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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 16, f. n. 2, line 1.—For saraynas read saraynas.

18, f. n. 4, line 1.—For Research read Research.

46, f. n. 3, line 1.—For Karpāṭivrata read Karpāṭivrata.

48, line 1.—[The name of the king seems to be Kumārabhiradatta and not Kumārabhiradatta. For this and some other differences of reading and interpretation, see JAS, Letters, Vol. XXX, pp. 59-61.—D.C.S.]

48, para. 2, line 7.—For Vāśithiputa read Vāśithiputa.

48, para. 2, line 8.—For Vāśithiputa read Vāśithiputa.

48, para. 2, line 13.—Add after the end of the sentence in this line:

[Pandit L. P. Pandeya informs me that the photograph of the Gunji rock inscription published in the Chhattisgarh Fendatory States Gazetteer (p. 193) was supplied by Bahu C. S. Iahwar Sekhram, Diwan of Sakti.—V. V. M.]

49, f. n. 3, line 1.—For Gantamiputra read Gautamiputra.

50, f. n. 6, line 1.—For Vāṣāpyām read Vāṣāpyām.

63, f. n. 8, line 1.—For Kālidāsa read Kālidāsa.

67, f. n. 3, line 6.—For Kōgamanḍala read Kōgamanḍala.

75, f. n. 4.—Add 79, f. n. 7.

77, text line 8.—For ब्ल(बी)उन्नेन्नाल read ब्लह(बी)उन्नेन्नाल

82, para 2, line 2.—For Nāludikkumveṃrān read Nāludikkumveṃrān.

84, para. 2, line 3.—For A record of read A record at

84, f. n. 11, line 1.—For Mēl-Śēvūr read Mēl-Śēvūr.

91, f. n. 1, line 1.—For Epigraphy read Epigraphy.

99, text line 2, line 6.—For Kāmakkōṭṭatta read Kāmakkōṭṭatta.

112, para. 3, line 7.—For Svētaka read Svētaka.

126, para. 5, line 5.—For Kirttiverman read Kirttiverman.

189, text line 26.—For Sī(d)dhalagrāmiya read Sī[d∗]dhalagrāmiya.

189, text line 26.—For Pā(ṇ)dukasya read Pā[ṇ∗]dukasya.

189, text line 28.—For Janō(15) read Janō(15).

191, line 4.—For Sīd(d∗)halagrāma read Sī[d∗]halagrāma.

191, line 11.—For Kēsarakōṇa read Kēsarakōṇa.

191, f. n. 1, line 4.—For Rāḍha read Rāḍhā.

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Page 191, f. n. 2, line 2.—For Rājha read Rādhā.

196, f. n. 4, line 1.—For Bhṛṅgi read Bhṛṅgi.

196, line 9.—For Arusa- read Arasu-.

200, f. n. 7.—For ābhyuddharanā read -ābhyuddharana.

202, last para. line 10.—For Paddōpā read Paddōpā.

211, v. 2, text line 7.—[We may read-स्नोमा(ग)स्तु for स्नो(भ)मास्तु—B. C. C.]

219, text line 1.—For पूरोर read पूरो.

225, line 3.—For south-west read south-east.

225, para 2, line 1.—For Chilamakuru read Chilamakūru.

227, line 1.—For kotta read kottam.

229, para. 4, line 5.—For [RO*]vasarmmārikin read [RO*]vasarmmārikin.

229, para. 5, line 1.—For Rēvaṃmā read [RO*]vasarmmā.

230, para. 2, line 2.—For Kauśika-gotra read Kauśika-gōtra.

232, para. 2, line 3.—For Kilevūr read Kilevuru.

232, para. 3, line 3.—For Kilevuru or Lēvuru read Kilevūr or Lēvūr.

235, f. n. 3, line 1.—For Arurorno read Arornoi.

237, para. 5, line 3.—For dynasty of read dynasty or.

238, para. 4, line 4.—For Chamalūru read Chāmalūru.

240, para. 8, line 5.—For Eyariakallu read Eyarikallu.

240, para. 9, line 6.—For Uttamāditya I read Uttamāditya.

242, para. 4, line 8.—For Indukuru read Indukūru.

242, para. 6, line 8.—For Prithvivallabha read Prithvivallabha.

243, para. 1, line 15.—For Rajolu read Rājolu.

243, para. 1, line 23.—For Prithvivallabha read Prithvivallabha.

246, text line 2.—For -Boja read -Bōja.

251, f. n. 4, line 8.—For Chōla read Chōja.

253, para. 2, line 3.—For recordr read records.

269, f. n. 1, third line of the verse.—For mātalingam read mātuliṅgam.

290, f. n. 5, line 6.—For prāvēṣyā read prāvēṣyā.

296, f. n. 4, line 4.—For sunyāgara read sunyāgara.

312, text line 9.—For Kul read Kula.

312, Translation line 7.—For Viradhavāḷaram read Viradhavāḷaram.

316, para. 2, line 10.—For Mallakheṭa read Malakheṭa.

318, f. n. 2, —For Anushtubh read Anushtubh.

328, text line 4.—For 'n[ṛ]ṇāṃ read 'n[ṛ]ṇāṃ.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 328, text line 7.—For 13 read 3.

328, footnote 6.—For Gõndramaḥ read Gondramaḥ.

329, text line 8.—For || 14 * read || 4 *

329, text line 11.—For 15 read 5

329, text line 13.—For || 16 * read || 6 *

329, text line 16.—For 17 read 7.

329, text line 18.—For 18 read 8.

330, text line 30.—For =cha- read =cha.

332, line 35.—For Sihara read Sihara.

334, text line 16.—For *nuss-tra(-ta) read *nus-tra(s-ta).

334, text line 21.—For Vi read Vi-

334, text line 23.—For triñōka-pañchapala read triñō[da*]ka-pañchapala(lam).

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.,
Government Epigraphist for India, 1932.
Born: 21st. October 1889.  
Died: 12th. August 1946.

Survey of India, Calcutta.
RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at Poona on the 12th of August 1946. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and a versatile archaeologist conversant with many a branch of archaeology including epigraphy and numismatics.

Born at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District of the Bombay State on the 21st October 1889, the late Rao Bahadur had a distinguished educational career from his High School days. He won laurels in the B. A. and M. A. examinations of the Bombay University in the years 1909 and 1911 respectively. Entertained as a scholar by the Archaeological Department in 1912, he received training in field archaeology under Sir John Marshall and later worked under the late Dr. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. D. B. Spooner. He worked for some time as Assistant Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and as Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. In 1918 the late Rao Bahadur started his official career as Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India and held the office for many years in the Eastern and Western Circles. He took a leading part in the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro during 1923-25. Subsequently he conducted the excavations at various sites, viz., Paharpur in Northern Bengal, Ramnagar in Uttar Pradesh, etc. He was appointed as one of the Deputy Directors General of Archaeology in 1930 and worked as Government Epigraphist for India for some time in 1932. In 1933 he went abroad and enriched his knowledge by direct contact with renowned archaeologists and institutions in the Western countries. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1937 and held that post till his retirement in 1944. The late Rao Bahadur was President of the Indian History Congress, Sixth Session, in 1943, and President of the Numismatic Society of India in 1938, 1939 and 1946.

A large number of learned contributions on archaeological and other subjects made to the Departmental publications and other journals stand to his credit. Besides the Annual Reports of the circles under his charge and of the Archaeological Survey of India after he became its head, two monographs (Mem. A.S.I., Nos. 8 and 55), one dealing with six sculptures from Mahoba and another on the excavations at Paharpur were written by him. The late Rao Bahadur delivered a series of lectures on the prehistoric civilization of the Indus Valley in the Sir William Meyer Lectures Series at the Madras University in 1935. By his death India has lost a great archaeologist and scholar. He edited parts of Volume XXI of this journal. The following is a list of his contributions to the pages of the Epigraphia Indica:

1. Sangoli Plates of Harivarman: the 8th year (Vol. XIV).
5. A Note on the Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj (Vol. XVII).
10. The Palanpur Plates of Chaulukya Bhimadēva; V. S. 1120 (Vol. XXI).
11. A Note on the Bhor State Museum copper-plate of Khambha II (Vol. XXIII).
12. Three copper-plate inscriptions from Gaonri (Ibid.).
No. 1. - PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM GHANTASALA

(I Plate)

J. PH. VOGEL, LEIDEN

At the request of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, I am editing five Prakrit inscriptions which he copied on the 1st January 1945 at Ghantaśala, a small village in the Kistna District, 13 miles west of Masulipatam. He kindly supplied me with excellent estampages of these inscriptions. According to the information which I received from Dr. Chhabra, Ghantaśala is a Buddhist site, containing ruined stūpas and other remains, but not yet properly explored. It has already yielded some inscriptions of a much later date.¹ The villagers of Ghantaśala are said to have been secretly trading in the antiquities of the place and, according to the information gathered by Dr. Chhabra, cart-loads of marble sculptures found on the spot have been removed. It need hardly be emphasised that such practices are extremely detrimental to the interests of archaeology. Much useful evidence is irreparably lost in the diggings by irresponsible persons, and the dispersal of sculptured and inscribed stones belonging to the same building or to the same site must unavoidably hinder their study. It is therefore devoutly to be wished that the Archaeological Department will soon take the necessary measures for the preservation and systematic exploration of this Buddhist site.

The five inscriptions² here edited are of some historical interest, although they contain no dates, nor names of kings or dynasties. In the first place, they confirm the prevalence and flourishing state of Buddhism in the delta of the Kṛṣṇā river during the first centuries of the Christian era, testified by the famous sanctuaries of Amaravati, Jaggaṭṭaya and Nāgarjunakonda. The inscribed relic-caskets of Bhaṭṭiprulū belong to a considerably earlier date, approximately 200 B.C. according to Bühlner.

Moreover, the Ghantaśala inscriptions supply some valuable data for the ancient geography of South India. Two of them (A and B), incised in remarkably decorative writing on sculptured pillars, mention as their donor a gahapatī Bujādhisiri who was a resident of Kaṇṭakasālā. A votive inscription from Amaravati, deciphered by Dr. Hultsch,³ refers to an upāsaka U[tt]arara who hailed from the same locality. The place-name occurs also in a long inscription incised on the floor of an apsidal temple (chetiyaśāra) at Nāgarjunakonda. Among the pious foundations due to the upāsikā Bodhisiri, this record mentions Kaṇṭakasālā mahābhiṣaya pustuvā ṣatī-manāṭāva,⁴ at Kaṇṭakasālā a stone pavilion at the eastern gate of the Great Chetiya (Skt. chetiya). When editing the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions, I have pointed out that Kaṇṭakasālā must be identical with the emporium Kaṇṭukasya,⁵ which Ptolemy (VII, 1, 15) mentions immediately after the mouths of the Maśīḍos, i.e., the Kṛṣṇā river.⁶

² It may be recorded here that the credit of the discovery goes to my friend, Sri K. Sankaran, the then District Health Officer of the Kistna District. Once, in the course of his official tour, he happened to visit Ghantaśala and stay at the choultry where he chanced to see the sculptured and inscribed marble pillar, lying in the compound. Of the inscription (B below), he sent me a paper rubbing, the best he could prepare himself with the help of some powdered charcoal and other improvised means. This prompted me to survey the site and my visit was rewarded with the discovery of four additional inscriptions.—B. Ch. Chhabra.)
⁴ List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 1303.
⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 9, and Vol. XXI, p. 87 where my initial reading Kaṇṭakasālā was corrected into Kaṇṭakasālā. In the Amaravati inscription referred to above, the vowel-mark of the fourth syllable is distinct.
In the two pillar inscriptions, the name *Kanṭakasāla* is preceded by the word *ukhasirivadhamaṇā*, but in both cases the vowel-marks of the last two syllables are conjectural. There is, however, a third inscription in which the word occurs, and here the stroke indicating the vowel (a) in the final syllable is perfectly clear. It must therefore be a noun in the locative case, and we are perhaps justified in assuming that it indicates the locality where the monuments to which the inscriptions refer were erected. In other words, *Ukhasirivadhamaṇā* appears to be the ancient name of Ghaṭasālā. The occurrence of Vardhamāṇa as a place-name in ancient India is testified by inscriptions, the best known examples being the town of Bardwān in Bengal and Vadhuvān, the chief town of a state of the same name in North-East Kathiawar. Ptolemy (VII, I, 93) mentions Bardamāna among the inland towns of the Māsoloi, and as in his days the b had assumed the sound value of v which it has in modern Greek, the name is an exact rendering of Vardhamāna. The position assigned by the Greek geographer to Bardamāna is 136° 15' E, 15° 15' N, whilst he locates Kantakasāya at 134° 30' E, 11° 30' N. This renders it difficult to identify his Bardamāna with Ukhasirivadhamaṇā.

Another alternative would be to connect the last-mentioned place with Kanṭakasāla and to explain it as a territorial division in which this emporium was situated. In support of such an explanation one might quote the topographical designation *kāṁkākur[ṭ]hē gāmē Naḍatūra* (Jaggayapēta inscription No. 2, l. 2), meaning ‘in the village of Naḍatūra in the province (rāṭha) of Kammāka’. But the third inscription which opens with *Ukhasirivadhamaṇā* without further mention of a town or village prevents us from accepting such an interpretation.

A point of some interest to which Dr. Chhabra draws my attention is the mention of a *mahānāvika* named *Sivaka* in one (E) of the Ghaṭasālā inscriptions. We are reminded of another *mahānāvika*, named Buddhagupta, who is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription discovered in 1834 by Captain James Low near a ruined Buddhist temple in the province Wellesley of Malaya. The inscribed slab was presented by him to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and must still be preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In both cases the expression reminds us of the seaborne trade between Coromandel and Further India carried on under the direction of Buddhist master mariners.

The inscriptions A and B are written in a very ornamental kind of writing very similar to the script employed in the epigraphic documents of the Ikshvāku dynasty from Jaggayapēta and Nāgārjunikonda. The Jaggayapēta inscriptions were assigned by Dr. Bühler to the third century A.D. The long-drawn vertical strokes of ka, ma and la and of the vowel-marks for i and u are among the most obvious characteristics of this writing. The bulging base-strokes of va, na, ma and va, which are also found in the Pallava inscriptions, as well as the shape of ya, seem to point to a somewhat later development. It will, however, be seen that these bulging base-strokes do not occur in inscription C which must be contemporaneous with A and B, as the three inscriptions refer to the same monument, viz., a *mahaṇaṇa* erected by the householder Buddhisiri. The two pillars on which A and B are incised must have served the purpose of supporting the roof of this pavilion. Above the inscription there are in each case two figures of animals running from right to left. The lions of the first pillar are similar in style to those found on some of the Nāgārjunikonda sculptures.

Whereas the inscriptions on these two pillars are excellent specimens of epigraphic art, it is curious that the third inscription, consisting of a single line of writing, has been done in such a careless manner. Apparently this short epigraph was not intended for permanent record, but was meant only as a notice, indicating for what edifice the piece of sculpture on which it is cut was intended.

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1. Place-names, ending in -vāra, like Kōśavardhana and Dharmanavardhana, are fairly common.
3. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), Vol. 1 (1936), p. 17. The father of Kappak, the heroine of the Tamil classic *Kappadikkaram* (circa 200 A.D.) was a mahānāvika. The translator, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshit, has translated the term as “sea-captain”, though he has equated it with Skt. *mahānāyaka* (p. 88, n.2), whereas it can very well be mahānāvika. For this information I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataraman, Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.
This sculpture is a recumbent lion figure, alas sadly mutilated, the head and forelegs having vanished.

We may imagine that ornamental sculptures of this kind were carved by the sculptors in their workshop and that, when several orders had to be carried out, a notice like the present was not superfluous.

The fourth inscription (D) is found on a stone slab which must also have belonged to a pillar, as part of the decorative carving in the shape of a lotus-rosette is visible over the writing. The pillar is split from top to bottom with the result that of the six lines of writing only the initial five, six or seven aksharas have been preserved. The fragmentary state of the epigraph it impossible to state its exact purport. The opening word Sidham is followed by the locative Patan which probably indicates the locality where the monument of which the pillar formed part was erected. We may safely assume that the first line ended with the syllables apa, so that, when combining them with the beginning of the second line we have [Apajraseliyam]. The Pali chronicles of Ceylon (Mahavamsa, v.12, and Dipavamsa, v.54) mention the Pubbha and Aparasekhas as two subdivisions of the Mahasanghikas. The Aparasekhas are presumably the same as the Aparamahavaselayyas, mentioned three times in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions.

The fifth inscription (E), which is cut on a stone slab, consists of three lines. The aksharas ta, ya and ha show a different and perhaps earlier type, when compared with the inscriptions A-D. The writing is plain and irregular. The inscription is well preserved with the exception of a portion of the third line where a few letters have become effaced. Evidently, the inscription records the pious gift, by a lady, of a āyaka pillar. Such pillars existed also at Amaravati, Jaggavyapēśa and Nagarjunakonda. The term met with in the Jaggavyapēśa inscriptions is āyaka-khanībha, which I have discussed in my edition of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions.

We now proceed to give transcripts and translations of the five inscriptions.

**TEXTS**

2. Dhaṁmavāniya-puṭēna Budhisirigahapatinā īmarā
3. sēla-marādāpo sa-gaṅdhakuḍī-vētika-tōraṇō kārītō ti

**TRANSLATIONS**

1. Success! At Ukhasiriva[d]dhamāna this stone maṇḍapa with a gaṇḍhakuti, a railing (vētikā) and a tōraṇa was caused to be made by the householder Bu[ddhisiri], the son of Dhammavāniya, a resident of Kaṁtakāsāla.

2. Ditto.

3. Of the maṇḍapa of the householder Bu[ddhisiri] at Ukhasiriva[d]dhamāna.

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2. The inscribed pillar was found by Dr. Chabra near the Ramanāmama tank at Ghaṭásāla.
3. The form vētikā occurs in Amaravati inscriptions (cf. Lades, List, Nos. 1216 and 1209). With the personal name Dhammavāniya we may compare Buḥī/vāniya in inscription F, 1, 2, from Nagārjunakonda (above, Vol. XX, p. 22).
4. The inscribed pillar, about 5 ft. long and 1 ft. wide, is square below and octagonal above. It is now in the compound of the chaitya.
5. The text of B is identical with that of A from which the missing syllables have been restored.
The inscription edited below is engraved in an inaccessible part of a big cliff about 250 feet high, in the northern fort at the back of the Battarappa temple at Badami in the Bijapur District. The spot where the inscription is found is not approachable either from the bottom or from the top, being situated approximately 120 feet high from the bottom of the cliff. The hill-rock appears to have been cut through, east to west, forming a narrow path-way and the eastern outlet towards Tattekote and other gorges are closed by artificial brick walls rendering the fort impenetrable to the enemies. The record is incised on the northern face of this rock.

During my visit to Badami in the last week of February, 1941, I discovered this inscription but no estampage of it could be taken then, on account of the difficulty of approach and for want of suitable assistance to devise means to reach the spot. I had to return disappointed, but in June 1941 I gathered assistance from the local bee-scarers who are expert scarers of hill-rocks for collecting honey, and managed to have a beautiful estampage of the epigraph taken by a mechanic of my office. In the meanwhile, however, the discovery of the inscription had been announced in a press communiqué about the middle of June, 1941, by the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, who had been furnished with a photograph of the same by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. On an enquiry, the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archaeology, informed me that “Mr. Joglekar who was deputed to photograph some conservation work, also took a photograph of the inscription, the existence of which he knew from the Public Works Department Karkurn, Mr. M. S. Sankannavar. There is,

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3 The inscribed fragment is now in the house of Sri Venuri Venkayya, ex-President of the local Panchayat Board.
4 The inscribed slab is now in the house of Sri Gorripati Venkataambayya.
5 Read sādika.
therefore, no question of Mr. Joglekar being aware of your discovery of the same in February last, when he went to Bādāmi on 16th April." The discovery of the inscription was made independently both by me and by the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. The inscription is edited below at the desire of the Director General of Archaeology, from the impression taken under my supervision.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets prevalent in the Dekkan in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and resemble the script of the early Kadamba copper-plate grants of Harivarman and Krishnavarman II and more closely that of the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kṛśnivarma I, dated Śaka 500. The writing covers an area 3' 4" by 3' 4" and the height of the biggest letter is approximately 7" and the smallest 3". The letters are well-formed and boldly executed and the whole inscription is well preserved. In respect of paleography the following points may be noted: Among the vowels, only the initial a is used twice in Aśvamēdh-ā (l. 2) and adhaṣṭā (l. 5). The medial sign for ā is formed by the addition of a downward bend on the right side at the top of the letter, as for example, Aśvamēdh-a (l. 2), Vātāpi (l. 4), except in the case of j where the middle horizontal arm is taken up and curved to the left as in yajñānāṃ yujē (l. 2). The long i is distinguished from the short one by a curve inside at the top, e.g. vidhānataḥ (l. 2) and achikuraḥ (l. 5). The u-sign is marked in two ways: (i) by a hook at the bottom turned to the left as in varshēḥu (l. 1), durguṇa (l. 5), etc., and (ii) by a tube-like bend shooting from the bottom to the right side of the letter, see e.g. chatuṣ (l. 1), bhunab (l. 4). The long ā is shown by an ordinary a mark with a downward curve added to the right side of it. The signs for e, o and au are of the usual archaic type: see e.g. Aśvamēdh-ā (l. 2), Chalikyō (l. 3) and śrauta (l. 2). Orthography is free from errors. The language is Sanskrit.

The record consists of five lines of writing, of which the first line is in prose and the remaining four are the four feet of two Anukūṭaḥ verses forming a sūkha. It states that in Śaka year 485 the Chalikyō king, who is described as a performer of sacrifices such as Aśvamedha according to the śrauta rites, as born of Hiranyagarbha and as Vallabhēśvara, made the great hill of Vātāpi into an invincible citadel unapproachable from the top as well as from the bottom, for the prosperity (i.e. security) of the earth. In fact the hill-rock is cut across to make a narrow pass about 250 feet deep which event is commemorated by the present inscription engraved on one half of the rock. [There is no reference in the inscription to the construction of a pass.—C. R. K.]

The record is of historical importance in more than one way. Firstly, it furnishes the earliest authentic instance of the use of the Śaka era in inscriptions. The pillar inscription of Kṛśnivarma I in the Vaishnava cave at Bādāmi bearing the Śaka date 500 was considered so far, as the earliest lithic document mentioning the Śaka era by name. An earlier instance of this era is cited in the Lokaśāhāga of Sinhasūri, a Digambara Jaina work in Sanskrit, which is stated to have been completed in 80 beyond 300, (i.e., 380) of the Śaka years.  

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2. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 18. The characters of this grant (Bannaḥalśi plates) betray a strong influence of the early Pallava script, in the box-head and the formation of the looped l, etc.  
4. [The consonant following r is doubled in one instance and not in others: see durguṇa (l. 5) and varshēḥu (l. 1) and garbha (l. 3).—C. R. K.]  
5. See foot-note to Translation below on p. 9.  

Śanvarttaka ta dvedeśa Kāshākṣaḥ Śivaśāhvarmanuḥ aśaḥ-ngrā Śak-ābhānām (bānām in the Mūlābhidare manuscript) siddhaṃ + stac-ckhalu-trāpī ||
Secondly, it is interesting to note that the name Vātāpi was associated with "the best mountain" (dharādhārāndu) only, before the durgya (fortress) had been built there, by the Chalikya king, which perhaps shows that prior to this event, the place was not used as a stronghold of political power. From tradition and the local chronicle, the Mahākūtāmāhātmya, it is, however, well known that the hill-region round about Vātāpi had been occupied by the two demons, Vātāpi and Ivala, who are said to have been killed by the mystic power of the sage Agastya who is credited with the first colonization of the Dakṣipāpta (Dekkan), south of the Vindhya. No historical remains assignable to the pre-Chalukyan date are however forthcoming in the area, except the dolmens at Rāmatirtha in the same range of hills, about two miles from the present village of Bādāmi. These dolmens, situated as they are on the top of the hill, were perhaps used as shelters in times of war by the inhabitants of the plains during the pre-historic period. The next certain event connected with the place is the construction of the Fort in Śaka 465 as recorded in the inscription under publication.

It is not difficult to find out the name of the Chalukya king who constructed the Fort. From the date and the distinguishing epithet 'performer of a horse-sacrifice', it may be concluded that he must be, Pulikēsīn I, father of Kṛitiśvarman I, who was the first member of the family to celebrate a horse-sacrifice and founded the capital of Vātāpi as recorded in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikēsīn II. The performance of a horse-sacrifice is indicative of his independent position which he must have achieved after defeating and ousting the early Kadambas of Vaijayantī who were in possession of the Bādāmi tract. This is the first authentic document of Pulikēsīn I. The two sets of copper-plates, namely the Pimpāḷār plates and the Alṭēm plates, purporting to belong to Mahāraṇjīdhārīrā Satyārāya Pulakeśīn are proved to be palpable forgeries of 10th-11th century A.D. on account of the developed alphabet and language employed in them.

From the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant of Avidhēya which, on account of the mention of the Bhādra-pada year according to the Bārhaspatya cycle, and other historical synchronisms, has been assigned to A.D. 516, it may be gathered that the country up to the Bhīmā at least, in the north, was subject to the rule of Avidhēya, son of Dēvaraṇj. And the country south of the Bhīmā appears to have belonged to the Kadambas whose territory embraced an extensive area up to the sea in the west.

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1 The expression dharādhārāndu-Vātāpin-ujēgim, etc., means "the unconquerable mountain of Vātāpi" showing thereby that the hill was also called after the demon Vātāpi like the village Vātāpi [per contra see Translation below.—N.L.R.]. The latter is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) under the name Badiamail (Bādāmi). See McCrindle’s Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 171.

2 See Rev. Angule and Rev. Newton, The Dolmens on the Pulney Hills (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 36), where certain groups of dolmens are similarly surmised to be places of shelter in times of war (p. 9).


4 Usually, only imperial monarchs are empowered to perform a horse-sacrifice in cognisance of their unchallenged sway over the land. Thus, the famous Gupta king Samudragupta celebrated it after his dīpījāyana campaign. In the Aṣṭāvaka-kreṣṭha (chapter XX), however, the Śravakāmas as well as the a-śravakāmas kings are allowed to perform the Aṣvamedha sacrifice, cf. Rāja Śravakāmī Aṣvamedhaḥ śravakāmaḥ ya jītaḥ upaṣravakāmaḥ. The Kadamba king Kṛishnavarmas I who was not an imperial monarch celebrated it and was known by the distinctive epithet Aiśvṛmukpājīn. Apparently, he must have performed the sacrifice in token of his significant victories over the Pallavas (See the Ruling dynasties of Kannada, the Kadambas, in Kannada, by Messrs. N. L. Rao and R. S. Pancharak, in the Prabhuddha Kārṇāṭaka Vol. XX, part II, p. 114). Pulikēsīn I who had just carved out a separate kingdom could never lay claim to any imperial position. Still, even as a chief, he had subdued the enemies and established himself almost independently at Vātāpi.


7 Mysore Arch. Report, 1929, pp. 197 f. Here the country round about Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli (Pandharpur) has been connected with the early Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty of Mānāka.
For, the Birūr plates of Kadamba Vishūvarman¹ (A.D. 495-520) inform us that the Sindhuthayaraśātra (perhaps modern Sindagi taluk in the Bijapur District) and the Karṇḍesaka river (probably the Krishna) were included in the Kadamba territory. The Sangoḷḷi plates of Harivarman (A.D. 538-570) which, according to the calculation of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, are dated in A.D. 545, September 21, Thursday, were issued by the king from his capital Vaijayantī,² whereas the Benquār plates of Krīṣhṇavarman II (A.D. 545-570)³ of the collateral branch which ruled from Tripurārata, record a gift when the king had started on an expedition against Vaijayantī.⁴ This would clearly show that, at this period, the Kadamba power was undermined by internecine wars. This apparently afforded an excellent opportunity for a strong person to spring on the scene and establish an independent kingdom. It is possible to surmise that Pulikēśiā I availed himself of this opportunity and established himself at Vāṭāpi prior to A.D. 543, the date of the present inscription, and, in token of his unchallenged position, performed a horse-sacrifice.⁵ There is, however, no definite evidence forthcoming to postulate that Pulikēśiā I or his father was subordinate to the Kadambas. The Udīkāvāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu,⁶ on the other hand, mentions a certain Jayasīṅgha as the commander of Harivatsakottā and if Avidhēya, son of Dēvarāja and grandson of Māṇīkē, who was the donor of the Pāṇḍarāndapaḷi grant, could be connected with Abhimanyu, son of Bhavisya, who was one of the three sons of Dēvarāja, son of Māṇīkē, it may plausibly be suggested that Jayasimha, the grandfather of Pulikēśiā I, was identical with his namesake mentioned above and that in the course of time, Pulikēśiā I seized the territory round about Bādhāmī from a successor of Avidhēya. But this surmise is based on the assumption that the latter wielded political administration south of the Bhīmā up to the confines of the Kadamba territory including Bādhāmī, which is not likely, in view of the statements contained in the Birūr plates mentioned above. Further, Jayasīṅgha of Harivatsakottā belonged to the Rewa State in Central India, whereas the grandfather of Pulikēśiā I is not known to have any political connection with that part of the country.⁷ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Pulikēśiā seized the northern part of the Kadamba kingdom from Harivarman or his successor, sometime before A.D. 543.

Harivatsakottā has not been identified yet. Since the grant recorded in the plates refers to a temple of Dakshīṇa-Śiva at Pēṭha-Paṅgarkaḷa, identified with Pagara about 4 miles north of Pachmarhi⁸ and the village granted, namely, Udīkāvāṭikā is surmised to be one of the two

¹ Ep. Curn., Vol. VI, Kadara No. 162, with plate. The plates are considered to be spurious on account of the orthographical errors and a slightly irregular alphabet. But the geographical details and the events attributed to Vishūvarman may be relied upon.
² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 163. Rao Bahadur Dikshit informs me on the date of the Sangoḷḷi plates as follows:—
³ “I have given both 526 A.D. and 545 A.D. as likely dates of this phenomenon (i.e. Vishūva). It now appears to me that 526 A.D. is the more probable date. This would bring Harivarman’s accession to 519 A.D. up to which the reign of Ravivarman is likely to have extended”. This change in the date of Harivarman does not affect the statement that there was internal trouble in the Kadamba house-hold at the time of Kṛṣṇavarman, which is evident from his attack on Vaijayantī.
⁴ It is clear from a synchronistic study of the Kadamba history at this period, that Harivarman of the main branch was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇavarman II of the Tripurārata branch as both were removed from the common ancestor Kākunthavarman by five generations. Further, from the contemporaneity of Kṛṣṇavarman I with the Gangā king Mādhava II whose date is arrived at to fall between 470-495 A.D. by calculating backwards from certain definite landmarks in the Gangā chronology, viz., the Halkur stone inscription of Sripurusha and the Penukonda plates of Mādhava III assigned to A.D. 475, etc., the date of Kṛṣṇavarman II is fixed between 545 and 570, which is approximately the period of Harivarman.
⁵ Ep. Curn., Vol. V, Bl. 245. The king is described in the plates by the expression Vaijayantī-vaijayu-vyāhānam-abhiprasthitah.
⁶ See p. 4 n. 4 above.
⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 163.
⁸ See the Madras Arch. Report, 1929, p. 208, where a possible suggestion of their indentity has been made.
⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 511 and note 16.
villages named "Ountiya" in the same neighbourhood, it is not unlikely that the fort of Harivatsakōṭṭa, whose commander Jayasimha was a witness to the grant, was situated somewhere in the same province. It is, however, possible to think that the expression Harivatsakōṭṭa januṅgha means "the reducer (marga) of the fort of Harivatsakōṭṭa" and that, wherever the fort might have been situated, the person who reduced it, namely Jayasimha, might have belonged to the region near about Paṇḍaraṅgappalli, i.e., to the kingdom of Avidhēya, which closely adjoined the Kadamba territory. On this supposition, the two homonymous persons might be identical with each other. This is also in agreement with the description of Jayasimha given in the Aholé inscription of Pulikésin II in the words:

"raṇe Lakṣmīr-bhācita-chāpaka-api cha kritā kauyigeṇa yena-ātmasaḥ(d)-raja-ūṣaj-Jayasimha-vaḷlabha iti khyātaṁ-Chalukya-āṃsayah." ("There was, of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasimha-vallabha who in battle......by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.")

If this identification is correct, it would follow that the Chalukyas of Bāḍāmi held a subordinate position under an earlier branch of the Raṣṭrakūṭas and when a suitable opportunity offered itself, they carved out an independent principality on the wreck of the kingdom of their overlords and of the Kadambas of Vaḷiṇyantī.

Fleet assigns the Upādikavāṭikā grant to "approximately the seventh century A.D." (Dya. Kan. Dist., p. 386). In the matter of assigning dates to records merely on grounds of palaeography, the approximation has been often too wide of the mark. For example, the Talagunda pillar inscription has been placed by Kielhorn in the 6th century A.D., whereas the latest researches have proved an earlier date, i.e., 5th century A.D., for it. Similarly, the Mālepādu plates of Puyyakumāra which are considered to belong to circa A.D. 800 have to be relegated to an earlier period. Accordingly, the Upādikavāṭikā grant, whose alphabet resembles closely the characters of the charters of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II, the Polamūru plates of Vishṇukundin Maḍavavarman-Janāraya, and the Rāmatirtham plates of Vishṇukundin Indravarmman, may reasonably be pushed back to the 6th century A.D. which agrees with the period of Abhimanyu, the grandson of Dīvarāja, father of Avidhēya (516 A.D.) of the Paṇḍaraṅgappalli grant.

Thus, Jayasimha could possibly have waged war with the Kadambas in the first half of the 6th century A.D. and with the decline of the Raṣṭrakūṭas in the north of the Bhāma and the defeat and destruction of the Kadambas in the South, he himself or Pulikēsin I, in all probability, the latter, might have occupied the Kadamba territory making Bāḍāmi his capital. Bāḍāmi, as already observed, was a place of some importance in the period before Jayasimha, since it finds mention by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) under the name Badiamaioi.

TEXT

1 Svasti [I**] Śaka-varshēśhu chaṭuś-sattēśhu paṇcha-shashti-yutēśhu  
2 Aśvamādhi-ādi-yagyānāṁ yajvā dārā-vidhānatah [I**]  
3 Hiraṇyagarbha-sambhūtēśaḥ-Chalikyō Vallabhēśvarāḥ [I**]  
4 Dharādharaṇḍrām-vaṭāpim-ajēyam-bhūtyāḥ bhuvah [I**]  
5 adhaṭṭaḥ=uparasiṣṭtāḥ=cha durggah=ṣṭad=achihkarat [I**]

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2 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 31.
3 See footnote 1 on page 5 above.
4 McRinde, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 171.
5 From the ink impression and photograph.
6 [The reading Dharādharaṇḍrām is also possible.—C.R.K.]
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! In the Śaka years four hundred and sixty-five,  
(Lines 2—5) the Chalikya (king), Vallabhāśvara, performer of the Aṅamśāduha and other 
sacrifices according to the śrauta rites (and one), born of Hiranyagarbha made the best hill of 
Vatāpi (or Vatāpi) in the best hill into a fortress unconquerable from the top as well as from 
the bottom, for the prosperity of the earth.

No. 3—NANDGAON INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KRISHNA: SAKA 1177

V. V. Mirashi, Amraoti

This inscription was first brought to notice in the second edition (published in 1931) of the 
late Rai Bahadur Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar, p. 140, where a short description of 
its contents is given. It is edited here from a good estampage which I owe to the kindness of 
Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The inscription is incised on an outside wall of the temple of Khapūṛāvāra on a hillock on the 
outsides of Nānggaon, a village about 20 miles north by east of Amraoti in the Amraoti 
District of Berar. The record covers a space 2' 5" broad and 9" high and consists of six lines. 
The stone on which it was incised was not originally made quite smooth and the technical execution 
also was not good. Besides, being exposed to the inclemency of weather for several centuries, 
the record has suffered considerably, especially in the last line. The reading of a few aksharas 
here and there is therefore not free from doubt.

The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Marāṭhī. The opening formula which mentions 
the date and the reigning king’s name is in Sanskrit, but the subsequent portion which states the 
object of the record is in old Marāṭhī, as in several other inscriptions of the period. The orthography 
shows the substitution of the lingual sh for kh in lākauli, a peculiarity which the present 
inscription shares with several other records of the Yādavas. Of lexicographical interest is the Marāṭhī word Vada. In the form Bada, it denotes, in modern Marāṭhī, a ‘temple-priest’, 
but in the age to which the present record belongs, it had the wider sense of a ‘royal functionary’.

The inscription refers itself to the ‘victorious reign’ of the illustrious Praudhaptapīṇa 
Chakravartin Kānhirādēva. The title borne by the king indicates that he must have belonged 
to the Yādava dynasty of Dēvaḍgiri. He can therefore be none other than Krishna, the grand-

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1 The epithet Hiṃaṣaṇgarbha-sambhūta occurs in the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mahākūta also (Ind. Ant., 
Vol. XIX, pp. 92f.). It refers to the celebration of the great gift of Hiṃaṣaṇgarbha (golden womb), one of the sixteen 
mahādānas enumerated in Hāmāḍrī’s Dānabdha, chapter 5, and the Mātāyurgīpā, chap. 249. While editing the 
Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmahāravāman (above, Vol. XVII, p. 328), Hultsch first suggested its correct meaning 
as referring to a Mahādāna and not to the four-faced god Brahmā. See also D. C. Sircar’s Successors of the 
Śāhīyānaus, pp. 50ff, where relevant details from the Mātāyurgīpā are given.

2 The inscription is not listed in the first edition of the work published in 1916.

3 It is a combined temple of Khaṇḍēśvara, Dēvi and Narasiṃhā, with a common subhāmānandapa. The temple 
is said to be Hāmāḍrīpūrī, i.e., constructed by Hāmāḍrīpūrī or Hāmāḍrī, a minister of the Yādava kings Mahādēva 
and Rāmāchandra. The writer in the Amroli District Gazetter doubts this and expresses his opinion that it is 
probably not more than 200 years old, but as the present inscription shows, it is somewhat earlier than even the 
time of Hāmāḍrī.

4 Even in this portion, there is Saka for Śaka.

5 See, e.g., the inscriptions of the time of Rāmāchandra. G. H. Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the 


son of Siṅghaṇa, who succeeded the latter in A.D. 1247 and ruled up to A.D. 1290. Kānhiya is evidently a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name Kṛiṣṇa. Other forms of the same name occurring in inscriptions and contemporary literature of the Mahānubhāvas are Kānha, Kānsa, Kauṅsāra and Kandākāra. The present inscription is dated in the year 1177 of the Śaka era, the cyclic year being Ānanda. As no further details such as month, fortnight, titi or week-day or nukhaṭra are given, the date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year Ānanda corresponded to Śaka 1177, current. Dates of epigraphic records are generally given in expired Śaka years, the cyclic years quoted with them being of course current. The date of the present record is noteworthy as it cites a current Śaka year. The corresponding year of the Christian era was A.D. 1254-55.

This is the only record of Kṛiṣṇa's reign found so far in Berar. Another record of the same king's reign has been discovered at Marbaṇḍa in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces, but it is not dated. Even before Kṛiṣṇa's reign, Berar was occupied by the Vādāvas, for an inscription discovered at Amrāpur in the Bulānā District, bearing the date Śaka 1133, belongs to the reign of Kṛiṣṇa's grandfather Siṅghaṇa, and Kōlēśvara, Siṅghaṇa's General, records, in his Ambā inscriptions, several religious and charitable works which he constructed. From the Purhōttamparī plates recently published in this journal, we learn that Kṛiṣṇa terrified the king of Kōśala, i.e., Dakshina-Kōśala or modern Chhattisgarh. It is not therefore surprising that records of his reign should be found as far east as the Amraoti District in Berar and the Chāndā District in C. P. It may be noted in this connection that according to the Liṅga-charitra, an old Marāṭhi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, Kṛiṣṇa had gone as far as Lopārī in the Bulānā District of Berar to meet Chakradhara in the Śaka year 1178, i.e., only two years after the date of the present record.

The object of the present inscription is to record the donations of a gadyāṇa by each of the persons for the (perpetual) offerings of flowers etc. evidently at the temple of Khaṅḍēśvara. The inscription names ten persons, the first nine of whom provided for the offering of one lākhāṇi of flowers and the tenth, for two lākhāṇis.

The gadyāṇa or gadiyāṇa was a coin of gold. The Khārepāṇa plates dated Śaka 930 mention the customs duty of one suvarṇa-gadyāṇa (gold gadyāṇa) levied on every seagoing vessel coming from foreign lands which the Siṅghāra king Raṭṭarāja assigned to some Saiva ascetics. Kittel found at Bellary and occasionally in Mysore small gold coins called gadiyāṇas of the weight of rupee or a farthing. The custom of making provision for the perpetual offerings of flowers at temples is also known from some other records of that age. A stone inscription at Paṇḍhrupur, popularly known as the inscription of Chauryā, which belongs to the reign of the Yādava king

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6. Liṅga-charitra, Vol. I, pp. 30 ff. The interval is taken to be two years, because the present inscription was put up in Śaka 1177 current or 1176 expired.
7. The present inscription uses throughout the abbreviation gā for gadyāṇa as in other inscriptions of the time.
8. Lākhāṇi or lākhā (Sanskrit, lakṣha-āṇi) is a Marāṭhi word meaning a 'lakh', i.e., a hundred thousand.
10. Ibid., p. 296, n. 7.
11. This inscription was first referred to by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the Schēlpur District Gazetteer. It has been fully edited by the late Mr. V. K. Rajawade in the Marāṭhi Magazine Granthnālī (now defunct).
Rämächandra, records similar donations of gaudåśas and dāmas (drammas) for the offerings of flowers and tulasi leaves to the deity Vīththāl of Paṇḍharpur. The inscription indicates that the sums were invested with some merchants of the place and the interest on them was utilised to provide for the daily offerings of flowers, etc., to the deity.

**TEXT**

1 श्रीरः स्वतः [1] श्रीस[कु] १२०७ चाणुद्स्वव[र] भवेः वीण्डोध्विप्रतापकः—

2 [ब्रं]देवविषयः के तथाप्रोपोली सम[स]भर्म[र]निपित श्रीपाची—

3 ललितः ... तन्म(ब्रं)पिपितत्रवीषः वह[क]० वीण्डोध्विप्रतापकः लायोलिपः ग्रं रः [बढ़ा] ् यं—


5 तिः दत्ता लायोलिपः ग्रं १ [१] भीपतनायकः म ना[प]० ग्रं १ [१] धनें लायोलिपः ग्रं १ [१]—


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1 From an inked stampage.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read Śrī-Śakē.
4 The three aksharas that follow are uncertain.
5 Read tan-nirūpā. [Better reading should be तन्मनिरुपत्] विस्मयकारी वंद्वारे. The length of जा is inked over in the impression. What follows this letter is a clear का. The purport would then be that (the officer) Visalavāḍī- Varmājaka Śrī-Somadhava and others gave what is stated in the sequel. 'Vasanākā' is probably connected with the Skt. word caṇaka = distributor, apportioner. He may be a local officer corresponding to the Telugu 'Oṣṭuddāra' = local revenue officer, in the Zamindari tracts. Compare the term vatta in vatta-grāmāyakāh in Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV, p. 297.—C. R. K.]
6 Vadavō and Vadavū further on in the same line are nominative singular forms of the old Marāṭhi word Vadhavō.
7 Read lakhanlic or lākkohlic. This is a form of the dative singular in old Marāṭhi, meaning 'for a lakholi' (here, a lakh of flowers).
8 The abbreviated form गा is used here throughout for gaudåśa. The Paṇḍharpur stone inscription, mentioned above, also has गा in all places except one where the full form gaudåśa is used.
9 [The original reads गृषा.—C. R. K.]
10 [Better reading would be द्रया या दारोरे.—C. R. K.]
11 [The original seems to read द्रोपनगर.—C. R. K.]
12 The aksharas stating the number of gaudåśas are lost.
I discovered the subjoined inscription in the summer of the year 1923 at Mandasor, while I encamped there for excavating ancient sites. A short note on the record contributed by me has been published on page 187 of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922-23. But for one reason or another I was not able to edit the epigraph with facsimile, full text and translation till now.

Mandasor is the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gwalior State. It is a place of antiquarian interest, identified with the ancient town Daśapura which is mentioned in two inscriptions in the Buddhist caves at Nasik (2nd century A. D.), in the Meḍhadātā of Kālidās (5th century A. D.), in Bṛhatasamhitā (6th century A. D.) and in another inscription found at Mandasor (5th century A. D.).

The stone on which the inscription is engraved was found stuck up in the inner face of the east wall of the Fort at Mandasor. It is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior.

The stone, characters and style of engraving of our inscription are strikingly similar to those of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman which was recorded only five years later than our inscription. The inscription is on five lines of writing in Gupta characters of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being \( \frac{1}{9} \) of an inch. The language is Sanskrit, free from any grammatical solecisms. But there are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, e.g., the letter tu is omitted in uṛjita-nāmadhēgam 1.3 and t in mā bhūt- kshāpya 1.14; an unnecessary anusvāra is added to yas in yavasāṣṭya 1.6 and to ja in jañayūnabhātīva 1.7; t is substituted for n in svanēṣhiv 1.12 and in iñ-āṃbhum 1.14. In cases where ṭākṣus or their halves end in a visarga or a final m, the sign of punctuation (vīrāma-čhīna) is taken to be understood. In other places it is expressed by a horizontal stroke. But there are some exceptions to this rule in lines 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13 and 15.

With the exception of a word at the beginning and two words at the end, the whole text is in verse consisting of eighteen stanzas. The metre is Upajāt except in verses 1, 17 and 18 which are Vasantotilakā, Prithve and Anushīṭhh respectively.

As regards orthography, consonants are invariably doubled after r, except in chikirṣhugā 1.9; while occasionally a consonant is reduplicated also before r, as in -vikkrama- l.3, ekramēga l.11, and abhērā- l.13, in this last instance the first aspirant being correctly changed to its corresponding sonant. The reduplication is carried to consonants preceding y as well, in

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1 Nos. 1131 and 1148 of Lüders' List of Brahmi Inscriptions, above, Vol. X, Appendix
2 Hultzsch's edition, verse 47.
3 Chapter XIV, verse 12.
5 This fort is said to have been founded by 'Alī-ud-dīn Khaljī' of Delhi (A. D. 1296-1316) and considerably e. tended by Husayn Shah of Malwa (A.D. 1406-1434) (Gwalior Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 266). A number of mutilated sculptures, carvings and other stones taken from the ruins of old temples have been used promiscuously in the construction of the fort.
The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham*. Verse 1 is a *maṅgalācharaṇa* expressing adoration to Sugata (the Buddha). Verse 2 introduces King Chandragupta who is eulogised as the moon in the sky of the Gupta dynasty. He forcibly deprived kings of their lordship over the earth which he bound over with the ties of his own family from which “it is not liberated yet” (verse 3). He had a son having the noble appellation Gōvindagupta (verse 4). While kings deprived of their prowess, touched his (Gōvindagupta’s) feet with their heads (in token of submission), even the lord of gods (Indra) was filled with fear and anxiety for the safety of his own throne (verse 5). Gōvindagupta had a General (*śendhipati*) named Vāyurakshita who possessed many good qualities (verses 6-7). The latter’s son, by a northern princess, was Dattabhāṭa who like his father was an abode of fame and virtues and who resembled Kūbra in munificence, Bhālashāṭi in intellect, Śmara in the art of love, and Yama in fight or destruction (verses 8-9). King Prabhākara, who was a menace to the enemies of the Guptas, appointed him as the Commander-in-chief of his armies (verse 10). As an humble mark of his desire to requite the obligations of his parents, Dattabhāṭa excavated a well and constructed a stūpa, a *prapā* and an *ārāma* (verse 11). Verse 13 specifies the date of the inscription in the words ‘when five hundred, and eight multiplied by three, autumns proclaiming the spotless fame of the Mālava race had expired’. Verses 14 and 15 contain a poetic description of the spring, implying thereby that the works were accomplished in that season of the year. Verse 18 states that the objects referred to in verse 11 were situated within the limits of Lōkottara-Vihāra which was possibly the proper name of some local Buddhist monastery probably named after the Lōkottaravādīn sect of the Hinayāna form of Buddhism. The Buddhist institutions alluded to in this inscription were evidently situated at or in the neighbourhood of Mandasor where the inscription was found, although no place name is mentioned in the record. The sculptures and inscriptions (5th and 6th centuries A.D.) found at Mandasor (Daśapura) so far are all Brahmanical. Our inscription is thus the first Buddhist record hailing from Mandasor.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king. In the genealogical portion two scions of the Gupta dynasty are eulogised, namely Chandragupta and his son Gōvindagupta. These are obviously none other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and his son Gōvindagupta.

Chandragupta had been dead long before the date of our inscription. Though our inscription is the only stone inscription so far known, which mentions Gōvindagupta, he is already known...
from a clay seal\(^1\) of his mother Mahādevī Dhruvasvāmini (better known as Dhruvadēvi), found in the excavations at Basar (Vaiśāli). From this seal\(^2\) as well as from some other official seals found along with it, it would appear that Gōvindagupta was perhaps the eldest\(^3\) son of Chandragupta II and was the Governor of the District. Tirabhukti with its capital at Vaiśāli (Basar), in his capacity as the Yuvanāja (heir-apparent), during a part of the reign of his father. In the seal of Dhruvasvāmini, Gōvindagupta is styled Mahārāja which according to Mr. Allan\(^4\) probably means no more than prince. But verse 4 of the present inscription, which describes Gōvindagupta as a (paramount) sovereign to whose feet homage was paid by feudatory princes, further shows that he must have occupied the imperial throne afterworads, even though it might have been for a short time. No conclusive evidence has become available so far to show as to when exactly he ruled as emperor. Our inscription concludes the Gupta genealogy with his name, but does not state whether he was the contemporary ruling emperor. It tells us that Dattabhaṭa, whose charities are recorded in the inscription, was the son of Vāyurakshita who was the General of Emperor Gōvindagupta. Gōvindagupta's reign may thus have preceded the date of our inscription by two generations. This would support Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that Gōvindagupta probably ruled as emperor between (his father) Chandragupta II and (his younger brother) Kumāragupta I. His reign can not have exceeded three years—the interval between the last known date of Chandragupta II (G. E. 93) and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta I (G. E. 96). That Gōvindagupta must have ruled as emperor for a very short period is also evident from the fact that he has left no coins. Being a collateral, Gōvindagupta does not appear in the genealogy of the inscriptions of Kumāragupta and his successors.

According to the Gupta chronology generally accepted, the year in which our inscription is dated (M. E. 524 = A. D. 467-68) is the closing year of the reign of Skandagupta and the opening year of that of Purugupta. At this time the disintegration of the Gupta Empire had already set in, in consequence of the invasions by the Hūnas; but verse 3 of the inscription states that the earth (meaning Malwa and other western provinces of the Gupta Empire) which had been subjugated by Chandragupta II was still under the sway of the Guptas. This being so, the reason why our inscription did not continue the Gupta chronology down to the contemporary Gupta Emperor requires an explanation. A possible explanation is that Dattabhaṭa, the donor of the inscription, who was a son of a devoted servant of Gōvindagupta, did not like to refer to the names of his (i.e., Gōvindagupta's) collaterals. Or else, the two Gupta Emperors, Chandragupta and Gōvindagupta, were casually mentioned simply to introduce Vāyurakshita, the father of Dattabhaṭa, and that there was no intention to record the full genealogy of the Gupta dynasty. This would explain the omission of the names of the predecessors of Chandragupta II and also of the successors of Gōvindagupta.

So much about Gōvindagupta and the Gupta dynasty. Another person of historical interest referred to in our inscription is Prabhākara, the master of Dattabhaṭa. He is not known from any other source. In our inscription he is described as a king (bhūmipati) and a destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty (verse 10). The name of his capital or territory, however, is not mentioned. Probably he was the contemporary local chief of Ġaḍapura and feudatory ally of the Guptas in their struggle against the Hūnas.\(^5\) It is rather strange that Dattabhaṭa should not have included in the inscription the genealogy of his master. It is just possible that Prabhākara was a self-made

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\(^1\) *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.

\(^2\) *Jas. Ant.,* Vol. XLI (1912), p. 3.

\(^3\) Dr. Bloch (*A. R. A. S. I.* for 1903-04, p. 102) and Allan (*Cat. of Gupta Coins,* Introduction p. xxxvi, genealogical table), however, take him to be a younger son.

\(^4\) *Cat. of Gupta Coins,* Introduction p. xii.

\(^5\) We know that the Hūnas were threatening to invade the western portion of the Gupta Empire about this time.
person who had no distinguished ancestors worthy of record. He may have been appointed to the kingship of Daśapura by the paramount power, after the extinction of the Varman dynasty to which Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription\(^1\) of M. E. 461, Vīšavarman of the Gaṅgādhāra inscription\(^2\) of (M. E.) 480 and Bandhuvarman of the Mandasor inscription\(^3\) of M. E. 493 belonged. That Prabhākara was not a scion of the Varman dynasty is also corroborated by his name which, unlike those of all the known members of that dynasty, does not end in varman. He, however, seems to have continued his predecessors' policy of alliance with the Gupta Empire.

**TEXT**

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff.

\(^2\) Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 17.

\(^3\) Ibid., No. 18.

\(^4\) The word विपदित is an unfamiliar one in Sanskrit. Compare विपदित in Maghīna Nikāya, Sūtra 140.

\(^5\) Compare यह सक्षमकोड़न्ती on coins of Kumāragupta, and मूत्रमधुविजयित in 1. 6 below.

\(^6\) [This ought to be अनामात्.—Ed.]

\(^7\) Compare यह सक्षमकोड़न्ती: in 1. 2 above.

\(^8\) The expression विपदित is equal to विपदित: and synonymous with विपदित is correct according to Pāṇini. [The correct form ought to be विपदित:—Ed.]

II.3,39.
9 नूरागादिभि च चार "[१००] सिद्धिरुपण प्रामुर्तकारोऽभि नैनव पिचोऽः समयोग-
सिर्ये। सूपम[प]रामवर्षपर्यः कृपणिष्यामागवसनि विखानि। [११०] यथा-
10 सुधाकर्मणोदान सनि सुनोगामिनि निन्दीहै च। वचो गुरुणोमिनि चामसु
पर्यः प्रेमीयमानः सुक्षमेनि लोकः। [१२०] सशाहिनाधकरामालयः।
11 विकायापरे मालवस्व[कं]ग्रीणः। शरणेण पञ्चमेण अतिष्ठे विलोकितादरादरिकाणेे
क्षेत्रः। [१३०] ताकामचारालसबालपदे काले प्रयथे रमणियालि।
12 गातासु देवानिर्मित्रप्रायः प्रियासु कामक्षेत्रनाहितिव्यु यहुः। भक्तुषाणे भक्तुषाणि
कामयाचुपहि कहतमतान्यकृपाख्येन(न)०। प्रियाघिरातास्वायव्यु।
13 नस्ते वह[ह]कृपवसमेण कालिन[१४०] यो धातुमारे चतवात्रोपः मकिकविशिवे
सुधाव तथा। कृष्णदुर्योगोऽविष्ठविद्याध्ययः कतो धातुपरः। श्रृणः। [१६०]
14 नवेनकारिद्वाराः परिभोगनीयतंयकोः खर्षष्ठं इव भगुह[ह]तो(न)ो। नियय एव कोटा
भूषिन(ह)यः। सुरासुमरेरौदेनेनसहियां यथात्परितः समः।
15 कालमसमर्यावरावः। [१७०] सङ्कृणपरारम्भे यें लेन्ते परिकृतितः। [१८०]
लोकोन्त[र]बाह्यरंग वीर्यति तंतरबीर्यदनणः। [१८०] रविवर्त ब्रह्मतः।

TRANSLATION

Success attained!

(V. 1.) Obeisance to Sagata who, wishing to save the world (which is) plunged in the uninterrupted series of births and deaths closely associated with misery in various forms, enjoined a religion consisting of three steps (stages), and who attained peace!

(V. 2.) Like a moon in the sky (in the form) of the Gupta dynasty there was a king whose well-known appellation was Sri Chandragupta, and who fascinated the eyes of the people as does the newly risen moon.

(V. 3.) Who on (this) earth having (formerly) snatched away the kingship of (many) kings by dint of his intellect and valour, ensnared the earth with the bonds of his dynasty, from which she (i.e., the earth) has not yet been able to release herself.

(V. 4.) The lord of the earth (i.e., king Chandragupta) who was as famous as Góvinda (Vishnu) for the glory of his virtues, produced a son whose exalted name was Góvindagupta and who resembled the sons of Diti and Aditi (i.e., demons and gods).²

¹ Compare मानवमान्यमा समानमात्रमा and मानवमात्रमा मात्रमा in Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Nos. 18 and 35.
²The three stages may either refer to the three stages of the Buddhists, namely Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, or to the three stages of शालापती, सहस्दासी and साधुपासी on the path of Nibbāna or else to the three principles of the Bhāpakas, dukkha and anatta.
³The poet means that Góvindagupta resembled demons in physical strength and valour, and gods in spiritual virtues.
(V. 5.) When kings deprived of their prowess embraced with their heads (i.e., bowed down to) his (i.e., Gōvindagupta’s) lotus-like feet, even the lord of gods (i.e., Indra), being frightened, mounted the swing of (anxious) thought (i.e., was upset with the fear, lest he should be dethroned from his position by the powerful king).

(V. 6.) The commander of his armes was named Vāyurakṣita. The forces of his enemies disappeared as soon as they approached his army.

(V. 7.) The peerless (general) whose voice was resonant like the thunder of a cloud, possessed the multitude of qualities such as purity, love, industry, intelligence, skill in action and forgiveness, as also fame white like the rays of the moon.

(V. 8.) He begot on a princess who was the very moon-light to the family of a northern king, a son, Dattabhāṭa by name, who, like his father, was an abode of virtues and fame.

(V. 9.) Who, though one, was fancied variously as the lord of wealth (i.e., Kubera) in munificence, as the lord of speech (i.e., Bṛhaspati) in talent, as the god of love (i.e., Sūrya) in enjoyment and as the god of death (i.e., Yama) in battle, by suppliants, learned men, young women and enemies (respectively).

(V. 10.) King Prabhākara who was the fire to the trees in the form of the enemies of the race of the Guptas, appointed him (i.e., Dattabhāṭa), who was endowed with the prowess of Baladēva, as the general of his armies, in appreciation of his merits.

(V. 11.) Wishing to requite, however inadequately, the obligations of his parents, and for the attainment of good luck (i.e., heavenly bliss) by them, he dug a well full of waters as deep as those of the ocean, accompanied by a stūpa, a ṣrāvaṇī and an ārūma par excellence.

(V. 12.) People derive comfort by frequently drinking its water, cool (refreshing) as the meeting of dear friends, pure as the mind of sages and wholesome as the words of elders.

(V. 13.) When five hundred and twenty-four years, announcing the fame of the race of the Mālavas, as pure as the rays of autumnal moon, had elapsed one after another;

(V. 14.) When the season, in which the young lotus is fatigued with the load of the bodies of bees, and the sūla tree looks charming, had come, when wives were being tormented by the fire of love, their dear husbands having been away from home;

(V. 15.) When groves were assuming fresh splendour (with their trees) being waved by the breezes, neither very hot nor very cold, with intoxicated cuckoos just commencing their sweet notes, and with the young leaves looking reddish like the lips of charming women;

(V. 16.) This stūpa, accompanied by a well, has been constructed (in commemoration) of Him (the Buddha) who, having overcome the evil influences of all the elements (dhātu), explained (preached) the accomplishment of all actions, the stūpa—the structure of which was as white as the kunda flower and the moon, and the pinnacle of which touched the clouds.

(V. 17.) May this store of water (i.e., the well), that constantly enjoys the festivity of union with the bodies of many women (who go to bathe there) always be full like the ocean that (also)

1 Prāpu is a place or a shed where drinking water is supplied free to passers-by.
2 Ārūma may mean either a monastery or a garden.
3 The description of nature given in verses 14 and 15 is indicative of the spring season.
4 This verse emphasises the construction of the stūpa just as verse 11 lays stress on the construction of the well.
5 The reference is to the Nīdānasastra in which He explained the theory of cause and effect.—Ed.
6 Literally: 'may never be exhausted!' (The word khaṣṭha is used here in a double sense: (a) exhaustible and (b) consumptive. The reference here is to the fate of a man who indulges too much in sexual pleasure, the well-known exception being the ocean.—Ed.)

XVI.1.1
enjoys the constant festivity of union with many rivers (who are, as it were,) his wives! May this stūpa worshipped by gods, demons, mortals and serpent-divinities, also last as long as the heavenly mountain Meru, the sun and the moon!

(V. 18.) The stūpa, kūpa, prapā and ārāma, which are alluded to above, are included within the limits of the Lōkottara Monastery (vihāra).¹
(This) is the composition of Ravila.

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**No. 5.—BADAGANGA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN**

(I Plate)²

_The late Dr. N. K. Bhattacharjey, Dacca³_

In Vol. V (1937-39) of the Journal of the Assam Research Society, on pp. 14-57, Mr. R. M. Nath, B. E., of the Assam Engineering Service (P. W. D.), described some ancient ruins of the Kapil and the Yamuna Valleys, in the Nowgong District of Assam. Professor P. O. Sen⁴ was the first to point out that the existence of a well-known place called Dabokā on the Yamuna river in the Nowgong District situated midway between Samata (identified with Tipperā and Noikhali Districts of Bengal)⁵ and Kāmarūpa (the well-known ancient kingdom round modern Gauhāṭi in Assam) made the identification of the region round Dabokā with the ancient kingdom of Dāvāka almost certain. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua in his _Early History of Kāmarūpa_ supported the identification. Mr. Nath in his article under reference described some antiquities found at Dabokā and he also supported the identification of Dabokā with Dāvāka.

