāśyapa" when he said "an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha". Among the ruins at Bødhi-Gayā, Cunningham has identified the remains of the aforesaid vihāra, while the image is not to be found at all.

There are, however, a good few sculptures which represent the group of seven or eight Mortal Buddhas, wherein the Kāśyapa Buddha figures as the sixth. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta we have a stone pillar from Bharaut, depicting his distinguishing boddhi tree, which is nyagrodha (Ficus Indica).

Here I may gratefully record that to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti I owe some useful references and suggestions, especially with regard to the identity of Kāśyapa.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 2 Mandakrānta; v. 3 Anushubh.]


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3 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, p. 36.
4 These are: Vipāsīya, Śikhi, Viśvabhu, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakammâ, Kāśyapa, Śākyasimitra and Maitreyā. The last one does not usually appear in this group. B. Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 10.
5 Ibid. and J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, I, 7 and I. 37, and pp. 135 and 139.
6 Lüders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 760.
7 From inked estampages.
8 Expressed by a symbol. This may also indicate siddha-asti. The same symbol is explained to represent ös which would be less appropriate in a Buddhistic record like the present one. The various interpretation of this sign is discussed above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.
9 This sign cannot but be a mute s, though it looks more like a final r as found in -ādir in l. 3 below.
10 The superscript r here is not well marked.
11 The grammatically correct form should be aum-arddhini, unless the word kula, which it qualifies, be taken here to be in the masculine gender.
12 This adverbial clause Guṇapāṇī giriṃ rṣīṃ apparently goes with the following words sāyaṃ ābhāṣ Kāśyapaḥ, but in reality it is connected with the preceding portion niśāṇaṃ, etc.
TRANSLATION.

(V.1) Who had formerly remained the Lord of Gods for seven terms without intermission; who attained birth in a highly noble and immensely prosperous family of mortals; who, being possessed of unbounded speed, .......... the brilliancy of gold; who turned a recluse, forsaking (his wife) Kāpilēyā of golden form;

(V.2) Other deities in paying reverence to whom—his heart going out to the distressed and the desolate—vie with one another; and who revered Lord Jina (the Buddha) with devotion; and further, on whom Sugata (the Buddha), while entering nirvāṇa, bestowed his saṁhārikā and the rest; and who, being an exponent of the Buddhist doctrines, expounded the Law;

(V.3) Who, after having assumed his (human) form solely for the sake of (delivering the mortal) beings, entered nirvāṇa on the charming hill of Gurupāda; the very same Kāśyapa shines forth here.

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NO. 36.—A BRONZE IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM NALANDA.

BY A. GEOSHI, M.A., PATNA.

The following inscription is engraved on the back of a bronze image of Balarāma, excavated in 1917-18 out of the northern verandah of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā. The image is now in the Archeological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number S, 1-443.

The characters of the inscription belong to the eastern variety and may be ascribed to the ninth century A.D.; they have much similarity with those of the Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāla. In fact, the inscription may well belong to the reign of the Pāla king Dēvapāla (c. A.D. 815-854), who is mentioned in the text of the inscription. As is common in the inscriptions of this age, the medial ē is written both as a superscript oblique line and as a short stroke attached to the left limb of the respective letter. The medial ē is denoted by a combination of both these signs. There are some obvious grammatical and orthographical mistakes in the inscription.

The inscription records the dedication of the image at Nālandā in the Dēvapāladevahāṭṭa, or the mart of Dēvapāladevā, by Nisīṅgha(?), the wife (?) of Śūjīṅka. There is epigraphic evidence of the existence of other hāṭṭas at Nālandā; for example, the inscription on a stone image of Avalokiteśvara, now housed in the modern Sūrya temple at Bargāon near the excavated site of Nālandā, contains a reference to a tala-hāṭṭa, the meaning of which is not clear.

---

1 This rendering may now be accepted as exact. After I had prepared this essay, I chanced to read a passage, in a similar context, in Mahā, Kassapa’s account given by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera in his Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names (Vol. II, p. 481), which has confirmed the above explanation. The passage in question reads: “Owing to his great saintliness, even gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa.”


3 The inscription, which is still unpublished, seems to read as follows:—siddham (expressed by a symbol) śrī-Nālandā-talakatake dē[ya]*adharmā-gām Baudānākē śrī(f). Va-purēnāḥ ||
The inscription shows that a ḫattā was founded at Nālandā by DeVapāla, or, at any rate, was named after him. The connexion of DeVapāla with Nālandā are attested to by other inscriptions as well. Thus, the Nālandā copper-plate referred to above records the munificence of that king in favour of Nālandā at the request of the mahārāja Bālaputra-deva of Suvarṇavīpa (Sumatra). Further, the Ghośarāwa inscription acquaints us with the fact that DeVapāla appointed a monk named Viradeva to look after Nālandā.

Another word in the inscription worthy of notice is Malapōrasya, occurring at the beginning of the second line; neither its meaning nor its proper position in the syntax is clear. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar word Mallapōrasya occurs in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze image found at Kurkihār (District Gayā), also belonging to the reigh of DeVapāla. It is tempting no doubt to regard the word as an incorrect derivative of Mallapura, and to take it to mean 'a resident of Mallapura'. But this meaning is hardly possible in the Kurkihār inscription, though it may suit the present record.

TEXT.

1 Siddhamśri-Nālandāya śri-Devapālandēva-ḥattē
2 Malapōrasya Śānjākṣaya vadū(ḍhū)-Nisīgha(!)-
3 kāya dēva-dharmmayā pratipāditah

No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KING VISVESVARA.