In his article, Mr. Nath described the ruins of a temple on a small rivulet called Badagaṅgā about 14 miles to the north-east of Dabokā. The following is a quotation from that description:

"By the south of the Mahāmāya Hill flows the river Harkāti. To the south of this river, running almost parallel to this, is a small stream known as Badagaṅgā, written as Bārkhugā in the map. About 1½ miles to the south-west of the Mahāmāya temple, there is a small lake formed in this Badagaṅgā river. On the left bank of this lake, there is a slightly elevated big plot of land now covered with thick jungles, which contains ruins of a very big temple. The whole structure, 86' long by 30' wide, consisted of three parts, the Manikṣā built with hard sand-stone, and the Devarīghār and the Nat-mandir built with bricks.

"On the left bank of the Badagaṅgā stream, where the stream has abruptly widened into lake, there are two huge blocks of natural rock standing side by side with a small gap in between. The rocks are about 22' long, 12' high and 7' to 12' wide. Each rock has got a dvārapāla 4' high with a spear in his hand engraved on the rock at the entrance. The left rock has got a figure of Hanumān engraved on it. On the inside face of the left rock and facing the passage, there are 3½ lines of writing in an embossed block, 2'×2'. The writing has been partly damaged by the continued effect of rain, sun and wild fire of the jungle for years together. The figure of the dvārapāla looks like the figure of an up-country man."

Sometime in June, 1939, Mr. Nath sent to me a small photograph of an inscription inside a rectangular panel, consisting of three and a quarter lines of writing and I had no difficulty in

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¹ This was probably the proper name of a local monastery of the Lōkottaravādā sect of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism.
² [The impression reproduced here is very much 'doctoroed'. An attempt is being made to procure a more faithful impression which will be published when available.—Ed.]
³ [It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press.—Ed.]
⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 323 ff.
recognising it as the Badagaṅga inscription, the site of which he had previously described. I realised at the first sight that this must be regarded as the earliest inscription hitherto discovered within the bounds of the present province of Assam, as the script of the inscription was undoubtedly Gupta. I immediately wrote to Mr. Nath, stating that the script of the inscription was Gupta and the inscription contained the name of some Mahārājādhīrāja. I requested him to send me better photographs and estampages, if taken. Mr. Nath, thereupon, sent me some estampages, very imperfect and blurred, and with their help I ascertained that it was an inscription of Mahārājādhīrāja Bhūtivarman dated in the Gupta year 234, equivalent to A. D. 553-54. I sent my reading with the estampage and the photograph to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, who pointed out that the text contained a word indicating that Mahārājādhīrāja Bhūtivarman had performed an Āsāṃvedhi sacrifice.

Some words still remained undeciphered, and I therefore paid a visit to the site of the inscription and took some estampages and photographs. Thus with the help of the materials previously supplied by Mr. Nath, and the new materials obtained by myself, I succeeded in deciphering the inscription completely.

Bhāskaravarman was fifth in descent from Bhūtivarman. Their names became familiar to the learned world from the enumeration of the dynastic list in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa, by Harisavāga, envoy of Bhāskara to Harsha, in which all the kings from Bhūtivarman to Bhāskaravarman are named. The next mention of Bhūtivarman was met with in the famous Nīdhānpur plate of Bhāskara, by which the joint right of about 300 Brahmans of many different gotras to a vast plot of land measuring about 5 miles by 24 miles, represented by the present pargana of Paṇchakhandā, of the Sylhet District, was re-confirmed. This document reveals the startling fact that the grant was originally made by king Bhūtivarman. The present dated inscription of Mahārājādhīrāja Bhūtivarman turning up from the Yamunā valley in the Nowgong District is another indication of the might of this great king of Eastern India. From the fact that the Surmā and the Kusīrā Valleys, i.e., the present district of Sylhet, were included in the kingdom of Bhūtivarman, we get a fairly good idea of the extent of his kingdom.

The Varmanas of Prāgiyotisha were originally masters of the Brahmaputra Valley only, with their headquarters somewhere on that river. There are at least two pieces of evidence to show that Dāvāka, the present Nowgong District, was originally a separate kingdom and in no way dependent on Kāmarūpa. The first evidence is the separate mention of Samatāsa, Dāvāka and Kāmarūpa in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. It is only common sense to hold that these three formed separate and contiguous kingdoms on the eastern frontier of the great North Indian empire of Samudragupta. Samatāsa is described by Huien Tsang as lying south of Kāmarūpa and bordering on the sea. This indication fixes its position on the map fairly accurately, when we remember that it was a pratyaganta kingdom, outside the regular boundary of Samudragupta's empire, and no part of Bengal to the west of the Meghnā and the Brahmaputra could be regarded as included in a pratyaganta kingdom. It would thus appear that the region east of the mighty Brahmaputra, which flowed through the eastern part of the modern district of Dacca in ancient times, formed the kingdom of Samatāsa.

Some scholars are inclined to include the northern shore of the Bay of Bengal or the greater part of it included in the Twenty-four Parganas, Jessore and Bakarganj Districts of Bengal within Samatāsa, following Huien Tsang's mention of the distance of 1200 or 1300 li from Kāmarūpa, quite forgetting that these regions from remote antiquity formed regular parts of Vāṅga, and along with Northern and Western Bengal, must have been included in Samudragupta's empire, and it is absurd to take these regions as included in the pratyaganta kingdom of Samatāsa. The Bāghāurā
Nārāyaṇa image inscription in the district of Tippera, and mentioning the village of Bilakinda, modern Bilkenduaī close by, as included in Samataṭa, finally settles the question. With this point inside Samataṭa we can clearly see that the region north of the sea-shore in Noakhāli District, bounded by the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river on the west and the hills of Tippera and Sylhet on the east was the ancient pratyanta kingdom of Samataṭa. Hinen Tsang gives the circuit of the country as 3000 li, equivalent to about 600 miles. If the Chinese traveller was even approximately correct in his measurements, we can easily visualise the extent of the kingdom of Samataṭa. A look at the map will show that the strip of land between the Brahmaputra and the hills of Tippera is nowhere more than about 40 miles broad. But we have to accommodate here a kingdom 600 miles in circuit. If the sum-total of the sides of a rectangle is 600 miles, and one of the sides is only 40 miles, the other side must be about 250 miles. We thus see that to accommodate a kingdom of the circuit of about 600 miles, we have to include within it the entire plain area, bounded by the Garo, the Khāsi and the Jaintiā Hills on the north, the hills of Kachar and Tippera on the east, the sea on the south, and the mighty river Brahmaputra on the west. That is to say, the ancient kingdom of Samataṭa comprised the modern districts of Sylhet, Tippera and Noakhāli, as well as the eastern half of the Mymensingh District, and a narrow strip from the eastern side of the present Dacca District—an area, the circuit of which is approximately 600 miles.

The kingdom of Samataṭa thus marked off, we can easily locate Dāvāka on the other side of the hills bordering Samataṭa on the north, in the Kapili, the Yamunā and the Kullong valleys, i.e., the present Nowgong District. Beyond this region, to its north-west, lay the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

The western boundary of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa is marked by the river Karatōyā from time immemorial. Not only is this boundary recognised in the Kālikūparāja and the Yōginīlātra, but the more authentic Chinese sources also confirm it, where the river Ka-lo-tu, i.e., Karatōyā, is placed as boundary between Puñḍravardhana and Kāmarūpa. In the east, the boundary of Kāmarūpa reached the frontiers of China, but was never very well defined. What separated Dāvāka from Kāmarūpa is also not very clear.

As already stated, the separate naming of these three kingdoms as pratyanta kingdoms, whose kings paid Samudragupta all manner of tributes and sought his pleasure by obedience, obeisance and personal attendance (ādi-pratyanta-nipatibhir...sarva-narāja-āgānana-pratiṣṭhita) would indicate the separate existence of these three kingdoms during this period, i.e., towards the end of the reign of Samudragupta by about 380 A.D. In 428 A.D., a king named ‘Moon-loved’ (Chandragupta ?), king of the Kapili country, sent an embassy to China. The capital of the country is described as situated by the side of a lake to the east of a river and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks. This Kapili country has been sought to be identified with the kingdom of Dāvāka of the Kapili valley, though it is difficult to understand why the proper name of the country should not be mentioned, and the country should be made known by the name of the river.

It should be noted, however, that the Dābokā region is to the east of the river Kapili, and is practically surrounded on all sides by dark hills, and as such, corresponds very closely to the Chinese description of the country of Kapili. The hills of Kachar are to the south of this region, while the south and the south-west are covered by the Khāsi and the Jaintiā Hills. To the east and the north-east are the hills of Dābokā (the Mahāmāyā Hills) and the Mikir Hills. The direct
north and the north-west, however, are open up to the Brahmaputra river. Bearing these points
in mind, the following description of the ruins at a place called Jugijān, about eight miles south-
west of Ḍabokā, midway between the Yamanāmukh and the Hojāi Railway stations on the Lumb-
ding-Gauhati section of the Assam-Bengal Railway, about a mile west of the railway line, from
Mr. R. M. Nath's article referred to in the beginning of this paper will be found apposite:—

"At a distance of about six miles from either Yamanāmukh or Hojai railway stations, at
a distance of about a mile from the Assam-Bengal Railway line, opposite mile 400, lie the ruins
of the Jugijān temples. The stream Jugijān has a peculiarity. It is very narrow on the up-
stream side and also on the down-stream side, but at the particular place where the shrines stand,
it is about 150' wide and about a mile long. It is fordable in other places, but here it is very deep.
On the north bank of this lake, about half a furlong off, there are three little mounds, each about
300' apart. Each contains the ruins of a stone temple. These three temples serve as the
gateway to the main shrines which are situated at a distance of about a quarter mile from them.
Here there are ruins of two huge temples. About half a furlong to the north of the shrines,
is a big area, bounded on all sides by high earthen walls. There is also a big tank inside,
own reduced to a quagmire. This is locally known as the Rāj-bhādi (royal palace)."*  **  **  ** To
a cursory observer who travels in the interior of Hojai, it will easily appear that this area was once
really thickly populated and highly civilised. Wherever you go, you notice huge tanks, some of
them having pucca ghats with stone and brick walls".*  **  **  ** "All about the place, there are
innumerable big tanks and hundreds of ruins of old stone structures."*  **  **  ** It is no exaggera-
tion to state in the Hojai area in the Yamunā valley, wherever you cast yours eyes, you come upon
some old ruins. It is here only that ruins of hundreds of old stone temples and images have been
found."*  **  **  ** "In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Burmese entered Nowgong;
they pillaged all the surrounding country and committed appalling atrocities on the helpless inhabi-
nants. The depopulation of the region round Ḍabokā and the Kapilī valley dates from these disas-
troous times. The final dose was given by the horrifying Kala-azar epidemic, during which people died quietly in thousands. So, what was once a thickly populated and highly civilised country, relapsed mostly into thick forests."

The situation of the Jugijān ruins by the side of a lake, with the Kapilī river on the west and
surrounded by dark hills practically on all sides, answers remarkably well to the description of the
Kapilī country and its capital found in the Chinese sources, which can thus be identified with the
capital of Ḍavāka. This would make it probable that the kingdom continued independent up to
about the middle of the 5th century A.D., when the rising power of the Varmans of Kāmarūpa
must have put an end to its separate existence.

In the Harshacharita, the genealogy of the Varmans of Kāmarūpa begins from Bhūtivarman,
fifth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman, though it is generally the custom to name only three genera-
tions. This probably indicates that he was the person with whom the dynasty began to rise into
importance. The remarkable attempt at Aryanising this frontier land by the settlement of about
three hundred Brahmins of different gōtras in what is at present known as the paryamā of Pañchak-
haṇḍa in the Sylhet District, gives us a glimpse into the activities of this man of zeal; and when
we find his Fisayāmātya Āryaragaṇa founding an ārama on the Badagaṅgā rivulet in the Gupta
year 234 (554 A.D., almost under the shadow of the Mahāmāyā Hill and the Mahāmāyā temple
in the Nowgong District, we at once realise that this intrepid king had taken advantage of the

* Ibid., p. 31.
* Ibid., p. 31.
* Ibid., p. 32.
* Ibid., pp. 16-17.
decline of the Guptas and had made himself emperor of Eastern India by welding together Kāmarūpa, Dāvāka and Samatāya into one empire and had declared his overlordship over them by the performance of an Āśvamedhika sacrifice.

The Topography of the Inscription.—An excellent description of the topography of the place has already been quoted from Mr. Nath’s article. It is only necessary to add a few comments. The rivulet Bādagaṅgā was barely five yards in width in January, when I visited the place. The lake into which Bādagaṅgā is described by Mr. Nath to have widened at the site of the inscription, is nothing more than a pool, barely twenty feet in diameter. The figures of a dvārapāla with a spear and a Hanumān on the left rock spoken of by Mr. Nath appeared to me to be rude representations of a tall female figure stooping and thrusting forward something like a spear, and a half-kneeling man in a fighting attitude, a little below.

The second and the longest line of the inscription is 24" long. The fourth and the shortest is only 7".

The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Single letters are generally about an inch high, but some of the conjunct letters are more than 2" in height. The script is similar to that noticed in the copper plates of the same period found in Bengal. There is little distinction between s and sh, excepting that the former appears to have the right perpendicular stroke a little longer. Ya is replaced by yā (ll. 2 and 3) and once compounded in ṛṛya. In all these places, it has the picturesque form with a wavy tail on the left, represented so well in the first plate of Dharmāditya published by Mr. Pargiter in the Indian Antiquary for 1910. Much discussion has centred round the different forms of y of this period. As a recently discovered plate of Samāchārādēva unexpectedly and uniformly shows only old forms of this letter, the whole question will have to be considered again, when I shall be editing that plate for this journal in the near future. The form of yu in this new rock inscription of Bhūtivarmaṇ will be duly considered in that connection. The superscript r occurs twice, doubling the consonants m and y. Ha appears as a single stroke bent to the left as in the Baigram plate of the time of Kumāragupta.1

The language of the record is correct Sanskrit. The inscription, as it stands, appears rather incomplete. It is hardly a sentence, and in place of the declaratory label—‘This is the Āśrama of Āryaguṇa’, we would have expected the inscription to say that it was Āryaguṇa who built the Āśrama, in that particular month. The word āśrama, it should be noted, is used both in masculine and in neuter genders.

The date of the inscription is very important. In discussing the date of Bhūtivarmaṇ, we should remember that the following is the genealogy from Bhāskara-varman upwards:—

Bhūtivarmaṇ—Vijhāna-grāvati
Chandramukha-varman—Bhōgavati
Śhitavarmaṇ—Nayanaśūbhā
Sushita-varman—Śyāmā-dēvi
Bhāskara-varman (approx. A. D. 590-650).

Let us assume that the kings were all the eldest sons of their parents, born about their 20th year, and assume further that Bhāskara was nearly of the same age as Harsha. Mr. Vaidyā calculated the date of Harsha’s birth as the 4th June, A. D. 590 from the data available in the Harshacharita.2 Professor Yogesh Chandra Roy of Bankura, a reputed astronomer, calculated the date independently for me and he also arrived at the same conclusion. So, if Bhāskara was born about A. D. 590, Sushita was born about A. D. 570, Śhita about A. D. 550, Chandramukha about A. D. 530 and Bhūti about A. D. 510 equivalent to 190 G. E. If Bhūti lived for sixty years and came to the throne at about the thirtieth year of his age, he may be assumed to have ascended

1 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 75 ff.
BADAGANGA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF BHUTIVARMAN

(From photograph)

(From impression)

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
the throne in 220 G. E. With these plausible surmises, let us now approach the figures indicating the date on the Badagaṅga inscription, which cannot but be in the Gupta era. Fortunately, these figures are still very clear on the rock and came out perfectly on all the estampages. The unit is easily recognised as 4. Of the figure for 200, we have only one instance in the Bengal plates, viz., the one in the fifth plate from Damodarpur. Our figure resembles this figure for 200, as well as other figures for this number culled from inscriptions on Bühler's Chart IX, but does not exactly tally. But the figure for 200 on the same chart culled from the Cambridge University Manuscript No. 1049, dated 857 A. D., tallies almost exactly with our figure for 200 and thus lands us on sure ground. Thus we can read the date as 200. A.

In reading the middle figure, we have to choose from the figures for 10, 20, 30, or latest 40. The East Indian figures for 10 and 20 are very distinctive and uniform, and have no resemblance to our figure. Our choice lies, therefore, between 30 and 40. Unfortunately very few instances of 30 or 40 have hitherto been met with in East Indian inscriptions, and Bühler's and Bendall's charts are our main guides for these two figures. It will be seen that a letter resembling modern ḍa is the basis of the figure for 30, and a letter resembling modern pa is the basis of the figure for 40. We can thus decide that our figure is 30 and not 40. Thus the reading 234 G. E. is complete.

Below are given the text and translation of the inscription.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī-paramadaivata-paramabhaṅgavata-mahārājā-
2 dhīrāj-āśvamēdhayājī[ānī] Śrī-Bhūtivarmma[deva]-pādānāṁ [Sam]  
3 200 30 4 ma vishayāmātya-[Āryya]guṇasya
4 idāṁ āśramāṁ

TRANSLATION

Peace! The (month of) Mā[gha]; the year 200 and 30 and 4 of the illustrious Mahārājā-

dhīrāj Bhūtivarma[deva], the devout worshipper of the Dēvas, the devout worshipper of the Lord (Viśnū), the performer of the Āsvamēdha sacrifice. This is the religious retreat of Āryya[guṇa], Minister for State.

Note on the reading:—The proper left portion of the inscription has been worn rather smooth by heat, moisture and rain of about fourteen centuries, and, in the matter of decipherment, even a personal examination improved the reading very little.

In the second line, of the word yājñāṁ, the long vowel and the anusvāra at the end are hardly distinguishable. The expression Bhūtivarmmadēva[pādānāṁ reads like Bhūtivarma[maṣṭapādānāṁ. Probably, the abrasions in the stone are responsible for this curious misguidance. The last letter sam in this line has also to be put in practically conjecturally.

In the third line, the figures for the date are absolutely clear. I have already given my reasons for reading the middle digit as 30. But it is only fair to record here that Dr. D. C. Sircar of Calcutta, as well as Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, are inclined to take the figure as 40. I, however, still think that a ā is the basis for the present figure, which should therefore be read 30. This should be regarded as conclusive in view of the fact that the figure of 30 in the expression Kārtti di 30, occurring at the end of the Soro Plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 202 and plate), where it cannot be regarded as 40, is very similar to the one found in the present inscription.

The name of the vishayāmātya may be Ādyaguṇa and not Āryya[guṇa. Dr. D. C. Sircar of Calcutta suggests Sarmanaguṇa, but the first letter is clearly ā. Fortunately, there is no doubt about the name of the emperor, the mention of his having performed an Āsvamēdha sacrifice and the date. Everything else is of minor importance.
No. 6.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GÖVINDACHANDRA, KING OF VANGA

(2 Plates)

The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Dacca

The Vaṅgāla king Gövindachandra was so long known to us from the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra Chōla.1 Tirumalai is a hill in the North Arcot District, about 96 miles southwest of Madras. "The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill" and it is in the Tamil language. It is dated in the 13th regnal year of the king, which extended from the middle of A.D. 1024 to the middle of A.D. 1025. In this inscription the conquests of Rājendra Chōla are recorded. Among these conquests, we are concerned here with his conquest of East India. As another inscription, of the 9th regnal year, of the king is silent about his expedition to East India, it is generally assumed that this expedition should be dated between his 9th and 13th years, probably immediately before his 13th year. As expeditions are generally undertaken after the cessation of the rains, in October, this expedition is likely to have been undertaken towards the end of A.D. 1023 and extended into A.D. 1024.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Chōla throws interesting light on the political condition of Bengal during the period of the invasion by the Chōla emperor. The invader found one Dharma-pāla ruling over Daṇḍabhikti, roughly the present district of Midnapur. Dakshaṇa-Rājā, i.e., the districts of Howrah and Hooghly, was then ruled by a king of the Śūra family, named Rāpaśūra. After having destroyed the first and defeated the second, the invader appears to have crossed the Bhāgirathī and entered the Vaṅgāla dēsa ruled over by king Gövindachandra. The Vaṅgāla king boldly met the invader. The weather appears to have fought in his favour by some heavy showers, as they find particular mention in the Tirumalai inscription. But nothing availed, and Gövindachandra had ultimately to get down from his royal elephant and flee, when the day went against him. The invader then appears to have turned his arms against Mahipāla I, lord of Varāndri, north of the Ganges. The Pālia army, led by Mahipāla in person, met the Chōla army, and a hot engagement ensued. The Pālia king had slippers on and was bedecked with earrings and bracelets, and as these are specifically mentioned, they must have caught the eyes of the southerners. Mahipāla also shared the same fate as the Vaṅgāla king Gövindachandra, and the invader captured a number of women and elephants. He then recrossed the Pudmā (Ganges) and entered Uttara-Rājā, present Murshidabād and Birhūm Districts, and again reached the banks of the Bhāgirathī and returned home by the very route through which he had advanced.

This was so long our main1 source of information regarding the existence of a king of Vaṅga, called Gövindachandra. Fortunately, two inscribed images came to light in 1941, one of the 12th year and the other of the 23rd year of Gövindachandra. These two inscriptions, discovered from within the limits of ancient Vaṅga, have at last lent welcome confirmation to the Tirumalai inscription and definitely located the region where Gövindachandra reigned at least for twenty-three years.

A. Kulkiḍi sun-god image inscription of the 12th year of the reign of Gövindachandra

On the 2nd May, 1941, Sj. Mukundabhaíri Das, Travelling Agent to the Committee for collection of manuscripts, University of Dacca, sent me information about the existence of an inscribed image of the sun-god at the village of Kulkiḍi, P. S. Gosānlī, Dt. Faridpur. The image was

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2 For exact location of these geographical units, reference may be made to Bhattasali: Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal, J.R.A.S., 1935, pp. 73 ff.
3 There is a reference to king Gövindachandra, probably identical with the king of our inscriptions, in a manuscript of the Šabdanāmīs: Eggeling: India Office Catalogue, Vol. V, pp. 974 ff.
(From a photograph).
secured about seventy years ago by the progenitor of the Guha family of Kulkungi, from a house that was being eroded away on the island of Hātiyā in the mouth of the Meghnā river on the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal. From that time, the image remained with the Guhas of Kulkungi, receiving occasional homely worship. On my representation, the present descendants of the finder of the image, viz. the brothers Sj. Durgamohan Guha, Sj. Harendra Chandra Guha, Sj. Nabaran Chandra Guha and Sj. Nagendra Chandra Guha, presented the image some time ago to the Dacca Museum, where it is housed now.

The image is in black stone and is an excellent specimen of East Indian sculpture of about 1000 A.D. It is an ordinary image of the sun-god. The eleven other Ādityas are represented in miniature on either side within circles of foliage. Six of them are placed on the proper left and five of them on the right, the sixth circle on the right being occupied by a pot-bellied standing figure, holding a lotus by its stalk in the right hand and a kamandalu in the left. Most remarkable are the representations of two horse-women below the sixth circle on either side, shooting sun's rays in the form of shafts to the farthest regions of the universe. Two more standing females are similarly engaged on either side of the pedestal. For an explanation of the other figures in the sculpture, reference may be made to the present writer's Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, pp. 148 ff.

The inscription is in a single line in four sections on the pedestal, just above the seven horses of the sun-god. As the date of Gōvindachandra is known, the characters may confidently be stated to belong to the proto-Bengali type of the early part of the 11th century A.D. The letters are generally 3/10ths of an inch high. Numerals for 1, 2 and 9 occur in the inscription. The language is Sanskrit, so often found in inscribed labels of images.

TEXT

Sec. 1 Śrī-takmī dinakārī Bhaṭṭāraka[h]*
Sec. 2 Śrī-Gōvindachandradēva-pā-
Sec. 3 diya samvat 12 Phālguna
Sec. 4 dinē 19

* The word takmī is rather curious one. A disease called lakman is often found referred to in the Atharvaveda (Books 1, 4, 6, 9, 11 and 19) where hymns against akman are given. The sun-god is the reputed healer of leprosy and other skin diseases, including probably the takman of the Atharvaveda. This image was meant to be the special object of worship of the sufferers from takman, i.e., of the takman and is therefore called the sun-god of the lakman.

* Read dinakārī. It is idle to expect correct grammar in these image-labels, drafted probably by the masons themselves. Prof. Dr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University is inclined to read this line as follows (Bhārata-sarasota, Chaitra, 1348 B.S., p. 397):—
Śrī-lakshmīdīna-kārīta-Bhaṭṭāraka and correct it to:
Śrī-lakshmīdīna-kārīta-Bhaṭṭāraka
holding that the deity is not named in the label but is called simply Bhaṭṭāraka, i.e., the Lord who is stated to have been made or installed by one Lakshmīdīna. Dr. Sircar points to the shape of ḍ in the ligature ḍa in the word Phālguna and argues that the first letter must be read ḍa. I can only say in reply that whatever shape l may have taken in a ligature, an independent ḍ of the period is too distinctive with a wavy left projection to allow any other shape to act for it.

I have to admit, however, that the word dinakārī has to be corrected as dinakārī and even then the word is not a happy word as a name of the sun-god, the usual word being dinakara. But the verbal form of kri is even now often used as wijana in Bengal; and as already stated, it is idle to expect correct Sanskrit in these masons' labels. [Dr. Sircar's reading and rendering appear to be more accurate. It may be added that in the present instance possibly the term bhājāraka itself denotes 'the sun-god'. This is supported by lexicon. The name of the donor Lakshmīdīna is equal to Lakshmīdatu: dinā-Pāli dinā=Skt. datta.—Ed.]

* There was no space for a visamps after the word Bhaṭṭāraka, which is probably the reason for the omission. [It may, however, be observed that the same word in the other inscription has no visamps either.—Ed.]
TRANSLATION

The (image of) the maker of the day, the God of the persons afflicted with the (skin disease) takman. The year 12 is of the exalted Gòvindachandrādēva. The 19th day of Phālguna.¹

B. Betkā Vāsudēva image inscription of the 23rd year of Govindachandra

In the village of Pāikpāra and in the adjacent village of Betkā, P. S. Taṅgivādi, Dr. Dacca, there live from time immemorial, flourishing families of the betel-leaf cultivators, the class being generally known as the Bārai or the Bārajī. They form a distinct class throughout Bengal and the lucrative profession of cultivating and selling betel leaves has made the class well-to-do, industrious, united, self-respecting, religious and peaceful. They are mostly worshippers of Vishnu.

A beautiful image of Vishnu or Vāsudēva in black stone came out about three years ago, when re-excavating an old tank on the northern extremity of the village of Betkā, just on the border of Pāikpāra. On all sides of the tank are the habitations of the Bārais. The finders presented the image to an establishment in the village of Āṭūsāhi, three miles south, called Palli-Kalāgā-Aśrama, manufacturingkhādi and hand-made paper, and affiliated to the All-India Spinners' Association. The image has been established there as the presiding deity of the Aśrama, but it is not worshipped.

The image is about 4' in height and must be pronounced to be a very pleasing piece of sculpture and a fine specimen of the art of the Bengal sculptor. It is just an ordinary image of Vishnu with conical tiara adorned by the kirttimukha, and it has little to distinguish it from countless such images found throughout Bengal and dating from A.D. 1000 to 1200. Only the miniature figures of Sakhayapurusha and Chakrapurusha at either end of the pedestal are indications that the image is a fairly early piece of sculpture. The fact that the style represented by these conical-crowned profusely decorated soft-featured sculptures in black stone of the Rājmahal Hills began even earlier than the period of Gòvindachandra is amply demonstrated by these two inscribed images of the reign of Gòvindachandra, king of Vaṅga.

The inscription is in four lines, each line being made up of three sections, with the exception of the fourth line, which is finished in a single section. The letters are half-an-inch high and look like the hand-writing of a man who could boast of nothing more than literacy. The Kulkudi inscription shows a better hand. The two inscriptions hailing from the same kingdom and belonging to the reign of the same king and only eleven years apart in point of time offer, however, very marked contrast in the shape of the letters. How unsafe a guide paleography may become, if one has to depend on casual inscriptions like the present ones, is fully demonstrated by these two inscriptions. Particular attention may be drawn to the shape of 1 in the two inscriptions, which would appear to be wide apart in point of age.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. As already remarked in the case of the Kulkudi inscription, it is idle to expect correct grammar in these masons' and half-literate donors' labels.

The purport of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of the Lord Vāsudēva by one Gaṅgadāsa, son of the deceased Pāradāsa, Bārajika (i.e., Bārajī) by caste, in the 23rd year of Gòvindachandra. The mention of the caste of the donor as Bārajika shows that the present-day nomenclature of the class as Bārai is derived from the word Bārajīka; and the word Bārajī by which name the more educated among the class like to call themselves, is a modern

¹ [The alternative translation of the first line would be: 1' "This is the image of the sun-god, caused to be made by the illustrious Lakṣmīdhīna."—Ed.)]
and incorrect innovation. As already mentioned, the tank from which the image was recovered, is surrounded on all sides by the habitations of the Bārais or betel-leaf planters. In all probability the image was installed by a remote ancestor of one of these families; but no memory or tradition of the event has survived.

Numerals 2 and 3 occur in the inscription. 2 is formed by two loops and an intervening angle. 3 is formed by three loops and two intervening angles. The figure for 2 in this inscription is in marked contrast to the same figure in the previous inscription.

The inscription and the image were first brought to the notice of the learned world by Mr. Jogendra Nath Gupta, editor of the Śisubhāratī and author of the History of Vikrampur. Dr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University published the inscription in a long article in the Bengali Journal—Bhāratavarsha for Jyaistha, 1348 B.S., pp. 769 ff., from estampages and photographs supplied by Mr. Gupta. Dr. Sircar read the important word Bālajika as Rālajika and thus missed a thousand years old important reference to this interesting caste of Bengal.

I edit the inscription from estampages and photographs taken by myself.

TEXT

1 Śrīmad-Gō'| vindacha| ndrasya samvat 23
2 Bālajika-uj parata-Pā| radāsa-suta[h]
3 Gaṅgadā| sa-kārita-Vā| sudēva-
4 Bhājāraka[h]

TRANSLATION

The 23rd year of the illustrious Gōvinda chandra. (This image of) the Lord Vāsusēva was caused to be made by Gaṅgadāsa, the Bālajika, son of the deceased Paradāsa.

No. 7.—SAKRAI STONE INSCRIPTION; V. S. 699

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHABRA, OUDACAMUND

Sakrāi is a village in the Śēkhāvāṭī province of the Jaipur State in Rājputāna, fourteen miles north-west of Khandēlā. This latter place, in its turn, is twelve miles north-west of Sri Madhopur, a railway station on the Rewari-Phulera section of the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway. Sakrāi is a sacred place for the Hindus, reputed for its temple of the goddess Śākambhari on the bank of the rivulet called Šarkārā, which is supposed to be the origin of the name of the village. The stone, bearing the inscription edited here, is said to be stuck in a corridor wall of the front entrance to the temple. The inscription was noticed as early as 1909 by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona.²

The inscribed surface of the stone measures 3' 1" broad by 6' 4" high. The inscription consists of seven lines. The engraving has been very well executed. The letters have been treated ornamentally. The graceful flourishes of the śrōmadraś are conspicuous to the eye throughout.

¹ Read Bālajika-śrōmarata and etc.
² Inscription No. 2517, Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1910, pp. 12, 28 and 56-7. Again, it is No. 23 of Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India. The date given by him is V.S. 879; but more probably it is V.S. 699, as is sought to be made out in the present paper. See below, pp. 29-31.
The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They bear a striking resemblance to those of the Madhuban plate of Harsha\(^1\) and, in a lesser degree, also to those of the Kudākōt stone inscription.\(^2\) This resemblance is a significant point inasmuch as it has a great bearing on the question of the date of the present inscription to be discussed below. Prof. Kielhorn's remarks regarding the palaeography of the Madhuban plate generally hold good in the case of our record as well. Still it may not be out of place here to draw attention to some of the outstanding characteristics of the script. The form of \(v\), for instance, may easily be confused with that of \(l\), as may be illustrated by vidalita-dvēṣhīna=Chauḍiōpāṇāb and -nil-ōṭpa-ōbhī mukta-maṭī, I. 2. A medial \(ā\) is usually expressed by a prīśhāmātṛā. In a few instances, however, it is denoted by a sīrōmātṛā, which, like medial \(i\), \(ī\), \(ē\), etc., is ornamentally treated, as may be seen in chāē-pariṇādmābhī, I. 2. A superscript \(r\) occasionally occurs on the line, while generally it is placed above the line. The two varieties are typified in Gārgī pārāśrū, I. 4. The sign for \(jh\), which is of rare occurrence, is met with in jhaṇākārītām, I. 1. The forms of jā in pūjā, I. 2; of jā in saṃjñākārī, I. 3; of stha in atyaśthām, I. 5; and of stha in -sthālām, I. 1, are equally noteworthy.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Its composition is in verse, except for a few words expressing the date, at the end. As regards orthography, the following points deserve notice. A \(b\) is expressed throughout by the sign for \(v\), except in Maṇḍubākā, I. 6. An anusvāra occasionally takes the place of a class nasal, as in raṃajñāk, I. 2. Conversely, it is substituted by \(n\) in the word naṃśo, II, 3, 4 and 5. A consonant after \(r\) is usually 'lengthened' or reduplicated, as in Maṭhysapattar-ṃukham, I. 1. Viṣṇuṇa is changed to upadhūmāṇya in -talōyāḥ prābhāsāk, I. 1. An anusvāra at the end of a verse or a half-verse is retained as such, and not reverted to \(m\) as it should. In evapik-Chhivāś, I. 6, we have a wrong sandhi, and in mahād-dvālī, I. 6, an irregular samāna. Phonetically, the syncopated forms ujale, I. 3, sate, I. 5, -odyāta, I. 1, and -Odyātana], I. 6, are worthy of note. Such forms, with one of the twin consonants omitted, are recognized by certain lexicographers as correct. The forms udhyāta and Udyātana can, in fact, be justified by supposing a different derivation. The syncopation of one \(t\) in prāpnotvayarthā, I. 5, is, on the other hand, very misleading. It may prima facie be taken for prāpnot + atyartha, whereas in reality it is to be construed as prāpnot + tu + atyarthām, as required by the context. Anandītana for anindītana, I. 6, is obviously a slip on the part of the scribe.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a maṭhāpā in front of the goddess Śāṅkara by an association or a committee, composed of eleven members, all of whom were bankers. Their names, parentage, etc., are given in the inscription and appear below, arranged in a tabular form.

The expression suṛāṃbh maṭhāp-ottamaḥ, 'excellent pavilion of gods', leads one to think that the pavilion was intended to receive images of various secondary deities by the side of the principal divinity that was Śāṅkarādēvi. And the fact that eleven different members of a wealthy community jointly put up that structure warrants, as it were, that it was not a mean addition to the temple of Śāṅkarādēvi. Possibly what was dedicated by the śrēṣṭhīnus was not a bare pavilion, but a pavilion cum images of various gods, each properly installed in its respective niche. However, such details as these can no longer be verified; for, according to Dr. Bhandarkar’s report on the temple in question, very little of the original structures now survives.\(^4\)

In his report just referred to, Dr. Bhandarkar has expressed the opinion that the village of Sākrā is named after the rivulet called Šārkā. And this view has been cited in the opening paragraph of this essay, too. Dr. Bhandarkar, who personally inspected the site, must have good...
reason for such a belief. Nevertheless, considering the similarity in sound, one is tempted to ask oneself if both the rivulet and the village are not named after the goddess Śaṅkarā, mentioned in the present inscription. Dr. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out that Śaṅkarā ‘no doubt, appears to be the correct and original name of the goddess, and not Śākambhari by which she is at present known.’

Dr. Bhandarkar’s observations with regard to the caste of some of the members of the bankers’ association as well as to the invocatory stanzas of the inscription are based on the information locally gathered and are hence very valuable. They are, therefore, quoted here in full. “One of the gōuhīkatas, i.e., members of the temple supervision committee, was the Śrēśthi Maṇḍana of the Dhūsara family. The surname Dhūsara is still well-known in the Jaipur State, but persons bearing this surname call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas, though they are suspected by the people to have been originally banias. But the popular suspicion, I think, is shown to be a fact by our inscription, for Maṇḍana Dhūsara is called a Śrēśthi, i.e., Sēṣ or Sēṭ, which title is borne by none but the bania class. Another gōuhīka of the temple was the Śrēśthi Garga of the Dharkaṭa family. I have shewn elsewhere that the name Dharkaṭa has survived in the slightly altered form Dhākud, a sub-division of the Osvāls. Curiously enough, the initial portion of this inscription is also worth pondering over. It invokes the blessings of three deities, first of Gaṇapati, next of Chaṇḍikā, and lastly of Dhamada, i.e., Kubēra. It is worthy of note that here Chaṇḍikā is placed between Gaṇapati and Kubēra, and no doubt reminds one of the figures on the pedestal of the shrine of Piplād mūtā in Osia. Of these last the central figure is that of Mahishāsuramardini, a form of Chaṇḍikā, and she is flanked by Kubēra and Gaṇapati on the right and left respectively. When I was at the temple in Sakrāi, I was not allowed to go into the shrine and inspect the images, which are well-nigh concealed under garments, but I was simply told that the goddess was Mahishāsuramardini, and had none by her sides.”

The following is the table, showing the donors’ names, parentage, etc.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Donor’s Father</th>
<th>Donor’s Grandfather</th>
<th>Donor’s Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maṇḍana</td>
<td>Rāma</td>
<td>Yāsōvardhana</td>
<td>Dhūsara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Garga</td>
<td>Mādvana</td>
<td>Maṇḍana</td>
<td>Dharkaṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gaṇāḍītya</td>
<td>Vardhana</td>
<td>Bhaṭṭīyaka</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dēvalla</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Śīva</td>
<td>Tāṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Śaṅkara</td>
<td>Vahṇuvāka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Maṇḍubāka</td>
<td>Ādityavardhana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ādityanāga</td>
<td>Vöḍḍa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bhadrā</td>
<td>Naddhaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Udyōtana</td>
<td>Jēṇlla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Śaṅkara</td>
<td>Śōndhaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The record is dated. However, in the absence of full details, the given date cannot be verified. The year is expressed only by numerical symbols, which Dr. Bhandarkar has read as 879.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., pp. 56-7.
He is, however, not sure of this reading, for he adds: "The reading of the first cipher of the date, viz., 8, is certain, but I am by no means sure regarding the two following ciphers, as they are entirely new and not known to us from previous records." The reading of the year as 879 is thus only tentative. The mention of the month as deer-Aṣṭāḍha indeed provides a very helpful clue, which, though does not finally decide the issue, at least minimises the guesswork in interpreting the ciphers concerned for the simple reason that the occurrence of a particular month as intercalary in a certain year is extremely restricted. We have thus to see that the year of the inscription must have Aṣṭāḍha as an intercalary month. Dr. Bhandarkar has no doubt considered this point, for, the year 879, as tentatively read by him, does fulfil the condition. It goes without saying that the year in question, be it read as 879 or differently, refers itself to the Vikrama era.

There is thus apparently nothing inconsistent with the reading 879. Nevertheless, there is one glaring discrepancy which would compel its rejection. We have already noticed how the script of the present epigraph bears a close resemblance to that of the Madhuban plate on the one hand and to that of the Kudārkot stone inscription on the other. The date of the first of these two records is the year 25 of the Harsha era, equal to A. D. 630-1, while the second has been assigned, on more or less equally sure grounds, to about the latter half of the seventh century A. D. Now, if the similarity of script is not to be taken lightly, we cannot afford to assign our record to the first half of the ninth century, or to A. D. 822 to be precise, which would be equivalent to V. S. 879. That would remove it from the other two by close on two hundred years in point of time. And, palaeographically speaking, that is an impossibility.

To reconcile this discrepancy, we have to see if a different reading of the date is possible. According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the first of the three symbols definitely stands for 8, whereas a comparison of various numerical signs occurring in some of the early inscriptions will show that the one in question represents 6 rather than 8. It may readily be recognised that the disputed symbol, in its formation, approximates to the sign for the letter ḍhā or simply ḍhā. One of the Nāgarjunankonda inscriptions illustrates the fact that there is very little difference between the forms of the signs for 6 and 8. It shows that if the sign for 6 resembled ḍhā, that for 8 was similar to mere ḍ. Both the signs occur there side by side and the value of each is indicated in words as well. The relevant passage reads: saṃccharaṇaḥ añāra saṃ 10 8 hemanita-pahān chhāthān 6. A more developed form of the symbol for 6, clearly to be read as ḍhā, is met with in the Kūmrāti plates of Čandavarmān. The symbol in question thus undoubtedly stands for 6 and not for 8.

The last or the third symbol, which in shape resembles the peculiar sign for the mute ṭ, occurring in the very word saṃcchā, no doubt denotes 9, as read by Dr. Bhandarkar. This form of the integer 9 is indeed rare, but instances of its use in early inscriptions are not wanting.

The middle or the second symbol, read by Dr. Bhandarkar as 7, curiously enough also stands for 9. It appears strange indeed that two dissimilar signs should have been used for one and the same integer, 9. We may, however, recall that even to this day the Nāgarī script has two different symbols for 9, which are used indiscriminately. Our inscription thus provides perhaps the earliest instance of the precursors of the present-day two dissimilar signs for that integer, used side by side. The sign for 9 used in the Kūrtīlālī stone inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja is essentially the same as found in our inscription, the central of the three figures in both the cases. Another instance where

1 PRASIWO, for the year ending 31st March 1910, p. 58.
2 Above, Vol. XX, p. 21 and plate, text l. 2.
4 For example, see above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 334, text l. 22; Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96, text l. 21; Vol. I, plate facing p. 160, text l. 1; etc.
the two dissimilar signs for 9 are likewise used is afforded by the Kāman stone inscription. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, the editor of this last record, has noticed the peculiarity and cited some more analogous instances.

In this way, we now arrive at the reading: Samvat 629 deir-Āśādha iṣi ti... V. S. 699 is equal to A. D. 642-3, and that would be quite compatible with the palaeographical data. Our inscription would thus be later by about a decade than the Madhuban plate and earlier by about a decade than the Kudārko inscription.

Now, what remains to be verified is whether there was an intercalary Āśādha in V. S. 699. A reference to the tables given for such verifications in Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris will show that A. D. 643 did have an intercalary Āśādha. A slight hitch may be felt inasmuch as A. D. 643 works out to be V. S. 700, whereas our inscription has V. S. 699. This can be overcome by the assumption, a very natural one in the present case, that the year referred to in the inscription is Kāṛṭtiḍā. This means that the Āśādha of the Kāṛṭtiḍā V. S. 699 is the same as the Āśādha of the Chaitrāḍā V. S. 700. And that squares with the given date.

It may now be said that our inscription furnishes instances of the numerals 6 and 9, and that for the latter it gives two dissimilar signs. It may further be pointed out that our inscription is among the earliest to adopt the more advanced system of decimal notation. The older inscriptions, it is well known, have the primitive mode of employing distinct symbols for units, tens, hundreds, etc.

**TEXT**

[Metres: v. 1 Prīthi; v. 2 Sṛggharā; v. 3 Mālini; vv. 4, 5 Śārdula-vikriṣṭa; vv. 6, 8-14 Amaṣṭṭub; v. 7 Upajāti of Sālinī & Vaiṣṇava.]

1 Om  
Nyṛtyantyāṁśa-aṅgaraharau  

2 bhīṃ-āndkārāḥ | yē ili-śāvālmat-āgrā vidadhāti vitat-āṃbhāja-pūjā ṭvāaḥāa= āāsā= tē hastāā =  
sampadānam vo dadaantu vidālo-viśeṣiṣṭāṁ Chaṇḍi-kīyāḥ || [2 3]  
Madhu-mada-janu-drisṭiḥ śpāṣṭa-nil-ṭpal-ābhō mukuta-maṇi-mayākhaś ramjī(ramjī)ta pīta-vāsāḥ[ḥ] ||  
jaladhāra iva viśeṣyati-chākṛa-chāp-āṇuvvidhō bhavatv Dhanadā-  

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 334, text 1. 22. Another date, namely the year 229, given in l. 13 of this inscription, provides a clearer instance of the sign for 9 under discussion.

2 Ibid., p. 331, n. 2.

3 The conclusion arrived at here is corroborated by the two inscriptions from Jāhārāpātan (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 180-3, with plate), one of which is dated Samvat 746. Their characters are more ornamental than those of our inscription (which circumstance is explained by their being later than half a century), but are essentially of the same type. Another record, exhibiting this ornamental variety of alphabet (though somewhat earlier in date as warranted by the tripartite form of y), is the Benares inscription of Panha (above, Vol. IX, pp. 59-62, with plate).


5 From an inked estampage.

6 Expressed by a symbol.

7 This cannot readily be recognized on account of a superfluous stroke attached to the upper left side of the letter.

8 The t-stroke of this mē, which is of the sirmatra type, has not come out clearly on the impression.

9 The ṣ-stroke of this dī is likewise not visible on the estampage. The correct form of the word should be uḍḍaṭa. The form uḍḍaṭa can also be right, but in that case the root would be uḍṭa and not uḍāsta, unless it be assumed that, on the analogy of such forms as uṛṣṭa and asūta, which occur in the present inscription itself, l. 3 and l. 6 respectively, one of the two d’s has been omitted in uḍḍaṭa. These remarks apply also to the name Uḍḍāṭa, that occurs below, ii. 6-7.
3 námá vṛddhidō váḥ sاعkashah || [3] || Āśūḥ=dharma-parāyaṇaḥ=tinahati prōdāmā-kirtya-
ujāvajjāyāvānāḥ Dhūsara-samañjākā guṇavāti khyātā Yāsāvarddhanaḥ ||
yāsy=āstākhihā-dōcha unnatta-bhujāḥ putrō=bhavat=satya-vāg=Rāmaḥ śṛṣṭi-
varāh va(ha)hūvaḥ cha yataḥ śṛṣṭiḥ suhātō Maṇḍanaḥ || [4] || Āśīcḥ=ch=śahahina' prakāśa-rāvasi śrīna-

ty=uddārē ścana vānāya(vanāya) Dharkkaṭa-nāmanā prati-dinaḥ Śakra-ardhī-visparādhanī ||
ucchair=maṇḍīliyam=ādārān=niya-kulaṁ yēn=ōdāyaṁ gacchhata śṛṣṭhi Ma-
ṇālā-nāmakas=saṃbhavah=chhrēśṭhi yatō Maṇḍanaḥ || [5] || Tasya=āpp=ahūṭ
=stutal śṛṣṭhi Gṛggō dharma-parāyaṇaḥ ||
kuṇāḥ śīla-sampūrṇaḥ=satatāḥ priya-dārśanaḥ || [6] || śṛṣṭhiḥ Maṇḍa-

yau śṛṣṭhihvaṁ satva-satcītāvānām samyak-kuruṁvānaṁ nītvantaṁ samāptī
t(tptō) || [7] || Tathā Bhātiyakaṁ=ch=āśīl=| vanī=Dharkkaṭa-vunās(vanās)ah̄
= sūnas=tasyā=āpp=ahūṭ=āḥīmān=Varddhanaḥ khyāta-sad-guṇaḥ || [8] ||
Tasya putra mahātmānaḥ satya-sauch-ārjīvāvān ταυ ταυ(ḥa)bhūvatū=gośya-

dītā-Dēvāll-ākhyāvā=ana(mj)janaṁ || [9] || Tathā vanīkēdhā(Ś)yaḥ vās=ch=āśīt=Tattā-
putrō jīt-ēndiyah | Śaṅkṛō Vaiṣṇavākṣyaṁ tathā-āśīt-tanāyāḥ śeṣīḥ || [10] || Ṛdī-
tyavarddhana-suhō Maṇḍubākṣaḥ=bhavat=suddiḥ ||
Vṛddhāsī=Ṛdīyanāg-ākhyāḥ putra āśīn=mahād(ha)dyntiḥ || [11] ||
Bhadrākhyō Naddhākasya=ābhūṭ=putrō
camatīṁ āvaṁ vṛtāḥ | tath=ōdyō-

āśīd=kalamāḥ | śaśrūṣā=āśaṁya-manasā putrīṁ=ōy=āśaṁ̄krīt-kr̄t̄a || [13] ||
Tāra=ayaṁ gāshtikāṁ=bhūtvā surāyāṁ maṇḍap-ūtamaḥ | kāraṁ Śaṅkarādevyaṁ
purātaṁ puṇya-vṛddhavīc || [14] || Saṁvāt 699 dvīr-Āśādhaśu dhī-

TRANSLATION

Om!

V. 1. May the face of Mahāgānapati, radiant with the (golden) dust diffused from the (mount) Sumērū by his pounding at it with his jingling tusk, resplendent with the (humming of the) bees exhilarated by the ichor which (to them) is a fragrant wine, with its temples pierced by the din of numerous war drums, bestow many blessings on you.\(^6\)

V. 2. May those hands of Čandaṅkā—dancing with (proper) gestulation, having thoroughly agitated the earth by the weight of her feet, (and) having dispelled the darkness by the flashes of her nails glittering in the night bereft of moonlight—, that have annihilated the foes (and) that, with the palms sportively tossed up, make the quarters appear to be extending offerings of lotus-flowers, shower prosperity on you!

V. 3. May the principal yakṣa, Dhanada by name, of the hue of fully expanded blue waterlily, with his eyes producing spiritual intoxication, iridescent with the rays (emanating) from the jewels in his diadem, having a yellow robe on (thus), resembling the cloud interspersed with lightning and rainbow, confer affluence on you!

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1 The right word would be annā. The writer has evidently taken the word anna as a noun in the sense of purity, (as saṃsa=annam), and from that derived the adjective annāli, 'pure'. The neuterish exigency must have been responsible for this round-about expression.

2 The intended reading seems to be pūrṇat=te=atgarāman. The elision of one of the two r's before s may be explained in the light of the form sutaḥ for sūtraḥ, as noticed above.

3 The syllable dō looks more like dōṣi.

4 See above, p. 31, n. 2.

5 The god being Gaṁdāna, 'Elephant-faced,' the description naturally applies to an elephant-head.
V. 4. In the pious, prominent, farfamed, pure (and) virtuous family, called Dhūsara, there was the celebrated Yaśovaridana, whose son was Rāma, the foremost banker, free of all blemishes, strong-armed (and), true to his word, from whom in turn came his son, the banker Maṇḍana.

V. 5. And in the spotless, glorious, rich, liberal (and) chaste family, called Dharkaṭa, whose wealth constantly vied with that of (the god) Indra, there was a banker, Maṇḍana by name, who, while attaining (to the acme of) prosperity, out of respect, highly adorned his own community, (and) from whom was (born) the banker Madana.

V. 6. Again, his son was the banker Garga, pious, noble, modest (and) always pleasant-looking.

V. 7. The pre-eminent banker, called Maṇḍana, acquired immense wealth and so did also the one named Garga, both of whom, showing great compassion towards all beings, carried bankership to perfection.

V. 8. Likewise there was also a merchant, (called) Bhaṭṭiyaka, born of the (same) Dharkaṭa family. He, too, had a son, (named) Vardhana, who was prudent (and) whose good qualities were well-known.

V. 9. He had two sons, Gaṇāditya and Devālā by name, who were magnanimous, flawless (and) endowed with truthfulness, honesty and straightforwardness.

V. 10. Similarly there was also a merchant, (called) Śiva, Tatta’s son, who had his senses controlled. And there was (another, named) Śaṅkara Vishṇuvāka’s son, who was honest.

V. 11. And then there was Ādityavaridhana’s son, the wise Maṇḍubāka. There was Vōda’s son, called Ādityanāga who was very energetic.

V. 12. There was Naddhaka’s son, called Bhadra who was the best among the intellectual. Likewise there was Jeūla’s son, Udōṭana by name.

V. 13. There was Śaṅkara, son of one Śoṇdhaka, who was flawless (and) who had ever and non devoted himself wholeheartedly to the service of his parents.

V. 14. It was they who, having formed an association (lit. having become associates), have caused this excellent pavilion of gods to be constructed in front of the goddess Śaṅkarā for the increase of their religious merit.

In the year 699, the ... day of the bright half of (the month of) the second (lit. twice) Ṭaḍāṭha.

No. 8.—BOBBILI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA; YEAR 4

(I Plate)

R. K. GHOSH, CALCUTTA

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were received in the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from Mr. Sivaramadas, an inhabitant of Bobbili in the Vizagapatam District of Madras, through the Thamesdor of that place. The plates which have since been presented by Mr. Sivaramadas to Government, are now deposited in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Only short notices of the plates have appeared till now. I edit the inscription for the first time from a set of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are three plates of copper with plain edges, measuring 6 1/4" by 2 1/2". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a ring-hole, 3" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper ring, 2 3/4" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to an elliptical seal measuring 1 1/4" by 3 1/4". The seal bears, in a rectangular incuse, the legend Pitrī(три)bhaktah in the same alphabet as that of the plates.


XVI-I-1
The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The first and the third plates are
inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one bears writing on both of its sides. Each
of the plates has five lines of inscription apiece, the whole record thus running into twenty lines.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They resemble those of the
Kōmarti plates of Chandravarma,3 the Brihatprōshṭha grant of Umavarman4 and the Jirīngi
plates5 of Indravarman, and present almost identical features. Coming to some of the specific
details, we may notice the following: (1) initial a occurs in apī (l. 13); (2) initial ā in ākāśēptā
(l. 18); (3) final m which is ticked at the top and is invariably engraved in a smaller size, is
found in Bṛāhmaṇānām (l. 7) – sabrahmacāra (l. 8), karitvayam (l. 9), aṇumṛti (l. 10),
avuṣṇatām and dānam (l. 12).

The numerical symbols for 2, 4 and 5 occur in the date which is given in l. 20.

As regards orthography, it is to be noticed that consonants are doubled in conjunction
with a superscript r, the sole exception being in ārṣa in l. 4; ḍh has been doubled before y in
śvadhyāya (l. 1); the anusvāra has been changed into a guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant
in shaṭ-ṛ(ṛ)ṣad- (l. 5); and anusvāra has been substituted for final m in phalaṁ (l. 15) and
gaṇḍadānaṁ (l. 17).

The language is Sanskrit. There are some unintelligible expressions such as sanāgraṇh
(l. 6) and budeshaṇe (l. 14). The form chaṇḍiṇa in l. 20 is also interesting. With the exception
of three of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription belongs to Mahārāja Chandravarman, king of Kaliṅga. It records a gift
of the village of Tirithāna, to an unspecified body of Brahmans belonging to various (un-
specified) gotra. The village was constituted into a permanent free-hold agrahāra called
Tirithāṇa-vatāk-āgrahāra and the income derived from it was earmarked solely for
the maintenance of the Brahmans settlement in the village. The grant was entirely tax-free and
was to be binding upon all persons living in the village, who were further directed to make over
all that came out of the soil in the shape of crops or valuable minerals such as gold to the donees.

The charter was written by the Deśikāvapaladhikrita Rudradatta, son of Mātriṇa.

The date was the fifth day of the second fortnight of the summer in Year 4.

What, however, is of supreme importance in the Bobbili inscription is also somewhat confusing
on the face of it. There is a striking affinity of this record with the Brihatprōshṭha grant of
Umavarman in respect of the style of writing, the script and an identical set of phraseology and
also perhaps of some kinship between their donors. All this, however, may be wholly superficial
or just strikingly co- incidental. In any case, there seems to be no real objection in taking the
Chandravarmas of the Bobbili and the Kōmarti plates as one and the same person.6

Chandravarma, as I have already suggested7 was one of those chiefs of an as yet uncertain
lineage who flourished in ancient Kaliṅga.

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1 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142-145 and plates.
2 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 281-288 and plates.
4 See above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133, n. 4.
5 Dr. R. Hultzsch's attempt to appropriate Chandravarma (Kaliṅgādikpati) to the Śāleśkāyana royal stock
has been opposed by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari (An. Rep. S. I. E., 1934-35, p. 51) and by Dr. D. C. Sircar (The
6 Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari expresses a different opinion on this point (An. Rep. S. I. E., 1934-35, p. 51,
Of the localities mentioned, Simhapura occurs fairly frequently in early inscriptions from Kalinga. It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultsch with modern Sīngapuram lying between Chicasole and Narasannapeta. I am unable to identify the village of Tirithāṇa.

Palaeographically, the Bobbili inscription, like other early inscriptions from Kalinga, is to be referred to the first half of the 5th century A.D. The Year 4 mentioned is apparently regnal.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 Ōm Śvasti ||[\*]|| Vijaya-Simha-purā[ṃ]-paramahādāvakata[h] pitṛ-pād-anuddhyāta[h]

2 Kaliṅg-ādhipati-ṛi-mahārājā[ṃ]-Chanda-varammā Tiritthaṇa-grāmē sarvva-

3 samavētān-kuṭumbināḥ[nō] bhūjakā[ṃ]-sa samajāpayaty=usty=ēshō(sha) grāṃ[ō]=

4 smābhīr-śāmanāḥ[ḥ] puny-āyur-yyāsāsām-abhīviddhaye [ā]-samud[r-ādṛi(dri)-āśi(si)]-

5 tārak-ārka-

6 pratiśthahān-agrahārāṃ kṛtivā sarvva-kara-parihāra-iṣa-cha parihṛṣṭya śaḥ-ṛūṣā(ṛi)-

Second Plate: First Side

6 d-agrahārā-sāmānyāḥ-ch-agrahārā[h] pradēya[mū] sāmba(mva)tsārikāḥ sanāgrahāḥ

7 satabhū(bhū)

8 yaś-ch-āsām-ch-ōpanishadhyāya T[l]iritthaṇa-vatāk-agrahārā-brāhmaṇānām

9 nāśa-ga(ga)tra-sabrahamachāriṇām samprattāḥ[ṃ] tad-ēvah jñāvā

10 yushmāhūḥ pūrva-ōchita-maryādayā sarv-ōpasthāna[ṃ] karttavyam

11 mēya-hirany-[a]dyāḥ-ch-ōpaneyam [ṃ] bhavishyataḥ-cha rājñō

Second Plate: Second Side

11 vijā̄ma(pa)yāmi[m] dharmma-krama-vikramāṇām-anvata-yogā-

12 d-svāpya māhā-ānusāsatām pravrittakam-idan-dānam

13 sad-dharmam-anupāsyadhrīh-ēshō-grahāmāṇupāya[a] api ch-ātra

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2 Above, Vol. IV, p. 143; Vol. XII, p. 4.

3 [This may be identified with the Zamindari village Tiridā in the Kutchala taluk, Ganjam Dist.—O. R. K.]

4 From ink-impressions.

5 Expressed by a symbol.

6 It is clearly ādha, the right limb of which being damaged gives a false look of ghā. [The original reads 'aghā.

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7 Also occurs in Bṛhatprābhāṣā grant of Umasvarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 5, text line 6). Dr. E. Hultsch (ibid., p. 6) gives only "Thirty-six Agrahārs" and leaves it without further comment. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari suggests (Ann. Rep. S. I. Epigraphy, 1934-35, p. 31) a vague, "thirty-six agrahāras (of the kingslist)."

8 It is however very probable that this highly technical expression has not yielded fully to scientific analysis. I may, incidentally, draw attention to a very interesting Bengali fiscal term, vīc, ċhāṭrī-āṣaṇā "thirty-six maunas", which passes as a convenient and popular synonym for entire zamindary estates.

9 Can the intended reading be suhāram? [The intended reading is probably pāṇḍu trināṣa for pāṇḍu trināṣa.

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10 Read =ōpanisadhyāṃ. The earliest epigraphic allusion to any system of registration of land or property can be traced back to some of the ancient cave-inscriptions of Sāvatthāna and Kabhārāta kings from Kārā and Nāsik. Cf. e.g., nikābhāṇa, above, Vol. VII, p. 61, line 5; also p. 63; Vol. VIII, p. 65 No. 3, l. 14, p. 70; p. 71; No. 4, I, 5; nīkābhāṇa, ibid., p. 73, l. 11, etc.

11 Read =agrahārī-ṇupāyaḥ.
14 Vyāsa-gitiṁ(tān) slokān-udāharantīh(nti) [**] 1Bahubhir-buddhaṁvṛt dattā vasudhā
15 [va]sudhādhipaṁ [**] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tada(dā) phalaṁ(lam) [ll][**]

Third Plate
16 [Sva-da]jātām-para-dattām bā⁴ yatnād-rakshaśaṇa⁴ Yudhishthīra [**] mah[ī]n-[ma](m-ma]-
himātāṁ śrīśaṅgha
17 [dānāch-chhrvṛtv]-nupālanaṁ(nam) [**2[**] Shaaśṭiṁ varsha-sahasraṁ svarggō vasati bhū-
18 mida[h] [**] ākṣheṇā ca-ānumantā cha tāny-eva paraśka vasaḍit-iṭi
19 svayam-ajñāpanā [**] dēśākṣaphaṭalādhiṁkṛtēṇa Mātrivarasya
20 sūnā Rudradattēṇa likhitam-itih(itī) [**] Samvatsaraṁ chaṭṭama 4 Grishma
2 di 5 [**]  

TRANSLATION

(L. 1. 1-10.) Ōū Hail! From the victorious Simhapura, the glorious Mahārāja Chandavaran-
man, the Lord of Kalṅga (Kalṅgādhipati),—who is a devout worshipper of the Lord and who is
devoted to the feet of his father—commands the householders and tenants (bhūjakas) en masse at
the village of Tirithāṅa (to the following effect):

"This village has been conferred by Us for the purpose of increasing (Our) own religious merit,
life and fame,—having made (ūt) into an agrahāra which is to exist as long as the oceans, the
mountains, the moon and the stars, after having exempted it from all taxes (and) having joined it
to the thirty-six agrahāras (i.e., the kingdom). (The gift), being (further) fully and perpetually
registered, accrues to the Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras (living at) Tirithāṅa-vatāk-āgrahāra.⁴
—So having known this (fact), you should respect and serve (all those Brāhmaṇas that settle in this
village) as heretofore; you should also make over (to them) all that is measurable (mēya, i.e.,
grains), gold, etc.

(L. 10-13.) "I also address (the following request) to future kings: 'Having obtained pos-
session of the earth by means of right, or inheritance or valour (and) ruling (ūt), you should maintain
this agrahāra, recognising the noble heart (that prompted it).''

(L. 13-18.) And (incidentally) the (following) slokas sung by Vyāsa may be mentioned:

[Three of the customary verses.]

(L. 19.) (This edict was written) at the command (of the King) Himself, by the Dēśākṣapha-
talādhiṁkṛta Rudradatta, son of Mātrivara.

(L. 20.) Year Four 4; (fortnight) 2 (of) Grishma; day 5."
No. 9.—LOHANER PLATES OF CHALUKYA PULIKESIN II : SAKA 552

(1 Plate)

G. H. Khare, Poona

These copper-plates were originally unearthed by the inhabitants of the village Lohaner, Nasik District, from its old site. Mr. Bhaugir Shamgir Gosavi, the then Supervising Officer of the East Khandesh District, purchased them for five rupees and very generously presented them to the Bharata Itihasa Sahsodhaka Manjula, Poona. I edited them in Marathi a few years ago and I now re-edit them in English.

The set consists of three plates, measuring $7\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$, strung on a circular ring, the two ends of which were originally soldered into a seal. The ring, however, was unconsciously cut by Mr. Gosavi and the seal was consequently broken. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both the sides of the second are inscribed. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved except in one or two places. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 89 tolas.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Early Chalukya inscriptions, especially the fragmentary Nerur plates of Pulikēsin II. The engraving is neatly done. Medial short and long i and u are clearly distinguished. The anuvāra and visarga are clearly indicated. Only in a few cases it is difficult to differentiate between v and ch as well as between v and dh in conjunct consonants.

About orthography two points deserve notice here. The visarga is wrongly omitted in some cases. In Maitrāyanika (I. 23) and udak-ātisargaṇa (I. 24), u has been wrongly substituted for a.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except at the beginning and the end, where there are altogether seven invocatory and imprecatory verses.

The record begins with one verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu and another in that of the arm of king Satyāśraya. In this respect the present grant is similar to the fragmentary Nerur plates in which the two verses at the beginning are also devoted to the praise of the Boar form of Vishnu and the arm of Vallabha, i.e., Satyāśraya. Then comes the usual but short preamble which is found, with some variations and additions, in almost all the grants of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. After this, is introduced the Chulukiki (Chalukya) dynasty, the members of which had performed sacrifices such as Bahusvāraka, Āśvamēdha, Paundjarika and Vājapeya. In it was born Pulikēsin who had the second name Raṇaviyakrama. His son was Kirtivarman who was also called Śrīparākrama. His son, who bore again the epithet Raṇaviyakrama, was Satyāśraya.

This Satyāśraya gave the village Gōviyāṇaka which lay in the vicinity of the village Asikhēṭaka and which was included in the Mōshṇi pathaka to Dāmadikshita of the Sāvarni gōtra, who originally hailed from Girinagara and resided at Lōhanagara, who followed the Vārāhaka sūtra and who belonged to the Maitrāyanika branch of the Black Yajurveda.

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2 Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 43.
3 [Can this be only Parākrama, the preceding śri being only an honorific? —Ed.]
As there has been some discussion\(^1\) on these plates during recent years, it would not be out of place if I say a few words about the points raised therein.

The Châlukya copper-plates fall into two categories. The earlier plates do not necessarily begin with the verse Žayatya-avishkritám, though the Boar form of Vishnu is in some cases praised, and the preamble in them is very short, being most probably adapted from the early Kadamba records, as is the case with the Nerūr and Lohaner plates. The Chipplūn plates\(^2\) begin with a verse in praise of the foot of Vishnu, while the Haidarābād\(^3\) and the Sātārā\(^4\) plates do not begin with a verse at all. Svāmi-Mahāsaṇa, Mātrigīra (Group of Mothers), Mānavya gōtra and the birth from Hārīti are generally referred to in Kadamba grants. The present plates, in addition, refer to the bringing up of the originator of the family by Kaṇśiki and the performance of various sacrifices by members of the family. But the Kānadgaon\(^5\) (spurious) plates of Pulikēsīn II and the Haidarābād\(^6\) and other plates of his successors begin with the verse Žayatya-avishkritám and have more or less the same long preamble.

About the proximity of the plates, I may observe that if compared with any of the complete and genuine plates of Pulikēsīn II, nothing abnormal is to be found in these plates. The inscription on these is of about the same length as on others.

As regards the dating of the grant, I may point out that the Haidarābād, Kānadgaon and the Kopparam plates\(^7\) belong to the later Châlukya grants and as such give the details of the date in the body of the text. But it can easily be seen that the Chipplūn plates have no date at all and the scanty details of the date in the Gaṅa\(^8\) and Sātārā plates are to be found partly in the body and partly at the end of the text. Even the dates of the Yekkēri\(^9\) and Aihojē\(^10\) stone inscriptions are recorded practically at the end.

It must be said, however, that, as far as I know, of all the genuine records of Pulikēsīn II, only the Aihojē inscription refers to his victories in specific terms. It is therefore not safe to depend on those records for dating the Harsha-Pulikēsīn war.

The date\(^11\) of the present grant is given thus in the last line: dvipañcātūrd-adhikē śakā(l)-ābdapāñcakē. With the obvious corrections suggested,\(^12\) the date would be 552. As Pulikēsīn II’s reign extended at least from Śaka 532 to 556, and if the date 552 be referred to the Śaka era, then the grant falls within his regnal period. This is also borne out by the genealogy given above.

Of the localities mentioned in this grant, it is very difficult to say whether the very well known Gîrnā in the Junagad State is implied here by Girinagara. But there is a village called Gîrnāra in each of the Ikatpuri, Malegaon, Nasik and Baglan taluqas of the Nasik District.\(^13\) It is possible that one of these four, most probably the one in the Baglan taluqa, is meant here.

\(^{1}\) For instance, see Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta Session 1939, p. 386 et seq.
\(^{3}\) Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 73.
\(^{4}\) Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 309.
\(^{5}\) Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 330.
\(^{6}\) Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 76.
\(^{7}\) Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 258.
\(^{9}\) Above, Vol. V, p. 7.
\(^{10}\) Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 4.
\(^{11}\) [It is better perhaps to amend the text as Šak-ābdapāñcakē.— Ed.]
\(^{12}\) Vade Postale Village Directory of the Bombay Circle published in 1902.
Lohanagara is the modern Lohaner in the Baglan taluka where the present plates were unearthed. In the northern part of this taluka there is the valley of the river Mosam and on the south bank of it is a village named Askhedā. Two miles to the south-west of this village is another village Goraga. These I would identify with Mōshī pathaka, Asikhētaka and Gōviyānaka respectively.

First Plate

1. सहिन्द [t]\(^{1}\) जययमलवलेन्दुकोटिवाक्षरं द्रैलकस्मात रसितनन्दनप्रवा लिन्तस्युष्टे
2. सामग्रिकमर [t]\(^{1}\) जनालस्यमालिवायस्मुकाग्रा चनावानिकुञ्जनितंनितिमि
3. क्षीपलभीवित कोलकू प्ररूपः॥[१॥] 'तद्वनु जितात्वदरिद्रगजमस्तक्कमलितस्यिस्यी
4. कतिकव्रुत्रम(तः। स)सवादवह्नयं वाहुक्यायित वजग्न्यहवहुःःमान:॥[२॥] चर्चितमानवः
5. चान् चारीलिपुत्राणाः कौशिकीमन्याचारितानां माठगणाभियोक्तानां सामिरसः
6. नपादातुताणां चुःकु चीनामवर्य बहुसुवण्णकामक्षमीरीण्डारकः
7. वाजपेयादियाधिकाश्वयभ्रानपिशीकर्तिप्रार्णम् समुस्तवण्डवयानितिःतुमाराण
8. ख्वरीवालीपाणिनाभाग्यजिनम्; श्रेष्ठविवर्म्विवनामाः पुलिकोणिववभमः
9. मेन्द्राजस्तथा पुत्रः परमनहिन्यापववः॥[४] चौपराकामरावः:(खः) कौशिकियां तथा पुवः

Second Plate: First Side

10. प्रह(ख)स्थवरवले(क्ष)प्रकोपं हिमालापुलकारी विपुल्कोर्वितित(म)तपरसमावल
11. समुपशरीरवितितपरवर(ण) म्ययन्व्यसाद: सादांवितस्यव्यानमा वि
12. धाना विनिमित्रो मितात्वनिर्वादस्तववन्नीपण्याः न्यास इव जगदयाययोः प्रकाश
13. वुघमतुजवितिमुखिषित(तो) विवजी विवलगगगमग इव[४] शादांतुक्त(६)प्रक्षिपितस्वः

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\(^{1}\) From the original plates.
\(^{2}\) Represented by a symbol.
\(^{3}\) The name of the metre is unknown to me, but it has much similarity to the Prīkṣi metre of 17 letters with the following scanning ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ). It is evident that in point of the first six and the last seven letters the scanning of the Prīkṣi metre and the metre of the verse is identical.

* Metro: Aṛya.
* The letter may also be read as क्ष.
* This न is superfluous.
14 जगद[सुखः] साहित्यकर्तिमोक्षयोगः[मथं] ग्रामजनिनमङ्गःसङ्कराय
15 पुष्करनकालंकारंविभागः सुखद्वन्दवः[नी] दीनामयमापणः
16 पुष्करनाविममः पुष्करंपार्धः[धि] नाथः[यो] सविदिक्षुष्णःसङ्गः
17 परस्मार्यनः प्रभागिनिशणराजः[ःः] चोरायाय सुविवेकः
18 महाराजः[ःः] महानिव राजसमालोकिनिवयमिनिराकृष्टमालकः

Second Plate; Second Side
19 कांडीमायानवासः ते विविधमोक्षभिमोिः[मथं] विष्णुपकालमानतः[सदि] सिद्धकमः म-
20 प्रत्ययमोक्षभियानकः कांडीकावः[सदि] वातभवः
21 वैश्य चाचार्यश्रीर्यश्रीर्यमिनिश्चरमानकः[नी] वेदवेददेशमिलिकः[भ्रा]-
22 वायाश्रमायानकः सूमायानकः मिर्गिनायामिनिर्मादीपराशरादीचिताय उ-
23 गिरिदायानमेवायानः[नी] करारांकालमायाकार्यामेवादीचिताय उ-
24 दक्तासमिनि[ण] प्रतिपादित: योंहमद[ष] खरमेवायामिनिपितमित्रविभिन्न-
25 नवेणुकर्त्तरसर्वसंसारसुपुरं उदविजयवी नीच्छन्नां विषयः[या] नव-
26 निधनशास्त्रकर कलकत्तिभितिलकारवलः जीवितमारमं महाभूत-
27 परमाणुक्षां त्य महान्यां गर्भनिहोदधवल यसो निकृष्णायमालायो-

Third Plate
28 तुमन्यः[२५] परिपालित्याः[३५] यो वातास्तितिमितिपन्नः इत्तिराचिक्षिनयः
29 निक्षिप्यानं वातुमोदित: स पश्चिममिश्रतकेशसुकः[ःः] व्यादुपतु मगवता
30 वेदवासिन वासिन्। परिपालित्याः सर्व निधित भूमिदा[ःः] चाचेता
31 चालमना व ताणवें नरसः वेश्तु[ःः] विभाषात्वीयत्वाः सुवायकोकंवासिनः
32 वाणिज्यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदार्य हरिति व इ[२५] श्रद्धां परदत्ता[ःः] यवः

* Metre: Anushṭubh.
This set of copper-plates was discovered by me in the possession of a peasant, named Polavarapu Ankayya, son of Venkata Reddi, of the Chevuru village in the Kaikalur taluk of the Kistna District in the Madras Presidency. It was by a sheer chance that I received information about the existence of the plates from a resident of the neighboring village of Singarayapalem, while I was touring in that part during November 1938. I forthwith went to Chevuru and succeeded in securing the plates on loan through the kind mediation of Mr. T. V. Satyanarayana, Revenue Inspector, Vadali fever, Vadali, Kaikalur taluk, and Mr. Gaddamadugu Chandrarraju, the Karavam of Chevuru. I was shown the actual spot, a heap of debris of a ruined mud-house, from where the plates were turned up by the spade of the peasant engaged in removing the patti earth for manure, as he himself narrated the incident to me. The event had taken place some ten years prior to my visit, and all that time the find had remained unnoticed in the custody of its rustic discoverer who, luckily for the historian, was superstitious enough to leave it alone.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 8½" broad by 4½" high. I found the set perfectly intact: the plates strung on a copper ring, about 4½" in diameter and about 3" in thickness, its ends being secured underneath a circular seal, roughly 2½" in diameter. The second plate is engraved on both the sides, while the first and the third bear inscription only on one side. The edges of the plates on the inscribed sides are raised into rims in order to protect the writing which is consequently well preserved from start to finish. The average size of letters is 3½". The engraving is neat and deep, which is a common feature of the majority of the Chalukya copper-plate inscriptions. The weight of the three plates is 133 tolas, while the ring and the seal together weigh 61 tolas. The seal is slightly damaged at the bottom. It bears, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a one-line legend across the centre, which reads Śrī-Tribhuvanākuśalafśā, with the figures of a running boar above, facing the proper right, and an expanded

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3. Read द्विस्य सर्वं या द्विस्य द्विस्य.
4. [See above, p. 38, note 11. — Ed.]
lotus-flower below. In front of the animal is depicted an aṅkuśa, while over it is shown a crescent with a star within.¹

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, regular for the period and locality to which the inscription belongs. They are, so to say, precursors of the modern Telugu characters. In l. 28 and 30, we have instances of r and l, which letters are peculiar to the Telugu and other South-Indian dialects and scripts. Attention may also be drawn to the forms of initial a, ś, s and ṭ, which occur, for example, in ll. 11, 12, 27 and 25 respectively. The final v and m are represented each by a special sign, as may be seen in ll. 22 and 3 respectively. A rather unusual way of expressing medial ė, ut and ō is to be seen in sākṣaṇa (l. 20), sāmputtair (l. 22) and satyānāṁ (l. 1) respectively. The form of a subscript I (ll. 6, 16 and 20) likewise deserves notice. Viṣarga and anuvāraṇa are, as a rule, denoted by dots, but occasionally small circles are used instead, as may be seen in l. 16 where also the less familiar way of separating an anuvāraṇa from the letter to which it conventionally belongs is to be noticed.²

The language is Sanskrit, except that in ll. 26-30 mostly it is Telugu. The composition is in prose, except the three verses in the end, the last of which mentions the name of the composer. As regards orthography, the occasional use of an anuvāraṇa for a class nasal, as in -punja-punjarpita (l. 8), the frequent reduplication of a consonant after a r, as in -mahipītā = gopāla (l. 11), non-observance of sandhi in some cases, as in l. 11, and the change of viṣarga to a sibilant similar to the following one, as in l. 13, are the noteworthy points. The change of l to s in rūṣi (l. 9), Śrīdrā (l. 21) and prāṇa (l. 25) is noteworthy. This feature is characterised as qualitative phonetic variation and is frequent occurrence in some Dravidian languages. There are some mistakes, of both omission and commission, which have been duly noticed in the transcript of the text.

The object of the charter is to record that the king Amma, i.e., the Eastern Chāluṣka king Amma I, raised a distinguished warrior, Vēmarāja, by name, to the position of a village-lord (grāmaṇī), placing the village of Umikili in the district (vishaya) of Gudavāra, under his sole control. Vēmarāja was to pay only the traditional fixed tribute of eight gadyāṅkuśas, presumably per annum, and, for the rest, he was exempted from all the tax and revenue. Thus, in other words, the village of Umikili was granted to Vēmarāja. The inscription furnishes us with some interesting details regarding this person. As to his parentage, he is described to be son of Rāja-ditya's younger brother Manōhitāryya, and grandson of Chandeyarāja, belonging to the Kōna family. Rāja-ditya must have been a notable personage, as otherwise the mention of his name in the present context is quite unaccounted for. As for Chandeyarāja, he seems to have enjoyed a highly honoured position under Vījayāditya alias Guṇakkenalla, i.e., Vījayāditya III, as much as he is stated to have held the same village of Umikili as his headman and also to have received a gift of an elephant from the king. Vēmarāja himself is praised for his heroism and

¹ The star is represented by a dot. The same device occurs on the seals of certain other Chāluṣka copperplate grants. Some scholars take the dot as representing the sun (e.g., see above, Vol. V, p. 119; Vol. XIX, p. 149, etc.), but the relative size and the position of the dot would hardly warrant such an explanation. There are, however, instances where the sun and the moon are clearly depicted; see, for example, the seal of the Masulipatam plate of Ammarāja II, above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 275. [I would prefer taking the dot to stand for the son.—C. R. K.]

² See below, p. 46, n. 1.

*Gadyāṅka* is supposed to be a gold coin. See above, Vol. XXI, p. 176, n. 3. It is also known as varāka or varāka-gadyāṅka, a pagoda equal to Rupees 3. Jbō, Vol. VIII, p. 130. Mr. A. Ghosh kindly draws my attention to the terms gadya and gudhāṅka, the latter being applied to a class of debased Indo-Sassanian silver coins of early medieval period, but whether they have any real connection beyond the phonetic resemblance, with the gadyāṅka remains to be determined.
loyalty: he is described as the Śūdraka1 of the Kali age, and is said to have served Amma I's father Vijayāditya IV loyally and obediently. It was, in fact, this devotion on the part of Vāmarāja that particularly pleased Amma I, who consequently rewarded him with the gift of a village.2

The special occasion, on which the conferment was made, is stated to be the Annaprāśana ceremony of prince Vijayāditya, i.e., Amma I's son Vijayāditya V. This accords well with the already known fact that Vijayāditya V was a mere child at the time when he succeeded his father to the throne. Since the above-mentioned ceremony usually comes off during the sixth month3 from the time of the birth of the child concerned, it may be inferred that Vijayāditya V was an infant of about six months at the time of the grant recorded in the present charter. Had the regnal year of king Amma I been mentioned in it, it would have been possible to determine more or less precisely as to how old Vijayāditya V was at the time of his accession. However, we know that Amma I reigned for seven years, and thus even granting that Vijayāditya V was born to him during the very first year of his reign, he (Vijayāditya V) could not have been older than seven years when he was anointed king. There are, on the other hand, indications that he was much younger, as will presently be shown.

We know of three other records, besides the present one, pertaining to Amma I. They are the Masaliplate,4 Īḍāru5 and Tenali6 plates. The first two of these inscriptions have been edited, while of the last one only the contents have been briefly noticed. It is remarkable that none of the four known charters of Amma I records a donation to a Brāhmaṇa, but that in every one of them a person of a military rank is so honoured. This, so far as we know, has been the case even on the occasion of the Annaprāśana ceremony of the new-born prince, when a Brāhmaṇa's claim to a munificent royal gift could hardly be ignored.7 All this in reality may mean nothing, but, considering that Amma I was all along at war either with his own kinsmen or with external enemies such as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one may be justified in assuming that he deliberately pursued a policy of encouraging men of the military profession by showing favours to them, so that they might remain loyal to him and, in case of need, might fight for him. This far-sighted policy may have contributed to his successes.

There is one point on which the present grant differs from the other three. To wit, its preamble, unlike that of the others, does not contain the usual genealogical list, giving the names and the duration of reign in each case of the Eastern Chālukeya kings, starting from Vishnuvardhana I, the founder of the dynasty, downwards. However, it mentions the two immediate predecessors of Amma I, namely those of his father and grand-father, Vijayāditya (IV) and Chālukeya-Bhima (I) respectively. Vijayāditya IV is given the epithet Samasabhuvanārajya. In connection with Amma I himself, the inscription mentions his known

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1 This Śūdraka, represented here as a pattern of daring, is plainly a legendary character, and 'like Vikramāditya is the hero of a vast cycle of stories'. See pp. 1-4 of the Preface to H. M. Sarma's edition of Śūdraka's Mṛcchakāntaka (2nd edition, Nirmaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1919). Other instances of a valiant person likened to Śūdraka may be found above, Vol. V, p. 123, text 1. 31; Vol. XXIV, p. 193, text 1. 7; etc. [Cf. the title Jaugāda-Śūdraka applied to one Pallavanalla, S. I., Vol. IV, No. 925.—C. R. K.]

2 [From the way the boundaries of two fields are described the gift seems to consist of only those two fields.—C. R. K.]

3 "Shashadha" = Annaprāśana māra, Manusmṛti, II, 34.


7 It may be pointed out here that a remote ancestor of Amma I, namely Sarvalokāsraya Māṅgi-Yuvarāja (A.D. 672-696), donated some land at the village of Īḍāru (the modern town of Eloor) to a Brāhmaṇa, Śrīdharasāman by name, of the Bhārāṇyāka gṛha, on the occasion of the Annaprāśana ceremony of his son Vishnuvardhana III, as recorded in his Īḍāru grant. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XIII, p. 51.
epithet and surnames of Sārvalokāśraya, Rājamahāṇḍra and Viṣṇuvardhana. Besides, it calls him Gaṇaparaṇagha, which may be treated as an additional epithet. Describing Chāḷukya-Bhūma I, the inscription speaks of his victory over his enemies. In like manner it praises Vijayāditya IV for his liberality. In the case of Amma I, prominence is given to his subduing his dāyaśakas, whereby his collaterals are meant.

A more important point worth noting is, however, the fact that in the present inscription Amma I assumes the full imperial titles of Mahārājaḥdrīrāja Paramāśvara Paramahāṭāraka, whereas in the other three charters of his, he styles himself simply Mahārāja. This shows that by the time of the present inscription Amma I had acquired more simply or possibly through subjugating his adversaries. Incidentally it is also proved hereby that the present is the latest of all the four known charters of Amma I. And from this it follows that Amma I’s son Vijayāditya V must have been only a baby at the time of his accession.

The present inscription further describes Amma I as Paramānāḥēvara, also for the first time. His son, who is called here Vijayāditya, is also known as Bṛha, which is but a contraction of Vijayāditya itself.

Apart from the information inferred in the foregoing paragraphs, the inscription does not furnish us with any new historical data. According to the chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukya kings fixed by Fleet, Amma I reigned from September A. D. 918 to August A. D. 929. Lately some scholars have re-examined the chronology, arriving at slightly different results.

It is known from other records that Vijayāditya V reigned for one fortnight and was afterwards ejected by Tāḍāpa. Later, it is said, he founded ‘a separate line of descent, which subsequently came to hold the Vēṇḍa country again.

The composer of the present record is stated to be one Bṛha Mahākāla, son of Bṛha Niravaya. This Mahākāla is evidently a different person from Mahākāla, the donee in Amma I’s Masulipatam plates, who, as stated there, was a general of Chāḷukya-Bhūma I. The ākāla, or the sāmāṇyādhi as he is called in the inscription, was the Kaṭakārāvara. The personal name of this official has not been mentioned.

1 The same fact is alluded to also in his Ājera plates. See S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 40 text, II. 38-40; Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 266, and n. 1.
2 It has naturally been presumed that it took Amma I some considerable length of time, say at least three years, to have his position fortified and finally declare himself Mahārājaḥdrīrāja Paramāśvara Paramahāṭāraka. It is difficult to say as to how much time elapsed between one charter and another; they might have followed in quick succession. However, according to the view that the expression sarvāraṭhārārama-līsita-kalpānak occurs in the description of Amma I in his Ājera plates lends itself to the interpretation that the record was issued during the coronation ceremony of the king (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XI, p. 32), the Ājera plates may be placed first in the chronological order and held to have been issued in the very first year of Amma I’s reign.
3 Fleet remarks that Bṛha ‘was probably the original appellation bestowed at the naming ceremony after his birth’ (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 267).
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 267.
6 The word sāmāṇyādhi is obviously meant to be the same as āśādhi, the form with the preposition sām prefixing to it having been employed owing to the metrical exigency. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu has offered an ingenious explanation of this term, the agency that obtains the command (āśādhi); see above Vol. XXIV, p. 303, n. 12. Nevertheless, āśādhi is probably just an alternative form of the more familiar āśādhi. The form is derivable from the root āśa niṣṭhu. Its s is not shortened because it is, unlike other āśa and jāśa roots, not mit and as such it is not governed by Pāṇini’s rule mitaḥu niṣṭvah (Aṣṭādhyāyī, VI, 4, 92).
7 The usual designation is Kaṭakārāja. It is apparently again for metrical reasons that its equivalent Kaṭakāra has been used in the present record, as Kaṭakāhāra elsewhere, though in another epigraph Kaṭakākha is found used without any such necessity; see Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 267, n. 5. We may render this title as ‘Governor of the Port’ , as suggested by the term Durgadipati used in an early record in a similar context; see J. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 365.
As to the localities mentioned in the record, the *Gudravarā*vā *vishaya* figures in a number of inscriptions. In certain cases its name is spelt differently. It has been identified with Gūḍjūra, near Masulipatam, as well as with Guṇijvāḍa, the headquarters of the tāluk of that name in the Kistna District. The latter identification is more probable. The donated village of Umikili and the boundary village of Dūdrupākā are evidently identical with Unikili and Rudrapākā; both of which are included in the Kaikalur tāluk of the Kistna District. The Kaikalur tāluk map shows Rudrapākā to be situated, as the inscription has it, to the south of Umikili. The distance between the two is about a mile and a half.

I am indebted to Mr. N. Laksminarayanan Rao for the explanation of the Telugu portion as well as for some useful suggestions in connection with this essay.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1. Svasti [i.e.] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāṇa-Mānava-saṅgṛāpaṁ
2. Hārīti-puṭrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-prāsāda-laṅkha-rājyāṇāṁ mātri-gaṇa-pari-
3. pālītāṇāṁ svāmi-Mahāśeṇa-pād-śraddha-śrīvijaya-bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-
4. āmā-śrīvaṁ-gaṁ-bhava-svāmī-śrīvijaya-bhava-kṣaṇa-vaśikrit-ā-
5. rāti-vaṁśānapāṇāṁ-abhavīrtha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapū-
6. śāṁ Chāluṅkya-nāṁ kulam-alaṁkārīśvāṁ Satyārāya-Vallabhāndrasya kula tila
7. kāyamāṇa-śvā-svā-bhārā-namita-ripu-uripati-makuta-taṅkha-ghaṅita-maṅi-mayaṁ
8. kha-puṁja-puṁjanīta-pāda-paṁda-yugalaṁy Chāluṅkya-Bhīṇa-bhūpālasya pautraṁ
9. s-śvā-samahana-sva-tan-tilu-tulita-bhūri-bhāra-bhāṣura-bhūma-rāṣi(si)-maḥā-

**Second Plate; First Side**

10. dāna-viśeṣa-ādīya(dhyāni)kriya-vipra-kula-kalpavrīkṣhasya Samastabhuvaṁśa-
11. ra-Vijayaśāityasa putraṁ Amma-mahipati-Ggaṅṭaraṅgaṇāḥ Rājamanī-
12. ndra iti vikhyātaṁ śvā-dāyā-daṁśi-nīvṛtindinakara-kiranāyamāna-bhāṣur-ā
13. si-sā-nāthāṅkṣeṣa dakshepi-khaṁ-kāḷaṁ-śa Sāri-revalūkārāya śṛi-Viṣṇuva-
14. rddhanā-mahārāṇādhirāja-paramēṣha-vara-paramādhaṭṭāraṇaḥ paramāmā-
15. hāsvarāṁ Gudravarā-viṣaya-nivāsinośa rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān-kuṭu-

1. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 87; above, Vol. VI, p. 316; Vol. XXIII, p. 89, n. 8; p. 92, n. 3; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V, p. 29; etc., where different spellings of the name will be seen.

2. Above, Vol. IV, p. 34. It may be pointed out that formerly Kaikalur was not a separate tāluk, but was a part of the Guṇijvāḍa tāluk. Thus Chēvāru and the other villages now included in the Kaikalur tāluk were formerly in the Guṇijvāḍa tāluk.

3. From the original plates and inked stempages.

4. The dot seen over the syllable ś is superfluous. It does not stand for an anusvāra which in this inscription usually appears to the right of the letter concerned, as may be compared in l. 1 where it occurs thrice.

5. The superfluous dot between va and rā in the word varāha is due to a flaw in the plate.

6. A short downward stroke is seen attached to the middle of the letter la on its right side, which is unnecessary. The proper form of this letter may be seen below in l. 8.

7. See below p. 47, n. 1.

8. Here ṣaṁkṣi has not been observed.

9. A superfluous mark like that of an ordinary anusvāra is seen over this sa.

10. This kṛta-dakṣhipa is redundant: read: *kṛta-dakṣhipa*.

11. This sa is redundant: read: *sa-sa-närvaḥ*. Or we may even justify the presence of the additional sa by reading *sa-sa-närvaḥ* treating that sa as a demonstrative pronoun, meaning here 'that well-known'.

12. This *la* is redundant: read: *sa-sa-närvaḥ*.
16 mûnasamâhâyâyîyâttamâjñâpayâtyânidîtam=astu vahi Ganâkkenallâ-
17 para-nâmâdhêyâm-Vijâyâdyitamahârâjaprasâdikritâhastryârêhâ-
18 ñ-avâpátam-Gudravâray Vishyâyâyairâmî-ûmikilî-nâmâgrâma-râshhrakûtâ-

Second Plate; Second Side
19 ma(mâ)hâmyaysa Kônâkula-Chandeyârâjasya puträh Râjâdyî-annûa-Manô-
20 hitâryasya putrâh Vêmarâjò nâmâsubhatah sâhasâna Kali-
21 yûga-sûû(jû)drakâ mat-pitarah Vijâyâdyita[*] baddha-karpâsakathâ svâmibhakti
22 r-arâdhiyôn[â]t* horizontal [â] r-arâdhanâ-vmâmibhakti-saûpritair=aasamhîbh kumâra-Vijâ-
23 yâdyity-ânnaprâsanâs[â]m-nimittâ kram-âghata-siddhâyâ-såhasâgadyâyâ-
24 kaînparitayyajaysarsvâ-kara-parihrâmîm-ûmikilî-grâmâgrâma-ûs=sa
25 Vêmarâjâ[h] kritâh grâmâ-dakshâpatah ârâvôka-chênu asy-avadhaya-
26 pûrâvatâh vraata dâksânatah Dûdrupâsûm=aiva paûchimatah Râcha-chênu
27 châpdda(pî)la-kshêraum cha uttaratah kûdî grâm-ûttara-dâsî Aypa-*ârâvôka-chê-

Third Plate
28 nu[*] asy-avadhaya pûrâvatâh kûdî dâksânatah Vanniru paûchimatah
29 kôgu uttaratah kolâni mulugu puttî-nirûgu savarai truvadinâlgu vûñjâ-nîru-
30 pâm-pâm-paûgand padê=dummu tamulañumumuna tûmejûu asy=ôpari na-
31 kënachid=bâdhâ kartavyâ [[*]] yah karotì sa paûcha-mahâpahârya-saûnyu-
32 kûta bhavati tathi cha Vûsena-sûpka-metal Bahubhir-vaasuh dattâ bahu-
33 bhusî=ch=ûnapâlitâ [*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadda
34 phalâm || 1 ||[*] Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yohor vasundharâ(râm) [[*]
35 shashthi\r\n
hasrâpi vishthâyâyān jiyât krimih [||2 ||] Vêngi-mamâla-rakshânô(ya)-bhunja-balâ-
36 Kaçkësâvaras-samâjñâpî[â] bhaûta-Niravadya-santati-bhûta-Mahâkâla-virachitam-
(tam) [||3||][*]

TRANSLATION

LI. 1—16. Hail! The illustrious Mahârajâdhîriyâ Paramêvara Paramabhâttâraka king
Amma, alias Gandharangada Râjâmahândra, surnamed Vishguvardhana, a devout worshipper
of Mahâdeva, the refuge of the whole world, whose right hand is accompanied by a glittering
sword resembling a ray of the rising sun for (dispelling) the darkness (in the form) of the

1 This sign of anusvra has been separated from the final letter of the foregoing line, namely ti, to which it
belongs. This unusual manner of separating the sign of anusvra is noticed in some other Châhânyâ records as well;
2 This name recurs below in l. 24 in a slightly altered form inasmuch as the final vowel there is long-
3 [Cf. 'Karâpitivarta' mentioned in the copper-plate grant of Amma II, Mâdra Epiâraphic Repertory, 1917,
p. 116, para. 24.—C. R. K.]
4 The form sansprita is to be derived from the root priti ('to please,' or 'to be pleased') but the use of this
verb is restricted to the Vedic language, as is indicated by Bhattojiddhikshita in his Siddhantakosmidhit;
priti(le)=âlayas =tavas=chiñdhasâ ity=ôhu. In the present instance, therefore, we had better read sansprita instead of san-
sprita.
5 This anusvra is redundant: read parshuram=ûmikilî.
6 Here sasâki has not been observed.
7 Read Aypa.
8 There is a superfluous dot over this pû.
9 Meter: Amâshubhâ.
10 For an expansion of this term see above, p. 44, n. 6.
11 Meter: ñryâ. The latter half of the verse is slightly irregular, being short of one syllabic instant towards
the end. The syntax as well as the metre requires a reading like—Mahâkâla idam=akarâ.
rival kinsmen—kmg Amma, son of Vijayāditya, the shelter of the entire world, the very desire-fulfilling tree for Brāhmaṇas whom he made prosperous with outstanding great gifts (consisting) of heaps of shining gold weighed against his own body (covered) with the armour and (carrying) the sword—grandson of the king Chālukya-Bhīma, an ornament of the family of Satyārāya-Vallabhendra, who had the lotuslike feet tinged with golden hue by the multitude of rays (emanating) from the jewels set in the coronets of the enemy chiefs compelled to bow before him under the influence of his sword, who adorned the race of the glorious Chālukyas, who belong to the Mānavaṃ gōtra which is praised all over the world, who are sons of Hārīti, who have acquired the kingdom through the favour of a boon (conferred) by Kauśika, who are protected by the assemblage of (divine) mothers, who meditate on the feet of the lord Mahāśeṇa; who have subjugated the territories of their adversaries in an instant at the (mere) sight of the boar, a boon which they obtained through the grace of the blessed Nārāyaṇa, (and) who have their bodies purified by the ceremonial bath at the termination of the horse-sacrifice—having called together the householders, resident in the district of Gudrovāra, headed by the village-headmen, issues the following order:

Ll. 16–25. “Be it known to you that the noble warrior, named Vēmarāja, son of Rāja-diyita’s younger brother Manohitarāya, grandson of Chandeyarāja of the Kōna family, who (Chandevaraja) had the distinction of being the headman of the splendid village called Umikili in the district of Gudrovāra, which he obtained along with (the honour of) riding on an elephant from king Vijayāditya, alias Guṇakkenalla—Vēmarāja, who in course is the Śudraka of the Kali age, attended, as a loyal and obedient servant, on my father Vijayāditya, and that We, thus pleased with his devotion and loyalty, have, on the occasion of the Annaprāśana ceremony of prince Vijayāditya, made this Vēmarāja the village lord of the village of Umikili, exempting him from all manner of tax, except the traditional fixed tribute of eight gadyānakas.”

Ll. 25–27. “To the south of the village is the Ėrvōka field. Its boundaries are (as follows): On the east lies the marshy pool; on the south the very boundary of Dūdṛpāka; on the west the Royal demesne and the plot of land belonging to the Chānḍālas; (and) on the north the brook.”

Ll. 27–29. “To the north of the village is the Ėrvōka field belonging to Aypa (Ayyapa). Its boundaries are (as follows): On the east lies the brook; on the south the Vannāga (river); on the west the brook; (and) on the north the bathing place at the lake (or the drain from the lake).”

Ll. 29–30. “The arrangement (for the remuneration which he is to receive) in grain measures (i.e., in kind), is as follows:—the income of severam (l) is ten kāraṇ and seventeen tūmus (measured by measure) of 24 full puṭṭis; of tammulam(l) one tūmu.”

Ll. 30–32. “Nobody should cause any c1struction to this. Whosoever does, incurs (the penalty of) the five grave sins. And likewise it has be—said also by Vyāsa:—

Ll. 33–35. (Here follow two customary verses.)”

Ll. 35–36. The Kāṭakhāvara3 strong enough to protect the territory of Veṇūgī, has acted here as the executor of the (royal) order. It has been composed by Bhaṭṭa Mahākāla, son of Bhaṭṭa Niravadya.

1 This obviously refers to Pulakṣīna II, who also bears the epithet Salgārava. The construction in the original is faulty inasmuch as the expression satyārāya-Vallabhendraṣa apparently qualifies Chālukya-Bhīma.

2 Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari suggests that this word may be connected with the Telugu word Ervēka.

3 See above, Vol. V, p. 139, n. 2.

4 See above, p. 44, n. 7.

5 See above, p. 44, n. 6.
No. 11.—GUNJI ROCK INSRIPTION OF KUMARAVARADATTA

(I Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAoti

Gunji is a small village, 14 miles north by west of Sakti, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. Sakti lies on the Calcutta-Nagpur line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. At the foot of a hill near the village there is a kuniya (or a pool of water) called Damau Dahra, which obtains its supply of water from the neighbouring hills and is believed to be unfathomable. On one side of this pool there is a rock on which the record edited here is engraved. Gunji is about 40 miles north-west of Kirári where a wooden pillar with a record in Bráhmi characters of the second century A.D. was discovered in 1921 which was subsequently edited in this journal. About 75 miles almost due north of Gunji lies the Rággarh hill which contains the well-known Sitávengá and Jogimára caves with interesting inscriptions of the second century B.C. Gunji was thus situated in a part of the country which was flourishing in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era.

The present inscription was first brought to notice nearly forty-five years ago in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1903-4, p. 54. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who deciphered the record, referred it to the first century A.D. He called attention to the two regnal dates in it, i.e., the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hánanta in the fifth year and the second day of the sixth fortnight of Grishma in the eighth year, and read the name of the king as Kumára Vasanta. He also noticed the words Bhavarato Usubhatikhe, the name of a therá Godachha and the name Vásiśhiputa. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar. He suggested, however, that Vásiśhiputa mentioned in it might be identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the Ajanta cave inscription No. 1, and that the record might, in that case, belong to the second century B.C. A facsimile of the inscription, somewhat worked up by hand, was published in the Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh Feudatory States in 1909 without any further account of the record. The inscription has thus remained unedited for more than forty years after it became known. In view of its importance for the ancient history of Chhattisgarh, I requested Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra to copy it for me. He very kindly complied with my request and supplied me with an excellent estampage from which I edit the record here.

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1 Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh Feudatory States, p. 193.

2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 152 ff.

3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

4 The second date was misread. As shown below, the correct reading is the tenth day of the sixth fortnight of Grishma in the sixth regnal year. The symbol denoting the year, which is exactly like the one denoting the fortnight further on in the same line, leaves no doubt that the year was 6. As for the day, Dr. Bhandarkar was possibly misled by the word bítjas which qualifies gus-sahasam. He read the king’s name as Kumára Vasanta. As he is called Bítjas, it looks strange that he should still be a Kumára. The correct reading is Kumára-varadáta and Kumárarágam means Kártikéyá. Cf. name Kumára-varadáta in line 1 of the Nánágáhát cave inscription of Nágániká, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 60 f. For the honorific suffix sári added to the royal name, compare Chandasíri (Ait-Chandra) in the Madhrákshákam, Act 1.


6 As shown below, Vásiśhiputa, mentioned in the present inscription, was a metonymy of Bódhadatta who made the two gifts recorded here. He was not identical with Vásiśhiputa mentioned in the Ajanta inscription, because the personal name of the latter was Káthadá. See Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 116.

7 This was probably one of the two photographs which Mr. H. Cousins, Superintendent of Archaeology, is said to have contributed to the Gazetteer. See the Prefatory Note in the Gazetteer.

8 [But for the help kindly rendered by Pandit L. P. Pandey of the Mahakosata Historical Society it would not have been possible for me to copy the epigraph. He even accompanied me to the spot.—B. C. C.]
The inscription has been incised horizontally on a huge rock which, as stated before, lies beside the Damau Dahrā pool near Gunji. It consists of four lines, of which the fourth is of about half the length of the rest. The writing covers a space 6' 6" broad and 1' high. The size of the letters varies from 5" to 1' 2". The inscription has suffered damage here and there from the effects of the weather, and on the proper right side, the surface of the rock has peeled off, causing the loss of about half a dozen aksharas in lines 3 and 4. Some more aksharas have become illegible in the middle of the first line and on the proper left side, but some of them can be supplied conjecturally. Very little of historical importance is therefore lost.

The characters are of the Brāhmī alphabet resembling in a general way those of the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta. The form of the initial a with the vertical ending in a curve turned to the right, the initial ā consisting of three horizontal strokes, kh without a loop at the base, r with a double triangle and l with the base line prolonged to the left are also noteworthy peculiarities. As regards medial vowels, the sign for ā is generally added at the top, see sahas-āyu, 1.2, but in some cases at the middle, see Balādhikata, 1.2; the u sign is formed by continuing the right limb and in some cases by adding a curve to the vertical, see putana, 1.2 and Kumāra, 1.1; the medial e is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the left, but in kha it appears as a slanting stroke above the line. Many of the other letters show varying forms, marking a transition from the Aṣak to the Kushāṇa alphabet. G and t, for instance, have the angular top in some cases and the rounded one in others, see Godakha, 1.2 and Bhagavato, 1.1; vatuka and Vasiṣṭhiputena, both in 1.2; ccha has the earlier form of a circle or an ellipse bisected by a vertical, saivacchare, 1.2; and the later double-looped one in the same word in 1.1; the dental ḍ has throughout the transitional angular form open to the left, while the lingual ḍ has a round back in Godakha in 1.2 and an angular one in Danjanāyakena, II.2 and 3; dh faces right in sīkha[ś] but is rectangular in Balādhikatena, 1.2, and circular in vadhśike, 1.2; the Aṣak form of the letter s occurs in the akshara sa of sahas-āyu, 1.2, but in other places it shows advanced forms, approximating in one case to that of the English letter N, see saivacchare and etasa, 1.3. The numerical symbols for 4, 5 and 10 occur in the first line and those for 6, 10 and 1,000 in the third line.

In the advanced forms of several letters, the present inscription resembles the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta, but since it exhibits a considerable admixture of archaic forms not noticed in the latter, I put it slightly earlier. The inscription of Ushavadāta probably belongs to the second century A.D. as the year 42 mentioned in it is generally referred to the Śaka era. The present inscription may therefore be referred to the first half of the first century A.D.

The language is early Prakrit. As in other records of the age, double consonants are entirely absent except in gimeha, 1.3, and bamanānain, II.3 and 4. There is, again, no elision of intervocalic mutes as in literary Prakrits, see, e.g., vatuka which, according to Hēmachandra (VIII, 1.137), should be nattuketa. For Usaha (Sanskrit, ṣishaba) see Hēmachandra, VIII, 1.24. In matabhara (Sanskrit, mātrīja) we have an interchange of vowels as in vitāksho (Sanskrit, etiṣkha). Another noteworthy form is pathāvaya (Sanskrit, pritiṣyyam) in place of puḥaviya or puḥāvaya.

1 Since its discovery in 1903, the inscription has lost an akshara at the end of the first line and an ornamental figure after it, similar to the ones in the beginning of the same line. These appear clearly in the photograph in the Gazetteer. They also show where the record ended originally.
2 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 82.
5 XVI-I-11
puhāvīya laid down by Prakrit grammarians,¹ In vasā-sakas-āyu-vadhūvikake we have the Māgadhi neuter nominative singular in e as in Asokan inscriptions.² Finally, ya is used in the sense of cha in 1.4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (Rājan), the illustrious Kumāravaradatta. The royal name bears resemblance to the name Virapurisadatta which occurs in the Nāgarjunikondā inscriptions.³ The record contains two regnal dates, both expressed in season, fortnight and day as in other early epigraphs of the south.⁴ The object of the inscription is to record certain pious donations made by two ministers of the king.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word sidham, followed by a salutation to Bhagavat. It then records that at the Rishabhātirtha of the Bhagavat, on the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hāṃanta in the fifth (regnal) year of the king, the illustrious Kumāravaradatta, his Amātya Vāsishṭhāputra Bōhādatta, who was the grandson of the Amātya Gojachha and the son of the Amātya Mātrijanapālita, made a gift of 1,000 cows to Brāhmaṇas ⁵ for the purpose of augmenting his life for a thousand years ⁶. He further made a second gift of 1,000 cows on the 10th day of the sixth fortnight of Grīśama in the sixth year, evidently of the same king’s reign. Besides being an Amātya of the king, Bōhādatta held the offices of Dvānānāyaka and Balādhipīta. Finally, the inscription records a third gift of a thousand cows which another Amātya of the king, Indradēva,⁷ who was also Dvānānāyaka, made to Brāhmaṇas probably in the same (sixth) regnal year.

Rishabhātirtha, where these donations were made, is plainly identical with the pool Daman Dahrā, beside which the present inscription is engraved. This tirtha seems to have been very famous in ancient times; for the Tāṇhayādhipītaram, a sub-section of the Āraṇyakaparvan of the Mahābhārata contains a verse which declares that a man, who fasts for three nights at Rishabhātirtha in Kōsala (i.e. Dakhīna-Kōsala or Chhattisgarh) obtains the religious merit of a Vāja-pēya sacrifice.⁸ In view of this it is not surprising that the Amātyas of the king Kumāravaradatta chose this tirtha for making their mahādānas of a thousand cows each.⁹

It is not clear who is meant by Bhagavat to whom the Rishabhātirtha was dedicated. In ll. 1-2 Dr. Bhandarkar read the words therā Gojachha, which suggested to R. B. Hiralal that Daman Dahrā, which is just a solitary place like Rūpānāth, was a likely place which a few Buddhist monks may have selected for their residence.¹⁰ The reading therā is however extremely doubtful. Moreover, Gojachha, who held the office of an Amātya, was probably not a Buddhist monk. The description of the tirtha in the Mahābhārata clearly shows that it was a Brahmanical, not Buddhist, tirtha. The mention of Brāhmaṇas as recipients of the gifts suggests that Bhagavat does not denote the Buddha. The name of the king Kumāravaradatta (one who was born by the grace of Kārttikēya) and that of the Amātaya Mātrijanapālita (one who is protected by the Divine Mothers) indicate that both the royal and ministerial families were worshippers of Śiva. The

¹ See Vararuchi, I, 13 and 20, and Hāmacandra, VIII, i, 216. The word occurs in the form pathaviya in 1.3 of the Nāgabhāṣya inscription of Nāgānīkā.
² See Jāna-bhāvika dhamma-charaya in Ginnar Edict IV. Compare also dikum-āyu-bala-mahānīke in Mayi-dāvālu plate; above, Vol. VI, p. 84.
³ Above, Vol. XX, p. 16, etc. Similar names Kumāravadatta and Kumārīdatta occur in the Kāthāvarīṣṭakoravatara 51, v. 123.
⁵ The name Indradēva occurs also in an inscription at Sāñchī. See Lād, List of Brahmī Inscriptions, No. 410. Indradēva of the present inscription was the grandson of Dinika. His father’s name is lost.
⁶ Cf. Rākhastān tirtham = kālva Kōsālāvīra nārāyāna; Vīpālīya = avaj-pāta tri-rāh-trānālikāt nārāyaṇīyaṇāparvan (edited by Dr. V. S. Suktanharkar), adhyāya 83, v. 10.
⁷ For the procedure of making this mahādāna, see Matagajāpuraṇa, adhyāya 278.
name of the śīrtha which was evidently so called after Śiva’s bull (Rishabhā) Nandi, lends colour to this conjecture. Though Bhagavat (the Lord), when not connected with any specific name, is usually taken to denote Viṣṇu, it occasionally occurs also as an epithet of Śiva and other deities. It seems likely, therefore, that the Bhagavat mentioned here was the god Śiva.

This is the earliest inscription mentioning a royal name, found in Chhattisgarh and as such has great historical importance. Unfortunately it mentions neither the family nor any ancestors of the king Kumāravaṇadatta. The records at Kirā and Rāmgarh which, belonging as they do to the same part of the country and the same age as the present inscription, might have been expected to throw light on this matter, afford no help; for the name of the reigning king is irretrievably lost in the former, while the records at the latter place contain no royal name. We have therefore no further information about the king Kumāravaṇadatta.

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TEXT

1 सिंह(च) नामो भगवतः संबन्धे प(व)ष(च)े
हेम(म)लपरे च[त]ुष ् त दिवसे संबन्धे घ(म)ने
भगवती उसाधित्

2 गोविंदव नदुके णम्(च)स मतवण्णितः
पु[त]न प्रमचे न वदनावकेन वलावः
विक्षितते वासितिवर्तते बोध[व]ने

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1 See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 28, n. 5.
2 From an inked stampage and the facsimile facing p. 193 in the Gazetteer of Chhattisgarh and West Bengal.
3 There are two ornamental figures before this word, the first resembling the Roman figure  V. Similar ornamental figures appear to have been incised in the beginning of the Nāṇīghat inscription of Nāgānālikā also. See the facsimile in Arch. Sātvānāra, Vol. V.
5 What looks like an anuśānta on क्व may be due to a fault in the rock.
6 This akṣara looks like श, but is a double-triangled श as noticed by Bühler, above, Vol. II, p. 201, No. 12, and p. 207, No. 32. See his Indian Palaeography (English translation), p. 40. See also v in II., 6, 7 and 10 of the inscription (VII) on a door-jamb from Mathurā, above Vol. XXIV, pl. facing p. 195. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar read the king’s name as Vasanta, but what he read as श represents two akṣaras श and श.
7 These three akṣaras are lost by the peeling off of the surface of the rock.
8 Sanskrit, Rishabhātirē. The vertical stroke below श is not an u-śīla; for the latter, the right limb of the letter is lengthened. For the reading of this word I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. L. Rao.
9 Sanskrit, prakriyā. According to Prakrit grammarians, the form should be paḥśiṇya or pūtārasya. The Nāṇīghat inscription of Nāgānālikā has pātārasya.
10 The second akṣara of this word is now completely damaged. With the expression used here, compare pātārasya pātārasya śīraṇa in l. 3 of Nāgānālikā's inscription.
11 Sanskrit, nāṭīkṛṣṇa. Hānakechandra (VIII, 1, 137) gives nāṭīkṛṣṇa and nāṭīkṛṣṇa, both of which (without the conjunct) are used in the present inscription.
12 Sanskrit, Mātri-jana-pātārasya. The interchange of vowels here is as in viśeṣa. See Vararuchi, I, 15.
13 Dh is roundish here as in द्वार्मेज्य in l. 1 and in vaśyārṣe, further on in this line.
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Obeisance to the Bhagavat!

On the fifteenth-10 5-day of the fourth-4 fortnight of Hémanta in the fifth-5 year (of the reign) of the king, the illustrious Kumāravaradatta, a thousand 1,000 cows were donated to Brāhmaṇas, at Rishabhahārthna of (i.e., dedicated to) the Bhagavat, by the Amātya, Daśyānāyaka and Balādikrītta Bodhadatta, the son of Vasishṭha and the Amātya Mātrijanapālita, and the grandson of the Amātya Godachchak (who was a veritable) Dharma on earth, for augmenting (his) life for a thousand years.

(Line 3) On the 10th day of the sixth-6 fortnight of Grīśhina in the sixth-6 year a second donation of a thousand 1,000 cows was made (by the same Bodhadatta).

In view of this gift, a thousand cows were donated to Brāhmaṇas by Indrādeva who is Amātya (and) Daśyānāyaka (and who is the son of)......and grandson of Dīnīka.

No. 12.—NOTE ON THE BAJAUR INSRIPTION OF MENANDROS

THE LATE DR. STEN KONOW, OSLO

In the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1-8, the late N. G. Majumdar published a Kharosthi inscription which contains the name of the Greek ruler Menandros and which can, with certainty, be ascribed to about the middle of the second century B.C. If we abstract from the inscription on the Swāt relic vase of the Meridarkh Theodoros this is the first old record which mentions one of those Greek princes who established themselves in the Indian border-land about the second century B.C. And it is of considerably greater importance than the Swāt record because Menandros played a great rôle in the conquest of India, while Theodoros is not known from other sources. It has not, however, so far as I know, been noticed or discussed in European or American journals.

1 The first akṣaras of this word is lost by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Of the second akṣaras wha, only the superscript m remains. It has the same form as in halmānāna(s), below, in l. 4.

2 Read ekhaṭhe. There is a dot in the middle of the circle of ṭha due to a fault in the rock, which makes it look like tha. As the following symbol shows, ekhaṭhe is the intended word.

3 These four akṣaras are very carelessly incised.

4 About five akṣaras are lost here. The word probably contained the name of the father of Idađevo and ended in peta.

5 Sanskrit, Indrādeva.

6 The neulāra on ma is indistinct.

7 Sanskrit, cka. It is used in this sense in other records also. See, e.g., the Mayidavīlād plate of Śivastandavarman, above, Vol. VI, p. 85, and the Bālm plate of Vindhyasakti II, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 161.

[Dr. Dine. Chandra Sircar has also published a note on this inscription; above, Vol. XXVI, No. 46, pp. 34 & ff.—Ed.]

* It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when this learned essay of his was in an advanced stage of proof.—Ed.]

Majumdar's edition is characterised by those qualities we were accustomed to find in his work, careful observation and good judgment. The inscription is however not easy, and I do not think that all his results can be accepted. I therefore drafted some notes when the edition reached me and sent them to the New Indian Antiquary. I do not know whether they have been published, and at all events I should certainly have made some changes in the proofs. I have therefore thought that it might be of use to rewrite my paper.

The inscription is found on a steatite casket, which comes from Shinhot in Bajaur, about 20 miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjora and Swat rivers. The casket is well preserved, but the lid is broken, only two pieces, about half of the whole, having been recovered.

The casket was said to have encased a casket of silver, which in its turn contained a gold relic and some ashes. No traces of these have, however, been found, and I do not think that the whole statement can be trusted. It may be a reflex of what has been told about other relic caskets. There was a gold casket within the Bimaran vase, and the Taxila steatite vessel where the silver scroll inscription of the year 134 was found contained a silver vase, enclosing a gold casket, containing some minute relics.

We cannot, therefore, be confident about the existence of the silver casket, the gold relic and the ashes. The only thing we actually know is that there is a well-preserved steatite vessel with a broken lid.

As rightly pointed out by the editor, there are several records incised on the casket, and I shall retain his designations of them. A is found along the rim of the broken lid, and is incomplete; A 1, likewise incomplete, is incised in the centre of the lid, and A 2, also incomplete, on the outside of the lid. After A 1 we have a fourth incomplete record, C. Inside the casket are the records B and D and outside, on the bottom, E.

Of these epigraphs only A, A 1 and A 2 can be assigned to the time of Menandros, while the remaining ones can hardly be older than the 1st century B.C.

A is incised in bold and well executed letters of an early type, as shown especially by the closed head of the aksara sa. The reading is perfectly certain Menandros Mahasasas kuṭiasa 411 prāyasamāde of the Maharaja Menandros, the 14th day of the month Kārttika, accompanied with life. There is a short interval between each word. We may note the form Menandros, for which Majumdar read Minandos, though the e of the second syllable is absolutely certain. It is the same change which is represented by the Pāli form Milinda and is no doubt due to an Indian notion that the name was a compound with indra. The way of expressing the figure 14 is unusual. It would seem that the engraver had first written 4111, and then corrected it, adding a 4 below the second 4.

It is hardly likely that Menandros was the first word of the inscription. We should certainly expect that the year would be mentioned before the Maharaja's name, as Majumdar thinks. But the fragment of the lid which must have contained this has not been recovered. The year was most probably a regnal year.

After the date follows the word prāyasamāde and then the great break sets in. Prāyasamāde would be Sanskrit prāyasamēta, and may mean, as Majumdar states, "endowed with life." It should be noted that intervocalic t here appears as d, while we shall find t in A 1.

The word occurs in A 2 on the inside of the lid, which only contains two words prāyasamēta and Śakamunisa, but about half of the lid is missing between these two words. There has clearly been comparatively long intervals between the words of this inscription. That between Śakamunisa

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and prānasamda, where the stone is most incomplete, is exceptionally long, so that prānasamda clearly is the first word. Majumdar states that there is just a trace of a t or r before Śakamunisa, and suggests to restore the legend as prānasamda sarira bhaagavata Śakamunisa 'the relic endowed with life, of the Lord Śākyamuni'. And it is clear that inscription A must be restored in the same way as A 2.

In explanation of the term prānasamda he refers us to three passages in the Mahāvaṁśa: xvii, 3, dhāṭusu diṭṭhesu diṭṭho hoti jino 'if we behold the relics, we behold the Conqueror'; xvii, 50 ff.
Thupārāme patiṭṭhantaini mama dakkhiṇaakakām gōkūthum yamakaṁ pāṭīhāriyaṁ Luṅkālahārāhātamhi Hemamālīkapatlīye patiṭṭhahantiyo dhāṭi dopamattā mamāmalā buddhavesadhara hutvā uggantvā nabhasi tīhitā patiṭṭhantu karitvāna yamakaṁ pāṭīhāriyaṁ
'taking its place in the Thupārāma my right eye-tooth shall rise into the air and perform the twin-miracle; when my pure relics, filling a droga, take their place in the Hemamālickaśāhaya, which is an adornment of Luṅkā, they shall take the shape of Buddha, rise and stand in the air, perform the twin-miracle, and take their place';

xvii, 43 f.
Tasmin samagama dhāṭu hathiḥkhandhā nabhaggataṁ sattatālappamāṇamhi dissanti nabhasi tīhitā vimāpayanti janataṁ yamakaṁ pāṭīhāriyaṁ gaṇḍambamulē buddho va akāri lomahūlasakām
'at that gathering the relic rose up into the air from the elephant's shoulder, being visible over an extent of seven tāla, standing in the air; throwing people into amazement, it performed the twin-miracle, as (did) the Buddha under the Gaṇḍambala tree'.

I think that we must accept this ingenious explanation. It is quite possible to assume that the relics can work wonders and to think of designating them as living entities at the time when they are enshrined. The continuation of A, which is clearly A 1, is very short as it would have to be if the preceding line mentioned what was being established. What is left of A 1 can be definitely read as thaṭṭa, which can be confidently restored as pratīthavaṇī. If the year was given before the name Menēdrasā we may suppose that about eight āksharas preceded the name, and it is a likely assumption that A 1 in the inner ring, began at about the same place as 1.1. Since tha stands slightly to the left of me, it is tempting to assume that eight to nine āksharas preceded so that we might think of ima sarira pratīthavaṇī.

But then we have no explanation of prānasamda. This compound has not, so far as I know, been met with elsewhere. It can hardly mean the same thing as prānopetam which occurs in the formula upasakam ca māṁ dhārayādyagṛapagavayāvajīvani prānopetam ārahaṁ gataṁ abhiprasannāṁ. 'keep me as your worshipper from today, as long as I live and am endowed with life, as I have taken my refuge and turned my disposition towards (you)'; Diēv. p. 72.4 etc. It would then be possible to fill up the gap in A and A 1 as prānasamda upasanye bhaagavata Śakamunisa 'for the worship of the Lord Śākyamuni as long as life lasts', or prānasamda upasakam (-kasa) bhaagavata Śakamunisa 'by him who is a worshipper of the Lord Śākyamuni as long as life lasts'. If we had upasakama in A, this would then belong to the supposed reading of A 1, while we might think of upasakasa in A 2: 'gift' of life-long worshipper of the Lord Śākyamuni'.

It is, however, hardly possible to interpret the text in this way; the relics were looked upon as living entities. But the importance of the inscription is not dependent on such restorations. It rests with the fact that it gives a reliable contemporaneous confirmation of the tradition that Menandros had Buddhist sympathies.
The old inscription of the time of Menandros did not contain any further information. All the remaining inscriptions of the casket belong to a later time, probably to the first century B.C., C, which follows immediately after A 1, was evidently incised when the lid was less incomplete than now, because it has been only partly preserved. That it was already damaged can be inferred from inscription D. Majumdar reads the record: *Vijayamitraṇa aparacarajena pade praditaḥvāde* ‘Vijayamitraṇa . . . . the bowl has been established’, taking pade to be miswritten for pate. It might be possible to think of restoring the whole as *Vijayamitraṇa aparacarajena pade praditaḥvāde*, but the traces that are left are too uncertain. About the purport of the epigraph there cannot be any doubt; it records a second setting up of the casket, which had become damaged in the interval after its original establishment in the days of Menandros, as can be seen from inscription D.

Within the body of the casket Majumdar distinguishes two inscriptions, the long record D and the short epigraph B, which is incised between II.1 and 2 of D and consequently, according to Majumdar, older than D. He thinks that it is contemporaneous with the Menandros inscription, but admits that the akshara sa is of the later semi-open type. The reading of B is absolutely certain: *Vijayamitrarasa aparacarajasa*, i.e., according to Majumdar ‘(the gift) of Vijayamitra, who has no king as his adversary’. He thinks that this bears reference to the gift and original consecration of the casket by Vijayamitra, who ‘must have been a vassal chief under King Menander’.