BY M. SOMASEKHARA ŠARMA, WALT AIR

In Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, pp. 164 ff., the Dharmalīṅgēvara temple inscription at Paṇchadharālā was ably edited by Dr. J. Nobel of the Berlin University. This inscription belongs to the Eastern Chalukya king Visvēvara, who ruled the territory around Paṇchadharālā in the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Vinnakota Peddana was his court-poet. He dedicated his Kāvyāläkāra-chūḍāmaṇi, a poetical work on rhetoric in Telugu, to his patron. Both the date of king Visvēvara and the date of composition of the Kāvyāläkāra-chūḍāmaṇi had not been known definitely, so far. The inscription under discussion settles these dates satisfactorily.

The inscription records the construction of a maṇḍapa in the Dharmalīṅgēvara temple at Paṇchadharālāpurī in Śaka 1329 (Śaka 129 Na-vā-Bhānu-Rāma-Śasi-saṅkhyaṭe) or A.D. 1407,

1 Maitra, Gaudalēkhamāla, p. 45.
2 The image, along with the other antiquities found at Kurkihār, is now in the Patna Museum. The full meaning of the inscription is not clear, but the relevant portion may be quoted here:—śri-Devapālandevasya saro 19: malla-chhandaśam mallapōrasya pratipāditah.
3 Mallapura or Mallāpura is given in the St. PETERSBURY DICTIONARY, Vol. V, pp. 602-3, as a place-name.
Cf. Malla, the name of a well-known tribe.

Expressed by a symbol.
Is the word to be corrected to Sauriya? [The reading seems to be Śānjākṣaya.—B O C]
Read Nisīgha(!) kāya dēva-dharmēva pratipāditah.
by king Visvēvara. As has been pointed out by the editor, there is a covert allusion to the date of a battle fought by Visvēvara in the text of the inscription, in the verse quoted below:

Gati-bāhu-śakti-bhū-mitrāmitum-api gaṇayat-Sarvasiddhi(ddhi)-patha-bhagnaḥ |
sati Chitrabhbhu-sākshigī Dhanarṇavārhāda-adā(dhā)vdh-Andra(dhra)-bālam ||

Dr. Nobel discloses the pun contained in the verse and brings to light the historical fact, namely, that king Visvēvara defeated the Andhra army, near Sarvasiddhi, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, represented by the Śaka year gati (5), bāhu (2), śakti (3), and bhū (1), i.e., 1325.

An exact Telugu rendering of the above verse is found in canto vii of the Telugu work Kāvyālakāra-chuḍāmāni, without, in any way, spoiling the ślēsha. It is as follows:

Chatur-ūpāya-bāhu-śakti-kshamāvāli bāraviḍichi Chitrabhhānu sākshī bāre Sarvasiddhi-padam-ōdi Dhaṇāṇvarāhamunakun-ōdi Rācā-kadupu ||

For the expressions gati and bhū in the Sanskrit verse the words chatur-ūpāya and kshamā were used respectively in Telugu. These are the only differences that could be found between the Sanskrit verse and the corresponding Telugu verse. The occurrence in Kāvyālakāra-chuḍāmāni, of a faithful rendering of the verse occurring in the inscription, leads us to surmise that the composer of the Pañcchadhārāla inscription might be Vinnakoṭa Peddana. He would not have incorporated in his work the exact Telugu version of the Sanskrit verse, if he were not the composer of the inscription as well. Hence, it may be concluded that the author of the Pañcchadhārāla inscription could be no other than Peddana, the court-poet of king Visvēvara.

The editor of the inscription deserves great praise for discovering the real import of the verse wåen many Telugu pandits and Sanskrit scholars who printed and edited the Kāvyālakāra-chuḍāmāni were not able to disclose this fact, just because their outlook was more literary than historical. When, however, the verse in the Kāvyālakāra-chuḍāmāni and the corresponding verse of the Pañcchadhārāla inscription are closely examined, we find that there is a small discrepancy in the date of the battle, arrived at by the editor of the inscription. He has taken gati to represent the numeral ‘five’. But, that its value is ‘four’, is now ascertained by the Telugu verse, wherein the term chatur-ūpāya denoting the number ‘four’ was expressly used in the place of gati of the Sanskrit verse. Hence, the date given by Dr. Nobel should be corrected to Śaka 1324.

Sañkhyaṛṭhāma-prakāśikā written by the erudite scholar, Kanuparti Venkataraṇa Śrī-Vidyānandanaṭa, assigns the value ‘four’ to the term gati and enumerates four gatis, namely Dēva-gati, Manuṣhya-gati, Jantu-gati and Naraka-gati.

The value given to gati even in epigraphical literature is four as is evidenced by an inscription from Simhachalam, Vīzāgapatam District. The date of this inscription is given in the Telugu portion as Śaka-varṣhaṇbaḷula 1294 and in the Sanskrit portion as ‘Śakādē gati-randhra-bhānu-غا’ etc. Another inscription2 in Telugu from Yenamadala (Guntur District) which gives the date in chronogram ‘gaṇa-bāṇa-gati-chandra’ in verse and in figures in prose, equates gati with four. Thus, we find that gati represents four.

The existence in the Kāvyālakāra-chuḍāmāni of the Telugu version of the verse mentioned above proves, beyond doubt, that this work had been composed after Śaka 1324, the date of the battle referred to therein.

1 S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 742.
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By

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc.

[The figures refer to pages; a. after a figure to footnotes and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: - cap. = capital; ch. = chief; Chron. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; dt. = district; div. = division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; Hist. = Historical; k. = king; l. = locality; l.m. = linear measure or land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office or officer; pr. = prince; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; t. d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tn. = town; t.q. = taluq; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work.]

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