I accept his explanation of apracharaja, aparyagreja, for pratyānch is known to have the meaning ‘equal to, a match for’. But I think it unlikely that a vassal chief could use such a title. And palaeographically B cannot be older than the first century B.C. The letters are larger and better executed than in D, but a comparison, e.g. of apracharaja in B and apracharajasa in D seems to show that both records can very well be contemporaneous, due perhaps to different draftsmen. We cannot expect the individual akshara to be quite uniform in such an inscription, when we bear in mind how the procedure of engraving was. A draft was provided from the office which gave order to the engraving, and this draft had to be written in ink inside the bowl for the guidance of the engraver. And here there were many causes for mistakes and misshapings. The very first akshara i is misdrawn, the vertical turning to the right and a bar rising from the left hand termination of the horizontal and the ensuing me is defective; the word pimdfiya 1.1 has been written pipdmfya; the lower part of the initial sa of sabudhasa 1.4 has been separated from the rest and connected with the ensuing bu; the final o of bhuttra 1.1 looks like tha; the akshara ya is sometimes bent over so that the left bar lies in the line, etc. Both the writer who copied the draft in the bowl and the engraver have evidently had some difficulty in shaping the aksharas properly on the rounded surface.

It may be noted that the cerebral a only occurs in the words grivayat(i) 1.1 and Sakimuṣasa 1.3, but Vijayamitrāṇa 1.3. It seems unlikely that a and n were felt as separate phonemes.

As can be seen from the plate accompanying Majumdar’s edition, there are several instances of what looks like a subscript r. And it certainly stands for r in words such as aprachara, prat(i), though the shape of rö differs in these two words, the jointure between the r stroke and pa being angular in the former and curved in the latter. The angular form is also found in praṣaṇameṇa in the Menandros inscription, while praditaḥvāde in inscription C shows the curve. Both forms occur in the Patika inscription, but in most old records the curve form is usual.

In connection with other consonants the case is a little different. In the case of ja we have to do with the bottom stroke we know from coins and some of the Aśoka inscriptions, but which is absent in most Indian Kharāṣṭṛi epigraphs. We find it in the title apracharaja, but not in the name Vijayamitrāṇa, neither in C nor in D. Its use, e.g., in the word maharajas in the coin legends

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*Note:* Citations and references are not included in this text.
of Menandros, where our inscription A has ja without the stroke, points to an ordinary j. And then it is tempting to infer that the simple ja in Vijayamitra denotes a somewhat different sound.

The remaining consonants which are provided with such bottom strokes in our inscription are g, t, d, dh, y, ś and s.

In the case of y and t we find both the curved and the angular form, and the former clearly denotes an ordinary r; cf. gryayati(r)i ‘causes to take’, 1.1, patra ‘vessel’, 1.2; Vijayamitra, 1.3 and Vijakamitra(r)a in B, where (r) has been used to transliterate the angular stroke. The latter is found in Bhag(r)avatu ’ of the Lord ’, 1.3, where there is another short stroke to the left, just above (r), which I cannot explain, and almost regularly in t(r)a when this represents intervocalic t; thus patuyabhat(r)aọ ‘become decayed’, where Majumdar reads the blurred akshara as dr, sakarat(r)aj 2 is honoured, kept in proper state ’, 1.1 etc. The only exception is bhag(r)avatu, 1.3. The g(r) of this word must be explained in the same way as in bhag(r)avato of the Swat vase of the Meridarkh Theodoros4 and similar forms in other Kharoshthi inscriptions, for which the Lion Capital5 has bhak(r)avat(r)ọ. There can be little doubt about its meaning. It renders a guttural, probably voiced spirant, a 8. The akshara t(r)u must be explained in a similar way. It should be compared with writings such as pradhaviti(r)ọ in the Theodoros epigraph, pru(r)tihaviti(r)ọ on the Lion Capital, and similar forms in other Kharoshthi inscriptions. 6 Inscription C has praditavade, and the actual sound was probably a voiced dental spirant 8.

In the case of d and dh we have kaladre and sadhro 1.1, where the joint seems to be curved at least in sadhro, which evidently corresponds to Sanskrit śrāditam. About kaladre or kalad(r)ọ I shall have something to say below.

Y(r) is found in key(r)ọ 1.1, which evidently corresponds to Sanskrit ksaḍita. I am inclined to consider the (r) stroke as due to a mistake by the engraver. S(r) occurs in Veṣ(r)akṣaṇa and pranāvity(r)ọge 1.2, and should be compared with similar forms on the Lion Capital, where a voiced s, i.e., a ś seems to be intended. 4 S(r) only occurs in the name Vijakamitr(a)r)ọ in B, where we must probably think of a voiced ọ, a 7 8.

The arrangement of the inscription is somewhat irregular. The first line contains the greater portion of a description of the state of things which led up to a new establishing of the relics. The last clause of this description is, however, transferred to 1.2, though there would have been room enough for it in 1.1. It seems to me that the most likely explanation of this state of things is that the first line of the office copy which had to be entered on the surface ended in this very place.

The second line would then have contained the last sentence of the introduction and the date portion, after which there is a clear interval. The continuation follows after this interval, at a slightly lower level, and is continued in a fourth line.

It would then seem as if the office draft consisted of three lines, and that this arrangement was followed by the writer who copied it for the guidance of the engraver.

The second line does not, however, keep the same distance from the first one throughout, but gradually increases it. The reason is, according to Majumdar, that B had already been incised, when D was engraved. As I have already stated I am much in doubt with regard to this.

The letters of B are larger and bolder than those of D, but they seem to be contemporaneous. And Majumdar’s interpretation of B as meaning ‘the gift of Vijakamitra, the unequalled king’ does not satisfy me. The original establishment of the relics in a casket was evidently done at the request of Menandros, and what is inscribed in inscriptions C and D is a second establishment.

2 Ibid., p. 48.
3 Ibid., pp. 1 and xxxx.
4 Ibid., p. rix.
5 Ibid.
after the casket had become damaged, due to the ruler who is called Vijayamitra in C and D, and it seems to me that we must identify this Vijayamitra with Vyasamitra. The epithet apracharaja has been read in the legend on the British Museum coin of Vijayamitra's son, but is not known from other sources. The interchange of Ј and й does not present any difficulty, if we bear in mind doublets such as Ājia and Āja for Azes. And the writing of Ј for й is known from other sources and has its parallel in the frequent й for Ј. Vyasamitra can accordingly be the same name as Vijayamitra, in a different orthography.

Palaeographically both B and C-D belong to about the first century B.C., and it is just possible that Vijayamitra, Vyasamitra is the same ruler whose coins have, according to Majumdar, been found at Sirkap during the Taxila excavations of 1931.

The form Vīya can hardly be Vīryaka, which would probably become Vīraka, and certainly not Vījaka. Vijayamitra certainly makes the impression of being an Indian name. But we cannot be certain. It may be of interest to bear in mind that the bottom-stroke of Ј which we find in apracharaja is absent in Vijayamitra, which can very well be an Iranian or semi-Iranian name; cf. the element vīše, i.e., vīsa in the names of Khotanesse kings.

In such circumstances I think it possible that the draft of the inscription was revised by an officer of Vijayamitra's who thought it advisable to make the date clearer by adding the ruler's name and therefore entered B, in his own orthography, above the date portion of the inscription. It is impossible to be confident, but such seems to me to be the most likely explanation.

In other respects I can accept most of Majumdar's interpretation of D. He has not noticed the fact that there is, especially in the first part of the inscription, a clear tendency to separate individual sentences and sometimes individual words by short intervals, which sometimes makes it necessary to deviate from his reading. Thus the beginning of the inscription goes on as follows: - āme surīra palugabhāṭṭo na sakareat(red)ī tasa sariat(red)ī kaladre. It is evident that we cannot here read sakare atmāta, but must take sakareat(red)ī as one word and tasa as the next one. Sakareat(red)ī is satikriyātē, or ratēbar sarīyaṛte 'is honoured, treated with respect.' Palugā has rightly been identified by Majumdar with Pāli palugā 'broken, decayed,' though we should expect pralugā. The first sentence accordingly runs: 'This relic having been decayed is not properly respected,' and this is further explained in what follows, which shows that the respect shown to the relic consisted in pious acts performed at the site.

The next clause is tasa sariat(red)ī kaladre, where the ā of tasa cannot, as already stated, be separated from ta and consequently not be the subject of sariat(red)ī; i.e., as stated by Majumdar. Sanskrit sāriyātē 'is broken, falls off;' and the subject must be kaladre, which cannot therefore correspond to Sanskrit kāḷataḥ, as Majumdar thinks. I am in doubt about the final syllable. If it is drē we would have a kālade with a spirantic 8, while kaladre might be something like kāladrāja which does not seem to give any sense. I am inclined to look on the apparent r stroke as a mistake of the engraver, because the sātrā was blurred. And I can only explain kālade as standing for kāladeya 'what should be given in its proper time, seasonal offerings,' and what is meant we learn from what follows: na śadhaḥ na pinḍaṁ kēy(red)ī pūr(red)ī griśayaṛte 'nobody causes the ancestors to receive śadhaḥ and pinḍaṁ.' Majumdar takes śadhaḥ to stand for śādhaḥ, to which he assigns the elsewhere unknown meaning 'venerated,' and explains pinḍaṁkēy(red)ī as pinḍaṁkātā, but final ā in this inscription usually stands for om, and both the form and the construction make it impossible to think of an instrumental plural.

The reference to such periodical offerings has no special connection with Buddhism but tends to show that the relic-sanctuary was held in honour by people of all creeds.

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1 Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1890, pp. 127, 170; Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 9; Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, p. 168, pl. xvii, ii.


3 Of the remarks by Lüders, AO. xviii, pp. 23 ff.
L.2 begins below the final t(r) of griya(ya)t(r)i and continues under the gap after this word and further below l.1, at an increasing distance. The first clause, tasa ye patre apomusa continues the statement about the condition of the relics in l.1. Majumdar explains apomusa as apamukta ‘abandoned’, but apa could not become apo and mukta must appear as muta. Moreover, the casket is the same which was used for the Menandros inscription, and it is difficult to accept Majumdar’s translation ‘and the receptacle of that (relic) has been cast aside’. What we seem to know is that the lid was damaged, and apomusa must mean something like ‘defective’. I take it to be appomusa, from appa Skt. alpa, and omus formed with the suffix uka from omu, which occurs in the sense of ‘defective’ in Ardhagadhi, so that the meaning would be ‘slightly defective’ which suits the context perfectly.

Then comes the date portion: Vaishey ye paschamaye 4 I Vak(ah)rusa masasa divasa paschavish(r)anye in the fifth, 4th year on the 25th day of the month Vaisakha. The year is clearly a regnal year, and since the ruler is mentioned in the last part of the inscription nothing more needs to be added. But then we have the short inscription B above the final portion of the date and protruding beyond it to the left. If I am right about the arrangement of the lines in the original draft, l.2 would have been a little shorter than l.1, while the addition of B would have brought it up to the same length. Since B cannot be as old as A but seems to be of the same time as D, and since it would not seem likely that the establishment of the relic by Vijayamitra mentioned in D should be further characterised as the gift of Vyakamitra, it seems to me that I must be right in my explanation that B has been added above the date in order to make it more precise, though such an addition was not necessary. It is not, of course, possible to speak with full confidence, but it seems to me that the explanation I have suggested above is the only one which explains the whole arrangement. I therefore explain B, in connection with the date, as ‘of Vyakamitra (=Vijayamitra), the unequalled king’.

The final portion of the inscription does not cause any difficulty igo prat(r)ahavit(r)e Vijaya-mitrena apracharajjena bhag(r)avatu Sakunangia samsabuddhavu sarira this relic of the Lord Sakyamuni, the perfectly enlightened one, was established by the unequalled king Vijayamitra.

There is, finally, a short inscription, Majumdar’s E, on the bottom of the casket. Majumdar read viśñapena apyanikutena likhit(r)e explaining apyanikutena as corresponding to apñākhyata ‘who was ordered’. An examination of the not infrequent ye in D shows, however, that we must read apyanikyena, not to mention the evident difficulty in assuming kuta and not katu(r) in this record. The cerebral y side by side with the dental in apañikyena further shows that I was probably right in thinking that y and ſ are used promiscuously in our inscription.

We must then translate ‘written by Viśpila’ the apañikyena, and as I have remarked in another place, apañikyena can hardly be anything else than the Greek διαγραφής, which was used in Hellenistic times about a ruler’s advisers. And we are reminded of the fact that another Greek term μετέπειτας has been traced by Professor F. W. Thomas in the neighbourhood, and from a somewhat earlier time.

The writer Viśpila was, as his name shows, no Greek, but an Iranian, probably a Parthian. And the ruler Vijayamitra, probably belongs to the Parthian period. But then we now know that the Parthians played a great rôle in the preservation and evolution of Greek notions and especially of Greek art in the Indian borderland.

1 J. R. A. S., 1939, p. 263.
2 Festeschrift fur Ernst Windisch, pp. 362 ff.
No. 13.—SIVANVAYAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN
(1 Plate)
M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACUMUND

Sivanvāyal is a village situated about 9 miles north-east of Tiruvallūr, the headquarters of the tāluk of the same name in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. The village was visited by me in the course of the epigraphical survey of the tāluk in November 1944. The antiquity of its name goes back to Pallava times, the village being mentioned under that name in a record of Pallava Kāñnapārvarman (c. 850 A.D.) at the place. In Tamil, the name Sivanvāyal means the abode or the entrance (vāyal < vāsal) of Śiva and the Sanskrit rendering of the name would be Śivadvāra. True to its import, the village contains the remains of an old temple of Śiva, which is the main attraction to the eye as one approaches the village from the north. The remains present visible at the site are a tiṣṭha of huge size, a ānḍi in front and débris consisting of granite slabs some of which are dressed, having been evidently used in the construction. A little away from the Śiva temple stands a temple of Vishnu, of simple construction, comprising an ardhamandapa and the garbhagriha. The deity, which is under worship in this temple, is locally called Vaikuṇṭha-Varadāra-perumāl. Although the present structure appears to be modern, the temple seems to be an ancient one, because an inscription in Pallava-Grantha characters of about the 9th century A.D. engraved on a stone now built into the ceiling of the temple, refers to the god as Vaikuṇṭhanātha, which is preserved in the present appellation of the god. At the entrance to this shrine was found a massive broken pillar of reddish-grey granite which the local residents used as one of the steps. On examination, the pillar was found to contain on its three sides an inscription engraved in ornate Pallava-Grantha characters.

The pillar, which stands just four feet high, is about one foot square in section. Up to a height of 3½ feet from the bottom, the pillar is cubical but not geometrically perfect, as two sides of it, which are 1 foot 2 inches broad, are broader than the other two by 2 inches. The middle portion of the shaft just above the lower cubical part has its angles bevelled off, thereby making this portion of the pillar octagonal in section. The cubical portion at the bottom is decorated with the design of a conventional lotus-flower similar to the lotus medallions appearing on the stone railings of the Amarāvatī stūpa. As only a part, viz., the lower part, of the middle octagonal portion, about 3½ foot in height, is preserved, it would seem that nearly half the pillar must have been lost at the top. The pillar should have formed part of a monument the nature or the shape of which it is not possible now to determine.

The characters of the inscription are what is termed Pallava-Grantha alphabet, and they closely resemble those of the Trichinopoly cave pillar inscriptions of Pallava Mahēndra as also those of the Bādami inscription of Mahēndra's son Narasimhavarman I. Bühler cites the latter inscription as the latest example of the 'archaic variety' of the Grantha alphabet. In general execution,

1 The village was again visited by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, in 1945, when photographs of the antiquities and fresh stamages of the inscriptions were secured.
4 The god is locally called Śivannāḍivāra.
5 A. R. E., No. 10 of 1944-45.
6 A. R. E., No. 11 of 1944-45.
10 Indian Palaeography (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, App.), p. 70.
our record may be said to be engraved in the ornamental forms of Grantha in which the label inscriptions (Nos. 1-16) on the Dharmarājāratha at Mahābalipuram are engraved and which Dr. Hultzsch would assign to king Narasimhavarman. The letter a of our epigraph is more ornamental than that found in the Trichinopoly and the Bādāmi inscriptions. Attention may be drawn to ṣ of our inscription which is much more developed than those found in any of the other inscriptions under comparison. The letter very nearly approaches the form found in the Kūrām grant of Paramēśvaravarman, son of Narasimhavarman I, wherein its shape is more cursive. It is thus in a transitional stage between the forms found in the Trichinopoly label inscriptions of Mahāndra-varman I and the aforesaid record of Paramēśvaravarman I, his grandson. The medial ñ attached to the letter j in our inscription shows a peculiar form, which is not found in any of the above records under comparison, nor is it the usual type found in Pallava-Grantha or the Chājukyā records of this period. In the present record it takes the form of a separate sign of length unattached to the main letter, and vertically descending to the bottom in the form of an upright, almost similar to medial ñ in Nāgari. The usual way in which the medial ñ of ja is found marked in both Grantha and Tezugu-Kaṇquāda records of the period is in the form of a semi-circular spiral proceeding upwards from the middle prong of the letter ja and descending in a loop over the head of the letter and sometimes descending to its left. Attention may be drawn to the two different forms of medial ñ used in the inscription as in ye of l. 2 of the first side and in mē of l. 2 of the second side. The palaeography of our record would indicate the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. as the period in which it was written.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and its composition in prose in the usual style characteristic of Pallava inscriptions. Parts of the inscription, including the beginning, are lost along with the top portion of the pillar. What is left of the inscription is in three disconnected parts, each part embodying the writing on each of the three respective sides of the pillar. The extent portion on the first two sides contains the eulogy of the king, Sinhavarman, who is stated to have been born in the Pallava family as god Vishvakšeṇa (Vishnu) was born in the Viṣṇu race, and to have performed the Daśāvamādha and Bahusucarṣa sacrifices. He is styled Deva, i.e. Lord. The portion of the inscription on the third side, which is partly obliterated, seems to contain the details of the grant. The epithet applied to the Pallava race in the present inscription might be restored on the analogy of similar passages in the published records of the Pallavas as (nirākṛti)-aśekha-prajā-vipal-lacca[ka]-lāva-Pallavānām, i.e., of the race of the Pallavas (who have removed even the slightest distress (vipat[lacca]) from every one of their subjects (aśekha-prajā). It is also found in similar terms, with the same play on the words pallava and vipal-lacca (also ḍpal-lacca) in the Pallava copper-plate charters from the time of Paramēśvaravarman.2

With paleography as the only guide, one is tempted to identify Sinhavarman of the present record with Narasimhavarman I, whose date lay in the same period and who was the son and successor of Mahāndra-varman I. This Narasimhavarman was the contemporary of Pulakēśa II (642 A.D.) whom he is supposed to have vanquished. Of the identity of our Sinhavarman with Narasimhavarman we cannot be absolutely certain in the face of the fact that Sinhavarman of our

1 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 2, 5-6 and plate I opp. p. 6. Further development of this florid writing is found in Atyantakāma’s inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas and the Kaḷaśāmanātha temple label inscriptions of Rājasimha.
3 Kūrām grant of Paramēśvaravarman I: S. I., Vol. I, p. 148: nirākṛtakula-vipal-lacca (l. 11). Here the play is on Pallava and ḍpal-lacca: (b) the Udayāṇdiram plates of Nandivarman II: S. L, I., Vol. III, p. 366. II, 7-8 and l. 11, samayu-gaṇa-Ṭeṣhayu-viṣṭaka-vipal-lacca, who have driven away even the slightest calamity by the multitude of their excellent virtues: nirākṛtakula-vipal-lacca Pallava, ‘Pallava, who drove away even the smallest calamity from his race’; (c) the Vēḷṇāḷiṭiyam plates of Nandivarman II: S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 507, l. 8, caṇṇaṇa-viṣṭaka Pallavānām rakṣā-vidhi-dhānya-vipal-lacca, ‘thence came into existence the race of the Pallavas, who by the Law of Protection (they had adopted) removed even the slightest distress (of their subjects)."
record does not bear the full name of Narasimhavarman by which the son of Mahendravarman. I was usually referred to in stone and copper-plate inscriptions. He might as well belong to a collateral branch of the family or a hitherto unknown member of the same family different from Narasimhavarman. However, should our identification prove correct, the present inscription would be the third known record of the king, the other two being those at Bādāmi (Bombay) and Tirukkaḷukogrām (Madras).

One fact of importance brought out by the record is that king Simhavarman is stated to have performed the Daśāvamēṭha and the Bahusuvarṣa sacrifices. We may recall here that the Bhārāśivas (c. 4-5th century A.D.) of Central India acquired the distinction of having performed the Daśāvamēṭha sacrifice and the Vākāṭakas, the Caturvāmaṃdha sacrifice. The Vishnukundins (c. 5-7th century A.D.) are known to have performed the Ekādāśavamēṭha sacrifice. Though the Aśvameṭha is common in the cases cited, the significance of the number which in one instance is daśa, in the other caturaḥ and in the third ekādāsa, is not easily understandable. There are instances of devīraśvaṃṭha also. One is led to doubt if in each case one kind of sacrifice, and that only once celebrated, is meant or whether the Aśvameṭha was performed as many times as the prefix daśa, etc., signifies. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to take the former view, explaining the number by stating that at the performance of a single Aśvameṭha the gifts to Brahmāṇas were increased fourfold, tenfold or elevenfold, so that by going through one sacrifice the performer secured the merit and also claimed the distinction of having performed more than one Aśvameṭha, four, ten, and so on. In support of his view regarding Daśāvamēṭha, Dr. Bhandarkar cites a passage from the Mahābhārata which incidentally throws some light on the nature of the Bahusuvarṣa sacrifice (also called Bahusuvarṣaka). From the passage in the Mahābhārata we come to know that Bahusuvarṣaka belonged to a class of sacrifices called akīna and that it was named Bahusuvarṣaka owing to the profuse gifts of gold made during the ceremony. The akīna sacrifice is defined by Nandapandita, the commentator on the Visnupāṭhas, as a ceremony connected with the repeated drinking of the soma juice and lasting from two to twelve days.

Mēdḥātithi (commenting on the Manu-smṛti, XI, 196) simply defines it as a sacrifice extending over two or more days. Kullūka (commenting on the Manu-smṛti, XI, v. 197) states that it lasts three days or more and that it is said in the Vēdas to cause impurity (akhineṣaṃjanaṃ-āśuchikaram-iti ēruteḥ). Dr. Vogel quotes Kern as taking Bahusuvarṣaka to be identical with Bahubhīvaṇya, a soma sacrifice. It may be observed that neither Bahubhīvaṇya nor Bahusuvarṣaka finds a place among the seven soma sacrifices which form the group called Saptasomaṃśaḥ. That Bahu-

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2 S. I. L., Vol. XII, p. 9, Ins. No. 16.

Vyāsa: Aḥinā nāma Bṛhadāra kṛtavasaṃ-yaḥ viṣala-pūrṇaṃ
dhautasā tuṣṭhānaṃ-dvaya khyāto bahusuvānaka
tām tām Mahārāja daśakoṇaṁ trīṣṭau vriṣṇī kuru
drītra tuṣṭaḥ tuṣṭaḥ brāhmaṇo hṛt-sūtra kṣaṇaṃ
drītra śaṃcāmaṃ tātra tuṣṭo vṝṣṇī bahu-daśakoṇa
jaśītṛi-katyā-kṛitau pūrṇau prakṣaṇau nṝṣṇīṃāṃ.

Aśvameṭhaḥ Pāruṣa, Adhyāya, 94, vv. 15-17. Dr. D. C. Sircar (Successors of the Śāmarsaṅku, p. 347) accepts Dr. Bhandarkar’s interpretation, but draws a fine distinction by saying that the merit accruing from the celebration of the Aśvameṭha, and not the Aśvameṭha itself, could be tripled if the performer offered threefold daśakoṇa.

5 See śūtra 141 of Apastamba’s Yajñaparīkhābhāṣṭra. The commentator on this śūtra refers to the akīna sacrifice and explains it as one which lasts from two to eleven nights. Those which last from 13 to 100 nights or more are called sūtras (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXX, p. 354).
swarṇa was a major sacrifice ranking in importance with Anishṭā, Asvamedha, Rājasūya and the like is clear from two passages from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. One of them states that during Rāma's peaceful rule hundreds of Asvamedha and Bahuswarṇa sacrifices were performed. The other relates that Māghasūdra performed the Anishṭā, Asvamedha, Bahuswarṇa, Rājasūya, Gomēḍha, Vaishṇava and Mahēśara sacrifices. Pulakēśin I (6th century A.D.), and Kirtivarman I (6th century A.D.)* of the Chālukya family of Bādāmi performed the Bahuswarṇa. The Vishnukundina also performed it. Outside India king Mūlavarman of Bornī (c. 4-5th century A.D.) set up a memorial Yupa pillar commemorating his celebration of the sacrifice. Among the Pallavas, Sūhavarman of the present inscription appears to be the only king to have done it. The charters of the Pallavas do not attribute the performance of this sacrifice to Narasīhavarman with whom our Sūhavarman has been sought to be identified, nor to any other king of the dynasty, though speaking generally, they say that the Pallavas performed many sacrifices.

TEXT

First side

1 t=āśeṣha-prajā-vipal-lavā[ṇa*].
2 m=Pallavānām-anvaya Vishva-
3 ksāna iva Viṣṇuṅām=a ..
4 nm=Śnugraham=atiṣay......

Second side

1 [vi] jayasy=āyam=eva maha[h] iṣya-
2 dvipā daśāvamēḍha-bahusuvarṇa-
3 kratu-yājī Dēva[ḥ]* Śrī-Sihha-
4 varmāḥ pratāpa iva mūrttim[ān]*
5 ..............
6 ........... vana-maṇḍa-

Third side

1 suprāṇita-daṇḍa
2 punar=ijha dvijamvasu vi..
3 .sarvasva pratipi
4 .................."}

No. 14.—SOHNAG TERRACOTTA SEAL OF AVANTIYAR

MADHO SABUP YATS, AGRA

In September, 1946, the Collector of Gorakhpur informed the Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Public Works Department, Lucknow, of the find of a terracotta seal in the village Sohnag, Police Station Lal, Talisil Sahebpur of the Gorakhpur District, by one Tapaswar Rai, while digging in the fields, and this information was kindly conveyed to me by the Additional Assistant Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, United Provinces, in October 1946. The District Magistrate, Deoria, sent me the above-mentioned seal in June 1946, adding

* Balakṣa, I, 95: Uttarabāhya, XXIV, 8-9. I am obliged to Dr. Chabra for these references. See also his article on Yupa inscriptions in Indica Antiqua, Leyden (1947), p. 82.
* Above, Vol. IV, p. 196, text, 1. 4.
* Vogol, op. cit.
* Read puṇaraśiṣa or puṇarāśiṇa.
First Side.

Second Side.

Third Side.
that it was only a casual find in a field not associated with any ancient ruins. It may, however, be stated that the findspot, lying within the Gorakhpur District, was well within the tarāi, which marked the northern boundaries of the Maukhari kingdom.¹

The seal is of terracotta but the backing is imperfect, the surface of the inscription having become smoky in a reducing atmosphere in the kiln. It is a plano-convex oval, which, including the rim, measures 7.3" by 6.6", but the sunk inscribed portion measures 5.9" by 4.2". The convex reverse rises to 1.5" from the rim but is rather irregular and shows a hole in the thickness just below the inscription for attachment, even as seals were attached to land grants. It weighs 184 tulas. A little more than one-third of the upper field of the seal is occupied by certain figures showing in the centre a garlanded bull to proper right, behind whose hump rises an umbrella with two streamers flowing backwards like those from a wheel or sun-emblem held in his left hand by an attendant to proper right, whose figure is, however, blurred. The man to left holds a chauri brush or a stick in his right hand and a long handled axe in his left. These figures appear to be exactly similar to those depicted on the Aśīrāgha¹ and Nālandā² seals of Śarvarvarman with this difference only that in the present seal a flowing end of the garment is also shown on the figure to proper right. Explaining these figures, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, "The bull usually stands for dharma: वृद्धो हि भगवानु अर्थम:। The two male figures are, perhaps, the chāṇḍālas, who want to kill the animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the dharma".³ This interpretation of the symbols would amount to an imprecation and limit their utility only to the safety of the seal, though it is well known that royal seals in ancient India show varied symbols which could hardly be so explained. On the other hand, they had a direct bearing on the religious tendency of a ruler or a particular dynasty.⁴ Thus Garuḍa on the Gupta seals⁵ refers to their being परमाणु; the bull on the Sōnpat seal⁶ of Harṣavarman recalls his title of वसुमहेश्वर; the Bhagavati on the Pratihāra seals represents the tutelary deity of the dynasty. D. R. Sahni rightly calls "a flying figure of Garuḍa and a conch-shell " in the Gāḍavāla seals to be "in conformity with the Vaishnavite faith of the king who issued the plates".⁷ This common practice would indicate that the seal symbols had a wider significance than that imagined by Dr. Sastri. Probably the परशु held by the men led Dr. Sastri to call them chāṇḍālas, but they might be attendant protectors or Gaṇas of the bull, वसु, of Śiva, one of whose weapons is परशु. This Śaiva interpretation of the symbols is in conformity with the Brahmanical propitiations of the Maukhari rulers, also borne out by their assumption of the title परमाणु, while the चक्र (umbrella) may refer to their claim to sole sovereignty of the earth (एकाकालिक जयते प्रभुवतम्).⁸

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets and may be dated to the latter part of the sixth century A.D. when forms with a profusion of flourishes had already been long in vogue. In this connection attention may be invited to the formation of य in line 3 in ज्ञातवायु, which is entirely different from the same य in all the known seals of Śarva-

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¹ Cf. R. S. Tripathi: History of Kanauj, p. 56.
³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 73-74.
⁴ Cf. J. N. Banerjea: The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 11.
⁷ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 192.
⁸ Cf. Kālidāsa: रूपम्, cando II, verse 47, where this very expression is used, also cf. भारताचाय in Bhāsa's
varman, but is similar to that found in the Apsâdh stone inscription of Ādityasena. The language is Sanskrit prose throughout. In respect of orthography may be noticed the doubling of क and ठ in conjunction with the त, e.g., in प्रविष्कारण and कौशिक in line 1, in दुर in different parts of the inscription, and also the doubling of ठ in conjunction with the following ठ as in the word प्रमुखतात् in different parts of the inscription. The orthography is, therefore, similar to that of the seals of Āśravārman with this difference only that whereas in the Āśravārman seal the अत्यावच्छत् occurs between उत्पत्ति and परमादेशत्व in I.7 and विस्तार in the Nālandā seals, neither of these is found in the present epigraph. The omission is probably due to the scribe.

The seal refers to the Maukharī king Avantivarman, who was the son and successor of Āśravārman bejotten on his queen Mahādevī Indrabhūṣṭārikā. He is already known to us from the two fragmentary Maukharī seals from Nālandā, published by Mr. A. Ghosh (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-285), wherein genealogical history of the Maukharīs has been discussed by him: Avantivarman is here described as परमादेशत्व and महाराजाविराज exactly as Āśravārman is described in the Āśravārman and Nālandā seals. It may be noted further that Avantivarman’s name also ends with the dynastic title of नौरिण even as Āśravārman’s ends in his seals, referred to above. This would indicate that the dynastic name was added at the end of the seal after the name of the issuer, and no special meaning need be read in the association of this title with any particular ruler, as was supposed by Dr. R. S. Tripathi in his History of Kanauj, p. 45.

As the first six lines of this inscription are identical with the text of the known seals of Āśravārman, there seems to be no necessity of translating them, while lines 7 and 8 give only the name, title and parentage of Avantivarman, the Maukharī. The text is as follows:—

TEXT

1 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

2 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

3 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

4 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

5 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

6 दुर्गुद्येति: (से) श्रीमान्यावतरणवाच्चत्रानाइः दिनांविवरणस्मृतप्रति।

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2 It is necessary to state in this connection that of all the Maukharī seals—copper or terracotta—the relief of letters in the present seal is very small and that at places the text has become more or less blurred. The surface of the seal is also uneven and this has caused greater wearing of certain parts.
3 The mother of ईवरवमणम् is हर्षितम् in all the seals of Āśravārman, and अर्जुनविन्या, who in line 3 of the present record is stated to be the mother of ईवरवमणम् is presumably a mistake for हर्षितम् on the part of the scribe.
No. 15.—AKKALKOT INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA INDARASA

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This epigraph was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnataka College, Dharwar. The stone-slab containing the inscription was kept in a shed in the compound of the Nazer Bag of the Old Palace at Akkalkot, the headquarters of a small state on the south-eastern border of the Sholapur District, Bombay Presidency. The importance of the record was indicated in my list of inscriptions published in the Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 2. I am editing it here in full for the first time.*

The record is inscribed in rather indifferent Kannada characters of the 12th century A. D. The language, except for the invocatory and imprecatory portions, which are in Sanskrit verse, is Kannada. The composition is partly in prose and partly in verse.

The document refers itself to the reign of the Western Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalladéva (Vikramaditya VI) and is dated the Chalukya—Vikrama year 39, Jaya, Pushya ba. 12, Friday, Utrarâyana-saṅkramana, the details of which regularly correspond to A. D. 1114, December 25. The object of the record is to register land and other gifts for the benefit of the temple of Siddhagajeswara at Bijjeyana Karanjige by Mahamayalakara Indarasa in conjunction with other dignitaries.

The donor Indarasa hailed from the family of Sejara or the Silaharas, of the Jimātavāhana lineage, and bore the epithets Tagarapurasurādhiśvara (lord of the foremost city of Tagara) and

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* The relief in the last two lines has almost faded and they cannot be cleared on the photograph. In line 7 too many letters have been inserted in a comparatively small space. Their size is, therefore, naturally smaller.

* The reading दे is not clear either in the photograph or in the plaque. The form of थ is made up of one dot at the top and two below. The former coming almost above the centre of the latter as in व in line 2.

* अवतितबम्म has become very blurred in the photograph, but in the original it is quite distinct. Here, too, one can see the right-hand vertical line of व quite clearly. घ is just a line thickened in the middle of the loop to the left having merged in the thickness, and traces of िि are also visible.

* The inscription has been subsequently copied by the office of the Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar, and a brief account of its contents published in the Digest of the Annual Report for 1940-41 of that office (page 18).
Chāmuqjikādeviñabhadraprasāda (one who had secured the boon of the goddess Chāmuqjikā). The genealogy of the ancestors of Indarasa is herein set forth in detail thus:

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    Pitṛama I
    \  /          /
   Ajja I        Nāgarjuna
    \            /                      /
     Inda I      Kāñcha

    Kāvilāsa I    Kāvilāsa II
    \        /          /
    Bibbasā    Dhanasāngraha
    \        /          /
    Rakkasa   Ajja II
    \        /          /
    Inda II   Kāvilāsa III
    \        /          /
    Sōvanā     Dānka I
    \        /          /
    \      /          /
    Pitṛama II Kāvilāsa IV

Indarasa (Inda) III, the donor.
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A perusal of these names will show that this is entirely a new and hitherto unknown branch of the Śilāhāras. But this is not all. Starting with Indarasa III, whose initial date may be roughly fixed at A.D. 1110 on the evidence of the present record and counting fifteen generations backwards at the average of twenty-five years per generation, the date available for Pitṛama I, the first forbear of the family, will be about A.D. 735. This therefore entitles it to be considered as one of the oldest units of the Śilāhāra families.

Not much information, however, could be gathered regarding the early or late history of this family from the record. Pitṛama I, it is stated, ruled the country bounded by Asitādri and Kālāśāra. This statement occurs again with a slight verbal change of substituting Krishnādri for Asitādri, while describing the kingdom of Dhanasāngraha, who, we are further told, was resourceful and maintained a vast army of eighteen thousand cavalry, eighty thousand eminent warriors and countless foot-soldiers. This description bears the ring of exaggeration and sounds more conventional than real, since no specific exploit of his is recorded. Kāvilāsa IV's wife was Chandalādēvi, daughter of Rājaśa of Moramba. Inda III, as can be gleaned from the present record and according to the explicit statement in another inscription from the same place, was a feudatory

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1 The Southern Konkan family of the Śilāhāras was hitherto considered the earliest branch having A.D. 783 for its initial date; vide, Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 337.

2 Indarasa III is referred to in this record as Ankulageya nāda mannaya Indarasa, meaning 'Indarasa, the hereditary chief of the Ankulage tract'. (My private collection.)
chief having administrative authority over the small tract of Ankulage containing fifty villages, which must have been his hereditary fief.

Little is known about Rājarāja, the maternal grandfather of Inda III. As there are more places than one named Morab in the Bombay-Karnāṭak area, it is not possible to identify this Morabha, which was ruled by this chief.

In regard to Kavilāśa IV, the father of Indarasa III, we have a contemporary record at Akkalkōt itself. It refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladeva (Vikramādiyta VI) and is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 17, Āṅgirasa (=A.D. 1093). This chief is introduced in this epigraph as a feudatory of Mahāmanḍalēśvara bearing all the significant epithets of his line and figures as the donor in conjunction with another feudatory chief Jōgarasara, the grandfather of the well-known Bijjala of the Kalachurī family. Of the time of Indarasa III, we have two more records from Akkalkōt, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama years 36, Khara (=A.D. 1111) and 48, Sōbhakrīt (=A.D. 1123). The latter of these furnishes further information regarding this family and carries its genealogy two generations ahead. Indarasa III's younger brother was named Rājarasa who had two sons, Kuppādeva and Indarasa IV. Indarasa III had four sons, namely Dākarasa II, Kavilāśa V, Mallidēva and Ajja III. Dākarasa again had a son named Indarasa V. 3

An attempt may be made to identify the territory said to have been ruled over by the two ancestors of the family, viz., Piṭṭama I and Dhanasaṅghraha. Although there appears to be definiteness regarding the location of one limit of this kingdom, namely Kālāṅjara, 2 which is the same as modern Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, 4 the other limit, Asitādri or Kṛishpādri is elusive of identification in the face of too many possibilities. 5

If its identification either with the Karakorum mountain or the Haridwar hills is accepted, we shall have to conceive that these chiefs ruled over a vast empire comprising almost the whole of North India. But such an assumption runs counter to the known facts of history. So it would be reasonable to treat this statement as only another amplified version of the legendary origin set forth by all the Śilāhāra families who trace their descent from the mythical ancestor Jimūṭavāhana, the king of the Vidyādharas residing in the region of the Himālayas. 6 The truth underlying these

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1 Compare II. 31—37 of the text of the present record.
2 The information contained in this paragraph is based on the contents of inscriptions in my unpublished private collection.
3 It is interesting to observe how several families of local chiefs who rose to prominence in the Kannāḍa and Telugu districts from the 11th to 13th centuries trace their connection either with this place or the dynasties that ruled in this part of Central India. (i) The Kalachuris of Kalyāna who attained prominence during the time of Jōgarasara in the 11th century bore the title Kālāṅjara-paravakānidehiśvara. (ii) The Hithyas who flourished in the Gulbarga district of the Nizam's Dominions apparently claimed kinship with the Hityayas of Central India (above, Vol. XII, p. 292.) 3 (iii) The Hityaya chiefs of the Kōtamaṇḍala, who figure conspicuously in the inscriptions of the Telugu parts from the 11th to the 13th century (above, Vol. IV, p. 83 and Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1932-33, p. 57). (iv) The phrase, Kālāṅjara-paravakānidehiśvara is met with among the titles of a Śilāhāra chief in an inscription of 1289-90 A.D. from Chinnamálī in the Gulbarga district. (My private collection.)
4 The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India by Nuno Lal Dey gives under Kṛishnagiri and Nīkāčala the following identifications: (i) The Karakorum mountain; (ii) A hill at Puri in Orissa; (iii) A hill at Gauhati in Assam; (iv) The Haridwar hills. Another possibility is the Kṛishnagiri occurring in its Prakrit form Kapagāri in the Nasik Cave inscription (above, Vol. VIII, p. 60). This has been identified with Kapāhēri or Sahasrābhill (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XVI, p. 633). But the importance of the hill noted in items (ii) and (iii) above and also the last mentioned rests mainly in their religious associations and not in their physical greatness as mountains. Hence it is doubtful if they could have been intended in a purely secular context like the present one.
5 Kathāśaritāyana, XIV, 3, 65-66 and XVI, 3, 7. The legend regarding the paramount sovereignty once enjoyed by the progenitors of the Śilāhāra stock is also echoed in an inscription of the 12th century at Muttagi, Bijāpur District. (Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State by Prof. Kundangar; No. 9, verse 37.)
No more historical details are known about the members of this Akkalkot Branch of Śilāhāras. Still, its great antiquity and well-preserved genealogical traditions furlish a suitable occasion for reviewing in brief the early history of the Śilāhāra stock and its later expansion into several family groups in the light of the epigraphical discoveries during the past decades.

Frequent allusions to their former rule over the famous town of Tagara (modern Ter, Usmanabad District, Nizam’s Dominions), contained in the titles of the principal Śilāhāra families, indicate the first settlement in this tract of the earliest members of the stock, who might have migrated to the south during the early centuries of the Christian era. The next important stage in the ramification of the Śilāhāra stock appears to have come about during the time of the 8th-10th centuries, as the origin and foundation of the three hitherto known Śilāhāra families, e.g., the Northern and Southern Konkan and Kolhapur, could be referred to this period from genealogical calculations.

In the earlier part of this period some more members seem to have migrated towards the south and east of Tagara and settled all over the region of Tardavadi Thousand, roughly corresponding to the modern district of Bijapur and the neighboring parts. This piece of information, furnished by a record from Muttagi, is amply substantiated by a good number of epigraphs containing references to the several members of the Śilāhāra extraction; discovered in the Bijapur District and the adjacent areas of the Gulbarga District and the Akkalkot State. From the mention of the title Vijayapuravarādhiśvara in place of Tagara-puravarādhiśvara in some records of the Akkalkot branch, it may be inferred that the early settlers of this tract had chosen the ancient and sacred town of Vijayapur as their headquarters.

An individual line of petty Śilāhāra chiefs, who must have evidently belonged to the group of families domiciled in the Bijapur region, has been brought to light by a number of inscriptions copied by the Madras Epigraphist’s Office in the Sindagi taluk of the Bijapur District. The epigraphs containing references of this line range in date approximately from the middle of the 11th to the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. These chiefs call themselves descendants of Sejara, Siṣara or Siyāla and lords of Tagaranagar. Their headquarters were

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1 A local tradition connects the modern name of Akkalkot with the village Akkalagai, which is said to have existed formerly on that site and the suffix kōṭ (kōṭe) denotes a fort. This is borne out by the form ‘Akkalkōṭe’ of the name, frequently used by the village folk in their common parlance.

2 Besides the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, Kolhapur and Akkalkot, two more families of the Bijapur area assume the title denoting their lordship over Tagara.

3 It is doubtful if we can connect this family with the Śilāhāra ancestors from Tagarpura, as the epithet denoting their authority over the place is absent among the titles of this branch. On the contrary it’s relationship with the rulers of Ceylon is set forth in the Kharepatan Plates (above, Vol. III, p. 292). This may be due, as suggested by Fleet, to the fancied resemblance between the names, Sinhala and Śilāhāra (Bomk. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 538). Another suggestion is to equate Sinhala with Gōa (Indica Culture, Vol. II, p. 398). The banner and family deity are also not mentioned in the records of this branch.


5 For instance, Indarasa III is mentioned as Vijayapuravarādhiśvara and Vijayapuravarādhiśvara in two epigraphs from Akkalkot, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama years 36 and 48. (My private collection.)

6 Vijayapur or modern Bijapur is referred to as vijayalāha and Dakhsha Vārāṇasī in the records of the 11-12th century A. D.; vide B. K. Nos. 124, 125, 127, 131, etc., of 1933-34.

7 The following B. K. Nos. of 1936-37 may be noted for studying the history of this family: 6, 21, 30, 34, 37, 38, 67, 68 and 85.

8 This name bears some resemblance with Sinhala and may possibly furnish a clue to the proposed origin of the Śilāhāras of the Southern Konkan from Ceylon.

9 This departure from the more familiar form Tagarapura of the place-name may be noted.
at Elamēla, identical with modern Almēl in the Sindagi taluk. They worshipped the god Uttarēśvara of Elamēla and cherished reverence for their tutelary deity Kātyāyani. In the beginning their status was only that of the Mahāsāmanas, which was later on elevated to that of the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras.

More conspicuous among the Śilahāras of the Bijapur area is a section that bears the distinctive epithet Kopanapuraśrayāhāvarta. They figure prominently in the records ranging from the early part of the 11th to the end of the 13th century A.D. It is curious to observe that, while a large number of records containing references to them has been discovered in parts of the Bijapur District and the adjacent areas, not a single record mentioning them has been so far traced at or in the vicinity of Kopaṇa or modern Kophal in the Nizam's Dominions, which, according to the implication of the title, must have been in their possession at one time. Like the members of the Almēl branch, this family also claimed the goddess Kātyāyani as their tutelary deity. The earliest member of the Kopanapura branch so far known is from an epigraph at Śalōtgi in the Bijapur District. His name was Kānchiga and it is stated that he hailed from Kopanapura. In the absence of date the record may be assigned to the first half of the 11th century on palaeographical grounds. This Kānchiga was most probably a descendent of Kānchha, an early ancestor of the Akkalkōt family. The kinship of the Kopanapura family with the Akkalkōt branch is vouched not only by the frequent occurrence of the peculiar names, such as Dhanasaṅgraha, Dākarasa, Indarasa, etc., originally found among the latter, but also by the characteristic epithet Kāṇakāraparivarījanta-dīśādhiśvaram (supreme lord of the country as far as Kāṇakara) occurring in a record of the former.

Traces of one other family of the Śilahāra chieftains that had settled in the Bijapur region are available from the records of the 11-12th century discovered in the Iṇḍi taluk. Kavilāsa and his son Dhanasaṅgraha figuring in an inscription from Tadavaḷga, Mahāsāman Dhanasaṅgraha-śayyara of the Rūgī epigraph, Pirya Gōvaṇarasa, Bandarasa, and his father Clāvunḍarasa mentioned in the Śalōtgi record appear to have been a few members of this family. Their names further suggest their possible connection with the Akkalkōt branch.

1 B. K. No. 43 of 1937-38.
2 The phrase Kātyāyinidēri-labhā-śara-prasūda occurs in the prakāasti of this family.
3 In the course of my private epigraphical survey I have carefully explored the town of Kophal and its adjoining villages.
4 The antiquity and renown of Kopaṇa may be judged from the existence of Aśokan Edicts and other early Jain vestiges there. (Vide Hyderabad Archaeological Series, Nos. 10 and 12.)
5 It may incidentally be noted that the title Kopanapuraśrayāhāvarta was not exclusively used by the members of the Śilahāra branch. There are instances of other chiefs who apparently bore no connection with the Śilahāras using this title. For example, Mahāmanḍalēśvaras Vira-Rāmādēvarasas figuring in an inscription from Harasur bore this title, but belonged to the lineage of Nābhiraṇa (Nābhiraṇa is a mistake; Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 486). An epigraph of the 12th century from Hodal in the Gulbarga District states that chiefs born in the lineage of Nābhiraṇa ruled as Kopaṇapura. (My private collection.) A chief named Hemāśidēvarasas, who held this title is introduced as a subordinate of Yavasura Mallikārjuna in a record from Umarāqi, Jath State. (B. K. No. 128 of 1940-41.)
7 It has been assigned to the middle of the 10th century by Fleet; ibid.
8 Vide the genealogical statement in the beginning of this article.
9 This record is from Chinmaiḍi in the Gulbarga District. Its date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1288, March 8, Monday. The Śilahāra chief who bore this epithet was again Dhanasaṅgraha. He was ruling over the Attinur tracts of eighty villages included in the province of Añādi Thousand. His capital was Attinur (modern Hattanur, Gulbarga District). He is stated to have hailed from Tadavāḷga. Dākarasa and Añādmaralla were the father and grandfather of Dhanasaṅgraha, who appear to have held hereditary authority over the tracts. (My private collection.)

10 Ibid., No. 58.
11 Ibid., No. 35.
12 Ibid., No. 66.
A large number of epigraphs collected from the Hāvēri taluk of the Dharwar District reveals the existence of an ancient line of Śilāhāra chiefs that had domiciled in that region. The earliest of these records referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūtra monarch Amoghavarsha (9th century) mentions Kaliyammarasa, the first known member of this family, as holding the office of nāḷgāmcuḍa. An examination of several records containing references to this family shows that this office was held hereditarily by its members and that their authority extended over the tract of Bāsavura-140. This humble position of these chiefs seems to have improved in course of time, for they are addressed as Mahāśīvamantus under the Western Chālukyas and Mahāmahāvīsāvaras under the Yādavas of Dēvagiri during the 11th and the 13th centuries. While giving their prakāśi reference is frequently made to their Khāchara race and the serpent banner. The usual Śilāhāra title denoting connection with the city of Tagara is not found in it. Unlike the other branches, this family appears to have been a follower of Jainism, as Pāmavati of the Jain pantheon was their tutelary goddess.

A petty offshoot of the Śilāhāra lineage stretching over three generations, apparently bearing no connection with the Śilāhāra families noticed above was functioning at Teral in the Belgam District during the twelfth century. Jains by persuasion, they adored the goddess Pāmāvati. They had the emblem of peacock feathers as their ensign.

One more family of Śilāhāra Mahāmahāvīsāvaras, who had migrated further south to the region of the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency, has been lately brought to light by the inscriptions copied in that area. One of these from Erāmāṭam dated in A. D. 1075 during the reign of the Western Chālukya king Bhūvanaikamalla (Somavvarī II) introduces his feudatory Satyarasas of the Śilāhāra family, who constructed a temple at the village in the name of his father Bikkaras. This chief figures again in another record? from the same area, a few years later (A. D. 1082) during the subsequent reign of Vikramāditya VI. A damaged record of the latter reign coming from the same parts mentions another chief named Rājaditya of the Śilāhāra lineage, who seems to have been connected with the family of Satyarasas. In the first of these records Satyarasas is given the titles, Tagaurapatavarāsvara, Pratyaksha-Jiitavāḥa-kula-sambhaçya and Mandākinivaraprāsadādīta (prosperous through the grace and boon of the goddess Gāṅgā). It may be noted that the combination of these titles, which are rather characteristic, distinguishes this family from others.

It may be seen from the foregoing that besides the three hitherto known branches of the Śilāhāra stock, there flourished at least seven other distinct branches including the Akalkott line of the present record.

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2 B. K. No. 24 of 1932-33.
3 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 184, etc.
4 The phrase, pannapākhaveda-virajamāna or sarpadhvepa-jāktita, is met with in some records describing the titles of this family. The Northern Kōnakṣ and other branches generally mention their banner of the Golden Eagle (Śivara-patva-dhauja).
7 Ibid. No. 33 of 1942-43.
8 Ibid. No. 54 of 1942-43.
9 Slight verbal alterations in the eminent Śilāhāra title denoting authority over Tagara seem to have been devised for distinguishing the different branches. The Northern Kōnakṣ branch used the title Tagaurapatavarāsvara. The Bijapur, Akalkott and Kolhapur families had it in its modified form Tagaurapatavarādikāvāra. The Elāmela family had changed it into Tagaurapatavarādikāvāra.
10 Some of the records referred to in the course of the above discussion of several Śilāhāra families are unpublished. I am grateful to the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly permitted me to study this material.
A passing reference is made in the gift portion of the record (l. 37) to Mahāmāyādēśvara Kumāra Tailapa. A scrutiny of the several inscriptions containing references to the sons of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI clearly shows that he had at least four sons, viz., Mallikārjuna, Jayakarna, Sömēśvara and Tailapa. The order in which they are related possibly indicates the seniority of the one over the other, Tailapa being the youngest.

Regarding the geographical names occurring in this epigraph, Āṇandāru, the headquarters of the Āṇandāru Three Hundred (district) is to be identified with modern Āṇadāru, chief town of the taluk of that name in the Usmanabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. This place is about 20 miles to the north of Akkalkot. Ankulage Fifty was a subdivision of Āṇandāru Three Hundred and the village Ankulage from which it must have taken its name may be identified with the modern Akkalage town itself. The gift-land was situated in the village [Biṭṭeyana Karajige], which may be identified with modern Karajgi, a fairly big village in the south-western part of the Akkalkot State.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī-jiyās-chchābhyaṇayaścha  | Namas-tuṁga-śīras-churbi-chandha-chāmara-
2 chāravē [*] | trailōkya-nagarāṁbhama-mālastambhāya  Sa(Sa)ṁbhavē || [1*] Svasti samasta-
3 bhuvan-ākara-
4 yāṁ Śrī-Prī(ri)thvī-vallabhah Mahārājādhirājaḥ Paramēś(t)varah Paramabhaṭṭāraka[ṁ] Satyāśra-
5 ya-kula-tīlakaḥ Chāluky-ābharaṇaṁ śīma(mat)-Tribhuvanamalladēvāra vijaya-rājyam-un-
6 ttarōttar-ābhivri(ri)dhi-pravardhamānam-āchandr-ācka-tāraṁbaram salutta śrī-rāja-
7 dhāni-Ja-
8 yanti-purāṇa nelevidinolu sukha-sahkhathā-vinōdadinī rājyam-geyyuttam-isre || Tat-pāda-
9 padmōpa-
10 jīvagalu || Vṛttā || Sa(Sa)radhi-vyāvēśhit-inrvī-va[la]jyadol esedar ssatya-saumēndaryya-
11 [sau]rīya-sphura-
12 d-audārīy-ōdgha-dhaīryya-prakaṭita-ye(ya)śar-embaraṁgaṁ labha-lakṣmi-parirama[bh-ā]
13 ramīha-va-
14 khasa-sthalam-amaḷa-Śrīḥāra-ōgō-dhabhav-ś-khaṭāhara-vain̄-aik-āvataṁs-agār-Tagara-pura-
15 var-āḷīdvar-ar-khāṭra-
16 putra || [2*] Kaṇḍa || Avarol-Piṭṭaman-embaṁ bhuvanado-Aśīṭādriy-emba Kāḷānīram-
17 em-
18 b-ive mēreyāda vasudheyan-avataripāṇi mahipan-āgi paripā[li]sidam || [3*] Prithvi || Avamge ma-
19 gan=Ajjan=Ajjiga-nripaṁ Aṅgārjjunaṁ ravi-pratiman-ātaṁgo naga[d=Indan=Indanmge
20 snīd-avaryya-bhuj-āvīr̄ya-
21 r-appa Kavilāsanaṁ Kaṇhcha[nun] pravita-bhayam-agrajaṁ-avaroḷaṁ nripaṁ Bibbas
22a || [4*] Kaṇḍa ||

1 The suggested identity of Jayakarna with Tailapa is untenable as evidence is available to prove that they were distinct individuals administering different parts of the empire at one and the same time. (Vide An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy, 1921, p. 89.)
2 See p. 68 n. 1 above. It may be noted that there is another small village named Ankalge in the south-west corner of the State.
3 From the impressions and the original.
4 Metre : Mahāmāyādhara.
5 The metre is faulty here.
Ä-negaḷda Bibbasanīg-abhimānanadhanam puṭṭiḍan magaṁ Rakkasan-ants-ā-nripatīg-agra-
tanayan-anuṇa-yaḥā-ramaṇa-

n=Inda-bhūḥbhujan-eṣha || [5*] Vṛttā || Ṣaya-vanitā-manī-rōmāṇga-ā-vibhugṣa-agra-tanūjaṇ-
āgi dhāṭriyō 

]eṣeḍan guṇ-āmbunidhi [S0]vaṇan-ā-mahīpaṅge puṭṭi laksmiyan-anurāgadīn tāḷeṇdu 
Pṛṭṭamanaṁ ka-

vilāsanuṁ yaśaḥ-priyar-ene sandar-ant-avaroṇuṁ Kavilāsa-nripatīge nātindaṇa || [6*] Dhan-
asāṅgrabh-
han-amala-yāsā-dhanasāṅgrahana-anata-nripati-nirṛjita-tējō-dhana-sāṅgrahan-akhiḷa-kalā-
dhana-sāṅgrabh-
han-enisidam dharā-maṇḍalado || [7*] Vṛttā || Oṁd-erād-enḍu lekksiḷuḍaṁ turagaṁ 

padinēṇṭu sāyiraṁ 

20 guṇāḍu goṇḍado[negaḷda birar-aṣṭi-sahasraṁ-āhavakk-enḍad-a]mbam-app-īṭamān birapad-

21 ti-balakke lekkav-śīl-enḍado madd-adēṁ voga[ven-ā-Dhanasāṅgrahā-bhumiśa]laṇa || [8*] 

Ka || [9*] Paridhi niya-

22 dharege Kālāṇjaramuṇ Kri[Kri]pāḍī-ṛaṭṭamad-adan-ulidalu vasuṁdharye-ene(ni)nt-anitu-
man-amṇisid-ariyani 

23 Dhanasāṅgrahāṁ jaya-ṛi-raṃaṇa || [9*] Dhanasāṅgrahāṁge sutan-Ājjan-Ājja-bhūpaṅge 
sūṇ Kavilasān-

24 vaṁg-anupama-tēyaṁ Dāṁkaṁ tanaṇaṁ puṭṭiḍan-avaṅge Kavilāsa-nṛi(nṛ)pa || [10*] Vṛi 

|| [Avan-uvṛtv-śa-

25 rvvā-rākṣā-kshaman-avan-anat-āṛati-saṅghāta-nirṛgiṣṭa-visāḥ-ābhijā-bāhā-parīghan-avan-
anuṁ-ātma-dānāṁ-

26 bu-dhārā-plavasm-tripath-ārthi-śa(sa)ya-prakaraṇ-avanāna...āri-śa(śa)ya-mahā-sā(śā) 

trava-pauna-vyūḥa-dāhā-

pun janakaṁ Moraṁba-

28 d-Uddāṇiyā-Rājārājana tanūḥhavo Chandalādēvi tāy-emuṁ sūṇīta-vārdhī viśva-jagati-
ta-vartīta-kīrtti ca 

29 jalakshmi nilayaṁ pratāpa-nilī puṭṭiḍan-Indiga-maṇḍalēśvaram || [12*] Vṛi || [Urag-āṛatige 

taṁnan-śtu bhujaga-vṛātāṁ-

30 gaḷaiṁ kād-anantarav-unmīśidam madiya-kula-saṁjātaṁ dal-emid-aḷavapājara-pēppindāme 
potigot-irdapane tān-ā 

31 khēṣaraḷaś̄ṭirantiṣam-em heraṁloṣa-aghalaṁ trava kava guṇamaṁ pūṇa-Inda-bhūpaḷaka 

|| [13*] * Svasti samadhigata-

32 pariḥca-mahā-sabda Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Tagaraṇapavar-aḍhitēvaram Jīmūtavāhan-anvay-ām-

barrā-sarad(ṛ)-chaṁdra vībhav-āṇaṛēṇ-

33 dra samas-tāṃśita-jana-dāridry-aḍī-kulīśa-bhāṇḍa S[ra]-kula-kamalā-mārtttaṇḍa ripu-mahī 

kalika-maṇḍa-

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1* Metres: Champaṇkamālā. 
2* Metres: Kanda. 
3* Metres: Uppalasālā. 
4* Metres: Kanda. 
5* Metres: Mahāksepahārā. 
6* Metres: Uppalasālā. 
7* Metres: Mahāksepahārā.
34 |ōtpāta rāja-Māndhāta śrī-Chāmmunjikā-dēvī-labdha-vara-prasāda dāna-vinōda manneya-
vallabha bhayalōbha-
35 durālabha ālīn-mumneirīva sauryyaman-mēra(ṛ)va chaladaṅkā-Rāma saṅgrāma-Bhima
śrīma(mat)-Tribhuvanama-
36 llaḍēva-pādārādhaka para-bāla-sādhaka nāmādi-samasta-pra[śajeti-sahita śrīman-Mahāmāṇḍ-
alēsā]-
37 ran=Indarasarumi || @ śrīman-Mahāmāṇḍalēsāraṃ Kumāra Tailapadēva-[ṛdhāya]-mēlā-
likeya Bhāgīyabharasaiyum
38 śrīman-Mahāprachāṅgda-dānādānayakam Gajāṅkuśa-kula-tīlakam Prabhu KēsarināyakarU
magan=Anīharaṃsanam
39 śrīmch-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 39neya Jaya-sarṇavatsarada Pushya-bahuja
12 Śukravān- Uttar-
40 rāyaṇa-sarṇikramana Vyattipāta-nimmattan Kāraṇījīgaya śrī-Siddha-gaṅgevara-dēvar-aṅga-
bhō-
41 gakkan nivēdyakkan naṅḍādivigēguh khaṇḍa-sphutīta-jīrṇādhārakkav-ā-dēvara maṭhād= 
āchārya-
42 ru yama-niyan-āsana-prāpāyāma-pratyēhāra-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maun-ānushṭhāna-guṇa-
43 samapnar[u][n] anna-dāṇa-vinōdarum-appa śrī-Jhānasiddha-dēvare kālāṁ karche di dhārā-
pūrvakam sarvaṃnāsyam-
44 vā-āgī Āṇandārṇ mūrṇāra balīy-Āṇkulagey-ayvattar-ōlagana [Bēṭte-
45 yana Kāraṇījīgaya [te]ñku-voladalu prabhugaḷa māṇyaḍīṁ mūḍalu hadimūṛgaṇa Benk-
kolvana kōḷa
46 məṭtaru nūru[1] [a]darolage dēvār-aṅgabhōgakkan jīrṇ-[ōd]-dhārakkan məṭtar-ayvattu maṭhād a biyakke məṭtar-ayvattu
47 dēvare puravaggada kēriyuv-allī dēvare naṅḍādivigēge biṭṭā gaṇa[v-ṛ]raḍu å-kēriyin
paṇḍuḷa tōṁtakBenk-
48 [vana kōḷa məṭtar-ṛaḍu chatus-sīmeiūnd-ōlag-allī biṭṭāgaṇi bērīṅge eley-irppattaydu @
Pratishṭhā-kāla-
49 dalu Prabhu Kēsarināyakam taṇuma guḍḍe-māṇyadolage Sī[rjgalabbe(yā)-kēreyin paṇu-
valu Benkolvana kōḷalu biṭṭa keyi məṭtaru hattu @ śrīman-Mahāpasāyitaṃ Sūlāyitar-
adhi-
50 sēṭhayakam Maṇḍalikakam Kātiyanaj Javālajīgaya mūḍa-voladalu Benkolvana kōḷalu biṭṭa ke-
51 γi məṭtar-ayvattu @ I dharmmanam-ārādoḷam pratipāḷisidavargge Vāraṇasiyolam Kuruṅkēṭra-
52 dolan chaturvīḍa-paṇgar-appa Brāhmaṇarigaṇa tapōdhanarigaṇa sēsira kavilegaḷa kōḍuṁ
koḷgummuṁ hominalu kattiy-
53 si dānamari koṭṭa phalam-akku @ Im[l]dan-ā[ṛ]num kidjīsen-aṁba pāpakarmarnagā
upēkṣhidasaimāṁ
54 chaturvīḍa-paṇgar-appa Brāhmaṇarūmaṇa tapōdhanarum sēsira kavileyamal Vāraṇasi-
yolam Kuru-
55 khāṭradolam taṁna svahastadolu koṇda dōsham-akku @ Vṛī || 1Paṇina[ga]nātha-dhārig-
aghahārīge pūjje bo-
56 ṭa dharmmanam maṭṭimis kāvud-allad-inisati teṛō-kāṅke-sē[ṛ]sely-āgē[ṇa] maṇneyav-śya-
dāyam-ivu sallavu

Metro : Utpalalākā.

XVI-I-11
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Lines 1—2 Invocation to Śiva.
II. 2—6 Tribhuvanamalladāvā (bearing all the Western Chāluṣky titles, Samastabhuvanāsraya, etc.) was ruling the kingdom from his capital Jayantipura.
II. 7—9 Description of the Silāhāra princes in general terms.
II. 10—11 Piṭṭama (the earliest ancestor of the family) ruled the country bounded by Asitādri and Kālāśāraya.
II. 11—17 Genealogy of the family up to Kaviśāla (II).
II. 17—23 Description of Kaviśāla (II)’s son Dhanasangraha. He was very resourceful and ruled the country bounded by Kālāśiyara and Krishnaprīti.
II. 23—31 Genealogy continued from Dhanasangrāha’s son Ajja to Indarasa (III).
II. 31—37 Indarasa (III)’s praśasti.
II. 37—42 Indarasa (III), Bhāgīyabharasi who was in charge of the income of the estate (I) of Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kumāra Tailapadāya, Prabhū Kesarināyaka of Gajāṅkuṣa kula and his son Ambarasa participated in making a gift on the specified date.
II. 42—52 Details of the gift.
II. 52—64 Impression in prose and verse.

No. 16.—WADGAON PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRAVARASENA II
(1 Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, AMBAKTI

In July 1942 one Bhagwan Shiva Ganar of Yemur, a village in the Hoṅgānhāṭ tahsil of the Wardhā District came to Nagpur to attend a conference of the Depressed Classes. Out of curiosity he went to see the Central Museum, Nagpur, where he noticed some Vakātaka plates displayed in the Archaeological Section. They reminded him of similar plates in the possession of his grandfather at Wadgaon in the Warorā tahsil of the Chándā District. Being curious to know what was inscribed on them, he brought them to the Museum some days later and handed them over to the Curator, Dr. S. S. Patwardhan. Mr. M. A. Suboor, the Com-Expert of the Museum, cleaned the plates, took inked estampages of them and kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.1

1 The original plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.—Ed.
The copper-plates are four in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides. They measure 6.5' long and 3.5' broad and weigh 97 tolas. They were held together by a ring, about 3 tolas in weight, passing through a roundish hole 1.3' from the middle of the left side of each plate. It must have carried the usual Vākāṭaka seal sliding on it, but this is not forthcoming now. There are 42 lines of writing in all, which are evenly distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes of omission and commission, see, e.g., akṣi-bhāra, l. 4, saty-ārjiva, l. 9, śī-śaṣṭra-sārya, l. 13, etc.; but there are many more which are left uncorrected. In the right hand lower corner of the first side of the second plate, he has incised the syllables Mārada dā[ś]-r, which were inadvertently omitted in l. 42. In l. 21 several letters were beaten in and in their place the syllables vishuva-vāchana were incised. This correction or tampering, whatever it might be, was apparently done in the Vākāṭaka age, for the substituted akṣhara are of the same type as the rest of the record.

The characters are of the box-headed variety as in most other inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The noteworthy peculiarities are the cursive form of the mediā in śiśiḥ twice in l. 4; the bipartite an in daunātrasya, l. 7; the medial ri of kri which is formed not by the usual curling curve, but by the addition of a curve turned downwards on the left of k in kula-pure-ādhi-kri, l. 23 and the rare medial ji in k-
-ājīpt-āpūkājīptāḥ, l. 31. The numerical symbols for 400 occur in l. 20 and those for 2 and 3 on the second side of the second and the third plate respectively. The language is Sanskrit, and, except for two benedictory and imperative verses, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not present any thing calling for special notice.

The inscription is one of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II. His genealogy is given here exactly as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called Dēvagupta. The object of the present inscription is to register the grant of 400 niyāmanas of land which Pravarasena II made to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudrāya who was versed in two Vedas and belonged to the Lōhitya gōtra and the Vajasaṃyā sākhā. He was a resident of the village Ėkārjunaka. The land donated to him was in the village Vēlasuka which was situated in the Sutrāṭhāḥā orō or subdivision. The village lay to the east of Ėṛṣṭhragṛama, to the south of Kadambasaraka, to the west of Nilgrāma and to the north of the road to Kōkālī. The plates were issued from the royal camp on the bank of the river Hiranyā on the tenth titki of the bright fortnight of Jyēśṭha in the twenty-fifth year, evidently of the reign of Pravarasena II. The Sēnāpati Būppadēva, mentioned in the last line, was probably the dūlaka. He is also mentioned in the Siwāni plates of this Vākāṭaka king.

The scribe was Māradaṇa.

From the Paṭṭān plates published in this Journal, we already know that Pravarasena II ruled for at least twenty-seven years. The present plates being issued in his twenty-fifth regnal year do not make any addition to the reign-period of the king. The doner Rudrāya is styled vishuva-vāchana (reciter at a vishuva) which suggests that the grant was made on the occasion of a vishuva or equinox. The vishuva immediately preceding the date of the grant was that of

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1 [The original gives the symbols for 100 followed by 4 evidently in the sense of 100×4 (=400). A different set of symbols for 400 is employed in Gupta Ins., Pl. XXV, l. 78 and Pl. XXXVI(c), l. 1. Cf. the symbol for 600 where the symbol for 100 is followed by symbol for 6; Ojha's Palaeography of India (1918), Pl. LXXXIV.—Ed.]
2 The ētri-pravarasena-kakadambaka gives Lōhitā as the name of the gōtra.
4 See below, p.
5 Above, Vol XXIII, pp. 81 ff.
6 Lines 20–21 of the present plates state that the grant was made in the twentieth year, but this is probably a mistake. The writer seems to have omitted the word paśkas before vēlaṭhāna in l. 20. It is unlikely that the grant remained unregistered for five years.
the Mēsha-saṅkrānti falling in Chaitra. The grant was evidently made to the Brāhmaṇa for reciting certain sacred texts on the occasion of the vishuka or Mēsha-saṅkrānti.1

The Supratishṭha āhara in which the village Vēlusaka was situated is already known from two other Vākṣṭha charters, viz., the Poona plate2 of Prabhāvatīgamū and the Koṭhūnaka grant3 of Pravarasēna II. Its location was uncertain until the discovery of the Koṭhūnaka grant. I have already shown in connection with the identification of the places mentioned in that grant that the āhara roughly corresponded to the modern Hīśanghāt takṣila of the Wardhā District. The present grant indicates that the āhara extended a little southwards and comprised the northern parts of the Warorā and Yeotmāl takṣilas of the Chāndā and the Yeotmāl Districts respectively. The village Vēlusaka in which the donated land was situated cannot now be traced, but it seems to have occupied the same position as modern Chiṅchmaṇḍal which lies just on the south of the elbow of the Wūmnā, for all the boundary villages mentioned in the present charter can be traced in the vicinity of it in the respective directions. Thus Girdhara-grāma is Gadehā about 8 miles to the west and Nīl-grāma is Nīlai about 5 miles to the east of Chiṅchmaṇḍal. Kadambasara is Kōsara about 2 miles to the north. Kōkā is modern Khairā which lies about 4 miles to the north-west. The road from Marji to Khairā passes by Chiṅchmaṇḍal at a distance of only about a mile to the south. All the boundary villages can thus be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Chiṅchmaṇḍal. It is again noteworthy that Chiṅchmaṇḍal lies only about 5 miles to the south of Waṅgāna where the plates were found. The river Hiranā is the modern Erai which flows from north to south in the Warorā takṣila and ultimately joins the Wardhā. Ēkārmunaka where the donor resided is probably Arjuni on the left bank of the Erai, about 16 miles north-east of Warorā, the chief town of the Warorā takṣila.4

TEXT

First Plate

1 [१] उ[१५] हिरण्यमणिर (सी) वाककाविहर्षोऽम (मा) उर्ध्वोपमिवशालवय (व) निः-
2 रावसापेक्षोढ़म (स्य) लिसवसवाहंक [व] तुरूवन्ययातिष्ठः:
3 विवण (र्ग) बुड़ा [तथा] सया वाककाभाग भवारीम (सो) वरससेनः-
4 वा दुनी: सुनोरत्नलवाहास्मरवलवत एस [भा]
5 रावसिब (व) द्वितीवविविहा द्वी सहलिससुपर (रि) नावविसवारित [रा]•
6 जबशानान (ना) परारकम (मा) विवाटभागिः (सो) रद्धमलन्तमसु (सु) द्व (द्रा) विमिसवाना दशा-
7 द्वमेधा [व] मपातानां भारवावानां महाराजस्योऽवस्पती विनयस्य

1 Had this epithet not been used, the grant might have been supposed as made on the occasion of the Daśarha-svata which is performed on the tenth tiṣṭi of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha. But it is doubtful if the svata was in vogue as early as the fifth century A.D. [This may be only the donor's epithet and may have no reference to any recitation at any particular viśka.—Ed.]
4 From the original plates.
5 Expressed by a symbol which is imperfectly incised. Perhaps they are imperfectly incised symbols of the sun and the moon.
6 Read Sudgushhra.—
7 Read sanrājḥa
8 The engraver at first incised c̥hā which he later on changed into bhā.
WADGAON PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRARASENA II

i.

ii.a.

ii.b.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
Second Plate; First Side

8 गीतमीपुस्य वाक(का)टकाना(नाय) महाराजधि(थी) इत्येकस्य सुनोरयः
9 नमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्जयः काश्यतीयविक्षकमणिनिवयम(या)हास्यः
10 धीमाय(स्य) वायमात्मकिलिकयस्य(मृग) विजयो(गीव) त्यमोनमेट्यानिकीनु(विच्छ) जीः
11 समुघ(ने)तथा वय(में) न्यायिकवेदाचारकोदयः(स्य) साधनसत्ता
12 नतुलसा(वि्य) जीः युथाया(तित्ति) रुपसीः वाकादकानां महाराजधि(थी) पृथकः थी
13 योगस्य गुरुणमेखः वाक(में) गुरुण(पाय) जीः व्रतावोष(पाय) तिजैशतिथि(थी) समुघः
14 यथा व(वा) कात्तकानां महाराजधि(रि) इति(से) तथा समुघः महाराजः.

Second Plate; Second Side

15 धिराजः(वर्त) जीः देवगुप्तसुताया(या) महाभारतीवानायामुद्योस्य शा(शा) भोः।
16 प्रसादपुत्रकारस्यस्य वाकादकानाम्मरमारः(हे) द्वरमहः
17 रामः(जा) व्रतावेनेसश्च वचनाः(तु्य)।। सुमुहिताइरैः प्रथेयतमस्य
18 सूच्यतः: कामाक्षरस्य(कर) (कर) (कर) (कर) (कर) (कर) नीतिप्रमस्य ए
19 विचलचितः(सन्त) कोषकरः(सन्त) (वस्य) ।। उत्तरः: वेतुसुकर्जाम ग्रास्य: प्रासः ।
20 राजामारेनः।। मूर(में) वर्त(वर्त) वर्तचतुतात्तमी(वर्त) वत्वारि ४०० नीतिसंि ।.
21 अतः विवेकावधानकः।। वाजः।। नीतित्याः(वर्त) सम्योरस्य।

Third Plate; First Side

22 एकार्णकवः(स्य) सम्यकः

3 This akshara which was at first omitted, has been inserted in a smaller form.
4 The medial ९ of this akshara has been subsequently shortened.
5 The engraver at first incised kri and subsequently changed it into keśi.
6 Just below this word the aksharas mārśa(ki)ra(śi) have been incised, but their proper place seems to be after Bhūpadeva in l. 42 below.
7 Read—prādha-dhīrṣa-bārtasyagusa.
8 Read Supraśishkā-hārē as in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā (above, Vol. XV, p. 41) and the Kōṭhūraka grant of Pravarasena II (ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 160).
9 The correct form should be Grihad-grāmsagusa.
10 Just before this akshara there is the numerical symbol १ denoting the number of the plate.
12 Perhaps the intended reading is Kōlīkāraṣya.—Ed.]
13 Perhaps čósāraḥ was intended. [Or perhaps atraṣaḥ was intended.—Ed.]
14 This visarga is redundant.
15 Read vināsaṃdhi. It is perhaps a mistake for pāchāvīsamātītaṃ. See that the regnal year mentioned in l. 41 below is the twentyfifth.
16 These seven aksharas are of a larger size and have been incised over others which were carefully beaten in.
17 Read Vājārasena. [It is possible that there was a gōtra of the name Vājūkītya though not commonly known now.—Ed.]
18 Read Vōhiya-sapātṛya and-akṣaraśataḥ so as to make them agree with Rudrīpya mentioned further on in l. 22.
23 सवृवंसित (३) वन्ति वयोः नीयुक्ताः: भ्रातास्माचार (रिः) कुलुप्यवाच्युत्कला भजा (स) दश (८) -
24 द (०) न्य विषव्युवंसिते ssातापितः [९] विज्ञवतस्तु व: यवेहारस्त-
25 सिद्धास्ननो धर्मांवृ (६) येवविजय (वे) व्यवस्थिति धर्माः विवयये इहानुमें व-
26 ही (हृ) तात्पर्यायसरहस्तिते वंतिघिमे धर्मस्थवाने पुरुषोब्दवस्या (व्या) [३] व-
27 कुरुवंसित (विः) शुरुः [९] प्रथा राजयोचिताः [९] पुरुषेयाराजानुम्बा चालुक्ये (व्री) शा-
28 प्रहारसर्वातिरितिरातः: [९] तथापि दशकरायो श्रमवल्लाप-

Third Plate; Second Side

29 प्रवेण: ध्यापरंपरागौरपाठीवें: श्रुपुरकहीरसवोः:
30 धाराविरास्मात्रानन: धारतवंसित (विः) श्रवण [ण] (विः) शास्ति: सति: [विः:]
31 वोपिन (विः) विन्य: सब्लुपलापकुरा च: सब्लुप (विः) दिपिडिपिकारहरिरहितः
32 'भृवत्वादित्या (व्या) समकालीणा: पुरुषोवर्ष (३) [ता] (न) विवि (सो) भृमग- वा:
33 न: न केन्द्रियापारापारापारापारा शास्त्रितयः सब्लुपकथाप्रियासंस्कृतितयः
34 तर: (रिः) वर्द्य (विः) तवादत् [९] परमा वाचस्वरस्वयम्यन: स्वल्पामपी (विः)
35 परवाधा (प) कृखर्याकारायत: व: [१०] तथा ब्राह्मणवल्लके (विः) तथा सवधाः (वर्धे)

Fourth Plate

36 निश्चय (हृ) कुर्माः: [१] व्रतस्तद्वा [१२] धर्मां [२] कर्येण परत्यातानकरायकरिष्ठाः:
37 तनपतिपि (वा) तनन (वा) कृतपुत्रानुसंधिनी [१२] कृतिस्थियाः: [१२] ध्यास्मातो [१४] वासः

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Notes:
1. The akshara श which was incised below the right limb of या has been beaten in.
2. Read viśrutà-pārvavāy = वीश्रुमपरस्पराय.
3. This should qualify a word like grāmatā; but the drafter of the record forgot that the object of the grant in this charter was only four hundred nisārāsmas of land, not the whole village.
4. Read - यस्य-विज्ञवस्तु.
5. Read - राजा-सुनिताम.
6. Read - मार्योधिन मित्रंतान.
7. Just before this word there is a symbol for 3, denoting the number of the plate.
8. Read parivardhayāvyāpa-चा.
9. Read या - श्रमच्छचा - अनयायायांक.
10. Read दाना = कार्यानी - अनयायायानी.
11. Read karpāsā.
12. Read अनन्तोऽकार.
14. Read gliu.
No. 17.—NOTE ON VIJAYADITYA'S GRANT OF SAKA 653

G. H. Khare, Poona

Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya has edited a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vijayaditya, dated Saka 653, in this journal Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. He did not, however, decipher the portion of its text concerning the village granted and the specification of its boundaries. Mr. N. L. Rao, in footnote 3, p. 21, has rightly deciphered the portion in question; but the localities have been left unidentified. I have attempted below to identify them.

The following place-names occur in the grant. Navasāri: name of the viśaya in which Tēllādāhāra was included. Tēllādā: name of the ākāra in which the village granted was situated. Tāḷā[va]dra: name of the village granted. Kōnchaūṭṭhā, Tēllādā, Paṭhamatāḥaṇa, Vēśimā: names of villages by which the village granted was bounded. Of these Navasāri is too well-known to require any identification. Now, in the Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle published in 1902, the names of the following villages are found, with the details shown against them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Post Office</th>
<th>Tāluqa</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telādā</td>
<td>Navasāri</td>
<td>Navasāri</td>
<td>Baroda State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuheṭ</td>
<td>Sarbhor</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthān</td>
<td>Vēśimā</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēśimā</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are evidently Tēllādā, Kōnchaūṭṭhā, Paṭhamatāḥaṇa and Vēśimā of the grant. These places can be easily traced in maps also. If we take latitude 21° north and longitude 73°

1 Read śōka.
2 Read pramāśa-karaṇayas; it appears to have been changed into ni.
3 The superscript k of this ākāra has been wrongly cancelled; read kantār.
4 Read paśca-vinādaśītāmē.
5 Read sukā-daśāmyātan.
6 The superscript letter of this conjunct, which was originally h, has been corrected into p.
7 Read Rāmādāsāṇa. The ākharas Rāmādāsāṇa, which were inadvertently omitted before as in this line, were afterwards inserted in the lower right corner below l. 14 on the first side of the second plate. For a similar case of omitted ākharas being misplaced, see same datum–its written in l. 13 instead of below l. 20 of the Indore plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 55.
8 Read śukītan.
9 This ākharas is superfluous. Read Šubhamāṇa.
No. 17.—Note on Vijayaditya's Grant of Saka 653

G. H. Khare, Poona

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The following place-names occur in the grant. Navasārī: name of the cishaya in which Telliḍāhāra was included. Telliḍā: name of the āhāra in which the village granted was situated. Tārā[va]dra: name of the village granted. Kōnchaṭṭhā, Telliḍā, Paḍhamatthāṇa, Vēṣmā: names of villages by which the village granted was bounded. Of these Navasārī is too well-known to require any identification. Now, in the Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle published in 1902, the names of the following villages are found, with the details shown against them:

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</tr>
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<td>Kuchet</td>
<td>Sarbhoṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parṭhān</td>
<td>Vēṃa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṃa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are evidently Telliḍā, Kōnchaṭṭhā, Paḍhamatthāṇa and Vēṃa of the grant. These places can be easily traced in maps also. If we take latitude 21° north and longitude 73°

1 Read śāka.
2 Read pramāsī-kartavya; si appears to have been changed into ni.
3 The superscript n of this akṣara has been wrongly cancelled; read hantur-
4 Read paṭṭha-viṅkātanā.
5 Read vāka-datarāyaṃ.
6 The superscript letter of this conjunct, which was originally k, has been corrected into p.
7 Read Mārāṭṭhēṇa. The akṣaras Mārāḍāṭhē, which were inadvertently omitted before na in this line, were afterwards incised in the lower right corner below l. 14 on the first side of the second plate. For a similar case of omitted akṣaras being misplaced, see -maṭhā datam-sīti written in l. 13 instead of below l. 20 of the Indore plates of Pravaraṇa II, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 55.
8 Read likkitaṃ.
9 This akṣara is superfluous. Read Šubhacarṇa.
The carving on the mountain of Nanjang, the Vāgai, kuraṅgu and viṣaiyum of his (Vēṇavūdayaiyāṅ's) father Perunjinga, is of great interest. It is a well known fact that kings and ruling chiefs of South India used to wear garlands made of (or golden garlands made in the shape of) the flowers of particular kinds of trees and had the emblems of some animals such as the tiger, fish, elephant, boar, etc. From clause (iii) noted above, we learn that the flower of the Vāgai tree was used by the Kādvāvardāyas of Kudal and that their banner contained 'Kuraṅgu', i.e., the Monkey. The adoption of the Monkey in the banner is not novel. The epic hero Arjuna had Hanumān on his banner. What is difficult to explain is the carving of viṣaiyum, which term means victory. Whether the chief engraved an inscription glorifying the deeds of valour of his father or simply carved his emblem in such a way as to give a subdued position to the emblems of the enemy kings overcome by him it is not possible to say with certainty. In the seals of the Chōla king, Rājendra-Chōla I, we see clearly that the tiger, the emblem of the Chōlas, is given a more prominent place than the fish and the bow, which are the emblems of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra whom he had subdued. It is not unlikely that a similar device was made by Vēṇavūdayaiyāṅ.

A genealogy covering all the members of the house of the Kādvāvardāyas of Kudal being a great desideratum, I shall discuss it below.

Two inscriptions1 dated in Śaka 1108 (=A. D. 1186), discovered at Tiruvēṇgamalūr and Vridhāchalam, furnish the following genealogy:

1. Vaḷandaṇār2 alias Kādvāryaṅ

2. Āṭkoliḷiyār alias Kādvāryaṅ

3. Elḷāimōgaṅ Kādvāryaṅ (conqueror of the four quarters)

4. Āraṃnārāyaṅaṅ Kacheṭṭiyaṅ, Kādvāryaṅ alias Kādvāryaṅ

5. Anappirandāṅ Virāḷēkhaṅ alias Kādvāryaṅ.

A few other inscriptions of the Madras Epigraphical collection also refer to some of these chiefs and enable us to know the time when they lived, the full names and titles they bore, and the part they played in the political history of the country. They also mention other members whose names are not included in the above pedigree. To know the complete genealogy and history of the family, these inscriptions are useful. In inscription No. III of Tiruvēṇgamalūrvarīn Kulotttuṅga-Chōla, dated in the 3rd year of his reign, figures a chief called Mōgaṅ Āṭkolli aliṅas Kulotttuṅgaśōḷa-Kādvāryaṅ, who made a gift of his pāṭikādul rights on certain lands to the temple of Tirumāṇikuli. As mention is made in the inscription of two villages called Tiruppēṟam-balamponmēṟumperumaḷallūr and Edirilisōjanalūr almost in the same words as found in another inscription2 of Kulotttuṅga II discovered in the same place, we are enabled to ascribe both the records to the same Chōla sovereign. The year of the inscription is thus equivalent to

1 No. 74 of 1918 and No. 463 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection (See A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1919, p. 130, and for 1922, p. 107)
2 The name is given as Vaḷandaṇārīr in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 24. But A. R. for 1918, (p. 130) has only Vaḷandaṇār.
A. D. 1135-6. This is the earliest reference that we have to this family. The Kāḍava-raṇya herein referred to is no doubt identical with (2) Āṭkāḷiḷi-yār alias Kāḍava-raṇya of the above genealogy. It is worthy of note that the chief Āṭkāḷi bore the title Mōgaṇ and had the surname Kūlōttuṅga-sōla Kāḍava-raṇya. A second reference to this chief is found in an inscription1 of Köpperunjiṅga dated in the 11th year of reign. It states that in the 12th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartaṁ Rājarāja, a tax-free gift of land was made by Āṭkāḷi Kāḍava-raṇya for offerings and worship to an image which he had set up in the temple of Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ at Tiruvengainallūr for being blessed with a son. That the Tribhuvanachakravartaṁ Rājarāja, in whose twelfth year the grant was made, is the second king of that name and not the third, is assured from the fact revealed in Inscription II which belongs to the 7th year of Köpperunjiṅga which speaks of the pulling down of the śrīvāṇaga of the temple of Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ that had been dilapidated, of its reconstruction in the 29th year of the reign of Kūlōttuṅga III, and of the re-engraving of the older inscription on the new structure. The date of the chief's gift is thus A. D. 1158 corresponding to the 12th year of Rājarāja II. From the two references cited here it will be seen that Āṭkāḷi Kāḍava-raṇya continued to live from A. D. 1135 to 1158. At Grāmam in the South Arcot District, there is an inscription1 dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartaṁ Rājarāja-jadēva which registers a gift by Mōgaṇ Āḷappirandān alias Anapaṇa Kāḍava-raṇya. As Anapaṇa is a surname of Kūlōttuṅga II and as Mōgaṇ has been noted above to be a title of Āṭkāḷi Kūlōttuṅga-sōla Kāḍava-raṇya, the chief that figures here may be identified with him without any difficulty, Rājarāja II being the immediate successor of Kūlōttuṅga II. The date of this record is A. D. 1148. The full name of this chief is thus Mōgaṇ Āḷappirandān Āṭkāḷi alias Kūlōttuṅga-sōla (or Anapaṇya) Kāḍava-raṇya.

From the fact that Āṭkāḷi Kāḍava-raṇya figures in the records of Kūlōttuṅga II and his successor Rājarāja II from A. D. 1135 onwards, it may be concluded that his father Vaḷandaṇar must have been a contemporary of Vikrama-Chōja (A. D. 1118-1135).

In the genealogy, No. 2 Āṭkāḷi Kāḍava-raṇya is said to have had two sons, viz. No. 3 Eḷḷisaimōgaṇ Kāḍava-raṇya, the conqueror of the four quarters (Nādukkūmuṇyāṇa) and No. 4 Araṇaṇa-raṇya-sōla Kāchehiyaranaṇya alias Kāḍava-raṇya. Four inscriptions, Nos. VI, V, IV and 137 of 1900, which belong to the reign of Kūlōttuṅga II, dated respectively in the 7th, 12th, 13th and 15th years, speak of gifts made by these two chiefs, the earlier two inscriptions referring to the younger Araṇaṇa-raṇya-sōla and the latter two referring to the elder Eḷḷisaimōgaṇ. Though all the names and surnames of these two chiefs look more like titles than real names, yet the inscriptions which mention them seem to distinguish the two by calling the elder by the names Eḷḷisaimōgaṇ and Kāḍava-raṇya and the younger by the names Araṇaṇa-raṇya-sōla and Kāchehiyaranaṇya. The inscriptions are of importance as they belong to the very time when the chiefs flourished and furnish the various titles borne by them, which titles, it may be noted, do not find mention in the genealogy given above: besides, they also refer to the numerous gifts which the chiefs had made. These inscriptions confirm the relationship that is said to have existed between them. Inscription No. VI belonging to the 7th year of the reign of Kūlōttuṅga II comes from Tirumānamallūr in the South Arcot District. It registers a gift made by Paḷḷi Āḷappirandān Mōgaṇ alias Kūlōttuṅga-sōla Kāchehiyaranaṇya of Kāḍaliṇ in Perugaṇṭhur-nadu to the temple of Tiruttukkōvarammanṭayir. Among the articles of gift one silver kachehi kōram called after the name Araṇaṇa-raṇya-sōla and weighing 224 kōḷajina, and one bell-metal dish called after Āḷappirandān and weighing 200 polam are noteworthy. The costly gold and silver articles presented by the chief and the assignment of the income of pāṭiḷkāval accruing from two entire villages testify to the wealth and power of the chief. It is specially worthy of note that two of the articles

1 No. 480 of 1921.
2 No. 181 of 1906.
bore the names Araśanārāyaṇaṇ and Ajāppirandāṇ. The twelfth year record, i.e., Inscription No. V, comes from Tiruvadi and registers the assignment of incomes arising from pāṭikāval and other taxes from Kaṇṭamangalam, Māninnallur, Koṭṭilampakkam and Toruppādi of Kil-Aminur-nādu, Kāṭupākkam of Anāṅgur-nādu, besides some other lands in Ādirāmaṅgalappuram, for worship and offerings to the temple of Tiruviraṭṭanam-Udaiyar at Tiruvadi, by Pāṇiṅgamuttaraṇaṇ Ajāppirandāṇ Araśanārāyaṇaṇ alias Kulottungasōla Kachchhiyarāyaṇ of Kūḍalūr. It is significant that all the villages herein mentioned are stated to have formed part of what fell to the share of the chief. At the end of the record it is stated that the gift made by him will not be rescinded by his elder brother or by the other members of the family. From the record under reference it is evident that the two brothers were living amicably, having received from their father, who was then living, the right to the incomes of certain villages. From these two inscriptions we learn that the full name and title of this chief was Pulḷi Ajāppirandāṇ Pāṇiṅgamuttaraṇaṇ Araśanārāyaṇaṇ Kulottungasōla Kachchhiyarāyaṇ and that he had an elder brother who appears to be none other than Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ. More direct information regarding the relationship of the two chiefs is furnished in an inscription1 of Tiruvenippalallur which states that Kūḍal Ajāppirandāṇ Araśanārāyaṇaṇ alias Kāḍavarāyaṇ made a gift of certain taxes leviable on certain temple lands to the temple itself, for the welfare of the donor, his elder brother Ajāppirandāṇ Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ alias Kāḍavarāyaṇ and his family.

It has been stated above that two inscriptions of Kulottunga II mention Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ. One of these, Inscription No. IV, dated in the 13th year, which is left unfinished seems to register the assignment of the chief’s income consisting of taxes including pāṭikāval accruing from the villages that belonged to him, to the temple of Tiruvadi for worship and offerings. The chief is styled Pāṇiṅgamuttaraṇaṇ Ajāppirandāṇ Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ alias Kulottungasōla Kāḍavarāyaṇ of Kūḍalūr in Perувanur-nādu, a subdivision of Tirumulpāṭṭidī-nādu. The villages from which he was deriving taxes, viz. Sīruvāgur, Dēvaṇur and Kīl-Kumāremaṅgalam are stated to be situated in the same Peruvanur-nādu. In the second inscription,2 which is dated two years later and which comes from Vṛddhāchalam, the chief bears all the above names and titles except Pāṇiṅgamuttaraṇaṇ. Here he is said to have built a pavilion for the mahāśnapana of the god and called it Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ-tirumangalapam. The dates of these two inscriptions are A.D. 1146 and 1148. From the fact that this chief Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ Kāḍavarāyaṇ is said, in the verse-inscriptions, to have conquered the four quarters, we are enabled to assign to his time two other inscriptions3 dated in the 6th year of Parakṣesarivarman Rājarāja (A.D. 1152). In both, the chief is styled Kūḍal Ajāppirandāṇ Mōgaṇ alias Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ, and in one of them he gets the attribute Nāludikkuveṭṭaṇ. From these4 two records we learn that the surname Kulottungasōla Kāḍavarāyaṇ, which he bore in the 13th and 15th year records of Kulottunga II, had been changed into Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ in the subsequent reign. This chief, Ajāppirandāṇ Eḻiṣaimōgaṇ alias Kulottungasōla Kāḍavarāyaṇ, is reported to have made a gift of pāṭikāval and other incomes from certain villages for worship in the temple of Tirumul turnāṭaṭajaiya-Mahādeva at Srīmushnam in the sixth year of Rājarāja II (i.e., A.D. 1152) for the merit of himself and his descendants.5 The same chief figures in an 8th year record6 (A.D. 1154) of Rājarāja II and seems also to be referred to in an inscription7 of the 10th year (A.D. 1156) of the same king.

1 No. 423 of 1921.
3 Nos. 166 and 170 of 1906.
4 No. 170 of 1906.
5 No. 232 of 1916.
6 No. 375 of 1902.
7 No. 207 of 1910.
No. 5 Araṇārāyaṇaṇa Āḷappirandāṇa Viṇasēkhaṇa Kāḍavarāyaṇaṇa, son of Araṇārāyaṇaṇa Kachehiyaṇaṇa figures in two inscriptions of Kūḷottunga III dated in the 9th and 13th years of reign. The name Viṇasēkhaṇa, like Kūḷottungagālā, Anāpyaṇa and Rājarāyaṇa, prefixed to Kāḍavarāyaṇaṇa, might indicate the name or surname of the chief’s Chōla overlord. And since we know that Viṇasēkhaṇa Kāḍavarāyaṇaṇa figures only in inscriptions of Kūḷottunga III, there is every possibility of Viṇasēkhaṇa being the surname of this Chōla king. In this connection it is worth noting that a lithic record with the introduction viramē tuṇai found at Puttali in the Chingleput District, dated in the 2nd year of reign, actually gives Kūḷottunga the surname Viṇasēkhaṇa. This king must, therefore, be Kūḷottunga III and not Kūḷottunga II as had been tentatively assumed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23.

So far, we have noticed the inscriptions which mention the several members of the pedigree furnished in the two verse-inscriptions relating to the Kāḍava chiefs of Kēḍal. We may now consider who the other members of the family were. A record of Siddhalingamadam4 states that Ėḻisaimogana alias Janaṇātha Kachehiyaṇaṇa was the son of Āḷappirandāṇa Araṇārāyaṇaṇa of Kēḍalūr. This record is dated in the 6th year of Tripūḷvāṇachakravartip Virarājendra, i.e., Kūḷottunga III (A.D. 1183-4). Since we know that Araṇārāyaṇaṇa Āḷappirandāṇa of Kēḍalūr was No. 1, the younger son of Āṭkolli, it is clear that Janaṇātha Kachehiyaṇaṇa must have been the latter’s son. As Viṇasēkhaṇa Kāḍavarāyaṇaṇa was also a son of this Araṇārāyaṇaṇa Āḷappirandāṇa alias Kachehiyaṇaṇa, it is evident that they were brothers. And since Janaṇātha Kachehiyaṇaṇa figures in two inscriptions, one dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Kūḷottunga III5 (A.D. 1181) and the other in the 8th year of Rājadhirāja II6 (A.D. 1171), he has to be regarded as the older of the two. There are also a few other records7 which mention him. From all these we learn that his full name was Kēḍalūr Araṇārāyaṇaṇa Ėḻisaimogana alias Janaṇātha Kachehiyaṇaṇa. His dates range from A.D. 1171 to 1183-4.

Two inscriptions8 state that a certain Pallavāṇḍar alias Kāḍavarāyaṇar also called Viṇar-Viṇar Kāḍavarāyaṇar, conquered Tōṭdaimañḍalam. In both of them he is stated to be the son of Āḷappirandāṇa alias Kāḍavarāyaṇar. But in one,9 the additional information that his father was also Ėḻisaimogana is furnished. The full name of the father of Pallavāṇḍar as obtained from the inscriptions is Kēḍal Āḷappirandāṇa Ėḻisaimogana alias Kāḍavarāyaṇaṇa. As such, his identity with No. 3, the first son of Āṭkolli is assured. One of these records which comes from Attī10 in North Arcot District, states that Pallavāṇḍar killed a large number of his enemies at Seēvūr11 and created mountains of dead bodies and swelling rivers of blood. Another verse in the same epigraph adds that Tōṭdaimañḍalam conquered by Pallavāṇḍar included in it Peṇṇai-nāḍu and Vaḍa-Vēṅgaṇād.

Other Kāḍava chiefs of Kēḍal known from inscriptions are (a) Maṇavāḷappirumāl and his son Kāḍavarāyaṇar, (b) Mahārājasināha, the son of Jiyamahāipati and Śilavati, and (c) Köppurunijānga. There is not much in the names of these chiefs to admit of their identification with the members

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2 See Inscription VII below.
3 No. 158 of 1923.
4 No. 413 of 1909.
6 No. 475 of 1903.
7 No. 157 of 1906, No. 391 of 1921, and No. 99 of 1934-5.
8 No. 187 of 1932-3, and No. 296 of 1912.
9 No. 187 of 1932-3.
10 No. 266 of 1912 and A. R. 1913, p. 17.
11 Seēvūr is probably the present Mēl-Seēvūr in the Tēndivanam taluk of the South Arcot District. Ibid.
noticed already. Maṇavāḷappurumāḷ figures in a number of inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Kulottunga III ranging in date from A. D. 1191 to about 1213. In these inscriptions he is found to bear the titles and epithets Elaiśaṁgōgaṇ, Vānilaikaṇṭaperumāḷ, Achalakulottamaṇ, Āṭkōpdaṇāyaṇ and Abagrapallavaṇ. A record8 of the 28th year of the reign of Kulottunga III gives this Kādava chief the surname Rājarāja Kādavarāyaṇ. It may be noted that there is no room for confounding this Rājarāja Kādavarāyaṇ with the earlier one of the same surname who was a brother of Araṇāraṇaṇa Kachchhiyāraṇa, for with the former are associated many of the clearly distinguishing epithets of Maṇavāḷappurumāḷ noticed above. Maṇavāḷappurumāḷ seems to be the chief of the family to assert his independence and to issue records in his own name. So far, only a single inscription, dated in the 5th year of the chief's reign9 has been found. It gives him the title Sakalabhuvanačakravartin. Since he held a subordinate position under the Chōḷa king Kulottunga III till about A. D. 1213, it is fairly certain that he should have thrown off the Chōḷa yoke only after that date. A point of interest is that Maṇavāḷappurumāḷ is said in a record of Kulottunga III to have belonged to Kūdaḷ in Kīḷ-Āmuṛu-naṇḍu in Tirumūnaiyāḷ-ṇāḍu, whereas the earlier members are said to have hailed from a Kūdaḷ in Peṇuṇaṇā-ṇāḍu. This difference deserves to be remembered.

There is not much doubt as regards the identity of Mahārājaśiniya with Köpperunājiya. In fact, the first is only a Sanskrit rendering of the second. Inscriptions of Mahārājaśiniya are found at Tripurāntakaṇ and Drākshārāma. While the Tripurāntakaṇ inscription is not dated, the Drākshārāma record bears the date Śaka 1184 (= A. D. 1262), and both the Tripurāntakaṇ and the Drākshārāma inscriptions contain identical and characteristic titles or būradas which make it impossible to differentiate one Mahārājaśiniya from another. The highest regnal year discovered so far for Köpperunājiya is 36 which takes his reign up to A. D. 1279. And the earliest mention of him as a chief is made in a record of the 14th year of Rājarāja III (A. D. 1230), wherein one of his military officers figures as donor of a gift. From the Tilluvēndipuram inscription10 of Rājarāja III, dated in the 16th year of reign, it is learnt that just before A. D. 1232 the Chōḷa king had been captured and kept in prison by Köpperunājiya. Thus the earliest clear reference to Köpperunājiya and his activities are only found in inscriptions dated between the year 1230 and 1232, though his name has been incidentally brought in in an inscription11 of A. D. 1213 of the time of Kulottunga III while mentioning his mother who figures in that record. This early reference to Köpperunājiya can only indicate that he lived to a considerable age like Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty and Anantavarman Chōḍagaṇga of the Eastern Ganga line.

The pretty long reign of Köpperunājiya from A. D. 1212-3 to 1279 and his figuring in the Tilluvēndipuram inscription of A. D. 1232 as well as in another of Rājarāja III two years earlier may lead one to enquire if there was only one king of the name or more than one. This question had been taken up by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,12 whose finding was that the Mahārāja.

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1. Incorporation No. VIII, below.
7. No. 419 of 1893.
11. No. 487 of 1921.
sīmha of the Sanskrit inscriptions and Köpperunjiṅga of the Tamil inscriptions are identical and are not different from the Köpperunjiṅga referred to in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription. According to him Köpperunjiṅga's father, Jiṭamahipati was identical with Alagiyasiyan. Mr. Venkayya cites three inscriptions where the name Alagiyasiyan Avaniyāḻappirandāṅ Köpperunjiṅga occurs and states that in them the name Alagiyasiyan is found prefixed to that of Avaniyāḻappirandāṅ Köpperunjiṅga. Alagiyasiyan and Köpperunjiṅga have been taken as names and Avaniyāḻappirandāṅ as a title. Students of epigraphy know that in double names the first denotes the name of the father while the second is the name of the son. Mr. Venkayya, it may be noted, has not identified Jiṭamahipati with Alagiyasiyan Köpperunjiṅga; he has only equated it with the first part Alagiyasiyan of this double name. It will be unjust to foist on Venkayya a conclusion which he had not arrived at, namely, which he was positively against. Though the credit of having raised the question whether there was only one king or more than one of the name Köpperunjiṅga is due to Mr. Venkayya, he has not suggested or postulated that there might have been two Köpperunjiṅgas related to one another as father and son and that the younger has perhaps to be identified with Mahārājasimha of the Tripurāṅtakam inscription. Mr. Venkayya has assigned the Tripurāṅtakam, Drākshārāma and four Tiruvanpāmalai inscriptions to one Köpperunjiṅga, whose attitude to the Chōlas in times earlier than the date of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, is expressed in the epithet 'the sun to the lotus tank of the Chōla family'.

Two of the inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvēnghanallūr are of importance as they afford hints regarding the relationship that existed between Köpperunjiṅga and Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ. One of them, which is not dated in any king's reign, tells us that the mother of a Kāḍavarāyaṅ presented the image of Alaga (Alagiya)-Pallava-Viṅṇagara-Emberumāṅ; that its shrine, after the death of Kāḍavarāyaṅ's father Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ, had been neglected and allowed to go into ruin; and that Kāḍavarāyaṅ repaired it and gave some lands for its upkeep. There is every possibility that the image Alagiya-Pallava-Viṅṇagara-Emberumāṅ, was called after the name of the husband of the lady that consecrated it. If this is the case, Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ should have borne the surname Alagiya-Pallava, and it may be noted that we have already found that Alagiya-Pallava was one of Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ's surnames. The other inscription is dated in the 36th year (A. D. 1213) of the reign of Tripūvanavinīdēva. It refers to the setting up of the image of the goddess Periyapirāṭṭiyār in the temple of Vaikuṇṭhathū-Emberumāṅ by the mother of Alagiya-pallava Köpperunjiṅga-dēva and to a gift of lands made to it by certain individuals. From the double name Alagiya-pallavan Köpperunjiṅgadēva it might either be gathered that Köpperunjiṅga was the son of Alagiya-pallavan or that he also had the surname Alagiya-pallavan as suggested by Mr. Venkatasubba Ayyar. It is very likely too that the Kāḍavarāyaṅ mentioned in the former inscription, as being the son of Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ alias Alagiya-pallavan is not different from Perunjiṅga.

The only relationship, which is not apparent and which is at the same time difficult to make out, is that of Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ with any of the members known so far. The fact which points to the unmistakable connection of Perunjiṅga and his father Maṉavāḷappurumāḷ with the members of the Kāḍavarāya chiefs noted above, is that they belonged to Köžal or Köžalur. Peruganur-nāṉu was under the control of the two famous sons of Àtkolliyar alias Kāḍavarāyar and was doubtless identical with Perugai which figures among the places that comprised the dominion of Vēṉavaṉaiyāṉ, the younger son of Köpperunjiṅga, as reported in Inscription No. 1. It is also mentioned in another record of the same place as the native place of Àṭṭappirandāṅ.
All these, therefore, make it certain that Perunujunga and his father came in the line of Atkollijar, the son of Valandaar.

The latest member mentioned in the pedigree is Virasekhara Kadavaraya and the inscriptions which mention him are dated in A.D. 1186, 1187, 1189 and 1191.2 But there are inscriptions of A.D. 1171, 1181, and 1183-4 which mention Jananatha Kachehiyaraya, the elder brother of Virasekhara Kadavaraya and state that both were the sons of Arasanaraya Kachchiyaraya. The genealogy provided by the verse-inscriptions omits the name Jananatha Kachchiyaraya altogether though he was the elder of the two sons of Arasanaraya Kachchiyaraya. The omission of the name is significant and the reason for the omission is not known. Was he left without any issue?

Virasekhara Kadavaraya's successor was Manavallaperumal. The earliest inscription which refers to him is Inscription No. VIII from Tiruvadi dated in the 13th year of the reign of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1191) which is the last year so far known for Virasekhara Kadavaraya. It registers the gift of an ornament (ekavallivadam) by Kudal Achalakulottama Atkondanayanaka Kadavaraya. The title Achalakulottama shows that the chief is identical with Manavallaperumal. The other records4 which mention him are dated in A.D. 1195, 1206, 1207 and 1211, all falling in the reign of Kulottunga III. In the first of them he is styled Kudal Elisaimegon Manavavallaperumal Vainilaikanadjan alias Kadavaraya.5 Here the epithet Vainilaikanadjan applied to him indicates that while he was yet a subordinate of Kulottunga III, he had achieved some military renown.6 From the records of Kulottunga III we learn that in or prior to A.D. 1197 corresponding to the 19th year of his reign,7 he despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the North, and entered Kanchei, when (his) anger abated, and levied tribute from the whole of the northern region. In the second record8 he is called Elisaimegon Manavavallaperumal alias Vainilaikanadperumal alias Rajaraja Kadavaraya of Kudal in Kil-Amur, a subdivision of Tirumangaippadi. It is particularly worthy of note that he was styled Rajaraja Kadavaraya even during the reign of Kulottunga III. The third inscription9 which is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulottunga III calls him Kudal Achalakulottama Elisaimegon Manavavallaperumal alias Vainilaikanadaperumal alias Kadavaraya.

The date of the chief's assumption of independence was certainly later than A.D. 1213, but how much later and how long he lived after that event are questions on which direct information is not at present forthcoming. That he was the first to throw off the Chola yoke, there could be no doubt, as it is proved by an inscription issued in his own reign. It has been shown that he had a valiant son in Kopperunjunga whose accession took place in A.D. 1242-3. If he did pass away long before A.D. 1242-3, there is no reason why Kopperunjunga did not assume regal powers earlier than A.D. 1242-3 and from the date of his father's demise. That the Kudal chiefs had good cause to be dissatisfied with the Cholas, is clear from the terms of a compact recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1169 (No. 254 of 1919); but they had to bide their time for taking final action against the emperor who kept the various subordinate chieftains well balanced, even though

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1 No. 511 of 1921.
2 No. 74 of 1918; No. 1011 of S.I. I., Vol. VII; No. 244 of 1934-5; and Inscription No. VII below.
3 No. 47b of 1903; 165 of 1902; 137 of 1906; and 413 of 1909.
4 No. 313 of 1902, 133 of 1906, 43 of 1903 and 63 of 1919, etc.
5 Inscription No. 313 of 1902.
8 No. 133 of 1906.
the dissensions among them, which were many, were allowed to continue. All things considered, it will be natural to suppose that Köpperuṅjīga's accession in A. D. 1242-3 synchronised with the end of Maṇḍavaḷapperumal's rule.

The signal defeat inflicted on the Chōla emperor Kulōṭtuṅga III in the closing years of his reign by the rising Pāṇḍya king Māparaṁ Sunanda Pāṇḍya I caused the proud Chōla to beg for his crown and kingdom. ¹ It was then perhaps that the Kāḍava played the part of the sūtra-dhāra in the dramatic action resulting in the establishment of the Pāṇḍya kingdom (Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtra-dhāra).² A feeble attempt was made by the successor of Kulōṭtuṅga III, i.e., the effeminate Rājarāja III, which only resulted in the establishment of the Kāṇṭha in between the Chōla and Pāṇḍya territories in about A. D. 1222 and gave occasion for Narasimha II to assume the title Chōla-rājya-sthāpanādhiṣṭhāna. The events that led to the imprisonment of the Chōla emperor or, in other words, those that favoured the rise of the Kāḍava as an independent power, are clearly readable in the history that followed the crushing defeat of Kulōṭtuṅga III at the fag end of his reign.

The principal power against whom Rājarāja III wanted to fight in the early years of his reign after the demise of his father, was the Pāṇḍya. It is to be noted also that the Kāḍava is not stated anywhere as having been an enemy of the Chōla king at the time. On the other hand there was a conflict in A. D. 1222-23 between the Kāḍava and the Yādava chief Viranarasimha in which it was the Kāḍava that was defeated. Narasimha II marched against Śrīraṅgam and succeeded in establishing an outpost at Kanjanur to checkmate the Pāṇḍya; and the Kāḍava rising against the Chōla authority was yet in the future. The Kāḍava rising probably followed immediately after Rājarāja's defiance of the Pāṇḍyas. There is nothing to preclude the possibility of an independent entity between the Hōysala and the Kāḍava as well as between many other chiefs of the time. A record of Narasimha II dated in A. D. 1223 says "Why describe his forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara, and the powerful Kāḍavas? Rather describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his orders all the land as far as Śettū".³ The first interrogatory included in it some chiefs who were not at feud with the Chōla.

The Kāḍava who is said to have been wounded by the Yādava Viranarasimha and to have been captured by the Hōysala is in all likelihood Vānīlaṅkāḍaṇ Maṇḍavaḷapperumal.

By about A. D. 1222-3, the Kāḍavarāya who was considered powerful by Narasimha II, must have made an attempt to become independent and was put down by the Hōysala king. It is needless to say that both the attempts were undertaken on behalf of the Chōla. But the Kāḍava was not so easily to be baffled. In the cause of his father, Pernuṅjīga made a stronghold at Śēndamaṅgalam for his military operations, and commenced war against him. His Vailā inscription⁴ tells us that he 'conquered the Chōla king at Tēḷḷāru, deprived (him) of all (royal) insignia (and after) imprisoning the Chōla (king) took the Chōla country'. Another verse in the same record states that his 'prison-house was the abode of the lord of Ponji, i.e., Rājarāja III, of his wife and of his ministers'. Speaking of the excellence of his army the record says that his invincible army fought with the army of Kaṇṇadai 'who knew no retreat'. Even allowing for poetic excesses, there could be no doubt of Pernuṅjīga's having captured and kept Rājarāja III in prison along with his wife and some ministers at Tēḷḷāru. It is not unlikely that the Chōla king escaped or was let off from prison under some conditions, and was for a second time imprisoned at Śēndamaṅgalam. The details of what followed the second imprisonment of the emperor are narrated in the Tiruvēndiparam record of

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 2.
² Ibid., p. 45.
Rājarāja III. It must be somewhere about this time, probably soon after the Teḷḷāru battle, that Maṇavāḷappurumāl became king and reigned perhaps for a decade.

In the Tiruvēndipuram inscription we find the Chōḷa or Hoysala version of a part of the success of the enemies of Perunēṟṟīḷa. It was a single episode in a long struggle. In Maṇavāḷappurumāḷ's time, Perunēṟṟīḷa must have put down Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chōḷa Tikka, who, like Narasimha II, came to share the title of 'Chōḷarāju-sthāpanāchārya' in about A. D. 1232. Tikka's successor became a subordinate of the all-powerful Kāḷava Koppurēḷḷa and a new enemy of the ally arose in Kākatiya Gannapatī almost in the very year of the accession of Vijayaṅgandēḻgpēḷa, i.e., A. D. 1249-50, and it was left to the Kāḷava to deal with him also. The success of his arms gave him the possession of the region further north of Kāḷēchē as is clearly vouched for by Mahārājasimhā's inscriptions in Tripurāntikam and Dākṣhārāma. The politic Kāḷava set up prince Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ to safeguard his own interest and that of his ally Vijayaṅgandēḻgpēḷa.

Thus far we have noticed the inscriptions of Rājarāja III and his predecessors which speak of the ancestors of Koppurēḷḷa.

Now about the later members of the family. In editing the Tiruvēndipuram inscription, the late Dr. Hultzsch made out that Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ was a son of Koppurēḷḷa.1 There is a bilingual inscription2 dated in the 22nd year of the reign of Vijayaṅgandēḻgpēḷa (A. D. 1272) found in the Arunāḷappurumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram in which a chief styled Bhūpālāṇaḻhava Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ figures. The Tamil portion of the record calls him Pūviyāḻappirandāṉ Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ of Āmūr. The title Pūvi(or Avanīyāḻappirandāṉ and the place Āmūr with which the chief is connected suggest that he may be a prince of the Kāḷava family of Kūḍal; and the date is indicative of the fact of his having flourished in the time of Koppurēḷḷa. It seems likely that Avanīyāḻappirandāṉ Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ whose son Alagya Tiruchchirirambalamudaiyaṇ Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ and queen Naṅgai-Āḷvār are referred to in the 2nd and 27th years of the reign of Koppurēḷḷa,3 was the son of Koppurēḷḷa.

A certain Pillaiyar Paṇchanadīvāṇaṇ Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ is referred to as the father of Aruṇaṟṟiappirumāḷ and as the husband of Perumāḷ Nāchēchē and Śōḻinga Nāchēchē in three other inscriptions dated in the 19th4 and 30th5 years of the reign of Koppurēḷḷa and the 10th6 year of Vijayaṅgandēḻgpēḷa. This Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ has been identified with Koppurēḷḷa's son by the late Dr. Hultzsch.7 The additional epithet Paṇchanadīvāṇaṇ given to the chief in these records does not seem to be quite favourable to the identification. Though the chief of this region cannot be positively regarded as such a native, it seems that the association of the title Avanī(Pūvi)yāḻappirandāṉ and Āmūr with Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ is a better ground for determining him as the Kāḷava chief of Kūḍal. In this connection, it may be useful to remember that a chief named Paṇchanadīvāṇaṇ Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ, the protector of Kāḷēchē (Conjeeveram) and Mallai (Mahābalipuram) figures as early as the reign of Kulōṭṭunga I,8 and probably was his subordinate: the region over which he had authority which is the same as that of Vēṟṟūvaḷdaiyaṇ to be mentioned below, would be favourable for his inclusion in the family of the Kāḷavas of Kūḍal.

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1 Above, Vol. VII, p. 166. Pillaiyar Nilagāṅgaraiyaṇ himself is mentioned in a record from Tiruvaiyāḷam dated in the 14th year of Perunēṟṟīḷa (No. 342 of 1908).
2 No. 41 of 1893.
3 No. 505 and 518 of 1902.
4 No. 365 of 1919.
5 No. 181 of 1894.
6 No. 117 of 1912.
8 No. 25 of 1934-5. See also Nos. 415, 416 and 417 of 1893.
A number of inscriptions dated between the 3rd and 26th years of the reign of Köpperuṅjīga mention Pillai or Perumāḷpillai alias Śōjakōn or Śōjakōnar.1 Some of them call him Araisūrudaiyān and Śēkkanivāyā.2 He was one of the madala of the king.3 These inscriptions leave no doubt that he was the son of Köpperuṅjīga and was one of the king’s principal officers. Most of the orders of the king had been issued by him. A few bear his signature also. He made valuable presents to the temples at Chidambaram, Tiruvanāmalai, Vṛddhāchalam and other places, founded gardens of flower plants and fruit trees, and provided for their perpetual maintenance by giving lands for the jeeva of the persons that had to work in them and for those that superintended the work.

That Vēṇuvudaiyān was another of the sons of Köpperuṅjīga is clear from his being called magan in inscription No. 1 below, and Perumāḷpillai in two other records where he is specifically stated to be the younger brother (tambi) of Śōjakōn.4 These three inscriptions are particularly important as they definitely establish that Śōjakōn and Vēṇuvudaiyān were the sons of Köpperuṅjīga and that Vēṇuvudaiyān was the younger of the two. Thus including Nilagaṅgaraiyan of Āmūr, Köpperuṅjīga had three sons.

It is interesting to note that some more members of Köpperuṅjīga’s family are also known. In an inscription of the 35th year of the reign of Kulottunga III, the mother of Köpperuṅjīga is mentioned but the name is unfortunately lost. Since Jiyamahipati of the Tripurāntaka inscription has been identified with the father of Peruṅjīga, the name of his mother has to be taken to be Śilāvatī. A certain Mitṭāṇḍār Nāičhiyār alias Nambirāṭiyār figures in three recordsb as donor, the earliest of which is dated in the 31st year of Rājārāja III (A. D. 1247), the second belongs to the 9th year of the reign of Sākalaḥuvanachakravartin Ālajīrāyaṇa Kādāvarāyaṇa Avanīyālappiranḍāṅ Köpperuṅjīgadēvaṇ and the third to the 15th year of the same king without the title Ālajīrāyaṇa. They tell us that she was the daughter (tirumav oglār) of Nambirāṭiyār, alias Udaiyālēvar and queen (peyvaraoīyār) of Kudal Ālappiranḍāṅ Kādāvarāyaṇa Śādumperumāl, Looking at the title Kudal Ālappiranḍāṅ given to Śādumperumāl and at the dates of the records, viz. A. D. 1247, 1252 and 1258, as well as the application of the terms Peyvaraoīyār and Nambirāṭiyār to Mitṭāṇḍār Nāičhi it seems possible that Śādumperumāl may be a member of distinction in the family of Köpperuṅjīga next to the king or the king himself. If it be the latter, the name Śādumperumāl requires to be explained. The latter part of the compound indicating king, śādum may be taken to mean dāncing. From the Drākshārāma inscription and other records it is clear that he was an adept in the science of Bharatanaḍīya. Āraśājlēvar mentioned in a record of Tiruvanaiyallurc is probably a sister of Köpperuṅjīga.

The genealogy of the family of Kājivas of Kājil embracing all the members noted above with their titles or surnames will stand as follows:—

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1. No. 432 of 1924 dated in the 26th year of Köpperuṅjīga has Pillai Śōjakōn. Perumāḷpillai alias Śējakōn occurs in No. 460 of 1902. See also Nos. 302, 312 and 318 of 1913, dated in the 12th, 10th and 9th years, No. 80 of 1918, dated in the 11th year, and No. 190 of 1936-37, dated in the 7th year.
2. The chief is also called Pillai Araisūrudaiyān. Perumāḷpillai alias Śōjakōn in No. 401 of 1903, dated in the 8th year. Araisūrudaiyān Śēkkanivāyār alias Pillai Śōjakōn in No. 462 of 1902 dated in the 4th year and Pillai Śēkkanivāyār alias Śējakōnpar in No. 400 of 1903 dated in the 11th year.
3. No. 460 of 1902, dated in the 8th year of Köpperuṅjīga and No. 80 of 1918, dated in the 11th year of his reign.
4. Śēkkanivāyān Śējakōn tambi perumāḷ Vēṇuvudaiyān occurs in No. 146 of 1902 and Köpperuṅjīgaśūrdaiyān madala-agoš Śēkkanivāyān Śējakōn tambi perumāḷ pillaiyāva Vēṇuvudaiyān in No. 304 of 1902.
6. No. 511 of 1921. This record states that in the 8th year of Köpperuṅjīga a mandapa was erected by Āraśājlēvar, the elder sister of Ālappiranḍāṅ Ālajīrāyaṇ of Perugai. Ālajīrāyaṇ was Köpperuṅjīga’s surname and Perugai of this inscription is certainly identical with the place of the same name in Inscription No. 1 below, and with the native place of the two sons of Ātkolijēvar alias Kādāvarāyaṇ.
The Tiruvan’çamalai record, i.e., Inscription No. I, which must be ascribed to a date later than A. D. 1243, describes briefly that the victories gained by Perunjiŋga and his son Vēgavudaiyān. It is clear from this epigraph that most of the victories were won by the son during the lifetime of his father. Vēgavudaiyān held sway, on behalf of his father, over the highly celebrated Mallai (Mahābalipuram), Mayilai (Mylapore), Kānchi (Conjeevaram), Daṇḍaka-nādu, the well watered Pāli, the region of the river Peņṇai, Kōval (Tirukkōvalur), and Peņņai. He is described as ‘the hero among heroes who worsted the Kānṭās (i.e., Hoysalas) of the west and belittled their acquisitions or kingdom in the south, and who had made the Tēluṅgas of the north perish in their own quarter’. The worsting of the Hoysalas, which resulted in the curtailment of their possessions in the south, must be taken rather to refer to an independent achievement separate from the conquest of the Chōlas which led to the imprisonment of Rājarāja III at Śenḍamaṅgalam. This event must have been accomplished some years later than A. D. 1243, from which date Perunjiŋga became a crowned king with the title Sakalabhuvanachakravartin.1 An inscription2 belonging to the reign of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Koppurunjiŋga found at Vridhăhālam records the interesting fact that he made a gift of a gold forehead-plate set with jewels,3 to the god Tirumudugunūṟuṉmuṉai Nāyanār of the place, in order to absolve himself of the sins of killing Kēsava-Daṇḍanāyaka, Harihara-Daṇḍanāyaka, and other Daṇḍanāyakas of the Hoysala king in the battle-field at Perambalur (in the Trichinopoly District) and seizing by force their ladies and treasure. This record thus brings to light another significant event in the history of Perunjiŋga, viz., the battle of Perambalur. It seems to me that this battle might be the same as the one mentioned in the Tiruvan’çamalai record noted above.4 The Hoysala contemporary of Perunjiŋga in about A. D. 1253, the date of the Vridhăhālam record, was Vīra-Sōṃēṣvara, the son and successor of Naraśinha II, whose reign extended from A. D. 1234 to A. D. 1263.5 Rājarāja III was weak and Vīra-Sōṃēṣvara easily established himself at Kaṇṭāṉur, called Vrikmaśingapura, north of Śrīraṅgam, near Trichinopoly on the border of the Pāṇḍya and Chōla countries and built fortifications right along the north bank of the river Kāvari.6 Vīra-Sōṃēṣvara, staying in his capital Kaṇṭāṉur, was keeping watch and ward over his brother-in-law, the Chōla Rājarāja III, and was sending frequently his Mahāpradāhanas, perhaps almost annually to the Chōla kingdom after the 16th year (A. D. 1249).7

1 There are, however, two records dated in his 12th and 16th years which give him the title Tribhuvanachakravartin instead of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin (Nos. 440 and 439 of 1921). The former refers also to the 141st year of Rājarāja III.
2 No. 73 of 1918.
3 Vridhăhālam is called in its inscriptions by other names like Tirumudukūṟunī, Nērukūṟ, etc. Tirumudukūṟunī was situated in the Paravur-kūṟum, a subdivision of the Trungōllappidi which was a division of Rājaṇārūṟuvaḷ months (Nos. 39, 40 and 41 of 1918). A Kāḷavarāya of Nērukūṟ is also known (No. 88 of 1919).
4 This ornament was called Avanṭ-Ajappirundūṇ and was placed on the image with the chanting of the Sanskrit verse:

Chāturunāmayam paṭṭam Avanyavanassambhavah
didēśa tridāśāyā Śrī-Vṛiddhagirivāsinī

A similar gift of a forehead-plate, but without jewels, was made for the same god by one of Perunjiŋga’s elders sons, Śōḷakoṅ, in the 11th year of his reign (No. 80 of 1918).
5 This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that it was in the latter part of the reign of Vīra-Sōṃēṣvara that the southern hold of the Hoysalas got weakened.
7 No. 514 of 1918.
8 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 162. See also Nos. 39 of 1920 and 366 of 1919 dated in the 20th and 21st years, and Padukotta Inscriptions, No. 168. Before the 16th year of Rājarāja III, Nārasimha II’s ministers figure (Nos. 404, 408 of 1919), and this fact shows that disturbances had already begun and must have culminated in the defeat and imprisonment of Rājarāja III and his subsequent release in A. D. 1221-2. The presence of the Hoysala kings, with the members of their household, their generals and ministers in the Chōla country, is an evidence of the utter reliance placed by the latter on the power and help of the former. See Padukotta Inscriptions, Nos. 183; 73 of 1918, 366, 404 and 408 of 1919, and 39 of 1920.
Inscription No. I indicates that Vēnāvuḍaiyāṉ vanquished the Kākatiyas in their own dominion, implying that he had invaded their territory. The Kākatiya contemporary of Köpperunjīṅa was Gaṇapati, who in 1249 was in possession of Kānchī. In his endeavour to obtain the place, he must have found himself in conflict with the Kādava Perunjīṅa. In about A.D. 1258, Rūdrāntibā, the only daughter of Gaṇapati, became the queen of the Kākatiya dominion, as there was no male heir to the throne. It was just before A.D. 1262, the date of the Drākshārāma epigraph, probably in A.D. 1260-1, that the forces of Perunjīṅa, probably under the command of his valiant son Vēnāvuḍaiyāṉ, invaded the territory of the Telugus. His Drākshārāma and Tripurāntakam inscriptions are evidences of the reality of the conquests of the Pallava in the north.

Here may be considered the attempts of the Pāṇḍya king. Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya is described in his inscriptions as the thunderbolt to the mountain, viz. the Chōḷa race (Rājarāja III), the dispeller of the Karnāṭa king (i.e., Vira-Sōmēśvara), the fever to the elephant Kāṭhaka king, the jungle fire to the forest Gaṇḍagōpāḷa, the lion to the deer Gaṇapati (i.e., the Kākatiya king), who was the lord of Kānchī. It is also on record that Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I laid siege to Śēndamaṅgālām, fought a fierce battle which made the Pallava tremble, and finally took the country together with immense wealth and numberless elephants and horses and bestowed it on Perunjīṅa. One could easily see that the detailing of the achievements in the Tiruvuṇṟāṇāmalai record (Inscription No. I) and in the records of Sundara-Pāṇḍya has much in common. It might be said that the achievements which Sundara-Pāṇḍya claims over the Kāṭhaka, Gaṇapati and others of the north, must have been effected by the combined forces of Sundara-Pāṇḍya and Pallava Perunjīṅa, for these two distinguished contemporaries claim almost the same conquests.

Perunjīṅa’s relationship with the Pāṇḍya king seems to have been one of continued friendship. He seems to have occupied a subordinate position under the Pāṇḍya. There are records which declare that the Pallava king had sent tributes to the Pāṇḍya overlord and that the latter had received them. His Pāṇḍya overlords were Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-72) and his coregent Jaṭāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1254-70). In the keenly contested battle at Śēndamaṅgālām, the Pallava Perunjīṅa, who trembled at the fierceness of the fight, was bestowed, in the end of the battle, the conquered kingdom. Jaṭāvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya claims to have performed the anointing of heroes at Perumbāṭṭappuliyūr (i.e., Chidambaram) and this place was mostly under Köpperunjīṅa. The performance of the anointing of heroes at that place by the Pāṇḍya may indicate the subordination of the Kādava.

There are three inscriptions at Tiruvuṇṟāṇāmalai dated in the regnal years 30, 31 and 32 of Rājarāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1246, 1247 and 1248. In the same place there are found inscriptions dated in Köpperunjīṅa’s reign from the 2nd year onwards which also correspond to A.D. 1246, 1247, 1248, 1250, etc. So then it happens that that place was under the rule of both Rājarāja III and Perunjīṅa from A.D. 1246. And by the evidence of the available inscriptions it is clear that while the Chōḷa hold over the place was lost in about A.D. 1248, Perunjīṅa continued to possess it. Another fact to be noted is that the initial year of Rājendra-Chōḷa III, the son of Rājarāja III, was A.D. 1246-7. All the available pieces of evidence seem to suggest that Rājarāja III and Perunjīṅa were on amicable terms from A.D. 1243.

1 No. of 26 1890.
3 No. 192 of 1914 and Padukkotta Inscriptions, No. 370.
4 The date of his accession is fixed to have been between April 20 and 28, A.D. 1251 (above, Vol. IX, p. 227).
6 Nos. 503, 510, and 511 of 1902.
7 Nos. 460, 465, 466, and 513 of 1902.
Of the three sons of Perunjingga the eldest seems to have been Sjakók. The first mention of him is made in the Tiruvvedipuram inscription of A.D. 1232. From this inscription it looks as if Köpperunjingga and Sjakók were powerful in and around Chidambaram, and had made Sëndamañgalam their stronghold. Numerous records found at Chidambaram and other places in its vicinity mention Sjakók. His brother, Véóavuíyán, was a hero among heroes. He is said to have been the lord of Mallai, Mayilai, Toójändamálam, etc. He was issuing royal orders (olai) in the latter part of Köpperunjingga’s reign, while Sjakók, his elder brother, was performing a similar function from the 1st to the 19th years of Perunjingga. The sons of Perunjingga were his trusted generals and under their control and service there were other warriors and generals.

Great as were the military activities of Perunjingga displayed both in his early days and after he became king, the fame which he acquired in other walks of life was no less. He was pre-eminently, a patron of learning and fine arts. Besides being well known as one of the best wrestlers with the sword, he was renowned as a páriya in the ocean of Bharatanátyaśāstra. He was recognised as the best poet of the day, a Kaviarauháuma. He is called Devíramalagiyán and Tamilñañukättaperumál. Perunjingga’s devotion to the god at Chidambaram is borne out by numerous records registering his munificent gifts. The deity in the golden hall at Chidambaram was his favourite. He also presented a gold forehead plate set with jewels to the god at Vriddháchalam. Numerous were his gifts to the temple at Tiruváñalamai. Here we find a gift made by his queen also. Valuable gifts were the temple at Draksharáma; they consisted of a throne (símbásana), Mákaraírága, Kónakándóla, etc. In the 27th year of the reign of Perunjingga, a service called Ájágapallavaníasani, called after the king, was instituted to be conducted on the day of Tiruvanam, the natal star of the king (i.e., Perunjingga). A Tamil and Grantha inscription of his reign states that Aváni-Ájjapparandán constructed a temple for Hérama-Ganparaánti on the bank of the tank at Tiruváñalamádi. Other minor shrines were also constructed.

The wide extent of country which acknowledged Perunjingga’s sway is indicated by the provenance of his inscriptions which lie scattered from Draksharáma in the north to the extreme south. Among the places which shared the munificence of his costly gifts are mentioned Draksharáma, Conjeeveram, Svétajamb, Virañjánam, Madura, Kálahasti and others. The mention of Madura in this list is specially worthy of note as it evidences his friendly relations with the...

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1 Some among the generals under Perunjingga and his sons were:–
Ediriganaíyan Pottappichóla (No. 136 of 1900).
Rájásajjádén of Maláiyán Válavaráyañ (No. 447 of 1921).
Anuñánaí óllis Váluvárayar son of Ánúsadiperumál Gágayárayar—a mudali of the uškój of the king (No. 95 of 1934-5).
Śínttáraíyan
Ájágapallavanará Vitaráyan óllis Kaccheyirárayañ (No. 62 of 1919).
Sundaranandáppamän (No. 186 of 1892).
2 Cf. his surname Khadgámarka or Sarvájákhatgamakka,—Nos. 191 of 1904, 197 of 1905 and 286 of 1921.
3 No. 410 of 1893 and Bharatanávallaperumál in inscription I below.
4 No. 419 of 1893 notes also Sarvan-súahtýaman-ságara-sángitálitéka, Súahtýa-ráthakúra.
5 No. 85 of 1919.
6 No. 418 of 1922 and Inscription No. 1 below. Compare also the expression Śen-tamiñ vája-ppiránda-Kádiwa in the Vallúr inscription of Köpperunjingga, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 190.
7 No. 418 of 1922.
8 Nos. 488 and 513 of 1902.
9 No. 170 of 1918.
10 No. 182 of 1919.
11 No. 401 of 1903 dated in the 8th year of Perunjingga (A.D. 1251). It records the sale of a land to Sjakók, for building a temple to Pélajyáár. No. 146 of 1902 states that the pópara of the temple was erected by Végavuíyán. No. 513 of 1902 states that Nágalayáyár, the wife of Núlaguñáraíyan, built a shrine and called it Nágal-álviyárum.
Pāṇḍya. Perunjiṅga’s son Vēṇavudaiyāṅ is said to have ruled over Mallai (Mahābalipuram), Mayilai (Mylapore), Kāṇchi, Tāṇḍaganāḍi, Tirukkōvalur, etc.1 The inscriptions of Perunjiṅga have been found in the South Arcot,2 North Arcot,3 Chingleput,4 Godavari,5 Kurnool,6 Chittoor,7 and Tanjore8 Districts and in the French territory.9 From a study of the dates of the records discovered in the various places the following facts become clear. Numerous inscriptions from his 2nd to the 36th years have been found in South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput Districts, and therefore these districts may be said to have formed the original possessions of this king. He seems to have extended his sway over the Chittoor96 District in or before A.D. 1254. The utmost northern limit of his dominion was Drākṣhārāma in the Godavari District where an inscription of his reign dated Śaka 1184 (A.D. 1262) is found.10 The inscriptions of Perunjiṅga found in the Tanjore District are dated between A.D. 1245 and 1269.11 Further south he maintained friendly relationship with the Pāṇḍyas.

We shall now refer to some facts which are useful to students of Tamil Literature. The mention of the name Pērambalam-pon-mēyuda-perumāl-nallār in Inscription No. III, is of great interest as it enables us to fix the date of composition of the Tamil work Periyapurāṇam. Umāpati-Śivavērya12 tells us that the Chōla prince of Śekkilār’s time, showed at first a leaning towards the heretic faith of Jainism, owing to the influence13 of the work called Jivakachintāmaṇī,14 and that Śekkilār by narrating the life-history of the 63 Saiva Saints, changed the bent of the prince’s mind so much that he thenceforward became a staunch Saiva and requested Śekkilār to prepare a succinct and truthful account of the lives of the great Saints.15 Accordingly Śekkilār wrote his immortal work in verse at Chidambaram to which the god himself is said to have given the starting line. On the completion of this work, the king repaired to Chidambaram with his royal retinue and had the whole work read and explained by the author himself. The king endowed the temple with numerous rich gifts and plated with gold the sacred Pērambalam16 of the god (Naṭārāja) at Tillai (Chidambaram).

Two points that call for special note in the above account are that Aṉapāya was a prince at the time he came under the influence of Śekkilār, and that the name of the hall which he plated with gold was Pērambalam. The temple at Puliyur in Tamil and Vyāghrārahāra in Sanskrit had in it two pavilions, one small and the other large, which from their size were named respectively Śrīrambalam and Pērambalam. Śrīrambalam was next to the holy of holies. On account of the importance of this small hall, the temple itself and the village acquired the name Chidambaram.17 The writer of the Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu grant calls Śrīrambalam by the Sanskrit name Dubhra-

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1 Inscription No. I below.
2 At Chidambaram, Vridhdhāchalam, Brahmadēśam, Tirukollū, Cuddalore, etc.
3 Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu, Wandiwall, etc.
4 Tribhuvarar, Conjeevarar, Āttōr, etc.
5 Drākṣhārāma.
6 Tribhuvarar.
7 Mēḻpōṭi.
8 Māyavaram, Kumbakōţam, Shiyāli.
9 Vēppuvarṛ.
10 Perunjiṅga claims supremacy over the Āndhra kings as early as his 5th year (A.D. 1248). No. 280 of 1921 noticed in para. 39, part II, of the As. Rep. on S. I. E. for 1922.
11 No. 419 of 1893.
13 He belonged to the latter half of the 13th century A.D.
14 Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu vr. 20 and 21.
15 Ibid., v. 22.
16 Kāḷidāivasūkha-Ula, II. 93-116.
17 Chidambaram may also be derived from čhūt and āndaram; the god here is said to be in the form of ākāśa.
Pērumbalām, it may be noted, was, according to the Periyapuram, in the outer portion next to Pōṃmāḷiṇa (golden palace) with high walls, and one had to pass through a gate called Tiruvaṇṇaṅkaṇ-tiruvāyil to reach Śīrāmbalām where the god Naṭarāja is said to perform his sacred dance. The Tiruvaḷaṇaṅgaṇu grant tells us that Parāntaka I, by the munificence of his wealth, made the residence called Dabharasabhā of Pūrāṇi consist of gold, i.e., by covering it with gold.

During the reign of Kūlōṭṭūṇga I, the chief Naralokavīran is again said to have covered the roof of Śīrāmbalām with gold. The same chief is also stated to have covered Pērumbalām with copper. To Vīkram-Chōla it is attributed the gilding of Śīrāmbalām. Kulōṭṭūṇga-sālā-Ulā, a quasi-historical poem composed by Oṭṭakkoṭtaṇ, in honour of Kulōṭṭūṇga II, and Periyapuram speak to the fact that he (Kulōṭṭūṇga II) gilded the Pērumbalām. Perhaps he did so by removing the copper covering put up by Naralokavīran. The fact that Rājakēsarivarman Kulōṭṭūṇga II gilded the Pērumbalām is affirmed by some of the inscriptions of the king.

The mention of Pērumbalām-pōṃ-śeyndra-perumāl-nallūr, in Inscription No. III shows that already in or before the 3rd year of his reign, the king had accomplished this meritorious task, and if this act had been undertaken and accomplished just after hearing the Periyapuram of Śekkilār, which is very natural, the work must have been written in or before A.D. 1135.

The fact that the village of Pērumbalām-pōṃ-śeyndra-perumāl-nallūr had been in existence in A.D. 1135—having shown that it must have been founded sometime prior to that date—the use of the suffix Perumā, which is generally employed in inscriptions to denote a prince, instead of Kulōṭṭūṇgaśālōla which was the name assumed after actual accession, might be taken to show that the founding of the village must be earlier than A.D. 1134, corresponding to the 2nd year of the reign of Kulōṭṭūṇga II of which date we have several inscriptions of his and upto which year Vīkram-Chōla’s inscriptions are found. Thus the Periyapuram was probably composed in the year A.D. 1133-4.

A word may now be said about Nāṇṇāṉ-Verpu where the chief Vēṉāruvaṇiyaṉ is said to have engraved sāgai, kuraṇi and visaiṇam. The action of the chief is similar to the claims of the early Chōla and Pāṇḍya kings in carving their royal emblems on the mount Mērū. Nāṇṇāṉ-Verpu means the ‘hill of Nāṇṇāṉ’. Ancient Tamil works speak of two Vēḷ chiefs bearing the name Nāṇṇāṉ who stood in the relation of father and son. While the elder was infamous and cruel and turned away bards and showed no sympathy for art or literature, the other is celebrated as a just ruler and as a patron of learning. The elder is said to have taken the country of a certain Chērā named Kaḷañkāykaṇṇi-nāṟṟuṇḍi-Chērāl and held sway over it until it was recovered by the owner by defeating the aggressor in a battle fought at Perundurai, the younger is said to have been the commander-in-chief of the very Chērā king and to have been called Udīyaṉ. He

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1 Tiruttandarpuramam, v. 104.
3 Ibid., 112.
4 Ibid., No. 458.
5 Kulōṭṭūṇga-sālā-Ulā, 1. 93; Rājarājaśālā-Ulā, 1.58.
7 Pattuppāḷu 10 : 1.64 and Agam, 97.
8 Param, 151; Kuruntogai 292; Tolkāppiyam Purai, p. 686 and Agam, 162.
9 Agam, 199.
10 Ibid., 44 and 258.

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is said to have gained victory over a certain Pippaṭ.² Palgurak-kōṭam² was the tract of country over which these Veḷ chiefs ruled and Cheṇgama was the principal city in it.³ This country had in it the two famous hills Naviram and Pāḷjhcchilambu and the towns Pāḷi, Pāḷam, Pāḷambu, and Viyalūr.⁴ The river Cheyyaṟu flowed through it.⁵ Naviram is identified with the Tirisaḷa hill referred to as an off-shoot of a hill near the village Teṁmahādvimaṇgalam in the Pohur Taluk of the North Arcot District.⁶ The hill of Naviram is said to have had on its top a Śiva temple and the deity there was named Kāriyudikkaṭavu.⁷ This hill of Naṇṭa might be the one referred to under the name Naṇṭa-Verpu in Inscription No. I below.

An ornament called Ekaṇalluvaṭam is mentioned as the main item of gift by more than one Kāḍavaṟya chief, as was the case in the royal gifts to the Rājarājśvara temple at Tanjore. Tamil works refer to this ornament.⁸ It was worn round the neck loosely and comprised mainly of a large number of pearls. These with other items mentioned below were strung together by means of a thick gold string, sometimes worked so as to resemble a snake in form.⁹ Pearls, sapphires, gems, corals, lapiz lazuli and gold pendants formed the main items in this neck ornament. The Ekaṇalluvaṭam presented by the Kāḍavaṟyas appear to have been very costly, as can be gathered from the mention of the total weight, size, and number. Ekaṇalluvaṭam was known as Tārapakikkōcai in ancient days.¹⁰

Of the geographical places mentioned in the records, Geḍilam is a river that flows through parts of the South Arcot District. On its banks the villages Tiruvadi and Tirumāṇikuli are situated. Udavi-Tirumāṇikuli is the name by which the modern village of Tirumāṇikuli, not far from Cuddalore, is called both in inscriptions and in the Dēvārām. Here the ancient Chōḷa king Skēṇaṟṟana is said to have worshipped the god Śiva. It was situated in Mērkā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarājśvara-nāḍu,¹¹ like Ādanār whence the Śiva saint Tirumāṉāṭupāṉār hailed.¹² A part of Tirumāṇikuli was constituted as Pērambilampōṇḍvyaṇṭurumāṇallur. Alappākkam is a village in the Cuddalore Taluk of the South Arcot District. Šōkalavallinallur was a subdivision of Paṭṭaṇpākkam or Paṭṭaṇpākkai-nāḍu¹³ and was also called Šōkalkulavalli.¹⁴ It had the

¹ Agam, 44, 152 and 208.
² The Palgurak-kōṭam of Naṇṭa was situated in Jayaaṉgopdaḷsamaṇḍalam (S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 72. Iibid. Vol. VII, Nos. 64 to 74 and 442, No. 297 of 1939) and comprised North and South Arcot Districts. A few of its subdivisions were Śiṇagura-vanāṇḍu (297 of 1928-29), Śiṇagura-nāḍu (No. 442 of S. I. I., Vol. VII, Tenmāṭrār-nāḍu (ibid., No. 64 to No. 440), Manḍaikaḷai-nāḍu (ibid., Vol. I, No. 72), Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu (ibid., Vol. I, No. 72), and Vālaiyappandal-nāḍu (No. 232 of 1923). A village in the main division was Nīṟṟavīr (No. 176 of 1929-30), Śiṇaguram in the Wandiwath taluk was in Tenmāṭrār-nāḍu, Kaḷavaḷi of the Walajapet Taluk was in Śiṇagura-nāḍu. Koppa-nāḍu had Neṟḷurmişram (No. 73 of S. I. I., Vol. VII), Manḍaikaḷai-nāḍu had Murugamāṇḍalum (No. 72, S. I. I., Vol. I) and Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu had Naḷuvil-kiṟṟattur (ibid., No. 74). The capital of Naṇṭa was Śiṇaguram which is the same as Cheṇgama in the Tiruvaḷṇāḷmai Taluk of the North Arcot District (Nos. 117, 120, and 124 of S. I. I., Vol. VII). It is called Šōgāmnānaguru (ibid., No. 124). It seems that the nucleus of the territory of Peraḷjhcchilambu and the Kāḍavaṟya was almost the same as the original possessions of Naṇṭa.
⁴ Patuppāṭam 10: 11; 82 and 579; Agam, 97, 152, 208, 258, 375, 396.
⁵ Patuppāṭam 10: 11, 475, 535.
⁶ No. 50 of 1933-4. See A. R., 1933-4, p. 33.
⁷ Patuppāṭam 10: 11. 84.
⁸ Ekaviṟkaṇoṅ (Peraḷjhcchilambu, 1.34.1.201); Ekaviṟram (ibid., 5.2.1.26); Ekaviṟram (ibid., 2.5.1.139); Mūṭtaṇaṁ (ibid., 5.3.2.1.26); Oṟaṅkoṇam (ibid., 1.4.1.211) and Agam, 73; and Peraḷjhcchilambu, 2.7.1.22.
⁹ Ibbid., 3.9.1.67; 8.2.1.26; 1.34; 1.201; 1.46; 1.212-3.
¹⁰ Śiṇappadipīram, 13. 1. 19.
¹¹ In the same division was Irūṉṟūṟappāṭi which had in it Tirumudukṟṟam (Vṛddhāchalam).
¹² Tirumāṉāṭupāṕāṭram, v. 1.
¹³ Nos. 406 of 1921; 517 of 1922; 138 of 1932-3; 144-5 of 1933-4 and Nos. 761-775 of S. I. I., Vol. VII.

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constituted assembly of úr, one of whose eyavasthás is available. Some of its suburbs are mentioned in a record from Tiruvadi. It had Eydanűr in it. Šōjakulavallinallur must have been named after Šōjakulavalli, the queen of Kulottunga I. Inscriptions of Eydanűr reveal that several temples existed in Šōjakulavallinallur in the days of Kulottunga I and numerous gifts and endowments were made to them, the majority of which came from the Chief of Eydanűr named Tiruvayindiran Viraṭan Śeṇan. The service referred to in Inscription III by the term Eydanűr-kaṭṭaḷai was most probably instituted by this Chief. The extent and boundaries of Vikramaśōjaṇallur are specified in a record and from the descriptions it is clear that both Vikramaśōjaṇallur and Tiruppērambalampogmēnādaḥperumālaṇallur were contiguous to each other, having a common boundary. Šōjakulavallinallur, of which Villiyanallur and Vikramaśōjaṇallur formed parts, may be identified with the modern Šōjavalli, a village in the Cuddalore Taluk. Eydanűr (mod. Ešławar) still bears the same name and is in the same taluk. Tiruvayindipuram is the modern Tiruvēndipuram in the Cuddalore Taluk. Ādhirājamaṇgalliyapuram in Kiḻ-Āmūr-nādu in Rājarāja-vaṇanādu is Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore Taluk. It is 14 miles West by North of Cuddalore and one mile South of Pantrū railway station. It is called Adigaiyamangar in a hymn of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanaṛ and Adivaiyamangal in a hymn of Appar. It is situated on the north bank of the Gējilam. The Śiva temple in this village is called Viraṭāṇēvara and is associated with the life of Appar. It was here that the Pallava king Mahēndra Arraman I built the temple called Guṇabharavīchchhurum. Kiḻ-nādu in Perunayampadū may be Gūḍalūr in the Tirukōllīr Taluk. In this taluk there is a village called Periyanūr which may be identical with Perunayam of the inscriptions. In the same taluk is Dēvaṇūr, a village two miles North by East of Tirukōllīr. Kiḻ-Kumārāmangalam and Toruppāḍī are villages in the Cuddalore Taluk. Anāṅgūr, 2 miles South-East of Villupuram, must have been the principal place in Anāṅgūr-nādu. Tirunāvālūr is now called Tirunāmanallur and is 19½ miles South-East of the Tirukōllīr Taluk.

Tirumūnappāḍī in which Kūḍal the native place of the Kāḍavarāya chiefs was situated, is famous in Tamil Literature, as the country over which Nāraśinga-Mūnaiyaraivīy, one among the Śaiva saints, had been ruling. He was an elder contemporary of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanaṛ. Tirumūnappāḍī formed one of the biggest districts of Kondaiyaṇḍal. It had in it several subdivisions such as Kiḻ-Āmūr-nādu, Mel-Āmūr-nādu, Mōk-kā-nādu, Perunaiyampadū-nādu.

2 Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 315.
3 No. 39 of 1921; A. R., 1933-4, p. 34.
4 Nos. 141, 143 and 145 of 1933-4.
5 That the village Perunayar also bore this surname is learnt from a Tirukkalukkuṟṟam record (No. 134 of 1932-3).
7 It was called维dēḷiyēḻuṟu-kuṭṭurvērtaṁḻam in the days of Rājarāja I (S. I. L., Vol. VIII, No. 748).
8 It is 10 miles North-West of Cuddalore (Sewell’s List of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 211).
9 Ibid., p. 212.
10 Tiruvandākkâra-’apparaiṅam, v. 140.
11 In Kiḻ-Āmūr were Tiruvadigai alias Ādhirājamaṇgalliyapuram (No. 384 of 1921), Čanichekkāppam (No. 515 of 1921), Aṇattiḻur alias Siruvappāḷiṅallur (No. 372 of 1909), Kaṇipāṅaṅgalam, Māṇinallur, Koṭṭipāṅkām, Toruppāḍī (No. 45 of 1903), Sirupattir (No. 32 of 1903), Dēvaṇūr, Kiḻ-Kumārāmangalam, Siruvagūr (No. 46 of 1903), Kūḍal and Aṇiṟiṟappagavēḻam (No. 45 of 1903). Ėṭṭapparai was a southern hamlet of Tiruvadigai (141 of 1921).
12 Kiḻ-ūr was a village in it (No. 85 of 1935-6).
13 In it were Kūḍal (No. 133 of 1900; No. 67 of 1918; No. 123 of 1932-3), Tirumāṇikkuli and Vṛddhāṇālam.
EIGHT INSCRIPTIONS OF KADAVARAYA CHIEFS

TEXTS


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3 Árvalam (Nos. 350 of 1902; 275 of 1936-7) and Tirumāvalir sīlas Rājadītappuram (Nos. 355, 357, 374 and 375 of 1902) were situated in it.
4 Kāṭṭupakkam was a village in it.
5 It had the brahmālīya Arasūr (No. 414 of 1921).
6 Raṇadhīramangalam was in it (Nos. 419 of 1921 and 30 of 1903).
7 Kiliyūr was a village in it (Nos. 382 and 388 of 1909).
8 In Emappērũr-āṇa was Emappērūr (No. 123 of 1932-3; 515 of 1921) which comprised portions of Tirukkōḻar and Sīḻhadigamāyam, Nāḷūr (No. 513 of 1921), Semmāṟrūr (No. 81 of 1909) and Kuduppaniṟṟūr sīlas Munaiyaradittum-chaturvēlimangalam (No. 527 of 1909). Emappērūr was called Rājendrasalānallūr (No. 123 of 1932-3; 515 of 1921) while the same name was given to Pālaiyūr in Pālaiyūr-āṇa in the same māṇḍalam (No. 409 of 1921).
9 In it was Pēṇiṅgūr (Nos. 378 of 1909, 371 of 1936-7).
10 No. 51 of 1903. Aggaḷanemadai-chaturvēlimangalam was a brahmālīya in it.
11 No. 332 of 1921. It had Idaṅyūr in it (No. 275 of 1928-9).
12 Within it was Vāḷūr-āṇa, and Jananāṭhā-chaturvēlimangalam was a taṇṇīr in it (No. 271 of 1936-7).
13 Rājendrasalāṉa-vaḷanāṭu (No. 123 of 1932-3; 515 of 1921); Jayaṅkoṇṭiḷa-vaḷanāṭu (No. 113 of 1932-3); Rājērāja-vaḷanāṭu (No. 114 of 1921; No. 315 of 1927; No. 402 of 1909; 312 of 1909); Gangaiṅkoṇṭiḷa-vaḷanāṭu (No. 378 of 1909; No. 381 of 1918); Viruḍhakṣaṁkara-vaḷanāṭu (No. 67 of 1918).
14 S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 69. The inscription is engraved on the west wall of the first prakūra of the Arūṇāchēvara temple at Tiruvaṅkāmālai, Tiruvaṅkāmālai Taluk, North Arcot District.
15 Read "viru".
16 The syllable yum is omitted here.
17 The reading meṇṇaiyun given in the S. I. I. is wrong. It has been ascertained that the above reading Peruṇaiyum is correct.
4 virudaril viññ viral Virāsana Karīyanādaṉ Kādaṟkumāraṉ Ku[j]a-tisai=kkaraṇaṉaḻjav teṟupul-kuruṟagavum Vaṭa-tisai=teluṟgar vaṟjakk-irund-aliyavum pŏr pala kaṉḍandu porundā maṉṆavar-ār-eyir-čhernd-ūr malaiy-arun-aiṟṟuṟu
null-isai-kaarāṟam-puṇai NaṉṆṆ-verpil vel-puṇaṉ-aṇattu-mēmǥaḍa-ttaiṉ-koṅ
Vagaiyuni-[karaṉaṉ]-vīṟsavum-[t][t]ṭiṭṭiyav-[a]dai-puṇai neṉu-ve[1-]āṟt ḳoṅṭadēvai-
da-karaṅi-muṅgai-muṅgāi-kaṇḍanda Gāṅgaṇa KāṉṆār-amudar karaṅi-kuḷaiy-āṟṟuṟu
Aṇnāmaḷaiyark-aṟbu-keḷu neṉil

5 viruppuṇḍan śeyda tiruṟp Spiele [k*]kovai yāvaiyam-e-duṟṟu-ppayval-uṟaiṟḷu irnai
tel-puṇai util-muḻiṆuḻ-aditita vēnḍi-puṇai töl-āṟt koṇḍiḷ-dēvai VeṇāṆu[liyam-]
ennu peyer-ṇiṇṇa] vāḷa naiḷai-pēṟu-chehēyaṇa perumāl-amum-tiru[malaiyadum
viruṛuṇa śey Tirukkāṟkkaliyam perum-viral-Avaiyărapparāndan tirumudrapaṃṇa
cheḷu-maḷar-tōḍutta Kaṅ

6 ni vāḻadu kaṇṭ-imaiyadu nuṟṟumāsi nuṟṟumā naḻdā vāṉgōr vaḷam-vaṁr vehement viltuṇgē
śadīr-eḻikkum paṭtīḷlām-ṛṇumnā paṟi mūṟkkum-adittalam-ṛṇumnā adaiyam
ta[1]njavuar malaiyam-paritam-amqavav śumandura chuḷilatiṭṭaṆ-kōṇḍu śeyda
Śīlāṭalaman-ēraiḻil-ugam-tōṟuṇu-cheḷvan-talaiyadu vaṟumadai vaṟṟuta Niśāṇa[k]
muṅṇāl-a[ḷ]anu muṟaiyam-

7 kāṟumum vāṭ-ṭāḷvai-[k]annaṉiayar manṭaṇ-toṭum pali koḷa-[kk]āṭṭiḷvai vāṭvivir-Kṅgāḷa-vēḻumān
vāṇumugatt-amarar vāṇaṟaṉ-chehēyaṇa nāṁmug-tērīṆaṉyāṭi taṇikkum-appadi vaṟṟutu
aṉi-neṉu-mūṟvun-čeppīya [ka]diravu tiśaiyavam-pōduṉ-jōti-nuṟṟumāi vittigā
[yi]ḷiḷaṅa-[kk]ai-paiḷḷ tavattōr naiḷaṆeṟav-irukka [malai]-vaṟṟutt-aṇaiya Gāṅgaṇa
maṇḍamān-kaṉiṆ-paiyiln-[ka]Ṇjoḷ[vu]ḷam-tamakku vē

8 niṟṟenṟal viyaiṇ-pretuṟu-kavariy-iṟu-mmūṟu-iruṭṭavum-imaiyam tuṟṟuṇuvaṟṟumār-ruṇuṟu
peruṟuvaṟṟu Viḷvalaperumāl-tiru-odum-tōppuṇ-ēṭiṟṟaṁ-guṟiav-amada naṟṇadīy-apaiśtu
rūṟu TāminaṆājākkatiṟṟaperumāl-ṭāṆgānum vāṇ-jai-pāṆal maṆu-maḷar vāṉ-koṇḍa
Kāḷavakumāraṉ tōppuṇ-kavivai vēṇ-pari-kkiṭṭiṆ vaḷi taṟṭutv-Avaiyărapparāṇḍan-
tōppuṇ-tala-niga-

9 Šenaiṭtaiḷaivaṉ-tōppuṇ vemmi-vēḻi vēḻhuraṇḍuṇavaṟ tam-maṇḍi-kuliṟa-ṭāḻdai
nīḷar-cheyumu-Ammāmaṇḍam-Avaiyam-vēṟṟu-vagam-agam-tulaṭtu-eṅa-kaṟṟuppuṆayi-āṟṟu
aṆa-neṉum pilattūl-amudu-vandum-advi-Viḷvalaperumāl-[ka]ḷiṟam-ali-muṟal kama
لام-āṁbalum-alanḍu kuḻiṟ-puṇaṉ Kāḷavakumāran-ṭāṆgānum-kuṟṟu-[ka]rillay-āṅna
kōṇḍum neṉu-karaṇ Vēṟṟama

10 laiṆoṆdaperumāl-ēṟuṇu-churav-[t]aru neruṇiṟṟya śolaiyu[m]-oovva-parataṟamvallaperumāl
Chundar tam peruṟi-kulattir ta rku-cheyeyudu-kuṇḍuttā kaṇḍāl-eṇa
nirumundo kā-vayal vilaṟkuum vich chai Niśāṇaṁkamalai-ēṟuṇu-Gāṅgaṇa
ṭāṆgānum-Gāṅgaṇa-maṇḍamum puṇ-kaṇḍa śolaiyum

11 porpuṇḍa [viḷai]ḷaṅ g-y-ivvaṅai yāvaivuṅu-čheydanaṉ-adaiṉ-Pāvai pāṅaṅ śevai-thēmaraiy-
alai śēṆṆiḷai pāṟkuṆ-kaṉṟipaiḷai nirṟiṅṟaṆagăn-kaṅṇeri paṟṟiṇa neṉṆṆ peṟṟi
śmaṆaiyakkaṇḍai kaṭṆḍav-āṟṟaiyar KanaṆuṟaperumān-ādaṆādanai vēḻul-koṇḍu pāy
puṇaṉ-GaṅgaṆai-[µun-kuṆ-koṇṆ-ṭāṟṟum-eṇ-[m]vaṇ-[n]mūṟu-emory-kuṇḍalūṟuṟu[na]
vaṟṟumār-[m]tan-tarai-[k]oṆaiy-āṅkiṟṟutu=

1 Read terum[*] or teru[enm*]; see p. 105, fn. 6.
2 Read "ręppa[l]."
3 Read "tirthe".


2 bhuvanavṛadēva[k]ku 29-vadu nāli i-ṣrī-vaṇām pudūchhāraṇaṣiyāy jdu iḷḷeṣhi sēgirapōḍu idil kal veṭṭi-kkīḍanda kalveṭṭu-kkaṇḍu iṭṭu-ttaṭṭi ivv-emberumāṇ tiruv[i]a[a]i  

3 vi-Bhaṭṭaṇ-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku mēṛku Milalai Nambippillai-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku-tterku Pālkulattu Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭaṇ-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku kilakkku i-ṇṇī-ṇṇi-]|ākk-|llppaṭa Aļkoṇaḷavilli-tirumana  

4 kkalakkku Ko[m]māra-Virirundālvān-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku-tterku Pālkukulattu Nāyakaippillai-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku mēṛku giraṇattar-kālukku vaddakkku i-ṇṇī-ṇṇi-]|ākk-]|llppaṭa Uraṅγavilli-tirunāṇ  

5 . . . tōṭṭaṭtuṅku [kilo]kkku ma . . . yāḷvān-|llppiṭṭār tōṭṭaṭtuṅku mēṛku Pālkulattu-pPeri . . . ṣṭṭu-Nambi-tōṭṭaṭtuṅku tterku . . . kālukku vaddakkku  

III* 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Tribhuvanachakravarttigala śrī-Kulottungaśōḷadēvaṛku ṣaṇḍu muṇr-āvadu Rājaraṇa-valanaṭu Mēṛkā-ṇāṭṭu Udavi-Tirumāṇikuliy-Aḷuḍaiyarku tiruppadi-māṛṛukku tiruviḷakkukku tiruppanigalukku Mōgaṇ  

2 Aļkkoḷi-]|āṇa Kulottungaśōḷa-kKāḍaṇvaṇaṇeṇ i-ttēvar ti[r]uṇāma[i*]tu[k*]kāi u]|l|l ΤiruppēɾambalampōṃmaĮjuda|perumāṇalluru vada[pāṛk]-]|llai tiru-kKedilattu nīr|ōḷukkalukku tterkum kilpā|r-kallai Tiruvayindirapurattu-|įl|l  

3 vår-dēvadāma Pōṛgam-|eṇṛu pēṛ-kuvappāṭṭu-]|llipuviyar-iṭṭa niḷattukku mēṛku ten|pā|r-]|llai-Aḷājaṇ-kāṇṭa-]|eṇṛu pēṛ kuvappāṭṭa kaṇṇāṛṛukku vaddakkku mēḷpā|r-kallai Māṇakāntaṇ-eṇṛu pēṛ kuvappāṭṭa  


5 ttnuṅgaḷalannallur-]|llai utpaṭṭa nila[m] nārpuṭ māvum ṣalākkakk]ṭiī pirinda Edirilisāḷalannallur nilam arupattu-]|ṇaṭṭu mā mukkūṇi[yum i-natta-nilam irupattu-]|nālu māvum Šōjarukallinallur-ṭte[n*e] pidāgaī Villiyanallūr  


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2 The is a symbol that stands for punctuation.  
3 Incomplete.  
5 This r is superfluous.
8 मारुकुन-तिरुविलाक्कु[क्कु]*ज्ञम् tiruppanigalukkum marum vṛṇḍ[u[m] nimmadangalukkum perumpadikāval tavirūta i-tēvārkku-kkalvetti-kkutṭāṭēn. Mōgan Ākkolijī-āna Kulottuṅgaśēla-[k]Kālavarāyān[a] i-tanman alippār tiruvā[na]i

IV
1 Svasti Śrī[ī][ī] Pā-mē[vi]-valar Tirup-Poṃmaḍu puṃ parça nā-mēvā Kalaimagal nalam perṭum-
    śrīpapa Vijaivyā-mā-magal vel-puyatt-iruppa īsāivēn-ēchelivym
    śīr-valariatrum maśi-mudi kaviṭt-anā anī-mudi sādi mallai-ñālattuu ppalliuyrēk-
3 lai[ī]iñtānhām lyalvinil-eṣda vēṇ-kudai niḷārṇa-ēchēnkīl-ēchēchī vājī pāll-ū[ī]
    ājī nāppa-ēchēmuppo-virasēṁaṣanattu-pPuvāṇamuldu[di]jāyāl-oṣum virirūnd-a-
4 ruliya Kō-Irājākēssarāpanmar-āṇa Tirupvanamcheĥkharavattigal Śrī-Kulottuṅgaśēla-
    dēvarka yēkū pudā-maṅugāvu Irājāra-jāvalanāṭu-p Tirumunā-
5 ppēdi-kķīl-[ā]n[u][u]mūr-nāṭtu Ādirājamaṅgaliy appurattu Udaiyār Tiruvirāṭṭāṇam-Uḍaiyā-
    rku-ppūsākkan-tiruppadimārkkum Tirumū-
6 mūnajāppādi-pPērugaṁnār-nāṭtu-k[į]Kējālarū. Paṇānā-Muttaraiyan Āṭappirandā Ėḷissii-
7 ga[s]ōla-[k]Kāḷavarāyān[a] i-ntāṭīl ēp-kāvalāna i-tēvār-dēvādamānā-anā ā[r][a]g[u][u][u]
    Śrīvēgā[r][u]m) [Dēvā]nṛūrī-Kīk-kkumārangālam-
8 māṅgalaumēmnānā īnv vé mūṁmālam naṣṣaiyam puṇṣaiyam taṛi-iṭa taṭṭār-ppāṭṭaṃ-
    galun-ēchēkkukkalum tironaidavaṇaṅgalum nā[n]
9 kōll[ī]um perumpadikāval [śī]rupadikāva

V
1 to 5 Same as in No. IV.
6 * * * * yēndu pannirand-adavu Irājāra-jāvalanā-
7 ōtu-Tirumunaja%pādi-kKīl-Āmūr-nāṭtu. Ādirājamaṅgaliyappurattu Udaiyār Tiruvirāṭ-
8 ūnam-Uḍaiyārku-ppūsākkan-tiruppadimāryr-
9 kkum Tirumunaja%pādi-pPēruga[mūr]-nāṭtu Kiālārū Paṭuñjāganuttaraiyan Āṭappirandā Āṭiāsānāi-
10 rāyaṇa-Kulottuṅgaśēla-Kahekiyārā
8 yāṇē Rājārajan-Peruvaḷikku mēru[ṇ] eñ kūpapādiyānā īṟg[u][u][u][l] i-tēvār-dēvādamāna[ṇ]
9 Kīl-Āmūr-nāṭtu Kāṇaṅgaḷaṅgalum Māni-
10 nalluñk-Koṭilapakkamman Tof[p]ppādiyam Āṅg[i]i-ū[r]-nāṭtu-k Kāṭṭuḷppakkamman Ādirājamaṅgaliyappurattu Avanakkarpagavilāgam īnv-ār-Tirunāvukkarai-
11 yādevār-
10 tirumadappuramam Udaiyār-tirumadavilāgamam īnv-āṟgala[ṇ] vanda [i]-ppāḍikāva-
13 vanāṅgalum uṭpattī puṇṣai

1 Read ‘ṭīr’.
4 Cuddalore Taṇuk, South Avvōt District.
5 The letter ‘i’ here is superfluous.
6 Delete ‘māṭi’
7 The inscription is left unfinished.
8 S. f. I., Vol. VIII, No. 319. In the same place as No. IV.
11 utpaṭṭa perumpāḍikāvalum mārṣ-epaṭṭa perumpāḍikāvalum iṇṇāyaṅāṟku-[ppū-śaijkkun-tiruppaṇḍāmārkku-chandirāḍittavar-chella-kkaṭāvadāga viṭṭu panniraṇydāvam kalvetṭi-kkuṭṭut[tēn]

12 Āḷappirandāṇa Ārasānaṇāyaṉan-āṇa Kulōttungasōla-k Kachchhiyaṉanēn [(*)] īppadi nān śeydade en tamaṇāyukkum en vaṇ(ṇī)ṣattārku idāvē [sēloḷuvādavun= cheyydōn [(*)] i-taanmanam-ajp .

13 tiruvanai [(*)]. Bu[vya]naumududaiyar-āṇai [(*)]Tiruviṇāiakkali Tirukkaṇṇappadēvar Śri pāda[m] nadu vu kotta virpāṭītun i-ttanman-am-ajppan Vallaṉavaiyaṉ satṭiyam [(*)] māṭā- pīṭākkalukku-ppilatīr [(*)] Gaṅ-

14 gaiy-idaį Kuṇar-miįaį.

VI

1 to 4 Same as in No. IV, except for slight differences in spelling.

4. Śri-Kulōttungasōḷaṭaṃvarku yāṇḍu ej-avadu Irājarāja-valaṇāṭṭu Tirumunuippāḍi Meḷur-nāṭṭa Tiruṇavāḷai-āṇa Irāṣāṭittapattu Udaiyār Tiruttogḍiśvaram Udaiyār Kuṇarīṛkku Peruganūr nāṭṭu

5 Kāḷaḷai-Palli Āḷappirandāṇ Mōgan-āṇa Kulōttungasōḷa-k Kachchhiyaṉan īṭṭa mākaṭaṭoṇam ongnu onpad-mukkāl mājī poi nūru-[k*]kkalānju pīṟai ongni ēṭṭe-mukkāl mārī

6 poi mukkālalju Kūṭṭai[n]jḍēvarku āṭṭi arulı īṭṭa abhishēkam ongni onpad-arai mārī poi irupadai-kkaḷānju amudu śeydarulı īṭṭa vellī-ttaiśai ongni ıḍai

7 āvairatua aiṇṇūrru nār-kkaḷāi-araiyē-iṟuṇḏuunāṉādiy[m*] nālu-māvum Āraṇān-rāṇan veṇkai-ku kkaṭchukkōram ongni ıḍai iṟuṇūrr-iṟupattu-nē

8 r-kkalānju veṇkāal Āḷappirandān-ṭaiśai ongni ıḍai iṟuṇūrr-palamum tīṟu aṭṭaiśai-kkāl tara ongni ıḍai nūru ēnuṭṭu aṁ-palamum

9 kormu Cāṇāiyāl tarā ıḍai [muppat[t]i-ru-palamum Tiruṅvalai-āṇa Irāṣāṭitta-[pu]รามum it[i]jō[m] kūṇ ma Kaḷai-āṇa Viraṉaiḷullūṇ[m] iyy⁻iṟṟaṇ-ūrī pūṭikāvalaiydu-

10 yār Tiruttoṇṭiśvaramaidaiyarvkru vēṭṭum nīmaṇdungalukku viṭṭen Āḷappirandāṇ Mōgan-āṇa Kulōttungasōḷa-Kaṭchchiya[ṛ]ayanēn viliṭṭai piṭṭṭān ida alivaṅ Gāṅai-idaį Ku[m]a[ri-i*]

VII

1 Svasti Śri [(*)] [Saṉ]ṭti (Svasti) [Śri] [(*)] Tiribh[va]nachchakkaravattigī

2 [Śri]-Kulōttungasōḷadēvarkkuyāṇḍu 13-ṟavadu(Udai):

3 yār Tiru-Aṉṇamulai-Udaiya-Nāyaṅārkku sāṭti-arulı

4 Kūṭal Āraṇāṇāyaṉan Āḷappirandāṇ-āṇa Virāṭē

5 kara-kKāḍavaṟṟai īṭṭa ekāvallavādam ongni ael-

6 likkāy-muṭṭu nūṟum kaiṭāṭaḻil iṟuṇḏum ivai kēṭta

7 nūḷum u[ppa]dai idai alagū nilai[p]pai ıḍai nūṟu-m[u]p[]*

8 padīp kkalānju [(*)] idu Pan-māyēśaṇa irakshiā S...
Hail! Prosperity! If we select and describe the sacred services to the nectar-eyed god of the big (mountain) called Arupāchala, that had been rendered by Śakalabhuvanachakravarthi Avaniyāḷappirandān Kō-Perunţiṅgaṇ of Kūḍal, the lord of the Pallavas, whose loveliness made the Earth grow, the Kāḍava that wore sounding anklet-rings, the lord of rulers, who, taking a brilliant sword, (others) marching with (him), opened up the bila, whose growing body was like that of the cloud, whose eyes were like lotuses and whose wealth was the (highly) praised Vedas, (it will be as follows): —

(one) ear-string, (one) crown set with beaming gems, (one) āṅgāśūdha (kavacha) emitting red rays, (one) bāhuvalaṅga (armlet), (one) sacred wearing-cloth (containing) several artistic designs (made of) fine gold (threads), (one) foot-(cover) to be placed under the sacred anklet-rings of pēḍai (the goddess Umā), (one) neck-cover with a brilliant dark (spot), (one) ear-ornament (śāli) made of big gems having the fine lustre of the rising sun, (one sacred ornament) called Avaniyāḷappirandān-tiruvēśigai (resembling) the sun appearing on the vast ocean, (one) lion-throne, (one) wish-fulfilling Karppaṇa (one) canopy of pearls, (one) ornament called Bharatamvalla-perumāl finely set with high class rubies, to the god dancing with anklet-rings to the accompaniment of the tune sung by Umā, whose eyes with spreading lines are smeared with collyrium,

(one) kāḍamaṇjaṇam made of gold and fastened with fine rubies resplendent with the lustre of beams of red rays and brilliant diamonds,

(one) sacred wearing-garment profusely filled with big gems, to the goddess Uṉṇamulai alias Umā of (the shrine of) Kāmakkōṭṭam in (the temple of) the nectar-eyed (god), (and)

(one) fine image of Muruga (i.e., Subrahmaṇya) who destroyed hills with his victorious spear, with the images of his consorts together with that of the peacock filled with plumes.

All these works of gold which rendered the temple a golden one were made by the lord of Mallai, Niśāṅkamallam, the king of the Pallavas (entitled) Bharatamvalla-Perumāl and Kūḍal Avaniyāḷappirandān. May he live here with all splendour!

His son Kāḍava Kumāraṇ (who wore garlands of) unfading vāgai (flowers), who was the lord of the highly extolled Mallai, Mayilai, Kāṇchi, Taṅḍaga-nāḍu, the icy-watered Pāli, the Peṇṇai (region), Kōval (and) Perugai; who had acquired endless fame, who was the one hero among warriors that was held in high esteem by all; (who was) a mighty thunderbolt to all heroes; (who was) the beloved son of Kariyāṇanda, (who) waged many wars as a result of which the southern

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1 S. I. L., Vol. VIII, No. 339. In the same place as Nos. IV and V.
2 In speaking of Perunţiṅgaṅ, the inscription uses the words Kārmeṇi and Kamalakauṇaṇ which comparing him with Vishṇu, and in describing his son, it suitably calls him the 'son of Kariyāṇanda'.
3 With Kariyāṇandaṇa, compare Kārmeṇi and Kamalakauṇaṇ, occurring in the description of Perunţiṅgaṅ in the earlier part.
possessions of the Karnaṭas of the western region were diminished, and the Teltungas of the northern region perished in their own quarter; reaching the high walls of the enemy kings' destroyed their cities, hills, and fortifications; who had carved his king's cōpi, kurugaya and victory on the Hill of Nanjan fitly extolled (by bards) and filled with rutting elephants in order that all the fame of conquests might appear prominently and who was the Gāṇgāya who marched in the van of the rutting elephant forces of Aṭkōṇḍgaṇḍeṇa of long spear used in waging battles. If a poet has to recount all the benefactions which he had willingly made, out of great devotion, which filled his mind, to the nectar-eyed god of Anvāmālai, who has his consort in his body (they could be as follows):—

one sacred pavilion (maṇḍapa), wherein was accommodated the god, was firmly constructed under the name of Aṭkōṇḍgaṇḍeṇa Vēṇavudaiyān, of victorious arms, who had won lasting ancient fame and who had protected the whole world, that it might endure for a number of years;

one finely scented sacred bed-chamber made of gold;

a big pavilion where the sacred offerings had to be placed;

one elaborately made Tīṟukkākkallī;

one sacred pavilion called after Avaniyāḷappirandān of great power;

one kīlāṭa made with stones cut from the hills of kings that did not submit themselves and carried on the heads of those kings; which kīlāṭa formed as it were the lowest of the three worlds and emitted such lustre as that which issues from the white moon and which was circumambulated by the Dēvas, whose beautiful flower garlands do not fade, whose eyes do not wink and whose feet do not touch the ground;

one great treasury called after Nīśāṇkamallan so formed as to receive in it such wealth that could not be exhausted even in numberless yugas.

In order to show the form which the crescent-headed god had assumed now, in settling down here and also his former form, (one) image of Kaṇakāḷa, in which form the god begged his food from house to house from the damsels whose proud eyes resembled the blade of a sword, was made;

(one) car* with four faces so made that the gods of the celestial region might offer their obeisance and (one) long street similarly formed for the goddess;

the Gāṇgāya-madum (was so) constructed like a hill for the permanent residence of the ascetics studying the arts that it made resplendent the street which was ornamented with gems bistrons like the sun in its circumambulatory course through the quarters;

(one) large sacred garden (called) Vāḷḻaḷapperumāḷ-lippu with an exuberance of fine fragrance, which produced the south wind during the summer season, like the breeze caused by the waving of boweries, on either side of the god who resides in the forest, and to whom the Dēvas offer their prayers;

1 It may also be translated as 'made the Karnaṭas of the western region to go to the southern quarter, i.e., made them die.'

2 This may also be rendered as 'made the Teltungas of the northern region to meet with their end by taking to prajāpātē.'

3 Kaṇakāḷa is a particular kind of garland usually worn by kings. In the case of the Pāṇḍya it was made of vēḷai in the case of the Chēla it was made of alai, and in the case of the Chēra it consisted of māṭi flowers.

4 See for a similar action in Śīḻappadiyam, 27.1.4f.

5 cōpi, kurugaya, etc. This may also be rendered 'that the pavement emitted brilliance during moon-light.'

6 That an object similar to the one made for the god was also made for the goddess is clear from the adjunct appāṅkogāta. If so, the words tera or leveling in the first instance and tera in the second instance must refer to one object which may be either tēr (car) or tera (street). As such we have either to consider that if a street (tēr) is meant we must suppose that cōi is omitted in the first instance, and if a car (tēr) is intended cu is wrongly inserted in the second instance. The translation given here follows the words that occur in the text, vis., tēr(a) and tera. Since the reading tera is clear, it seems to me that in all likelihood cōi is omitted after tēr in the first instance.
(one) tank (called) Tamiḻṉāṟaḻuttaṉaperumāḷ-Tañgal whose water was held more sacred than the nectar-like water of all rivers usually considered very sacred;

(one) garden (called) Kāḷavakumāṟaṇ-toppu having the fragrance of honey-stored flowers with the humming of beetles;

(one) garden (called after) Avanipāṭapiyandān which impeded the course of the sun having fine swift horses;

(one) garden (called after) Śeṇaitalaivana (the commander-in-chief) well-known in the world;

(one) Ammukadai which afforded shade of flower-bearing trees that cooled the minds of persons who had walked through dreary forests on hot days;

(one) tank (called) Ayyanēri;

(one well called) Vaṭṭi-Vaṭvalaperumāḷ-kīyaru, which, as if by breaking open the interior of a hill, admitted the flow of nectar-like water from a deep cavity;

(one) tank (called after) Kāḷavakumāṟaṇ with cool water in which blossomed lotuses and water-lilies (frequented by) humming bees;

(one) lake (called after) Venumalaikōṇḍaperumāḷ whose long bund was so raised as if it were a range of hillocks;

(one grove called) Bharatavallaperumāḷ-toppu which excelled the forest thick-set with celestial trees;

(one) garden (called after) Virarayana, filled with fragrance issuing from very tender flower-sheafs where the beetles ever hum;

(one) lake (called after) Niśākamallāṇa which was so filled with water that it resembled the sea and which made the fields yield in the Kār (seasons); it was given to . . . . in the high lineage of Sundara who followed the way of the ascetics;

(one) tank and nāṭha (called after) Gāṅgayan;

(one) grove filled with fragrant plants.

All these he made so well as to present a beautiful appearance. On account of these acts, the Assembly of the 48,000,—who ever looked with favour upon those that bore on their heads the lotus feet of Ardhanārīśvara, who ever smeared their bodies with sacred ashes, whose minds were filled with righteous ways dictated in the Agamas, whose commands drove off the heretical faiths, and who were considered to be the devotees that learnt the mantra of the five letters direct from the god Jatādhara (Siva) wearing the crescent and a plait of hair on his head and assuming the form of Adinātha received on his head Gangā when she rushed forth in thousand faces making great noise,—were graciously pleased and blessed him saying 'Let him ever live peacefully in this world'.

ABSTRACTS OF CONTENTS

II

Hail! Prosperity! In the seventh year (of the reign) of Śakalabhuvanachakravartin Śrī Kō-Peruṇjiṅgadēva, on the day of Rēvāti, corresponding to Friday, the fourth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Śāhuha (this was engraved) . . . .

In the 29th year (of the reign) of Śrīvēmēṇa, when this Śrīvēmēṇa, having become dilapidated, had been pulled down and reconstructed, the old inscriptions that were found there, had been (re-engraved) . . . .

Details of boundaries of several fields—left unfinished.
III

In the 3rd year of (the reign of) Tribhuvanachakravartin Śri-Kulöttungaśolā, Mōgaṃ Akōlī alias Kulöttungaśolā-Kādavarāyan assigned to the temple of Udai-Tirumāṅikulī in Meṛkānādu, a subdivision of Rājrāja-valanaṇādu, for offerings, sacred lamps and services, all the taxes that were being paid to him as paṭikāval on the following items of lands and villages:

- twenty-four mā of land (comprising) wet-lands, fields, nattam lands, sacred flower-gardens, sacred areca-groves, and border lands of Poṃnēvandaperumāḷnallūr. The northern boundary of this piece of land lay to the south of the water channel running from the sacred (river) Geḷilam: the eastern boundary lay to the west of the land which was called and entered in tax-registers under the name Pirēgam and which was a devaṇāma of the temple of Tiruvayindapattattu-Aḷvār; the southern boundary lay to the north of the channel called the fīth-kāṇāra; and the western boundary lay to the east of the western end of the stream called Mānakāntāṇ.

- forty mā in Kulöttungaśolānallūr including (its) border-lands; sixty-two mā and three kāgī of land in Ediriliśolānallūr which was separated from Ālappākkan; twenty-four mā of nattam lands in the same place; forty mā of śrīkīl-iraiji land in the village which became separated from Viliyanaṇallūr, under the name Vikramaśolānallūr, the southern hamlet of Śoḷakalavalli-nallūr; three mā of land in this village which were given for sacred lamps called after Iraṇḍjāyiravar to be burnt during the service called Eyyalanūr-kaṭṭalāi; three mā of land from the kaṭṭalai land in Paṭṭānpākkan; fifty mā of land in the land called Āmaippāḷam which lay to the east of the nattam of Peruṇjānāpkkam in Šemhianmāḍēvi-valanaṇādu, a southern hamlet of Tribhuvanamāḍēvi-chaturvēdīmāgalam.

IV

In the 13th year of (the reign of) king Rājakāserivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śri-Kulöttungaśolādēva, Paṇṇāgumattaraiyān Ālappirandān Elīsaimōgaṃ alias Kulöttungaśolā-Śaḍa-variyaṇ of Kūḍalūr in Perugaṇāṣūnādu, a subdivision of Tirumunaippāḍi, gave for worship and offerings (tiruppaṇṭimāṟṝ) to the temple of Tiruviraṭṭiṇam-Ūdayār at Ādirājamāṅgaliya-puram in Kīl-Āmūr-nādu in Tirumunaippāḍi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājrāja-valanaṇādu, the incomes accruing from the taxes on maṅgai and puṅgai lands, tari-irai, tattir-pāṭṭam, tax on oil-mills and gardens, viz., perumpadikāval and śīrujpadikaḷ, which he was receiving from the three villages Śiruvāṅūr, Dēvaṇūr and Kīkumāramaṇāgalam placed under his protection.

V

In the 12th year of the reign of King Rājakāserivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śri-Kulöttungaśolādēva, Paṇṇāgumattaraiyān Ālappirandān Arasārāyanaṃ alias Kulöttungaśolā Kachchhiyarāyaṇ of Kūḍalūr in Perugaṇāṣūnādu in Tirumunaippāḍi gave the incomes arising from the paṭikāval of the villages Kanrückaṅgalam, Māṇinallūr, Koṭṭilampākkam, Toruppadī of Kīl-Āmūr-nādu, Katṭuppākkam in Āṇūgūr-nādu and Aṉāṅkapagavilāgam in Ādirājamāṅgaliya-puram, the sacred māṭippappam (lands) of the god called after Tirumāṉkkarai of this ār and the perumpadikāval in puṅgai lands, tari-irai, tattir-pāṭṭam, incomes from bazaar-streets, tax on oil-mills, areca-palms and flower-gardens and all the other perumpadikāval for the worship and offerings in the temple of Īdayār Tiruviraṭṭiṇam-Ūdayār at Ādirājamāṅgaliya-puram in Kīl-Āmūr-nādu in Tirumunaippāḍi, a subdivision of Rājrāja-valanaṇādu.

VI

In the 7th year of the regin of Kulöttungaśolādēva, Pāḷḷī Ālappirandān Mōgaṃ alias Kulöttungaśolā Kachchhiyarāyaṇ of Kūḍalūr in Perugaṇāṣūnādu (made the following gifts) to the god
Tiruttandêvaram-Udaiyâr of Tirunuâvalîr alias Râjâdîttaparam of Mêlûr-nâdu in Tirumuâîi-pâdi, a subdivision of Râjarâja-valanâdu:

- One nakkuravâra weighing 100 kalañju of gold; nine and three-fourths fineness.
- One crescent weighing 3 kalañju of gold; eight and three-fourths fineness.
- One abhiâshât-(vessel) for the dancing god weighing 20 kalañju of gold; nine and a half fineness.
- One silver dish for offering food weighing 150â½ kalañju and 2 mañjadi and 4 ma:
- One kuchchhukram of silver called after the name Arasanârayânañç weighing 224 kalañju.
- One dish in bell-metal called after Aûappirandân weighing 200 palam.
- One tiruvattanikkal in tari weighing 185 palam; and one pair of horns (orâpû) in tari weighing 35 palam. Besides the above, the same chief gave to the god Tiruttandêvaram-Udaiyâr the pâdikârsal incomes from the lands of the two villages Tirunuâvalîr alias Râjâdîttaparam and Kârûnai alias Viraçâlanârû.

VII

In the 13th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Kulottungasô adêva, Arasanârayânañç Aûappirandân alias Viraçâkharan Kâjâvârayañç of Kûdal gave to the temple at Tiruvañjâmâlail, one ekâvallîcâvam. It had in it 100 big pearls of the size of embellic myrobalans, two pendants and one gold string in which they were strung together weighing 130 kalañju.

VIII

In the 13th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Kulottunâsôladêva, Acharâkulottaman Aûkôdhânâyakan Kâjâvârayañç of Kûdal gave an ekâvallîcâvam to the temple of Tiruvirañçam-Udaiyâr at Tiruvadigai. It had in it 50 pearls, 19 nails, 101 broad gems, 2 mango-shaped pendants with a hook (kakkuñy) and an eye (padukäy). The whole weighed 1041/8 [kalañju]. Another ekâvallîcâvam, in which sapphires and pearls were strung containing 23 pearls, 22 sapphires, 44 gems fastened in the middle, 2 pendants in gold and a hook (kakkuñy), presented by the same chief, is said to have weighed 120 [kalañju].

No. 19—Phérâva Grant of Samantavarman, King of Kalinga, Year 185

(R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta)

This is a set of three plates which were dug up from a field nearly a furlong west of Chidivalasa (near Narasammapeta) in the Ganjam District, and are now in the possession of the Mohant or Pontiff of Balaga matha at Chicacoile. Mr. M. Narasingham kindly brought the grant to my notice and sent me stampages of the plates. Subsequently a fresh set of stampages was supplied by the Government Epigraphist. The grant was noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1957-58 (p. 80), and referred to by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in this Journal (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 132). Mr. M. S. Sarma edited the grant in the Journal of Oriental Research (Vol. XI, pp. 55 ff.).

Each of the plates measures 5â½×2â½. There is a ring-hole about the middle of the left-hand side, but neither the ring nor the seal was actually found. Each plate contains six lines of writing on each side, save that the third plate has only one line on the back side, and that one side of the first plate is blank.
The alphabet is of the southern type such as is used in the early Gaṅga records, and is very neatly engraved. For this reason it offers a great contrast to that of the Dhanantara plates of king Sāmanta Varman. In spite of slight differences, the alphabets of these two plates show essentially the same characteristics, and may be referred to the sixth or seventh century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five impercative verses at the end (ll. 18-24) the inscription is written in prose. As compared with the other Gaṅga records, the language is fairly correct and the mistakes are very few.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. Consonants are doubled after r with a few exceptions such as prakarsa (l. 5), chaturbhyā (l. 11), and vasra (l. 21). Consonants k and t followed by r are also doubled. The final t is indicated by a small-sized letter with a short horizontal stroke underneath. Same sign is used for b and e, but separate sign for h is used in the conjunct mb (ll. 4, 8). Anuvṛtta is used in place of final m in the impercative verses (cf. phalvi in l. 20, pālana in l. 21, 23 and 24, and bhāgavas in l. 24).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Phērava in Lauhaśriṅgāra cishaya as an agrahāra to four Brāhmaṇas, viz., Kṛttīśaśarmā and his three sons Dēvaśirmā, Ravīśirmā, and Divākaraśirmā by the Gaṅga king Mahārāja Śrī-Sāmanta Varman, Lord of Kaliṅga, in the year 185. The grant was issued from the victorious city of Śchéta.

King Sāmanta Varman of the present grant may be identified with the king of the same name who issued the Dhanantara plates. The opening phraseology is the same in both with one important exception. The latter contain, as a qualifying phrase of the king, "who has the supremacy over the whole of Ścēta, won by the strength of his own arms." But in the corresponding passage of the present grant, Kaliṅga is substituted for "the whole of Ścēta," and this form is continued by all the kings of the dynasty, with the addition of "whole" (sakalā) before Kaliṅga. Further, the present grant adds the epithet "sakala-Kaliṅga-dhikpaśā-Mahārāja" (Mahārāja, the Lord of the whole of Kaliṅga) before the name of the king, whereas the other simply refers to the king as "Śrī-Sāmanta Varman" without any royal epithet. These differences cannot but be regarded as being deliberate, and, therefore, of material significance. It is legitimate to infer that Sāmanta Varman began his career as a local chief of Ścēta, rose to political importance by dint of his own prowess, and possibly conquered a portion of the Kaliṅga territory. For, in spite of the phrase "Lord of the whole of Kaliṅga," it is difficult to accept, without further corroborative evidence, that Sāmanta Varman's authority extended over the whole of Kaliṅga, specially when we remember that similar claims are made on behalf of the other kings of Ścēta, while a long line of Gaṅga kings with Kaliṅga-nagara as capital had been ruling in Kaliṅga both before and after the time of Sāmanta Varman.

We know altogether twelve copper-plate grants issued by the kings of the Gaṅga family from Ścēta. They are connected by the conventional opening phrase, which practically

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2. Phērava Grant of Sāmanta Varman year 185 (the present Grant).

The reading of the date has been discussed later.

These are:
remains unaltered with a few unimportant verbal alterations, and were all found within a narrow circumscribed area of what may be called Northern Kaliṅga. This is all the more striking as these plates cover a fairly long period extending from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. The eleven kings, whose names are known from these records, certainly did not rule in an unbroken line of succession, but they probably belonged to one and the same branch of the extensive Gaṅga family which had established itself at Śvētaka.

Palaeographic examination of the plates enables us to place these Gaṅga kings within three broad chronological periods as follows: ¹

I. About 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
2. M. Indravarman (No. III).
3. M. Jayavarman (No. IV).²

II. 9th and 10th centuries A.D.
5. Rāṇaka Jayavarman II (No. VI).
6. MPP. Bhūpēndravarman (No. VII).
7. MPP. Anantavarman (No. VIII).

III. 11th and 12th centuries A.D.
8. Mahīndravarman (No. IX).
9. M. Prithivivarman, son of No. 8 (No. IX).
10. MPP. Indravarman, son of No. 9 (Nos. X, XI).
11. PPM. Rāṇaka Dānāṣraya (No. XII).

The family name Gaṅga and the reference to the deity Gokarṇasvāmi on mount Mahēndra, in the records of the Śvētaka kings, seem to connect them with the early Gaṅga rulers of Kaliṅga-nagara. At the same time there is hardly any doubt that they constituted an independent line of rulers for a period extending over nearly five hundred years, i.e. almost during the whole period of the sovereignty of the other branch. As none of the localities mentioned in the records of the Śvētaka kings has been satisfactorily identified, it is difficult to define the boundaries of their kingdom. As most of the plates were found in the northern part of the Ganjam District, and the sanctity of Mahēndra hills is emphasised in all the records, the Śvētaka kingdom may be regarded as having comprised the northern and western parts of the Ganjam District, just outside and bordering on the Gaṅga kingdom of Kaliṅga-nagara, and adjoining territories towards the north and west. It is probable that occasionally this boundary was enlarged as some powerful kings aggrandised themselves at the cost of their neighbours. This explains, and is supported by, the assumption

¹ The Roman numerals refer to the serial number of inscriptions in the preceding footnote. The following abbreviations are used:—

M—Mahārāja.
MPP—Mahārājādhikāra Paramēśvaru Paramahattāraka.
PPM—Paramēśvaru Paramahattāraka Mahārājādhikāra.

² The grant published in I. H. Q., Vol. XII, p. 492, was also probably issued by this king as a subordinate ruler.

³ Dr. H. C. Ray does not distinguish the two branches, but treats all the kings as belonging to one and the same line (Dynastic Hist. of N. India, Vol. 1, p. 485). It should be remembered, however, that all the grants of the Ganga kings of the other line, with two exceptions, were issued from Kaliṅga-nagara, and begin with a set phrase which is different from that used in the Śvētaka records. Not a single king of Kaliṅga-nagara is known to have issued grants from Śvētaka or vice versa.
of imperial titles by some of the rulers (Nos. 6, 7, 10, 11). It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (laṅkhāhā) by the Trikaliṅga-Mahādevi. This shows that Trikaliṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere, Trikaliṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kaliṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces.¹

For reasons stated above, it may be assumed that Sāmantavarman, originally a petty local chief of Śvētaka, laid the foundations of the independent kingdom. This is also supported by palaeographic considerations, as the alphabet of Sāmantavarman’s grants is the earliest in the series of Śvētaka records. The date of Sāmantavarman may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. It contains a date in three figures which was read by Mr. Sarma as 185.² The first figure is undoubtedly 100, and the last, 5. “The middle one, however,” as Dr. Chhabra has pointed out,³ “answers neither to 8 nor to 80, as a comparison of it with the known symbols of these numerals will prove.” On the other hand, it should be remembered that the symbol does not closely resemble any numerical symbol or figure used in the Kaliṅga records. Dr. Chhabra proposes to read it as 6. But this figure, as used in the Kōmari plates referred to by him, as well as in other records,⁴ has a long horizontal line at the top, resembling medial ś sign, which is altogether wanting in the present case. The only instance known to me of a numerical symbol, similar to that used in the present record, is the figure for 8 in Column VI of Bühler’s Chart. This, however, refers to the Kūshāṇa period, and it would not be safe to accept it as of equal value five centuries later. But still, until more satisfactory identification is forthcoming, it would perhaps be better to interpret the symbol as 8, and read the date provisionally as 185. It may be noted that the two other symbols, viz., those for 100 and 5, may also be traced to very old times.

Whether the date be read as 185 or 165 (or any other figure between 115 and 195), it should be referred to the Gaṅga Era. For the alphabet of the present record closely resembles that of the Gaṅga records of Kaliṅga dated in the second century of that era. The epoch of the Gaṅga Era has not been finally determined yet, but there is a general consensus of opinion that it commenced towards the very end of the 5th or by the middle of the 6th century A.D.⁵ Sāmantavarman may thus be placed towards the latter part of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara were at this time busy defending their territory against the Eastern Chālukyas who had already conquered Madhyama-Kaliṅga corresponding to the southern part of the Vizagapatam District. It is to be noted that almost all the records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara refer to the region comprising the northern part of the Vizagapatam and the southern part of the Ganjam Districts. The territories immediately to the south were in possession of the Eastern Chālukyas during the latter part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth century A.D.⁶ It is probable, therefore, that Sāmantavarman, taking advantage of the troubles of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga-nagara, founded an independent principality in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This view is supported by the fact that almost all the records of the line of kings founded by him have been found in this region.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 132. [Subsequently I have another occasion to study the formation of the symbols for 6 and 8; see above, p. 30. I now accept the view that the disputed sign stands for 8. The reading of the year as 185 may therefore be taken as final.—B. Ch. Chhabra.]
⁴ Cf. e.g. Pedavegi C.P. (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. I, p. 94).
⁵ For the different views on this subject, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, p. 181, fn. 8. The latest view is that of Prof. V. V. Mirashi, according to whom the Gaṅga era commenced in A. D. 498-99; see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 350.
⁶ This has been discussed by me with full reference to authorities in Ducera Univ. Studies, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 24 ff.
Sāmantavarman's task was also perhaps facilitated by the aggressive policy of the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta II who ruled in the first half of the 7th century A.D. This ruler of Kōngōda claims to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kālīga,—a characteristic phrase also used later by Sāmantavarman and his successors. It is highly probable that the Kōngōda king defeated the Gaṅga ruler of Kālīga-nagara and conquered a portion of the Gaṇjam District in the north. But about the middle of the 7th century A.D., the Śailōdbhavas were defeated by Haršavardhana and they almost disappear from the political arena for nearly two centuries.1 This was the period during which we find Sāmantavarman and at least three other kings ruling in Śvētaka as independent chiefs.

It may be presumed that the political events described above were not unconnected with each other. The Gaṅgas of Kālīga-nagara were weakened by the aggressive policy of the Śailōdbhavas in the north and the Eastern Chālukyas in the south. This gave an opportunity to the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka to establish an independent principality in the northern part of the Gaṇjam District on the collapse of the Śailōdbhava power about the middle of the 7th century A.D., or shortly after that.

This historical review has a bearing on the location of the capital city Śvētaka about which different opinions have been expressed by scholars. The identification of Śvētaka with Śrīkāśmam, proposed by Mr. R. Subba Rao,2 must be definitely ruled out, as it is too far south. Mr. Sarma identifies it with Chikāṭi in the Sompetā taluka of the Gaṇjam District,3 but the philological ground, on which alone this is based, is not convincing. There is a village called Sadaka, not far from Chikāṭi (Lat. 81°6', Long. 19°48', in Sheet Atlas No. 74 A). This name resembles Śvētaka, but I am not aware if the place contains any antiquity. On the whole, the available evidence indicates that the site of Śvētaka is to be looked for in the northern part of the Gaṇjam District, but its exact identification must be left an open question.

The actual name of this capital city is also a matter of dispute. Mr. Sarma has expressed the view that the real name of the city is Śchētaka and not Śvētaka.4 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, after discussing the question at some length, has upheld the reading Śvētaka.5 There is, however, no doubt that the present record, where the letters have been very carefully engraved, definitely gives the name as Śchētaka. This will be evident from a comparison of the first syllable of the name with the conjunct ścē in bhagavataśc-ścharāyāra (l. 1), śrīmāhakaś-ścha (l. 11), v-śātmanāś-śca (l. 13), paścikāṇaś (l. 14), bhavishyataś-ścha (l. 16), and gilś-c-śiltra (l. 18) on the one hand, and ś in Gāṅgavēṣhvara (l. 3), Māhēśvara (l. 6) and grāmā-vicatā (l. 9) on the other. The Grant No. V also gives the name in the form Śchētaka. On the other hand, there is no doubt that at least in some of the grants of the dynasty (Nos. I, VIII, III, IV) the name is definitely written as Śvētaka. But the difficulty does not end here. For, of the twelve known grants of this dynasty, while two give definitely Śchētaka and four others, Śvētaka, no less than four (Nos. VII, IX, X, XI) write the name as Śvētaka, and in the two remaining cases we get Śēta (No. VI) and Śvēta (No. XII). It appears that all these differences in the form of the name are caused by an attempt to Sanskritize a vernacular name, and it would not, therefore, perhaps be wise to accept Śvētaka as the only correct form and reject others as mistakes.

Of the other localities mentioned, Lauhāṣingāra may be the origin of such village name asorous in the feudatory state of Patna, but this identity cannot be regarded as certain or certain or even

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1 The history of the Śailōdbhavas has been discussed by me with full reference to authorities in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. X, pp. 1 ff.
4 Ibid., p. 59, fn.9.
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131
probable until we have more definite information about the location and extent of the Śvētaka kingdom. The village Phērava and the river Mēghāvati cannot be identified, but the latter may be one of the small tributaries of the river Tel.¹

In conclusion, reference may be made to two peculiarities in this grant. In the first place there is no reference to the officials of whom a long list is found in the grants of all other kings of the dynasty. In this respect the simple formula "yathā-kēla-vaighahārīnāḥ sa-karaṇān" of the grant No. I, and "yathā-nivāsi-janapadaṁ" of the present grant offer a striking contrast to the enumeration of officials in grant No. III, and the still longer list of officials in No. IV. This, also, may be regarded as an indication that Sāmantavarman flourished earlier than the other kings. Secondly, verse 5 in the imprecatory formula is a new one, and evidently replaces the well-known verse Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-lōlām, etc.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 Ōṁ svasti [\*] vijaya-Śchētak-ādhishṭhānād-bhagavataś-chaḥ-śchara-gurūra-saka-
2 la-śāśākā-śēkha-arha-sa-hētāy-śmāhendr-śēkha-
3 la-śikharu-nivāsinaḥ Śrī-Gōkārṇēsvra-svāmīnāś-śchara-śkamal-śēk-
4 dhanād-avāpta-punya-niehaṁyō Gāṅ-āmala-kul-śambhara(r-ō)nū[b]\* sva-bluju-va(ba)-
5 la-parākkram-ākkṛanta-Kalūng-ādhirījyaḥ śakti-traya-prakarā-śamñāṇit-śē-
6 aha-sāmantāḥ parama-mahēśvarō mātā-pitṛ-pād-anudhyātās-sa-

*Second Plate; First Side*

7 kala-Kalūng-ādhipatirr-mahārājah Śrī-Sāmantavarmanmā kuśali Lauhaḥṛt
8 ūgāra-vishaya-sambandha(ddha)-Phērava-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadaṁ samajñā-
9 payati [\*] viditaṁ-astu bhavatāṁ yathā-ayam grāmo-svatthachhōla-sahi-
10 tas-sarva-kara-bhāran-śapatiya Bhāradvāja-agōṭtra-Vājasanēya-Kirttiśa-
11 śarmanāṇē tat-putta-Dēvaśarman-Raviśarman-Dīvākaraśarmanmaḥyās=cha chaturbhīyō brāhman-ā-
12 grēbhyaś=salīla-dhārā-pūrvaṁ=ā-chandr-ārkka-kāla-pratishtham=aghrāraṁ kriyā ma-

*Second Plate; Second Side*

13 tā-pittrōr-ātmanā=cha puny-ābhivvṛddhayē samprattō-sya cha grāmasya simā-līngā-
14 ni bhavanti pūrvvēga śushka-nadi dakshipēna samvaidya paschimēna sarīt=-Mē(n-Mē)ghāva-
15 ti uttarēga kōdrava-kāhlī dakshipēna gu[r]ēttā pūrva-ōttarēga yāvat-parvavataḥ [\*]
16 vidīty=aiyāṁ na kēnachit-svāl̄ pāy=āvā(ḥ)dha kārryā bhavishyataṁ=cha rājñā[h]\* prati-
17 vō(bod)hayati [\*] dhārmma-śkrāma-vikramēga n-avāpya mahim=annāsaddhrībhīyaṁ

¹ According to Mr. Sarma, "Phērava is no doubt the modern Barua in the Sompeta taluq and the river Mēghāvati is no other than the Mahēndrataṇya that rises in the Mahēndragiri mountains and falls into the sea near Barua". (J.O.B., Vol. XI, p. 58.) These identifications are doubtful, particularly as there is no hill in the immediate neighbourhood of Barua as we would expect from 1.15 of the present grant.

² See introductory remarks.

³ Mr. Sarma reads 'kāhlī' and translates it as a threshing floor. He has also drawn from it important references about the system of land-tenure (op. cit. p. 57). The reading kāhlī is, however, quite clear.

⁴ Read vikramēya-vāpya.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

18 dāna-dharmaṇī=nupālanīyaḥ Vyāśa-gītās=ch-āttra ślokā bhavanti [*] Va(Ba)hubhir vva- 

**Third Plate ; First Side**

19 sudhā dattā rājabhāṣa=Sagar-ādibhīṣ [[*] yaṣya yaṣya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya 
20 tadā phalāni(m) [1 || [*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ=vā (ttāṁ vā) yatnād=rakesha Yudhishtīrā ā mahāi[m[*] mahī-matāṁ śrāvāḥ 
21 dānācē-chhrēyō=nupālanān Canadiens] 2 [8 || [*] Shastrī(shtīṁ)varsha-sahasrāṇi svargga mādāti bhūmida[h[*] ākshē- 
22 pātā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=eva narakā vasēt [3 || [*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ pa- 
23 ra-dattē=stī pārthivāḥ [[*] sva-dānān=pha(t=pha)lam-sānantā[n[*] para-dān-ānupālanān- (nē) [4[*] 
24 Kāyō=niyō=sahīrā bhūgā jīvitaṁ kṣhaṇa-bhaṅguraṇ(m) [*] itī saṁchintya nyipatā kuru dharmaṁ-ō(rmm-ā)nupālanā[m[*] [5 || [*] 

**Third Plate ; Second Side**

25 Samva(Samva)ś 100 85a Kārttiκa-dīna 30

**TRANSLATION**

(L.l. 1-8) Ōṁ Hail! From the victorious city of Śchētaka the illustrious Mahārāja Sāma- 

tavarma, who has acquired a store of religious merit by worshipping the lotus feet of the 

illustrious Lord Gokarrpēśvara,—the master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears 

the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the source of creation, preservation and destruction, and 

resides on the summit of mount Mahēndra;— 

who is the moon in the clear sky, viz. the pure family of the Gaṅgas; who has won the supreme- 

mcy over Kaliṅga by the strength of his own arms; who has the entire circle of feudatory chiefs 

attached (to himself) through the excellence of his three-fold powers; who is a devout worshipper 

of Mahēśvara; who has meditated on the feet of his parents; and who is the ruler of the whole 

of Kaliṅga; 

being in good health, commands the people concerned in the village of Phērava in the vishaya 

(district) of Lauhaśringāra (as follows):—

(L.l. 9-13). Be it known to you that this village, with the (right of) cutting Ashvattha trees, 

and exempted from all taxes, has been given (by me), for the sake of increasing the religious meri- 

of myself and of my parents, with libations of water, as an agrahāra, to last as long as the moon,

1 Mr. Sarma reads gobē.
2 See introductory remarks.
3 For the name of the city, see introductory remarks.
4 Refers to Gokarrpēśvara.
5 Refers to Sāmantavarma.
6 Connected with Sāmantavarma.
7 This seems to be the most reasonable meaning of Ashvattha-chkhēda, unless it denotes another village, or 

a plot of land, or an adjacent Ashvattha forest. [The interpretation given above is open to various objections: 

(1) the donor usually cannot withhold the right of cutting any trees in a village after giving it away as an 

agrahāra, (2) even granting that he can do so, it would be strange that he should single out only Ashvattha trees 

for being felled. (3) the Ashvattha is supposed to be too sacred for the Hindus to be cut down; so on and so forth. 

Possibly the expression means along with (the hamlet of) Ashvatthachkhēda. Compare Asvatthakhētaka 

occurring in a Vēkātaka grant (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 86, text l. 20), and brahmachārī-chkhēda in a Gaṅga 

charter (above, Vol. XIII, p. 214, text l. 11).—Ed.]
the sun and the earth, to the four pre-eminent Brāhmaṇas, viz. Kṛtiṣāsarman and his sons Dévaśarman, Raviśarman and Divākaraśarman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and the Vājasanēya (charaṇa).

(Ll. 13-15). The boundaries of this village are:—On the east, the dry (bed of) river running (1) south; on the west, the river Mēghāvatī; on the north, the Kōdrava canal; (2) on the south, the pits; on the north-east, as far as the hill.

(Ll. 15-16). Knowing this no one should offer the slightest obstacle (to it).”

(Ll. 16-18). (He also) enjoins upon the future kings that this religious gift should be maintained by those who rule after having acquired it by virtue, enterprise and valour.

(Ll. 18-24). There are also the ślokas sung by Vyāsa (Here follow five of the customary verses).

(L. 28). The Year, 185, 30th day of Kārttika.

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No. 20—SAVNUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I ; SAKA 597

(I Plate)

G. H. Khare, Poona

This set of copper-plates was lying with the Nawab of Savnūr State (Dhārwār). Mr. G. R. Padgaonkar, the Diwān of that State bought this set along with another, from a village on a market-day of that town and very generously presented both of them to the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Poona. I first edited this record in Marāṭhī in the journal of the Society, (1) I now re-edit it here for the benefit of a larger number of scholars.

The set consists of three plates measuring 9½ × 4½”, which were strung on a circular ring of 4" in diameter. The two ends of the ring were soldered into an oval soal bearing, in relief, a boar to the left. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both the sides of the second are engraved. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved in general, except in the portion of the text giving the situation of the village granted. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 144 tolas.

The characters of the record belong to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Gadhāl plates with few variations. The syllables cha and ca, the medial ri and the subscript ra, and the medial short and long i are not clearly distinguished. The orthography of the inscription also calls for a few remarks. The consonant following a rēpha is generally doubled except in Harsha (l. 8), Varaha (l. 22, 33) and Chandrārka (l. 29). Pūrveasuṣāni diti, saun dātum and saun-dattām para have been written as pūrveasuṣāni-diti (l. 27), saun-dātum (l. 31) and saun-dattām para (l. 32) respectively. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The record begins with the usual verse in praise of the victory of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu and is followed by the preamble that is generally met with in other Chālukya grants. After this is introduced king Pulakēśin of the Chalikya family. His son was Kṛttivarman; his son was Satyārāṇya, i.e., Pulakēśin (II); his son was Vikramāditya (I). All the information about these four rulers that is contained in this record is already known to us; for

1 The word saṃsvēda is unintelligible. The translation is only conjectural.
2 Khāla and khāli are well-known terms for canal in Eastern India, being derived from Sanskrit khaṭa.
3 Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. III, p. 73.
4 The other set will be edited later on.
the text of ll. 1-24 containing information about the four rulers as well as the king's encampment and the date is similar to that of the Gadvāl plates.

The object of the record is the grant, by Vikramāditya at the request of one Anigipōdi, of the village Kudhavanapāyau (I) which was situated at a distance of two gavyātis (16 miles) to the east of Parukandar, to Kauthiya, the son of Mādisarman, the grandson of Vishvāsarman, and of the Kāmakāryaṇa gōtra. Of these the first two were well-versed in the Ṛigveda only and the third in the four Vedas. Then follow the usual appeal to continue the grant and the beneficent-imprecatory verses. The record was drafted by the Mahāśāntādhīvgrahikā Jayasena who also drafted the Gadvāl plates. The record ends with a salutation to god Nāṣāyaṇa.

The details of the date are mentioned thus: Śaka 597, regnal year 20, Vaisākha-paurṇimā. The date of the Gadvāl plates is also the regnal year 20, Vaisākha-paurṇimā; but Śaka 596. Both the grants were issued when Vikramāditya was encamping at Uragapura on the southern bank of the river Kāveri, after entering the territory of the Chōlas. It is possible that he might have encamped at Uragapura on a similar date in two successive years. But it is not possible to cite the same regnal year for a similar date in two successive years. It is therefore obvious that the Śaka year 597 of the present grant should be taken as current and corresponding to Śaka year 596 expired, the year of the Gadvāl plates. Besides, the Talamanchi and other plates of Vikramāditya show that Śaka 577 expired was the initial year of his reign and Śaka 597 expired will be naturally his 21st regnal year. Hence Śaka 597 of this grant cannot but be regarded as a current year. The corresponding English date is 25th April 674 A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in this grant Vanavasī and Kānci do not require any identification. Uragapura was situated on the southern bank of the Kāveri and hence it had been identified by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya with Upilavur, which is near Trichinopoly and on the southern bank of the Kāveri. But the late Dr. Hultsch would not accept this identification. He preferred to identify Uragapura with Negapatain which is a coastal town about 40 miles to the south of the mouth of the Kāveri. I agree with the former view. The remaining two villages remain unidentified for the present.

TEXT

First Plate

1 त्वाःसि [1] जयत्याविरतं विश्व: बारहं श्रीमतान्तरावं (स्म) [1] दक्षंगोसतंत्रान्त्रावं
   विवशतमुनस(न) वयुः [131*]

2 श्रीमतं सकलमुनसंस्थिपतमानात्यपत्यमोदमहापतिः श्रीमतं सपतलकोक-

3 मामृतमतमात्मसधर्मविविधितानां जातिकृत्रिकृतैविश्वकिरिश्राणात्मकभिरक्षणमपरमपरमाणाः भग-

1 [See notes 4-6 on p. 118 and postscript—Ed.]
2 He was also responsible for the draft of the Honnur plates of Vikramāditya I, dated Śaka 592 and regnal year 16 (Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1939, p. 133).
3 Above, Vol. IX, p. 98; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 103. The initial day of the first year of his reign must have been between Śrāvaṇa 1 and 2 of Śaka 576 and Vaisākha ñuṣṭhāna 15 of Śaka 577, both expired.
5 See postscript.
6 From the original plates.
7 Metre: Asanālubhā.
8 Read विश्वाविद्माणाः.
4. व्यावायमप्रसादसामाचित्वराहलस्यनेत्रसनवशेषीतातुमहीमूर्ति
5. [ष]लिखितमां कुमतलिंकरिऺ्योरव्रेययुगव्यश्वासन्यविशीतमहापालस्य भी-
6. गुनदेशवल्लभमहाराज्य स्थित: पराक्षमाणितत्ववाच्यविशिष्टयः
7. तिमण्डलप्रणयेवपुकुलकति: भोक्तिकिंवममणिकिंवललमहाराज्यतोत्र:-
8. सामरस(स)कलकतीराऱ्येवर्श्येवर्दुर्विभुजन्य परायम्यपलवयः
9. मेंद्रवररतनामेवथ्य स्वरायेवश्चौपिकविवललमहाराजाधिराजः

Second Plate; First Side

10. मेंद्रस्य मियतनयद्रवकस्ताय्मप्रववरुद्धमेंणकेनेव प्रतीतनेवः
11. रम्ये रिपुपरिशुचिरजस्वाद्यानसत्याचायात्मकायतोत्सवलमनिविशिष्टः
12. धार्यायवत्तरणीरभुजानभिगतदुश्वानिगभुजवित्तविचित्रियुरात्मकः
13. चार्व[ना]न(नेक)काहारः स्वपुरोः: धिथमज्ञानितित्रिदातारामानसत्वाकाट्य कृते:-
14. काविभिस्तोराज्यभरतस्मितराज्यवर्येव बिन्दाशः देवश्रवणयानि
15. परम्परीन्दुरुद्धे स्वमुलो श्वामितवायुः [II\textsuperscript{a}] रणारिसः गीतपरेशावशिष्टवः
16. त्व जिव्व स्वजन्यं लघो(भूमी) [I\textsuperscript{a}] प्राप्तः परमस्वर निविदारितचित्तवादिवः
   [I\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}] भा. च [I\textsuperscript{a}] पु.-
17. विद्वारि शंह्यताः विहितमेहक्योन्ताप्तविवेशन [I\textsuperscript{a}] निधनविविदेशनेशं
18. प्रभृणा भीवलभेन जितं(स्त्रु) [I\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}] कुतपलवल्लभ यो विस्तिरियोभित्वित्तमालकान्मो

Second Plate; Second Side

19. क:[I\textsuperscript{a}] यो मृगामिनिममवः[I\textsuperscript{a}]भा. स(सु) तरास भीवलभेन जितं(स्त्रु) [I\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}] वहिति
   स्वमयवलं रणूरिसः (कः) भीवलभेन-
20. [क्क(क्क)]प[प] [I\textsuperscript{a}] यो राजमलश्वर्य विहितमेहक्योन्ताप्तविवे: [I\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}] कुलैव(च्य) कुक्कर-
   विशेषविवेशनेशं
21. कुम्भुपुत्रदूर्युरार्थिकारीता [I\textsuperscript{a}] प्राप्ति सेन यज्ञार्थिकोपरां जम्मु कामाश्री विलिविदिवः

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1. Metro for this an't the following three verses: I'99.
2. [I would read मन्त्राः—O. R. K.
22 वि (वि) विलेन काळौँ [16118] वि (वि) विलम्बू वोलमार्फ़ सर्वनाशप्रभुरपतनांशुषः
शक्तयेवैतीशु प्रबोध:-

23 मानविधितर्फांतर्गते वि (वि) शायतने वहत्साने वीजिज्ञायं प्रविद्य फ़ (का) वेरी-
श्रणिन्तब्रह्म [ष्ठ] र

24 मुरलारमचिधिवसति विग्यात्मकल्याणे वेदांकर्णां ज्ञानान्यायां कामकायः

25 नामोनामे चतुर्वेदांगः विश्वेतृ [ष्ठ] पारम्पर्यः पारम्पर्यः पुत्रायैं पवित्रमय सत्वमः

26 वेदनाथ पारंतवते माहितमायें: पुत्राय वह (हे) कविदसा (वह) रात्रि कविदय...[न] पावनामा

27 स्वार्थ नुक्त्वयाविचि गीतायुमानेर्विन बृहस्पतिविविज्ञानवाय कुल...[न] पावनामा

28 प्राचे दल: [189] सदामणीमिन्येण पुरे (हे) दव इत्यादिन विसिस्तितंफिरायं राजस्वलाभिधि राजस्वलाभिधि

29 वंदन (नम) कोशराणविश्वविलक्षणसाधिवेच [वि] तु भूर्विविन्नानविवेचाहि परिपतेन (त्वः)

Third Plate

30 उदान [ष्ठ] भो भलात: वेदवायो बहुमिर्नासुः भुसुता भुजमप्रस्तराविभिन्नत्रियं (भि: प्रवः) प्रस्तः घ-

31 वा स्वार्थवत्ता तस्य तथा पल्ल (लमु) [16118] स्वार्थं सूर्य हस्तिक्षणं हु (हे) सर्वस्य पल्लम नमु(नमु) [189]

32 वा भाषी वा पल्लम वेति यातायथेव (का) योग्यांनाम (नम) [16118] स्वार्थांत्वर्तता वा यो होरे-

33 तु वसुश्रवा (राम) [189] घरिन्द्रिणि (विष्णु) वर्षसाहिबान्ति विषायां जाताए ज्ञात: [16118]

वालकु

34 वंदचारस्य पल्लवावस्पादिव: [189] सवार्थवार्तवालस्य शा-

35 साते हास्यं हिंदा वायस्य: [111018] भारार्मिविविक्षकोनयस्यं निरूति-

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1 Metro: Vasanthatilaka.
2 The Haidarabād and the Gadhīl plates have "स विक्रमातलकषकमहोमन्दलविधिराप्तो विक्रमादिय-
सत्यवर्णोपमिभिषो (वि) वर्तनमहराजाधिकरणर्येवर्वावर्तस्योपमिवात्यि“ before "बिलित" etc., but here this
portion has been omitted through carelessness.
3 Omit the second गौतमें.
4 I am not able to understand this expression. [Reading is प (स) दसस्यमतृ — N. L. R.]
5 A letter following this cannot be deciphered. [Reading is कविवर्तो (वि) यु कुकुरस्वरायस्य. The
village Kukku sutu mentioned here is apparently the same as Kukkanur in the Raichur District of the Nizam's
Dominions.— N. L. R.]
6 The reading is doubtful. [It appears to be कुकुरस्य थै निलू.]
7 The Gadāl plates have राजमिल: before this word.
8 Traces of two letters are seen below श्रस and श्री.
9 Metro: Anushikshā.
I thank Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Raj for suggesting, better readings in notes 4-6 of the previous page. The identification of Kukanār with modern Kakkanār, which seems to be quite certain, tempts me to decipher the name of the village granted as Kuvvalapalū for, as stated in the grant itself, at a distance of about 16 miles to the East by North-East of Kakkanār, there is a village Kölehū which seems to be a modernization of the ancient name Kuvvalapalū.

POSTSCRIPT

NO. 21—RAKSHASKHALI ISLAND PLATE OF MADOMMANAPALA ; SAKA 1118

(I Plate)

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL, CALCUTTA

The copper-plate inscription, which forms the subject of the present paper, was discovered during reclamation of virgin forest in the island of Rākshakhalī on the southern seaboard of Bengal. The island, which represents the F. Plot of the extensive Western Sundarbans tract, is situated about twelve miles due east of the sacred Sāgar Island at the mouth of the river Hooghly. The copper-plate was found inside a squashy chamber, one of many such existing all over the island, built with bricks whose walls seem extraordinarily thick for their size. This little island, in common with the rest of the Sundarbans area, can boast of a fairly wide range of ancient remains such as terracotta fragments, stone sculptures, temples in ruins and dated clay seals. There are also on the island a large number of mounds which have still to be explored and yield their secrets.

The inscription, which has since attracted wide interest, was first read and edited by Dr. B. C. Sen as early as 1934. I now re-edit the record from an excellent ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The original plate is preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

This is a single sheet of copper bearing an inscription in twenty-two lines on one side only. The plate preserves traces of silver-powdering and measures 10½ by 8½. There is no arrangement for a seal or raised rims to protect the writing, which has been damaged in places, once vitally. Generally speaking, however, our record is in a fair state of preservation. The height of the letters is about one-third of an inch on the average.

The reverse side of the plate is taken up by an engraving, incised with a sharp instrument, of a Vaishnava devotional scene. The principal figure in the composition is Lord Vishnu in his Nrisimha rūpa seated lalītakāna on a wheeled chariot (ratha). In front of the deity is the supplicating figure of Garuḍa with a staff sticking out from under his armpit.

No. 21] RAKSHASKHALI ISLAND PLATE OF MADOMMANAPALA ; SAKA 1118 119

36 तसिद [II] यशान्त पतित (त.) तक स्नेम्नविद्वेषःस्मिति [I] एवं भूमि

37 कष्ट (तं) दान सर्वय सर्वय (स्वे) विनविध्यति [II. 1118] नमो नारायणाय

1 Metric: Anushūth.
2 Read स्नेम्नविद्वेषःस्मिति.
4 Kalidasa Datta, Antiquities of Khādī (Ann. Rep. of Varṇārtha Research Society, 1928-29); V. R. Society Monographs Nos. 4 and 5; also Bhattachariya, loc. cit.
The characters belong to the proto-Bengali alphabet current in Eastern India in the 12th century A.D. They resemble, generally, those of the śādāvādi plate of Dāsarathadēva,\(^1\) the Maynāmati plate of Harikālādēva Rāpaivākamalla,\(^2\) the Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara,\(^3\) and also those of the Gayā Vāsudēva temple inscription of Gōvindapāla.\(^4\)

Some of the special palaeographical features of the Rākshaskhāli inscription are as follows: initial ā occurs in lines 3, 5 and 8; initial ā in lines 9 and 18; i in l. 19 and e in l. 16; i presents two forms: cf. kuśali and Pāl-in line 3; e and dḥ are almost identical in shape; and a chandrabindu (anuñātika) sign occurs in l. 5 and the comparatively uncommon kh in lines 3 and 9, and jh in l. 8.

The numerals 1 and 8, and possibly also 9,\(^5\) appear in the date which is given in l. 22.

The orthography presents but little complication. Consonants are doubled after r, the exceptions being karshakai in l. 13 and -vareka in l. 17. Consonants appearing in conjunction with subscript r have been doubled in four cases (lines 10, 11) out of seven; in three (lines 4, 9, 14) there are no changes whatever. The letters b and v have been generally distinguished by separate signs. The rules of sandhi have not been observed in some cases: e.g., -vahīḥ chataḥ (l. 7).

The language is Sanskrit. Barring the six imprecatory verses coming at the end, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Dhāmahithā by Mahāsāmantādhīpati, Mahārajādēva, Sāmantarāja Madōmmanapāla as a mitradāna to Mahārāja Vāsudēva, son of Purushottamadēva and grandson of Sōmadēva, who belonged to the Vārdhinaśa gōtra and was a student of the Kāyva school of the Yajurveda, and was a good friend of the king. The village granted was situated in Pūrvakāḥṭikā. The grant was formally announced in a large assembly of executive officers at Dvārakahāṭa, which is called the mukti-bhūmi of the donor. The donor of the gift was a member of the Pāla dynasty which had come (vimasṛuta) from Ayodhyā. He was a devotee of Vishnu, while his chief, whose name is uncertain,\(^6\) was a paramamahēvāra.

The date, which is given in figures only, is Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 1118\(^7\) and corresponds to April-May, A.D. 1196.

Madōmmanapāla of the present inscription is otherwise unknown to history. He was apparently subordinate to another ruler of equally obscure antecedents. In any case, he must have commanded influence only over a very restricted area. It appears as if Madōmmanapāla was really

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4. R. D. Banerji, Palae of Bengal (Memoirs of A.S.B., Vol. 7), Plate XXVIII.
5. See infra p. 123, fn. 6.
6. See infra p. 122, fn. 3.
7. This makes the present record the earliest known inscription, dated in the Śaka era, so far found in Bengal. Kalidas Datta, however, speaks (R.V.S. Monograph No. 5, pp. 4-5) of a copper-plate inscription, lost long ago, of a king called Jayantachandra. This plate, which is said to have been dated in the Śaka year 897 was unearthed somewhere very near to the temple called Jaṭār Deul in Lot No. 116 of the Sundarbanas in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision. Mr. Datta, really speaking, only quotes from an old List of Ancient Monuments in the Presidency Division, published by the Government of Bengal in 1896. The extract quoted by Mr. Datta betrays, however, some confusion on the part of the compiler of the official report as regards the nature and the date of the inscription.
a local chieftain like Iśvaragūpa, or Dāmōdara, or Harikāla-daśa — the last remnants of Hindu sovereignty in early mediaeval Bengal.

The mention of a Pāla anuṣaya coming from Ayōdhya is as indefinite as it is misleading. For one thing, it cannot be the legendary city of the Ikshvāku kings far in the north. I believe that Maṭṭōmannapāla’s Ayōdhya should rather be looked for much nearer home. In fact, the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the district of Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal still boasts of two different localities called Ayōdhyanagara, one of which may well have been the seat of Maṭṭōmannapāla’s family. It is in any case noteworthy that Dvārakahāṭaka, from which place the grant was announced, is spoken of as the mukti-bhāumi of Maṭṭōmannapāla. It is just possible that this Dvārakahāṭaka was the nucleus around which Maṭṭōmannapāla and his predecessors had built up a small sphere of influence. As a matter of fact, Pūrvakhāṭikā is expressly referred to as having been acquired (upāyajita, l. 3) by the Pāla family from Ayōdhya.

It is clear, however, that this line of Pāla chiefs swore allegiance, though perhaps only nominally, to some ruler with imperial pretensions. This last may have been the Sēna king Lakṣmaṇasēna, who, then very old and very pious, was passing his last few days in the fateful city of Nudia, leaving charge of the Pūrvakhāṭikā affairs in the hands of this trusted family of vassals.

Of the localities mentioned, Pūrvakhāṭikā occurs for the first time in the present record. A Paśchimakhāṭikā, included in the Vardhamānabhuki, already occurs in the Gāvindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇasēna. It is probable that the present river Hooghly formed the natural boundary between the two kāṭikās. A place called Khāḍi, a close approximation to kāṭikī, still exists in the Diamond Harbour Subdivision of the district of Twenty-four Parganas. A Khāḍi maṇḍaḷa was formerly included in the Puṇḍravaradhanas bhātī. Generally speaking, Pūrvakhāṭikā seems to have covered a large part of the present Western Sundarbans area. Dvārakahāṭaka may have been the headquarters of Pūrvakhāṭikā. I am, however, unable to identify Dvārakahāṭaka as well as the village of Dhamāṭkhāṭa.

1 N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 149-57.
2 Ibid., pp. 155-63.
3 Cf. supra, p. 120, f. n. 2.
4 Apart from this, other places with epic association exist in the present Sundarbans area. Such are e.g., Indra-prastha (V.R.S. Monograph No. 5, map facing p. 12; Ann. Rep. of V.R.S., 1930-31, p. 13), Mathurāpur and Gādā Mathurā (V.R.S. Monograph No. 6, p. 9 and map).
5 Dr. D. C. Sircar’s theory (Indian Culture, Vol. I, pp. 679-82) that the Pālas of the Rākshashkāli inscription came from the south is full of improbabilities. His arguments, viz., (i) a possible philological affinity between names, (ii) a date in the Śaka calendar, (iii) an absolutely imaginary and illegible parallelism between the Hindu and Jain pantheon of divinities, (iv) a search for Ayōdhya mentioned in our inscription in the south and (v) some possible link with a southern Ikṣvāku dynasty of solar descent, are clearly strained and they lose much of their force by the uncertain and hesitating tone in which they are expressed. As I have pointed out above, the Ayōdhya Pālas may not after all prove to be worthy of so much enthusiasm and legendary glamour that some superficial coincidences may appear to cast over them. Any way, it does not prejudice our case to reserve a final verdict till data of a more practical nature are available. Dr. B. C. Sen has also recently exposed the absurdity of Dr. Sircar’s curious and persistent ‘southern’ complexa (Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, Calcutta University, 1942, p. 481.)

It is necessary to mention here that Mr. D. P. Ghosh suggested (I.H.Q., Vol. X, p. 321, f.n. 2) a Gurjara-Pratihāra association for the Pālas of Dvārakahāṭaka while the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh perhaps went too far when he thought (Indian Culture, Vol. II, pp. 138-39) of an Orissan nativity for them. Drs. R. C. Majumdar and Radhagovinda Basak describe Maṭṭōmannapāla as “a foreigner, his family having migrated from Ayōdhya.” (The History of Bengal, Vol. I, Dacca University, 1943, p. 281, f.n. 1.)

The absence of a personal seal in the present case perhaps suggests as much.

1 N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 96, text l. 34.
2 Sundarban (Bakultāla) copper-plate inscription of Lakṣmaṇasēna (N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 171).
1 Šrī. Svasti || Paramamāhēśvara-samastasupraasa[ty]-upēśa-mahāmāṇḍalika-śrī-Śrī ... 

[sa]pāladevāv-anudhyātah | 4
2 mahāsāṃśātāhpiati-mahārājādhirāj-vipaksha-sāṃśānta-bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-nirūrāha- 
dhara (va)[la]-sāmantarājā- 

3 [śrī]-Madōmmanapāladevāḥ | kuśali | Ayōdhyā-viniḥṣaṇa-Pāl-ānvay-ōpāṛjita-Pu(Pā). 
rvvakhāṭiṣ-āṃghāṭiṣ-āvī-
4 ya-mukti-bhūman śrī-Dvārakāṛāṭıkā sāṃpūrgat-āśēśa-rāja-rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājini-sapt- 
āṃṭita-yāvadvēka- 

5 pātra-rāpaka-dāṇḍanāyaśa-rāhak-āgānakshaka-vaṭṭa-hṛtta-śvēka-ēdīna(n) | 4 anyānaḥ-ēch- 
ākṛtīttanau) rāja-pād-ōpā-
6 jīvīnaḥ pratītvīnaḥ janaṃpadānau(brāhmaṇa) jāth-ārham mānayati bōdhayaṃ samādiṣati cha | vīti-
7 tam-astu bhavatān | Dhāmarāṭha-grāmā(m)yaṃ ratna-trama-vahini chaṭṭaḥ-simāv- 

cchinnah sa-jala-sthalah sa-gartḍ-ēṣa-
8 rāh sa-jhāta-viṭa-pah-sānma-mahūkāh | 4 a-chaṭṭa-hṛtta-pravēśah | 4 a-kīṃčit-kara-grāhya- 
[h] parīhṛta-sarvva-pā-
9 daḥ ah-chaṇḍe-ārka-śhīkhi(śhī)ti sama-kālaṃ yāvat | Vērdhūnasa-sagōṭrāṇa Yājura-vvēḍ- 
āntargata-Kāṇya-sākḥ-āh-
10 kadēḥ-ādēḥyāvinī | 4 Sōmadeva-pantuṭrāṇa Purushōttamadēva-puṭṭrāṇa | 4 mahārāṣṭaṇa-śrī- 

Vā.

1 From an ink impression.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 The loss of this name is undoubtedly grievous. What has been preserved for us is only a poor Śrī...pāladevā. There is, however, a clear trace of a ś before pā, leaving space for just one more syllable. Restorations suggested so far include Śrī[sa]pāla or Śrī[sa]pāla (Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 680, fn. 1) and Śrī[sa]pāla or Śrī[sa]pāla (I.H.Q., Vol. XV, p. 308, fn. 9). The first letter of the name may equally probably be a śrī or śṛ as also śrī.
4 Daśaṇa superfluous.
6 Dr. N. K. Bhattasali briefly announced (Science & Culture, Vol. VII, p. 239) the discovery of a number of dated clay seals that were found on the island of Rākṣhaśāliga, the find-spot of our inscription. As these have not been published yet, one wonders if they will ever find place on contemporary history and the family of Madōmmanapāla. The seals, which are preserved in the Dacca Museum, are said to date continuously from the 11th century onwards.

7 Daśaṇa superfluous.
8 Read traya. The word as it stands gives no sense. If, however, we presume that a mistake has occurred and if we emend the word into Rātanagūna, we have an additional (but least expected in this context) place-name. Dr. Sen (I.H.Q., Vol. X, p. 328) reads rātanagūna and thinks of some Buddhist association, which would of course clash against the outspokenly Vīshneute character of our record.

Mr. P. L. Pal (Early History of Bengal, Vol. I, Calcutta 1939, p. 135) draws attention to an obscure technical expression — rātanagūna-sambhāga (really rājanasaṃbhāga) — occurring in line 41 of the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla (Cf. Gāndhāravāsthā, ed. Akṣay Kumar Maitreyas, Rajshahi, 1319 B.S., pp. 147-58). Mr. Pal, following Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (Hindu Revenue System, Calcutta 1929, p. 297) suggests (loc. cit.) that it was "a tax lived (sic) for the maintenance and upkeep of big Buddhist establishments".

It is noteworthy that this word rātanagūna occurs in an identical context in both of the Manahali and Rākṣaśāliga inscriptions. In the case of the former, it is clearly a fiscal expression which seeks to condition, among others of its kind, the rights and privileges accruing to the donors. If, as I think, that is the case, rātanagūna-sambhāga lends itself to a very sensible literal rendering as 'right over wealth (deposited underground)'. I therefore think that rātanagūna-rājasaṃbhāga-varjitaḥ of the Manahali inscription fits in well with the rātanagūna-vahī of the Rākṣaśāliga plate and generally conveys the same meaning.

* The word pāla is redundant.
No. 21] RAKHSHAKHALI ISLAND PLATE OF MADOMMANAPALA; SAKA 1118

11 sudēvāsārmananē san-mitrāya | mitra-dānēna a-kara-sāsanikrītya pradattō-smāhīḥ |
   tad-yushmā-
12 bhīḥ sarvānaś-sāya bhūvibhir-āpi bhōkābhirīḥ | bhūmēr-apaharaṇa-pātaka-bhayāta(d) dānām-
   idam-anu-
13 mōḍy-anumōḍy-anupālanīyam(yam) | prativāsībhīḥ karkhakaiḥ-chā samuchita-kara-bhara-
   pratya-ādika-
14 pradānāvī aṣṭāvyaṃ(ayam) | bhavanti ch-ātra dharmam-ānusārīṇaḥ śākāḥ | 1 Va(Ba)hubhir-
   vvasudhā dattā rājābhīḥ Saga-
15 r-ādibhirīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-śtasya tasya tadā phalaṃ(lam) || [1*] Bhūmīṃ yah |
   pratigāhān(hā)ti yāś-cha bhūmīṃ prā-
16 yachchhati | ubbau tāu punya-karmārānau niyataṃ [svarggajagnimana] || [2*] Gām-ēkāṁ |
   svargpāṃ-ēkāḥ baḥ bhūmēr-apy-a-
17 reddham-āngulaiḥ | haran-narakam-ānūtī yāvad-āhuṭi-samplavaiṃ(vam) || [3*] Shash[i]-
   im-va(shītuṃ va)rha-sahasraṇā śvā(svārgge)
18 vasati bhūmīdaḥ | ākshēpaḥ ch-āva(m)autāḥ cha dvayaṃ-cha nara-kām vrajāt(a) || [4*] Svā-
   dattāṃ pari-dattā-
19 m-vā (ttām vā) yō harēd-vasudhān-imān | sa vishtāyāā [kṛjimir-bhūtvā pitribhīḥ saha |
   pachyate || [5*] 1iti
20 kamala-dāl-aṁvu(mbu)-vindu-lośām [ṛjīyam-anuchintya | ma]nusya-jīvitaḥ-cha | sakalām-
   idam-udā-
21 hrito-cha vu(bu)dhdvā na hi purushāḥ pari-kīrtta[lyō4 vilōpyā] || 2 [6*]

22 Śakābdāḥ 1118 Vaiṣā[kha] 9t dinē ||

TRANSLATION

(LL. 1-3) Ōṁ Hail! The Mahāśāmantādhīpati, Mahārājadhirāja, Śāmantarāja, the glorious Mađōmmanapāladēva who meditates on (the feet of) Mahāmūygalika, the glorious Śrī, [asa]pāla-
   dēva (who sees) a great devotee of Mahēvara and who achieved every pre-eminence (in life),—who |
   (i.e., Mađōmmanapālua) looks resplendent by reason of his friendship9 with the Lord Nārāyaṇa |
   and who has isolated (i.e. outclassed) all other sāmantas9—

(LL. 3-6) (thus) duly honours, explains and commands the rājans, rājanayakas, rājaputras, |
   rājatis, the saptaṁyās, ḍvapātras,10 rāpakas, daṇḍanāyakas, aśvahas, aṅgarakshakas, servilepersons |
   like chaṭṭas and bhūṭas, persons unnamed whose sustenance depends upon the feet of the king, |

1 Dānāja superfluous.
2 Metre: Śloka (Amskūṭh), and in the next four verses.
3 Metre: Pushpīṭārā.
4 A space of approximately 2½" has been left blank after this word. The engraver apparently was anxious |
   to avoid broken and incomplete lines and also to artificially isolate the date portion from the text.
5 The double bars occur somewhat below the proper line of writing.
6 Normally, we should expect a date to follow the month. In the present case, what comes after Vaiśākha |
   is very uncertain. It can in any case be only a numeral. I read it as 9, but I do not feel very sure about it. |
7 There is a trace of a circular (perhaps rayed) auspicious symbol after the stop.
8 Dr. B. C. Sen attempted (I.H.Q., Vol. X, pp. 326-27) to link the Pila lineage of Mađōmmanapala, |
   with that of mahānāyaka Pratāpachavala, the ruler of Jāpā in Bihar. But Dr. Sen himself recognised (Ibid., |
   p. 327, fn. 15) the difficulties involved in such a theory. Dr. D. C. Sircar, whom I have followed, seems to have |
9 Dr. Sen translated (I.H.Q., Vol. X, p. 328) viṣṇukha-sāmantas as a sāmantas who is hostile to the |
   Mahārājadhirāja1 and Dr. Sircar as one who made his neighbourhood chiefs helpless (Indian Culture, |
   Vol. I, p. 680). Dr. Sen, however, offered an alternative interpretation of this word as one whose sāmantas |
   have been reduced to helplessness (I.H.Q., Vol. X, p. 326, fn. 11).
10 In this long and conventional list of officials, only ākṣapātra is interesting enough. This expression does |
   not occur in any of the Pāla and Sēna inscriptions known so far.
villagers as also good Brāhmaṇas — assembled at the place of his initiation in the village of Dvārahāṭaka situated in Pūrvakhāṭikā which was acquired by the Pāla family coming from Ayōdhyā:

(L. 6-9) "Be it known to you all that this village of Dhārmahithā — shorn of all royal privileges over (its) mineral resources, having its four boundaries (clearly) distinguished and having (full rights over) all land and water, pits and wastes, trees and shrubs, mangoes and madhūkās (existing or growing in the village) and having been closed to all chaṭṭhas and bhāṭṭas (of the king), having been made exempt from taxes and having been freed from all (manner of) oppression.—

(L. 9-11) "is granted by Us as freehold (land) to (Our) good friend Mahārāṇaka Vāsudēva-sārman, son of Purushottamāvē and grandson of Sōmadēva, who belongs to the Vārdhinasā gotra and is a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurvedā, as a friendly gift which is to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth.

(L. 11-14). "Wherefore, this gift shall be approved and maintained by you all and by those coming in future, from fear of the sin involved in misappropriation of land (belonging to others). And all the resident cultivators (in the village) shall continue to pay all rightful taxes, dues, etc."

(L. 14-21). And here are the śākhas, conforming to dharma: [six imprecatory verses].

(L. 22). The 9th day of Vaiśākha, Saṅka 1118.

No. 22—SEALS OF TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES

(1 Plate)

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, Coimatore

Subsequent to my editing the inscriptions on the above plates, I happened to refer to the work entitled Coins of Southern India by Sir Walter Elliot, on p. 124 of which he writes "I have a drawing and a facsimile of the seal of another sānasam, which, to the best of my recollection, was deposited with the preceding (i.e. the seal of the Tiruppūvanam plates of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara I) at Tiruppūvanam, and referred to the grant therein mentioned by the chief of Madacolam, a feudatory of Kulaśēkhara. This seal differs somewhat from the above marginal woodcut in having the tiger and the fish placed upright, opposite each other, in the middle of the field, with the bow transversely below them: round it a legend which has been read doubtfully as 'Pāṇḍya-Narēndravarnammanah Samastalēkāavyaya' i.e. 'the Pāṇḍya Narēndravarman, lord of the whole world'. To the above observation, I have only to say that there is nothing to doubt about the correctness of the legend on this seal. On page 1234 of the book, the author carefully describes the seal of the Tiruppūvanam plates of Jātāvarman Kulaśēkhara and makes his own observations as regards the king, his date, etc., which we reproduce here:

"Memorials of him (Kulaśēkhara I) have been found in the shape of copper sānasams, the seals of which have the fish symbol in the centre, flanked by the tiger and the bow, as represented in the annexed woodcut, showing that he had assumed the paramount position of the Chōlas or in other words, of the whole of the Drāviḍa. The copper plates to which the seals above described were attached were translated by Dr. Caldwell and purport to be issued in the "13th year, 4364th day of the lord of the earth, Śrī Kōchhadejē Varmā, emperor of the three worlds, Śrī Kulaśēkhara Dēva," etc. "If this is the year of the Kaṅyuga, it would correspond with

1 Dr. B. C. Sen rendered (I.H.Q., Vol. X, p. 330) mukti-bhāmi as 'the place of salvation'. Dr. D. C. Sircar asked (Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 62) if this term indicated Madōmanapāla's imminent death! Mr. J. C. Ghosh thought (ibid, Vol. II, p. 139) of a possible reference to Madōmanapāla's birthplace. I believe some kind of dīkhā or initiation is meant by the word mukti here. This would at least furnish an occasion for the land grant.

2 above, Vol. XXV, pp. 64 ff.
Seal of the Tiruppuvanam Plates of Jayavarman Kulasekhara I (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 64 ff.)

Seal of the Tiruppuvanam Supplementary Plate (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 130 ff.)

From Photographs of Wood-cuts.
1283 A.D. Should this date be accepted, it brings his era near to that of the Muhammadan writers, and as his reign is said by Wassaf to have been a long one, it is so far confirmatory of their narratives; but then comes the difficulty of the earlier Ceylon date, for it is not probable that two such contentions for a precisely similar object between two brothers of the same names should have taken place so soon after each other, although the dates differ so materially as the middle of the twelfth, the middle of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth centuries."

Since Sir Walter Elliot made the above remarks, a number of inscriptions giving astronomical details admitting of calculation and verification have been found and thanks to the labours of Kielhorn, Swamikanthi Pillai and others, the accession of Jañavarman Kulaśekhara I with the introduction of the Tirappuvaqam plates had been fixed at A.D. 1190 and these have been noticed in my article on the plates. I need hardly add anything to Sir Walter Elliot's careful descriptions of the symbols on the seal. But so far as I know, no attempt seems to have been made to decipher the legend on the seal during these sixty odd years. I think I can only give a tentative reading of it here, but before doing so I may be permitted to say that on a close examination of the letters I am led to think that the woodcut is either not perfect or that the original is faulty in engraving. The legend is a Sanskrit verse in the Anushūṭuk metre. The first half of it can be confidently read as Śamasta-jañati pāla-mauli-malī-ōpālūtītam. The first word of the next half is certainly Sāsāna and the last word is Jañavarnamana. The last syllable appears as ne in the woodcut. All that could be said about the seven syllables between these two words is that they may stand for śāsavatān rājñō stat'. Šāsavatān looks like nāsavatān or trisavatān in the woodcut and stat looks like jañata; and rājñō is also not beyond doubt. The whole legend may be tentatively read:—

समस्तसमाजसमौगमोत्तितापालिताम्

शासनं | शासनं राजा मूलः अविभवमां: ।

A fresh endeavours should be made to secure the seal. If this is done and a good facsimile of it taken, it will be quite possible to read the second half of the legend with certainty. This seal and the other referred to in the extract given from the Coins of Southern India might have been returned to the temple authorities sometime after the plates had been sent and they, perhaps not knowing that the seals belong to the two sets of plates, might have kept them loose. A careful search of the temple treasury may bring the seals again to light. For the present, we must be satisfied with the woodcut which we owe to the sagacity and forethought of the late Sir Walter Elliot.

No. 23.—NARWAN PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA II; SAKA 664

(2 Plates)

G. H. Khare, Poona

The ring of the subjoined grant was being noticed by some of the inhabitants of Narwan (Ratnagiri) on its old site for a long time. But fearing that it was something connected with devilism they dared not excavate and see what it really was. Mr. D. H. Joshi, a relative of Mr. D. L. Kanade of Buldana (Berar), happened to see it, unearthed it and found it to be the ring which held the five copper-plates bearing the inscription edited here. The latter presented the plates to the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanstādhaka Mandala. I edited them in its journal in Marathi. 1 I now re-edit them here with many emendations.

1 [The facsimile clearly reads रावणरावसतयुज्यतम्.—Ed.]
The five plates measure 9\(\frac{3}{4}\)" \(\times\) 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)" \(\times\) 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" each in dimensions, and are held together by a circular ring 3\(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the back of an oval seal bearing in relief a boar to the left. All the sides of the plates, except the outer ones of the first and the fifth, are engraved. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 219 tolas.

The characters of this record closely resemble those of the Vakkalēri and Kēndūr plates of Chālukya Kīrttivarman II, with a very few variations. The medial short and long \(i\) are scarcely differentiated. I have, therefore, transcribed them either way according to requirements. Owing to the carelessness of the engraver, \(ka\) and \(ha\) have been in a few places written as \(ra\) and \(pa\) respectively and vice versa.

About orthography one fact quite apparent is the careless engraving of the record, owing to which a very large number of mistakes have crept in. Many of them have been corrected either in the text or in the foot-notes. But some may have escaped my attention. \(rh\) has been generally substituted for \(ri\) but in \(prīy-ātma\) (l. 25) we find exactly the opposite case. \(B\) has been substituted for \(v\) in \(svayaṁvara\) (l. 38) and \(sāmbatsarē\) (l. 56). \(Upadhiṁyina\) has been used once only in \(pariśīl paṇiyāmānī\) (l. 31). In some cases \(rh\) has been written in place of \(r\) preceding a consonant as in \(Harīṣa\) (l. 12), \(chikīṣha\) (l. 68) and \(varīṣha\) (l. 72), while in \(varuṣha\) (l. 55) \(rh\) has been written for \(r\). \(Tha\) has been used for \(ta\) in \(kaṇṭha\) (l. 26), and \(gḥāṭhāpāṭhaṇa\) (l. 28). In \(svaṁ-dātim\) (l. 70), the anusvāra has been replaced by \(n\).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the composition is in prose, excepting the few verses at the beginning and the end.

The record refers itself to the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya II and gives his genealogy thus:—In the Chalukya dynasty was born Polakēśin (I); his son Kīrttivarman (I); his son Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II); his son Vikramāditya (I); his son Vinayāditya; his son Vijayāditya and his son Vikramāditya (II). All the information about these rulers contained in this grant is already known to us from the Vakkalēri and Kēndūr plates of Kīrttivarman II; for, the text of this portion of our grant is practically identical with that of the latter two. It is unnecessary, therefore, to deal with it here in detail. Some points, however, deserve mention. The Conjeeveram inscription\(^4\) of Vikramāditya II which is undated undoubtedly proves his entry into that city; but it can be shown that the event must have happened before at least the date of the record under publication, viz., the Winter Solstice in Saka 664 expired. As the Vakkalēri and the Kēndūr plates supply no more information about this king than what is contained in the present record, it must be taken that all the exploits of Vikramāditya recorded in them were accomplished before the date of this inscription. In one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions it is stated that Vikramāditya-II conquered Kāṇchi thrice.\(^4\) But the above three grants nowhere mention this fact.

King Vikramāditya II, on the occasion of the Winter Solstice falling in his eighth regnal year and after 664 Saka years had elapsed, while his victorious camp was at Aḍḍityavāḍa, at the request of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvindarāja, the son of Śīvarāja, who is otherwise unknown, granted the village Naravaṇa, together with Chindramāṇa, lying by the seashore of the Chipprulunā vishaya and bounded on four sides by the river Sonnē, the village Ambāda, etc., to Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras well-versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas. They were Dēggulivāmin, the son of Durganāgasvāmin, Nāgadī-Dikshita, the son of Dōgasvāmin, both of the Kauśika gōtra, Konta-Nārāyaṇa, Nannasvāmin and Dhanaṇjaya-duggu.\(^\) The

\(^5\) Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 200.
\(^6\) Ibid., Vol. III, p. 380.
\(^7\) Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 164, No. 106.
condition of the grant was that half of the dues such as aruhana,† that were paid to Government officers from the village Ambāḍa were to be paid from Naravaṇa. After these details come the usual benedictions and imprecations for the preservers and violators of the grant. The record concludes with the statement that it was written by the Mahāsandhuṣigraha Anivāti (Anivārita ?) Puyavallaha.

The date of the grant is recorded thus: Śaka year 664 expired, the 8th regnal year of Vikramādiyā (II), and the occasion of the Sun’s turning to the north, i.e. his entry into the zodiac of Capricornus. As no tithi and week-day are given, it is impossible to verify the date. The Lakṣmēśvar inscription of Śaka 656 expired gives two as the corresponding regnal year.‡ It follows that the regnal year corresponding to Śaka 664 expired will be 10 and to Śaka 664 current will be 9, but not 8. It must, however, be remembered that the Lakṣmēśvar inscription is declared to be ‘spurious’ and as such its evidence cannot be very much relied upon. Śaka 664 may, therefore, be either current or expired. In Śaka 664 current, the Solar month Makara began at 22 ghatiś and 29 palas after mean sunrise on 21st December 741 A. D. and in Śaka 664 expired the same month began at 37 ghatiś after mean sunrise on 21st December 742 A. D. The English date of the grant, therefore, would be 21st December 741 or 742 A.D. according as the Śaka year 664 is taken as current or expired.³

Of the place-names mentioned in this grant, it is not possible to say with any certainty where Adityavāḍa was. But I would just suggest that it should be tentatively identified with one of the two Āitawadās in the Valwa taluqa of the Satara District. It is not known whether the villages have any indications of antiquity; but as its Marāthi pronunciation Āitavaḍe seems to be the natural phonetic change of Adityavāḍa (cf. Āitavāra-Ādityavāra) and as there is no other village in this name in the Bombay Province, the identification may prove correct. Chipparulanā appears to be the ancient name of modern Chipūṇa, a taluqa town in the Ratnāgarī District. Sonnē seems to be the original name of the modern Śāstrī river flowing south of Naravaṇa.‡ Ambāḍa is not to be traced at present.⁴ Naravaṇa is a village on the seashore in the Guhāgar Peta of the Ratnāgarī District. Chindramāḍa may be the modern Chindravāla,⁵ situated some 4 miles to the north-east of Naravaṇa.

TEXT
First Plate

1 ग्रांस्य तस्तिः 8वतप्याविधिः धेषा स विलोक्यावराहं श्रीमतिः-
2 श्योंवं (वद्य) [1[*] विनोढाणेश्वरायण्यात्मानमयोऽभिनिः वेयः [१११४] यशी-

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1 In a Śikhara grant of Śaka 1037, this very word seems to occur in a slightly different form ārūvana (Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p. 40, l. 48). It probably means a tax of six paṇas.
³ I have calculated the point of Makara Sankranti after working up to four decimals according to the Ārja-Siddhānta. According to the Śārga-Siddhānta, the same will be 2 palas later in each case.
⁴ In a Marāthi document of A. D. 1600 (Śivacharitra Šāhīta, Vol. II, p. 339, No. 340, published by the B. I. S. Maṇḍal, Poona), there is a reference to the partition of a wātan, the three shares of which are thus specified: (1) Tract extending from the Bāva river to the Sōnāvī river, (2) tract lying between the Sōnāvī and the Gada rivers, (3) tract stretching from the Gada river up to the villages Gīmāvī and Dēvaghara. The map of the Ratnāgarī District shows that Bāva and Gada are two tributaries of the modern Śāstrī river, which, after flowing in a more or less parallel direction to the Śāstrī river, join it from the left and right sides respectively. Thus it is clear that the Śāstrī river is implied by the Sōnāvī river in the document or Sōnāvī is the older name of Śāstrī. The word Sōnāvī has a very close affinity to Sonnē. Hence I have suggested the above identification.
⁵ This may be identical with Ambā, a village with a branch post office attached to Dēvrūkha head post office in the Ratnāgarī District.—C. R. K.}

† Spelt as Chindnor in Atlas sheet No. 25 published in 1832 A. D. by the East India Company.
‡ From the original plates.
§ Represented by a symbol.
⁸ Metre: Ṣamākāṭāta.
3 मतं सकलभूबनस्यंप्राप्त्यमानामानविद्‌
4 हरिरति (तो)शुक्लाणं सत्ताकामायु (पु)भि (भि: ) सत्तामुः
5 भिनक (र)भिः [व]हि (हि) तानं कार्तिसंकेर्यं करकाणापूः
6 कल्याणं (व)भर्त्रप्राणं (वा) अगवा (व)प्रारम्भिः
7 वास्तमालाविस्तार (उ) चराहुर्मान्नेत्रमायं वचनवचीणहि
8 तास्यमहिंनिनानं छट्टाध्य (ष्ठ) साँ तुलमालक्षिणानां

Second Plate; First Side
9 द्वावेधावधिः (मू) यस्मानोदित्वीहलमाय सिद्धोङ्कोशी (सि) वस्त्रमम
10 हाराजसय सुतु: पराणमाय (का) स्तववायायादिपरनुष्ठितम [म]गंधाः (प्र)
11 विवलिविवसुकोविंदिः (सि: ) सिद्धोङ्कोशी [र्म]विदि (ष्ठ) विवीवलिवलमहाराजसत्त्वं
12 ज़[ष्ठ]* सर्वसंस्कारसहा त्रिराजस्वरघरस्वागीर (हव) चर िगराजयशी
13 पार्श्वपर्वश्चर्वश्चर्व स्वाध्यध्विषिः (ष्ठ) विवीवलिवलम
14 महाराजसीविरवंतरामर्य भिनवनशिष्टमहाराजसत्त्वभि
15 लघुमात्रशायस्य विरमणकाभिनया (ष्ठ) मपवर्तिः (ष्ठ) [ष्ठ]* गमणे
16 बोलचा (ष्ठ) रिलावशीविनिगोयशर्वितिर्घि (सि) तवार्तितो (ता) स्वयुरो रोः (सि: ) भी (भी) व
17 मातसालू (र्म) यः प्रभावार्तकालवादलितपदयोऽकृत च अस्मि

Second Plate; Second Side
18 प्रत्रिं (ष्ठ) तिम्भ्वूः (प्र) रामविष्णुस्यायननं (ष्ठ) वन्तकाळिनीपतिमकुः
19 चु (ष्ठ) वितपगवा (ष्ठ) वुजस्य विकम्याविकस्यायाध्यायिः (ष्ठ) विवीवलिवलम
20 महाराजविराजावतमवर्मुद्दवकस् य यमानः [ष्ठ]* बाले
21 ल (ष्ठ) शेलस्याः ताराकारतिरिव वंस्वलमातिसुधायत (स) वेरायशाकाद्वयी
22 तिलमावषयम फलव (ष्ठ) कुलकमेन्द्रियकसंहितावीदिकापपिः

1 Read महर्जुमार
2 Delete this त.
3 This letter is actually engraved as भि.
Third Plate; First Side

28  राज्यार्थिगज्जवाद (र) पाठ (र) संविकीयभाषामभि (क) भाषाधारा (र) समप्रभृतः
29  प्रभुद्रेषि (क) सतसहसरसिक (क) परामुखोक्तितः (क) मण्डलों गंगाये
30  सुन (ग) पाणिन्यज्ञातः (क) काम्हा शब्दचिन्ह (क) मणिप्रभागाक्षेरि (क) एवं
31  सार्कुबेरदरे (क) पलायनाराज्य (क) कथमय (व) विशि [व] शादा नीतोपि
32  प्रतापावेश विचारप्रकोपमराज्य (क) मुखायत्यबन्ध (स) राज इत्यापेसितान
33  परसहायकस्तत्र (र) वघाशिरंगंथ (स) महुजाक्षात्रभ्रसाधिकर्षेषां
34  विश्वमद्रः प्रभुद्रेषि (क) यज्ञतत्त्वाक्षेत्र (क) कुमत्रेणतत्त्वावर्ग्यार्थवा (स) प्रकर
35  शाल्वाख (क) समस्तभुवनाऐव (क) सकलपरमेष्टा (क) शब्दचिन्ह(क)
36  श (व) श (व) तत्साह्यराय (क) विवाहितसत्यायवधोपित (क) विश्ववर्गभ्रसाधा-
37  जाक्रायपरसेवरभूतारक (स) व (व) प्रयुक्त (क) सकलभुवनसाधा (क) स्तवल-

Third Plate; Second Side

38  कमोऽर्थराधिष्ठितसमानसरसुमुखा (क) प्रमथवर्ज-
39  पुरुषुपालिताप्रहा (क) प्रक्ष्याहि राज्य (क) पलवस्य समुमुखान
40  व फिर (क) ततान्ति (त) रतिन्त्य (च) घनवर्षप्राप्तयनुसयार्थ (क) सुमत्वालवादतोलन-
41  सिद्धेतावमभिधानपलव (व) रणभुल जुम्हुल अभ्रलय (व) 'कतु-

1 Read डक्का for डका.
2 One syllable was engraved and scored out before ड.
3 Read यन्तीतोपि.
4 Read स्वयंतरा.
5 [The original reads मुखा गत्वा.—C. R. K.
6 Read कदमुत्वेल.

XVI-1-12
42 मुन्मतिस्मुद्राधिज्यांसाथ्यानांत्यावस्थानलंगामध्ये-

43 प्रमाणभूतप्रस्तावतःहीरतवरा (र) रक्षक (क) त्रिकाशाविनिशंतिक (क) तित (त) तितिर (र)

44 माणिकपादिविनेक (का) नेक (को) स्वहनियायस्मिहरायायिन्य न हुतेति

45 यत्र कुलरक्षकनिमित्तवाक्यविवाक्यवाटकायामान (न) कार्यरक्षिता

46 यत्र सततस्चिभ (य) लक्षणाविष्कास (नर) तद्विजाः (जो) तोम (ता) नाराय (ह) जन (न) नरसंप्रेवतः

ब्रम्ह (स्त्रम) [शा]

Fourth Plate: First Side

47 निर्मितिशिवांलानंदराजसिस (सिस) धे (हे) द्वाराविङ्कुप्रस्तायस्वराजा

48 विद्यवानां (त्य) संप्रोणीचन्द्रितितितुष्यां (श्रोत) विद्यवारिष्टासायत्रसभ (र)

49 प्रसाधितवर्णका दोहेकर्कटका द्रामुर्थिराजपुरा (क) श्रमित

50 करिमकर्तिनित्वत (त) सताकृति (ति) योग (फ) तपकरसरीचि वेलाकु

51 लोत्र (दू) ज्ञानमार्गविनिमानविशिष्टाण्व (ब) सारसाधा

52 शिष्य (श) धर्मविवाक्यमरोपिण्य (त्य) जातसम्बन्धितपरिपुरा

53 माणिकवर वायुशेषिप्राच (प) परिवीलल (ल) षमहाराजविवाक्यवाटमेरेवर

54 भट्टाकर (क) समाभावमानामाय (प) गति विविदितस्मु वोत्साहिनः

Fourth Plate: Second Side

55 अष्टुयायुरसूतसतेसु शकवयायी (प) गतिलेवेशु प्रवर्तमानविज्ञाता

56 उपसंव (संव) तत्रस्वते धर्मीवादामिविशिष्ट विशेषस्क्यवागऱ्ये उत्त्रायणकाले

57 रायसुकु (क) शिवराजसुनुम्बोविराज (ज) विद्या (ज्ञ) पवया विद्वेशनविषये

58 सभुवानेयो सोमेन्द्रबाद्राविनिपरियुतस्वातः सीमान्तदर्शनः

1 Read विवास।

2 The Vakcaleri and the Königsr grants have काराधिवालिनयविद्वारा नाइएत्व।

3 Below this is a line originally engraved and then scored out.

4 Add जालविलित हि here.

5 Read नाग्योऽ for नाग्य।

6 The letter न is engraved below the line.

8 The letter न is engraved below the line.
50 ग्रामं चित्रमादि[न] देव मोक्षार्थायुर्वर्गनान्यासमिद्

60 ब्रह्मवृत्तां (स्व) शमिकादिकालाभोजनश्व (स्व) मिष्टाग्रिहाणीविशेषतः न्याय

61 या [श] रिको भौतक भारापितो ती (त) ग्रामं श्रेयस्वामितान्याजितकोम्भुनारा-

62 मीमांसक्षम (स्व) मिष्टां मुससोधविप्रयुज्य ग्राममृत्युर्वर्गशेषोऽकारोऽकारव

63 मीमांसक्षम (स्व) ममन्तानागविषयकोणयेश्व (म्व) देव (दे)

64 भवात्तबमुद् (शान) ब्रह्मसनिहितयं समीयो (न) दत्त (त) याहिकमादि (दे) श्रव (व्ये)

Fifth Plate

65 ब्रह्माण्डायान् (य) महद्वादि राजसूयस्यमयो वेदार्थ [तदवर्तप्रख]—

66 शब्दं तदायां भाषामिस्विरस्मदिवश राजगिर राजसूयस्य (श्व) याहिको विलितमिथि-

67 राजसूयस्य वलमवलमाद्रि (दच) श्री (द्रष्ट) राजशाकेव राजसूयारामनारस्त्यातिशेषतोमाल (ल) यस—

68 चित्तिकरितो श्वदस्तिसनिहितोवेण परिपालनोपमकालीन (श्व) भगवता बेव-

69 वशसं वशसं [II] बहुतमृत्युष्ठया भूष्ठ राजा (निम: सतराबिनिम:) [I] व:—

70 श्व यथा यथा भूष्ठ: तस्य तस्य तदा कर्तवे (तम: [II2II] श्ववस्तं मुमह—

71 दच (चक) कव दु (कु) लम्बन्ध राजसूय (नम: [I] वाना वा पलान वैति (स) दानावः—

72 श्वसं परसं दा यो हृदयोति (न) वस्तुन्नारा (राम:) [I] वरिष्ट (वं) विवाहान 

73 विजयाय (या) जापं चकित्व [II] [III] इति महासाधितेषु भो: वनिद्वति:

74 लिङ्गोऽत (तमिन) गान (नम: [II]

1 I cannot amend this part of the text so as to make it more intelligible.

2 his letter looks more like गा.

3 Read तदायामनिरस्त्रादि:

4 Read शारुरे:

5 Read मधिरादुः

6 Read यापदिविशयिं: श्वदस्तिसनिहितेऽ

7 Metre here and in the next two verses: Anushtubh.
No. 24—BAMHANI PLATES OF PANDAVA KING BHARATABALA: YEAR 2

B. Ch. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

The Superintendent of Archaeology, Rewa State, Baghelkhand, Central India, sent me this set of three copper plates, complete with the ring and the seal, for decipherment. According to the information kindly supplied by him, the find was unearthed, at a depth of nearly four inches, by one Maiknā, Bhorā (a sub-caste among the Gonds) by caste, on the 28th October 1940, while clearing the grass and thereby preparing a kharihān (a piece of land for storing harvest) for his master, Gayā Prassād Brähma, at a village called Bamhāni, taksil Soñāpur, Police Station Būhrā (a railway station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway), of the Rewa State. There are, I am told, as many as seven villages of the name of Bamhāni within the Rewa State, but the one with which we are concerned is distinguished by the foregoing description. It lies due east of Būhrā at a distance of about eighteen miles. I am indebted to His Highness the Bandhvesh Maharaja Saheb Bahadur, the Ruler of the Rewa State, for kindly according me permission to edit the record here.²

The plates measure each roughly 7½" broad by 4½" high. They are strung on a copper ring, about 3" in thickness, passing through a hole, 4½" in diameter, cut in the centre of each plate near the margin. The ring must originally have been circular in shape, but in its present condition it is bent and elongated. Its ends are secured under a comparatively small seal with a diameter of 3½". The seal bears no emblem or legend; if there was any originally, it has now completely disappeared. The inscription on the plates is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether 49 lines of writing, twelve being on the first face, thirteen on each side of the second plate and eleven on the last. All the plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 94 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets, a variety, with southern characteristics, of the Central India alphabet of about the fifth century A.D., as Fleet would name it.³ They represent a very rare type, in which the top of each letter, as a rule, consists of a small triangle with its apex downwards, and which, on that account, has appropriately been named nail-headed. The known instances of the particular type employed in the present inscription are very few. In fact, I know of only two other examples: the Poona plates of the Vākṣātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā⁴ and the Mahāgārṇā plates of the Parivṛṣṭaka Mahārāja Hastin.⁵ The present article was already in an advanced stage of proof as early as June 1942 when, owing to the war conditions, the publication of this journal was suspended. In the meantime a short note by myself, entitled Kingdom of Mākaḷī, based on these plates, has appeared in the Bhārat Kavindrā (Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Volume), Part I, Allahabad, 1945, pp. 215-9.

² C. J. L., Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions), pp. 18 f.
³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. and plate.
⁴ C. I. L., Vol. III, pp. 106 ff., plate XIV. From the portions of the first two lines of the Kohor copper plate inscription of the Parivṛṣṭaka Mahārāja Sunakshāhā of the year 209, reproduced on Plate IV in Cunningham’s A.S.I. Reports, Vol. IX, it appears that the script of this record is also of the same nail-headed variety as the one under discussion, but the reproduction of the full inscription on Plate XV in the C. I. L., Vol. III, does not bear it out. Additional examples of the present variety are, however, afforded by some minor inscriptions such as the short pilgrims’ records engraved on the face of a wall in the cave of Durgākāli near Chunār in the Mirzapur District of the United Provinces (Cunningham’s A.S.I. Reports, Vol. XI, Plate XXIX; Vol. XXI, Plate XXXII) and the Shorkot inscription of the year 93 supposed to be of the Gupta era (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15). Some later examples are found in the Tur rock inscription in Chunās, assigned to the beginning of the eighth century (Vogel, Antiquities of Chunāa State, Part I., p. 148, Plate XII) and in the first two lines of the Khānkaḍ plātes (above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 94). After this article had been sent to the press, Mr. N. L. Rao kindly drew my attention to two more instances: the Pandarangpurī grant of Avidhāya (A.S.I. Rep., Mysore Arch. Depart- ment, 1929, Plate XIX, facing p. 106) and the Sānśō Kalā plates of Sauṃgamāsinī of the [Kālachuri] avanum 302 (above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 74). While the former has some letters of the nail-headed variety spoken of here, the script of the latter is practically the same as that of the present record.
script of the latter record bears a striking resemblance to that of the present one. This is obviously to be accounted for by the comparative proximity between the two; they belong more or less to one and the same period and their finds spots are not far removed from each other. Prabhavatigupta’s charter is earlier than these two by about a century. Its character, though otherwise similar, appears somewhat slanting as compared with that of the other two inscriptions, which is upright.

It must, however, be observed that the character of the present inscription, in spite of the similarities noticed, differs greatly from that of the other two in one respect. To wit, it pertains, as has been stated above, to the Southern class of alphabets, while the script represented by the Majhgawain plates belongs to the Northern class and that used in the Poona plates is found to be a mixture of both. In fact, an analysis of the script of the last-mentioned record has shown that it is rather difficult to ascertain whether the northern or the southern characters predominate there. A comparative study, on the other hand, has revealed the character of the present record to be pre-eminently southern, as will presently be demonstrated.

As already remarked, the top of each letter in the script under discussion generally consists of a triangle or a nail-head. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. Among the initial vowels, of which the present inscription affords instances of a (l. 37), ā (ll. 1, 38, 45), ē (ll. 3, 16, 17, 33), u (l. 34), ē (ll. 25, 29) and au (l. 16), three, namely, ē, ē, and au, are not provided with a nail-head. Of the consonants, the following five are likewise without a nail-head: kh, j, q, b and l. Possibly ā and ā are also like that. The former may be seen used as the first member of a conjunct letter, ākṛi (l. 4), and the latter as the second in another, āka (l. 5). In the case of g, j, ṭh, d, e and ā the triangle at the top has, as necessitated by the upper curve of the letters, become almost an oblong, whereas with m it is definitely a square or a box-head, a general characteristic of another variety of alphabets, mainly found in the Vākṣṭhaka inscriptions, which has on that account received the designation ‘box-headed’.

The most conspicuous of the test letters, stamping the character of the present inscription as pre-eminently southern, are the initial a, ā, ē and au as well as k, m, s and l. It may be pointed out that the Poona plates, in common with the present charter, have the southern a, k and s. Examples of initial au are extremely rare, but a comparison between its northern and southern forms has been rendered possible by the fact that they are found respectively in the Majhgawain plates (l. 8) and in the present record (l. 16). The form found in the latter appears to be essentially the same as is met with in the Māṇḍāya grant of the Pallava Sinhavarman. A slight notch in the top stroke of the letter j, and the manner of expressing medial i by a circle and i by a circle with a dot in its centre, as noticed in the present inscription, are further southern peculiarities.

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1 The Nāgaūdh and Rewa States, wherein the two places, namely Majhgawain and Bamhain, are respectively included, are adjoining each other.

2 Above, Vol. XV, p. 49.

3 It may be pointed out that initial ē, which is formed by a vertical stroke with a dot on either side about its middle, does have a nail-head, as may be seen in one of the brief records at the cave of Durgākho. See A. S. I., Reports, Vol. XI, p. 127, Pl. XXXVIII, inscr. A; Vol. XXI, p. 129, Pl. XXXII, inscr. No. 2. The sign in question is read as ē by Cunningham, whereas in reality it represents ē, as is evidenced by several other inscriptions, both early and late, northern as well as southern, where essentially the same form of the letter is met with. Compare, for instance, C. I. I., Vol. III, Pl. III-B, text l. 61; Pl. XXX-A, text l. 6; above, Vol. VIII, Pl. facing p. 257, text l. 28; Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I, Pl. XV, text l. 1; above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 317, text l. 18; Vol. V, Pl. facing p. 8, text l. 9; Pl. facing p. 31, text l. 31; etc. The same occurs also in the Rower manuscript, which is assignable to about the fifth century. See Bühler’s Indische Palaeographie, Table VI, l. 4.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, while its composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. It exhibits various mistakes, most of which are to be ascribed to the engraver. As regards the orthographical peculiarities, the following points deserve notice: (1) A final ū is invariably changed to an anuvāra, as in śrimān, l. 2: =sūmī, l. 3; etc. This resultant anuvāra becomes redundant, when the following letter is a vowel, in which case the original ū is retained or, so to say, restored, as in sārvaḥ-eva, l. 36. (2) A consonant preceding or succeeding r is occasionally reduplicated, as in prutro, l. 5; kirti, l. 2; etc. (3) The guttural nasal is used instead of anuvāra in uṣī, l. 41, while the same word is used in its correct form elsewhere, vaśī, l. 33. (4) In vṛīja-sīḷuḥ[8]gīraḥ, l. 31, gh has taken the place of h. (5) As a rule, a separate sign is used for b, but twice, in ll. 8 and 26, it is represented by that of r. (6) In vyākṛishya, l. 22, ri is wrongly represented by rī. In such cases as saumūmatāya[9], l. 16, and līkhitāṁ-cha-, l. 48, the anuvāra is superfluous. Conversely, in pravānais, l. 7, the ū is redundant. Besides, there are certain other irregularities, such as omission of sandhi, visarga, anuvāra and even of letters, wrong sandhi, etc., which have been duly pointed out in the text and the footnotes added thereto.

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a village, called Vardhamānaka, included in the Pāñchagartā district of the Northern province of Mēkalā, to one Lōhitasa-rasvāmin of the Vatsa gōra, a follower of the Mādhyanadī śākha of the Śukla Yajurveda. The grantor is a king, Bharatabala by name, who is stated to belong to the Pāndava lineage, ruling over the country of Mēkalā. We shall by and by have occasion to discuss a more detailed history of this ruler. The charter is stated to have been issued on the 13th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada in the 2nd regnal year, composed by Śiva, son of Rākṣaṇa Iṣāna, and engraved by Mihiraka, son of the goldsmith Iśvara.\(^1\)

It will readily be perceived that the village of Bāmhanī, the findspot of the present plates, is the modern representative of Vardhamānaka, the village granted, the present name being a possible contraction of the original term. As regards the visāya of Pāñchagartā, it is difficult to locate it precisely, but, as its name indicates, it must refer to a region around Bāmhanī, watered by five rivers or rivulets. A well-known example of this kind of designation is Trigarta or Trigarta,\(^2\) the ancient name of the territory including the district of Kāngrā in the Panjāb. Trigarta, it is explained,\(^3\) is so called because it is watered by three rivers namely the Rāvī, the Beas and the Sutlej. Here the word gartā is obviously to be taken in the sense of a valley.\(^4\) In the present instance, the five rivulets probably refer to five of the tributaries of the river Sūn, which are shown on the map to be at a short distance from one another on either side of the village Bāmhanī.\(^5\) Mr. K. L. Panchole, Deputy Commissioner, Sīharpur Division, kindly informs me of the existence of a village called Pachgaon, about three miles south of Sahdol, which possibly represents the headquarters of the ancient district of Pāñchagartā. More interesting is, however, the mention of

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\(^1\) This apparent solecism is reminiscent of the cognate usage in the Vedic texts where, however, a ū in such cases is represented by an anudīka. Compare, for example, tāthā lokiḥ uktasyayā (Tvātrigakāraṇyayā, Aumāma śūras, Poem, 1898, p. 199).

\(^2\) See, however, below p. 145, n. 7.

\(^3\) The city of Trigarta, mentioned in Sūmādeva’s Kāthasritādhyaya (taraṇga 73, v. 21), has perhaps nothing to do with this Trigarta.

\(^4\) Cunningham, A. S. I. Reports, Vol. V, p. 148. See also N. L. Dey’s Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 205, under the word Trigarta.

\(^5\) It also means ‘a stream which does not extend to more than, say, ten miles’. Compare: Dhanuvāshakasekhaḥtenchi gatī-pakṣān an evaṃ yāh ahaṃ sahaḥ-gatāh pārāśākṣīsāh. This is cited from the Oṃhāra-parīṣṣhṭā by Kulīka in his commentary Manvantaramuktā on the Manusmṛti, IV, 393.

\(^6\) See The One Millionth Map of India (Political Edition)—India and Adjacent Countries, Sheet No. 64. The village of Bāmhanī is given there at a point roughly 23° 15' N., 81° 48' E.

\(^7\) However, see below, p. 142, n. 6.
Mēkala as a country. We are familiar with Mēkala-kanyaūd as one of the various names of the holy river Narmadā (Nerbuda), as well as with Mēkala as the name of a mountain range wherein is located the source of the river. Mēkala, as referring to a country, is, on the other hand, not so well known, though it is mentioned as such even in the epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, in association with some of the neighbouring countries, like Daśārpa, Chēdi, Utkala, etc. Some of the Purāṇas likewise make mention of it. All these works acquaint us with Mēkala as a people and also as a country people by them. Drawing upon these sources, Dr. B. C. Law gives us a brief account of the Mēkalas whom he describes as a small tribe inhabiting the tract of country comprising the modern Amarakaṭaka hills and the surrounding region. All these are, however, bare references which it is possible to enliven only by historical data of a more tangible nature, like the record under discussion. Some of the Purāṇas no doubt refer to a line of seven kings in Mēkala, who are supposed to have ruled in about the third century A. D., but that is all. They do not mention the name of a single king. In the later literature, references to Mēkala become more scarce. An outstanding example is that of Varāhamihira's Bhāratadīnī, wherein Mēkala is mentioned among the mountains and the peoples in the eastern region.

For our purpose, however, the most valuable, reference is that found in a Vākāṭaka grant, namely in the Bhālaghāṭa plates of Prthivīvishṇu II, which has a very intimate bearing upon the subject under consideration. This leads us to the question of the history of the ruling house of

1 Compare Rēkha in Narmadā Sāmadhāva Mēkalakanyāuda (Amarakōśa, I, 10, 32) and Mēkalakanyāuda in Narmadā Rēkha (Abhikāśanaratnamāla, III, 52). Mēkalasūti, meaning the same thing, is mentioned in a verse ascribed to Rājaśēkhara in Bhagadatta Jñāna's Sūkținiśkarī, as quoted by R. G. Bhandarkar, (above, Vol. IV, p. 280); as also by Sten Konow in his edition of Rājaśēkhara's Karpuravāma-jāti, p. 182. The published edition of the Sūkținiśkarī (Gaekwād's Oriental Series, No. LXXXVII, p. 47, V. 88), has Mēkalasūti instead of Mēkalasūti. This confusion of Mēkala into Mēkalasūti is noticed also in different recensions of the Rāmaṇya, the Mahābhārata, etc., as pointed out below.

2 That is Maikal or Maikala. — Range of hills in the Central Provinces and Central India, lying between 21° 11' and 22° 40' N. and 80° 46' and 81° 46' E. It is the connecting link between the great hill systems of the Vindhyas and Sātpurás, forming respectively the northern and southern walls of the Nerbūdā valley. — Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908), Vol. XVII, p. 29.

3 The particular spot where the river is supposed to take its origin is known as Amarakaṭaka. The village of that name is within the Rewa State, situated in 22° 41' N. and 81° 46' E. on the easternmost extremity of the Maikala range. — Ibid., Vol. V, p. 274. Amarakaṭaka is one of the most sacred places in India and is highly glorified as such in the Purāṇas.

4 Kīśkindhā-bānda, XLI, 9. The reference is to the Nīrāṣya-sāgar edition of the Rāmaṇya, with Rāma's commentary Tikaka, the only complete edition to which I have had access. The relevant portion reads Mēkalasūti-Ukalinā-Chentī Dāśārpa-nagrapati. In Govindanath Gūha's Laghu-Rāmaṇya (3rd edition, Calcutta, 237—Kīśkindhā-bānda, VII, 17), an abridgement, which evidently follows the Bengali recension, the corresponding reading is Mēkalasūti-Ukalinā-Chentī Daśārpa Kukurapat. This appears to be a much better text. By the way, the slight difference between the forms Mēkalasūti and Mēkala is again apparent. A short note on the Kukuras, another little known people, is to be found in Dr. B. C. Law's article on Some Ancient Indian Tribes in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXII, 1941, p. 96.

5 The people of Mēkala are mentioned among those vanquished by Kāraṇa. For various references to them in the epic, see S. Sorensen's Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata. Here again the southern recension gives the form Mēkala, as may be seen in P. P. S. Sastrī's edition, etc. — e.g., Vol. VIII (Bālsākrama-purāṇa—VI), p. 47, V. 39.

6 E.g., Paśupapurāṇa, Adi-Kanda VI, 36—Uttamā-vara Dāśārpa-cha Mēkalasūti-Ukalinā sāka. Some other Purāṇas are cited in the works referred to in the next two notes.


8 See Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31. According to the account given by Dr. B. C. Law, op. cit., the Vaiṣṇavapurāṇa refers to ten kings who had Mēkala as their land of birth. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has worked up the Puranic data and attempted a connected history of the Mēkalas rulers in the early centuries of the Christian era, which is discussed below, pp. 139-9.

9 Especially in the Kāraṇa-śāhā (ch. XIV), 7; but also in V, 39, 73; and XVI, 2.


Mékálā. Before we proceed to investigate the external evidence as to that, let us consider what information is furnished by the present inscription itself. As has been stated above, Bharatabala, the royal donor, belonged to the famous race of the Pândavas. From the preambles of the record we ciull the following genealogy of this dynasty:—

1. Jayabala.
2. Vatsarāja or Vatsēśavara (son of 1).
3. Nāgabala (Mahārāja, s. of 2 from Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā).
4. Bharata or Bharatabala (alias Indra? Mahārāja, s. of 3 from Indrabhaṭṭārikā, married Lōkaprakāśā, a princess of Kōsālā).

The genealogical portion consists of eleven elaborate verses and some passages in prose, but contains very little of real historical value, except in a few details, the descriptions of the kings being mostly conventional. The opening verse speaks of Jayabala, as a highly celebrated king in Mékālā, belonging to the house of the Pândavas, but does not prefix any such title as Mahārāja to his name. The next two stanzas describe his son Vatsarāja, extolling him, in a general way, for his prowess and virtues. He, too, does not carry any high title. Then comes a prose passage, followed by a verse, introducing Vatsarāja's son Nāgabala. A similar prose passage and the next four verses, vv. 5-8, are devoted to the latter's son Bharatabala, while the next following two verses speak of Bharatabala's wife Lōkaprakāśā. The eleventh verse evidently again refers to Bharatabala and also alludes to someone else, presently to be identified. The manner in which Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala are introduced is distinctly more dignified. The prose passage in each case has an identical text, except of course the name of the king's mother, which in the case of Nāgabala is Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā and in that of Bharatabala is Indrabhaṭṭārikā. These two ladies were thus wives of Vatsarāja and Nāgabala respectively. Nāgabala and Bharatabala are each styled Mahārāja and described as a devout worshipper of Śiva, a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas, and para-magurudēvatādēvadūtara-vētāsa, that is, 'distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity'. Such epithets are known to signify paramount power. In the present instance, however, the grandiloquent epithet perhaps simply denotes a more exalted position, to which Nāgabala must have risen, as compared with the status of his father and grandfather, Vatsarāja and Jayabala, who, judging from the fact that they have not had any regal titles attached to their names, must have been mere chieftains. Nāgabala and his son Bharatabala may have enjoyed a measure of independence, but that they were not absolutely independent rulers is proved by evidence external as well as internal, as will be shown below. In the one eulogistic verse devoted to Nāgabala, no definite exploit of his is mentioned. If the description contained therein is not altogether conventional, it may be taken to hint at the growing military power of Nāgabala, his army comprising a large number of horses and elephants. In the case of his son, Bharatabala, though the inscription is much more eloquent, yet the historical data it imparts about him are meagre. The fifth verse mentions him under the name of Indra, and compares him to Kārttikeya. The sixth praises his good qualities like heroism, majesty, benevolence and so forth, and also depicts him as a sacrificer, though no specific sacrifice has been attributed to him. The seventh and eighth represent him as a slayer of his enemies, likewise without specification. The ninth and tenth describe his consort, Lōkaprakāśā, who is stated to have been born in Kōsālā.

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1 The overlord in Sōmadatta's Sōro plates (B and C) is referred to as Parama-vētādēvadūtāva or Parama-vētāva (see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 202).
2 Mahārāja Śivarāja in his Pāṭikēllā plate refers to his suzerain Sāmūhuyaās as Parama-vētādēvadūtāva (see above, Vol. IX, p. 287, and Vol. XXIII, p. 200). In these instances the feudatory chief also prefixes to the name of his overlord the additional title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, which is not found in the present record. In the Sōro plate of Sāmūhuyaās himself, he gives the epithet of Paramabhaṭṭāva to his father (bappu), and calls himself only Mahārāja. The Sōro and Pāṭikēllā inscriptions are later than the Bambāntī plates by more or less half a century.
3 See below p. 143, n. 7.
It is emphasised that she came of a divine family. Another point on which seemingly stress is laid is this that she is described to be the only wife of Bharatabala, which tends to show that the latter was in favour of monogamy, whereas his forefathers practised polygamy. If the expression to the effect that Lökaprakāśa was blessed with grandsons and great-grandsons is to be taken as a statement of facts, rather than in the sense of a benediction which seems to be the case, we will have to assume that Bharatabala came to the throne in a very advanced age so as to become a great-grandfather already in the second year of his reign, in which the present charter of his is dated.

The contents of the eleventh stanza, as has been indicated above, are ambiguous. In the natural sequence, it speaks of the royal donor Bharatabala, represented, as an emperor (śārvasbhūma) honoured by his vassals, but, at the same time, it contains a veiled reference to his overlord, Narēndra, that is the Vākātaka monarch Narēndrasēna. There is obviously a pun upon the word narēndra which, when construed with Bharatabala, means 'king', while otherwise it stands for the personal name of the Vākātaka sovereign concerned. There is another word in the verse, which has likewise double meaning, and that is saṃsā. It qualifies cauśa, when it refers to Bharatabala’s cauśa, it means 'lunar' and when it adverts to Narēndrasēna’s cauśa, it simply denotes 'auspicious'. The implication is quite obvious. The Pāṇḍavas, the avowed ancestors of Bharatabala, belonged to the Lunar race, while the Vākātakas were Brāhmaṇas and as such their family could aptly be described as 'auspicious'.

The hidden reference as disclosed above might have escaped detection but for a counter-reference met with elsewhere. And it is here that the importance of the Bālāhāt plates of Prithivishēga II comes in. In this record the Vākātaka monarch Narēndrasēna, the father of Prithivishēga II, is described to be as one whose commands were honoured or obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava—Kōsalā-Mēkalā-Mālava-ādhipaty-abhyarthevita-gaṇana. This has generally been taken to signify that Narēndrasēna exercised suzerainty over the rulers of the three countries referred to. So far as Mēkalā is concerned, the said claim has been admitted, though covertly, by the donor of the present charter himself. It may, however, be questioned that, if Bharatabala indeed owed allegiance to Narēndrasēna, why he should express it in equivocal terms, and how the sovereign could tolerate that. The very fact that it has been so indicates that the overlordship was more in name only, that Mēkalā under the kingship of Bharatabala was an internally autonomous state, and that the prestige of its king was not much inferior to that of his suzerain or both of them were perhaps more or less on friendly terms. It looks as if Bharatabala was not bound to acknowledge Narēndrasēna’s overlordship in the charter issued by him, but that it was out of courtesy that he did so and that wilfully in an indirect manner.

It may be observed that the Vākātakas do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in records. Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 173.

It has been observed that the words "Bhūtāaçe-ābhādak-āchāna-vasaṃvānaṃ-Rāma, Rāma" referring to the epic hero of that name as well as to the Pratihāra emperor Rāmahadra. The term "āchāna" occurring in the concluding verse of the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman has been taken to refer to "the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance". Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 150.

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1 Mahāmāheśvarī V. V. Mirashi, who also had occasion to read this article in its proof stage, opines that the expression śārvasbhūma, qualifying Lökaprakāśa, perhaps means, saṃsāhayā 'matchless'. There may not be any intention to refer to her husband’s monogamy.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text 11, 27-28. The citation gives the amended text. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has rightly pointed out that Prof. Kielhorn’s correction of Kōsalā and Mēkalā into Kōsala and Mēkula is not called for. K. P. Jayaswal, History of India 130 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 84, n. 1. The term Kōsala is met with in certain other inscriptions as well; see, for example, above Vol. XXIII, p. 251, text 1, 13.

3 Above Vol. XXVI, pp. 191, 192. The relevant text runs as follows:—Bhūtāaçe-ābhādak-āchāna-vasaṃvānaṃ-Rāma, Rāma referring to the epic hero of that name as well as to the Pratihāra emperor Rāmahadra. The term "āchāna" occurring in the concluding verse of the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman has been taken to refer to "the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance". Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 150.
From the above discussion it follows that Bharatabala was a contemporary of Narēndraśēna who is known to have flourished about A.D. 435-470. The evidence of the script employed in the record is, as has been shown above, in perfect agreement with this date. Taking the second year of Bharatabala's reign to correspond approximately with A.D. 460, and working at the rate of twenty years per reign-period for the foregoing three rulers, we arrive at A.D. 399-460 as the approximate date of Jayabala's rising to power. This roughly synchronizes with the momentous events taking place in the two big royal houses of the Guptas and the Vākātakas, when the latter, after suffering a setback at the hands of Samudragupta, were re-asserting themselves, the mighty Gupta empire was heading to a fall, and the Gupta-Vākātaka relations were being cemented by a matrimonial alliance inasmuch as Chandragnita II's daughter Prabhāvatiguptā had been married to Rudrasēna II. The confusion might have afforded Jayabala an opportunity of assuming authority and stabilizing his position as a local chief.

From the way the ancestral line is recounted in the present charter, it appears that the Pāṇḍva dynasty of Mēkalā started with Jayabala himself. It further appears that his successors were able not only to hold the territory he had mastered, but also to annex much more to it, at the same time acquiring greater authority. A measure as to the extent of the kingdom under Bharatabala is afforded by the mention in this inscription of an Uttara-rāṣṭra within Mēkalā, which presupposes a fairly large realm, partitioned at least into two big well-defined divisions, one in the north and the other in the south, each in its turn comprising a number of districts and sub-divisions. Thus we may assume that the kingdom of Mēkalā was divided into two provinces, one called Uttara-rāṣṭra and the other Dakṣiṇa-rāṣṭra, that the river Son in its upper reaches within the Rewa State possibly formed a natural boundary-line between the two, and that the whole of Mēkalā comprised the south-eastern part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of the Bilāspa District and some area in the east of the Mandāla District. The record does not mention the place of its issue, nor have we any means to ascertain as to where exactly the seat of government was located.

We already know of a line of Pāṇḍva kings ruling in Southern Kōsalā. There has been some controversy as to their age, but recently Prof. Mirashi has shown that the king Tivarādeva of that lineage flourished in the second quarter of the seventh century. Tivarādeva's grandfather, Indrabala, or the latter's father, Udayana, thus becomes roughly contemporaneous with Bharatabala. The two Pāṇḍva houses were most probably related to each other. Of Bharatabala's queen Lokaprajā, the present inscription informs that her native place was Kōsalā. It is a pity that no particulars of her parentage are given. Possibly she was a princess of the Pāṇḍva family of Kōsalā. It may, in passing, be observed that the Pāṇḍvas of Mēkalā had the Parivrajaka Mahārījjas and the Mahārījjas of Uchchakalpa as their neighbours in the north west.

There is no epigraphical evidence as to who the rulers in Mēkalā were prior to the Pāṇḍvas of the present document. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has tackled this problem with the help of the Puranic material which he has used in a sifting manner. According to his interpretation of the Puranic texts, Mēkalā was then a province in the Vākātaka empire and was ruled over by the Pallavas whom he considers to be relatives of the Vākātakas. The following quotations from his work embody his view on the subject:—"In Mēkalā, there flourished seven rulers in seventy years, i.e., from about 275 A.D. to 345 A.D. It seems that this portion was acquired in the time of Vindhyasākti. The rulers of Mēkalā who were a branch of the Vindhyaka dynasty, were kings of Ahūdradēśa." Then the Pallavas are described in the Purāṇas under the designation 'the Andhra kings'—'the kings of Andhradēśa', as ruling over Mēkalā with Andhra, and are specified as 'the descendants (samantras) of the Vindhyasakas, i.e., Vindhyasakti. A branch of the Imperial..."
Vindhyakas, i.e., the Imperial Vākātakas, became kings of Andhrarāṣa which had become connected with the Vākāṣṭha province of Mekalā.1 Proceeding, the same author gives an identification of this province. "This Mekalā I have identified as a province of 'Sapta-Kōṣalā,' below the Polka range of our maps, i.e., the British district of Raipur and the Indian State of Bastar."2 Regarding the same, he elsewhere states:3 "The Province of Mekalā evidently extended from the south of the present Maikal Range, in a straight line, covering the modern State of Bastar where-in begins the Andhra country."4

These are rather astounding conclusions: Andhra and Mekalā being blended into one country, and the Pallavas and the Vākāṣṭhas becoming blood-relations; and they will pass until any conclusive evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, like the charter under discussion. It may be pointed out that according to the said author, Mekalā was still under a branch of the Vākāṣṭhas during Narēndrasenā's reign. "The system of the Vākāṣṭha imperial organization," says he, "was to have sons and other relations as rulers over different provinces."5 Evidently he had this in mind while, referring to the re-establishment of the empire of the Vākāṣṭhas, he said: "on the fall of the Gupta Empire, under Narēndrasenā, they once more become a sovereign power in the Berar-Maratha country including Kōṅkaṇa and up to Kuntala, in Western Māḷā and Gujarāt, and in Kōṣalā and Mekalā including Andhra."6 It goes without saying that if he had the present record before him, he would have said differently. Now we know that Bharatabala was not a kinsman of Narēndrasenā, but that the two came of different stocks, one being a Kshatriya and the other a Brāhmaṇa.

Finally, we may consider the designations of the various officials mentioned in the record. By Grūmakaṭa is meant 'the headman of a village'. This term is frequently met with in inscriptions, particularly in those of the Rāṣṭrikaţas.7 What Drōgakraka denotes is difficult to determine, as it is an unfamiliar word. There is, however, a word drōgamukha which according to Sanskrit dictionaries means 'the chief or the most beautiful one of 400 villages'. It is perhaps in this sense that the words drōgamukha and drōgamukhya are used in the Divyacakrā.8 It may readily be conceded that drōgakra means the same thing as drōgamukha; and by the addition of the suffix ku to that, we get the word Drōgakraka which possibly denotes 'an officer in charge of a drōgakra or a drōgamukha.' In rank and importance he thus stands much higher than an ordinary Grūmakaṭa. The term Nōyaka signifies 'a leader' or 'a military commander': A Devacakrā is, as the word indicates, perhaps 'a superintendent of temples and holy places'. The word Gōgakrā in the present context possibly means 'a warrior'. A Rāhaski is a 'privity councillor'. This office is mentioned in some other inscriptions under different forms such as Rāhasya,9 Rāhasika,10 Rāhaskița,11 Rāhasya-krīkara,12 etc. The order of the grant was issued by the king himself (saṛgaya-ajñāpanā), that is to say, it was not conveyed by any state official acting as the king's duta.

TEXT13

[Metres: vv. 1, 10, 11 Sradyakara; v. 2 Vasantatilaka; v. 3 Upanāṭi; vv. 4, 9 Mālinī; v. 5 Indravajrā; vv. 6, 7 Ārya-dāvatikrīsita; v. 8 Āryā; vv. 12, 13, 14 Anushtabh.]

1 Ibid., p. 181.
2 Ibid., p. 84.
3 Ibid., p. 82.
4 Ibid., p. 83.
5 See, for example, above Vol. XXIII, pp. 15, 106, 210 and 220 text. II. 30-31, 3, 30 and 43 respectively.
6 Edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 620, II. 12, 21 and 28.
10 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 13, 14; Vol. XXIV, pp. 144, 145, 298, 308.
11 From the original plates.
First Plate


Second Plate: First Side

13. yataḥ18 praśamam-ūpanayānte śīkarārdrāṁ kṣaṇēna [14[*] tatas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ā. 1

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1 Expressed by a symbol. There is a dot to the left at the bottom and a dot to the right at the top of the symbol, which are superfluous. Similar superfluous marks are to be seen also further on in the plates.

2 The evaryya after vasti had better be omitted, because the word is, as a rule, an indeclinable. The form with the evaryya occurs in a few inscriptions from Chamba. See J. Ph. Vogel's Antiquités of Chamba State, Part I, inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, 20-24, 27-28, 31, 33, 34, 36 and 45. It may, however, be observed that in all these inscriptions the sign taken for evaryya, in reality, stands for the numerical figure 1. The same sign occurs in Nos. 13, 18, 42 and 48, but there it has been left unread. In some cases, instead of only one, there are two signs, thus representing 11, as in Nos. 31 and 48. An unmistakable instance of the occurrence of evaryya after the word vasti is, however, afforded not only by the present record, but also by the Chipurupale plates of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana I, though Fleet doubted the appearance of the evaryya there by remarking that "it is probably only due to a mark of punctuation, imperfectly cleared out." (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16, n. 3). In fact, the sign of evaryya there is plainly visible on the facsimile and can not be taken for anything else. (See A. C. Burnell's Elements of South-Indian Paleography, London 1878, 2nd ed., Pl. XXVII). In the Veda, on the other hand, the word is written both as an indeclinable and as a substantive. Compare, for example, vasti pūśaṁ vasti dāhāṁ sab (Rigveda, V. 31,11), and vastim Indrā-Matsi dāhāṁ (Rigveda, II. 29,3). In the later Vedic literature also instances of its use as a substantive are met with; e.g., dasīv vasti-sab saṁ vasti-dasīvconfikyaḥ (Taittīrīya, p. 167).

1 The construction is rather peculiar, the verb ārd alone constitutes the principal clause, its subject sab being understood.

1 The manvāra meant to be over sa is placed a little aside. It appears to the left at the bottom of the letter man in the upper line.

2 A little space left blank here possibly denotes the punctuation.

3 This sign of punctuation consists of a single curved line.

4 There appears a superfluous dot or manvāra over the superscript ṛ in this syllable.

5 This mark of punctuation consists of two curved lines.

6 This evastim is touching the base of the letter sa in the line above.

7 Read yathā. Although yathā can have the same sense as yatāḥ (i.e., yena kramabḥ) has, yet it is the latter that fits in with the metre; and hence that is undoubtedly the intended reading.
26 Sphatika-vimala-subhratī vi(u)iḥ bhṛati(tī) śīla-tōyanaḥ 16 aṃa-nīyati(yatu)(ma)-tatāntā-praṇā-tvum-va
27 delha-pravahaṃ(āvaham) 16 praśaṃ-guṇa-gaṇ-ōmiyā(vir-ga) naunā pavaya-ni(yantī) svayam-īha saha
28 lōkādī-gātā Jāhnav-ivā 16 śrīmaṇc-chāndr-ā(m)śu-kī(kī)rtē-ṃ-Bhūtatvaḥ(ba)|la-
29 nripasy-ottama(ma) ri(tā)ja-
30 pati(tu) ni 16 jātā ya(ya) Kauśalāyām 11-amara-ka-lāja(m) [kṛitīnachairā-ti-
dhātā(na) (a) śaśvad-dharmam-ājṛ(na)-
31 kāra(ma)-pratimitatamātā śīlākāra(kā)-rati phu(pau)prau-nai(ya)-va-vimāla-ra.

1 The reading dārāni svabhāvā is unmutatable. However, the sense is not clear.
2 Possibly the intended reading is hatabhūk tej-ūcchelab. Even so the construction is not quite all right. I take it to mean tējasya-vijñāra hitabhuk.
3 This t is prefixed to the m in accordance with a rule of svākhi (Pāṇini’s Ashtādhhyāyī, VIII, 3, 30), instances of which are seldom met with even in literature.
4 This expression is worthy of note. In ritual terminology kuta also means ‘one to whom an oblation is offered’. Thus, in the present context, svākhi-kuta may denote ‘one to whom a tribute of gold is paid’.
5 The word eva here may be taken as construed either with dig or with dānā. The use of dig-eva would be synonymous with that of dānā-eva found elsewhere. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 266, text II.16-18.
6 There is something wrong with the construction of the second half of this verse apparently due to the fault of the engraver. To make it yield some coherent sense we may reconstruct it as follows: yasyāvamśeṣaka-chodhitam, eva nriṣapati kriten mahā-mukhādi saurajya-sūryād-hiṣahā vitapāṃ dharmam-śrutah-śrutānāni.
7 Correctly it should have been svā-hṛiṣapati. However, as it is, ‘we have to suppose the existence of a word bhṛuj synonymous with bhṛuj or bhṛuj on the analogy of pod, an equivalent of poda.
8 The words ek-aiña are in prose and are to be construed with Bharatabhāva-nriṣapati-cīrṇapati in verse 10 below.
9 Instead of tīyana read tīyam.
10 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
11 Better read Kośala-pītaṃ.
12 Read śṛiśvam-nuprabc.
13 Ṁahāmāhāpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi would take this word to be tāmaḥ and explain the compound as dharmān, ātikā-kāmāḥ pratishkāra tanuṣagam sā. That, as he points out, would bring out the intended pun on the name Lōkaprakāśā, though it would involve a wrong svākhi.
31 tai rāja-si[n]ghai(hai)ya\[r]j[i]st[i]hā[ṛ]n[ī] || [10 *] Yō-sau saṃpūrṇa-sakti-traya-vinipatit-
āśika-sāmanī(ṇa)nta-
32 mūrdhda-prōdghrishti-ōṭpulla-paṇḍarati-chalana-ya(yu)g-ākrānta-dīktra(k-cha)kravālaḥ \[1]*
saumyaḥ sō-
33 yan-ehr vanñāḥ prabhava iti janē kāryēśa\[t] yasya ch-ēchchailā sa āṃśiṃ(mān)
saṃbhavān-vasara-
34 tiyana\[t]-guṇā(ṛ)a-ganō dīd[ṛ]a-vaīrō vē(na)rendraḥ \[11]* tataḥ \[2] Mēkalāyaṃ(yām)
Uttara-rā[si]hrē Pāṇchaga\[t]
35 rtā-viṣhāyē Varṛddhamānakē \[3] grāṇaku(kū)ṭa-dṝṇāgraka-nāyaka-dēvavārika-
gandaka-
36 pramukhān(khaṇ) sarvān(ṛ)a-n-ēva yathā-pratīvāsinaḥ samajñāpayati\[t] vīdītam-astu
37 mahaipā-pādaip-ayun grāsā(mah) s-ā(s-ō)dra(ṇa)gāḥ s-ōparikaraḥ\[t] a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēsi
sa-nī-
38 dhiḥ s-ōpanidhi\[t]hē-chōma-ḍaṇḍa-varjaratam\[t] chatuḥ-si(sī)mā-paryyanta ā-chandr-ārka-
kshita(tī)

Third Plate
39 tārakā-nirēḍhēna māta(tī)-pitrōr-ātmana-εḥa puṇy-ābhibhūḍh(a)ddha(yē Vatsa-sagōṭra-śrī-
Mā.-
40 dēhī(ṛ)dha(ṃ)dna Lōṅitasarva(svā)maṇah\[n]e pratipādita\[t] tīty-avagamya yath-ōchita-
āśika-bhū-
41 gēn-ājīnā-savaya-viśdhēya-ai∂havitavayam-īti \[1]* svayaṃ-ājēṇāpana \[2]* yē ch-ēsāmad-
vānsē(ṛ)-vansē samunṭa-
42 dyantē rājanāh | sait-aiśπųm-yaunānūmōndanī śānu-pālaniya čha \[1]* yah\[t] s-ai-
aimān(tā)n dattā\[t]tī\[n] vīvyaṃ-ā-
43 pa(pādayishyat) sa paṭehabur mahāl[pā]takāh sarīnyukt[h] sya(syā)d-īti \[1]* Bahubhir- 
vastudhā bhukta rāja-
44 bhis-Sagar-ādiḥḥīḥ \[1]* yasa yasa ya dā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā phalar(lām) | \[12]* 
Shashiṃ varsha-sa-
45 hasrāṇi svargag(ṛg)ī mādai bhūmida[h] s-cēucchēttā ch-ānāmānta čha tāny-ēva narākē 
vast[ā] \[1]* \[13]* S-
46 dattā[ṛ]m[ī]* para-dattā[r]h[ī] bā(vā) yatnād-raksha narāḍhipa \[1]* mahiḥ\[t]māh mahītām-
srēṣṭha ānāṃ-ehṛyē-ṣuṣpālana[ṇ]m[ī] \[11]* \[14]*

1 Read "ōṭpulla-pada-ṃya-ṛyati", which is conceivably the intended reading.
2 Read "janaīh kīrtiyet.
3 The intended-reading of these seven syllables is possibly śāracbhaṇanaḥ pṛthibhā.
4 The word "vaiśrava" in this compound is to be taken as "a host of enemies" -vaiśrava maṅgaḥ, 
vaimaṃ, though its use as such is very rare, as in Maṅgaḥ śīṃpālavedha, XIX, 100.
5 Sandhi has not been observed here.
6 The syllable "ōcchā here may be compared with that in -gōcchā, 1, 33. In both these instances the super-
script ō is in form with the superscript a. The more correct form of the conjunct letter "ōcchā is, however, 
to be found below, in paṅchabhāra, 1, 43; iktithā-ek-dū batches, 1, 48; and "ōccharaṇa, 1, 49. I had first read the
word as Paṅgaḥ. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari preferred that reading and was inclined to identify
"Paṅgatāṭa with the modern Pandra, about 30 miles south-east of Sōhāgpur.
7 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
8 The subject of this verb is "arāṃ... saṃśardhā in verse 11.
9 Read maṅga, which would be synonymous with pājavga. The expression maṅga-pādāvah in this context
possibly answers to 'by His Majesty'.
10 Sandhi has not been observed here.
11 This "vaiśrava sign is superfluous.
12 Read "ṣrī-jīmä-. "
13 Read pratipādita Ṇyā.
TRANSLATION

O'! Hail!

(V. 1) There was he who became a widely renowned king in Mekalâ, the foremost amongst the rulers, a fortunate one and a disposer of Fortune, endowed with excellent virtues as well as with a personable appearance, who belonged to the family of the Pandavas of absolutely flawless fame and great majesty, and who is well known in this world always through his own glorious deeds as Jayabala.

(V. 2) To him was born a son, called Vatsevara, who was like unto (his father), famous, compassionate(?), virtuous, (and) conversant with rituals, who achieved victories in battle-fields (and) made the pleasure-gardens, attached to the houses of his enemies, teem with wild beasts.

(V. 3) The illustrious king Vatsaraja was magnanimous, always approving of merits, partial to virtues, devoted to righteousness, serviceable to his people and distinguished for his equitable policy.

(V. 4) At the time of his march, the roads having been pounded down by the hoof-beats of his steeds, the earth darkens (all) the quarters, dust making every corner dry and dreary, (but) his elephants, with their temples soiled by the ichor, instantly restore serenity, having moistened it (the earth) with the spray (which they habitually emit from their trunks).

(V. 5) To her (Indrabhattacharikâ), endowed with compassion, worthy character, virtuous generosity and smartness, was born, as Kuçâra to Pârvati, a son, Indra (by name), bright and handsome of appearance.

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1. This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
2. This sūnedra is redundant.
3. Implying thereby that he completely devastated the palaces of the hostile chiefs.
4. This Vatsaraja is obviously the same person as Vatsevra spoken of in the foregoing stanza. Vatsevara appears to be the proper form of the name, whereas the use of the form Vatsevara is presumably owing to the exigency of the metre. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, however, makes a very happy suggestion. According to him, the sūnedra after the name Vatsevara in l. 5 of the text is to be regarded as a mistake and should be omitted. We would thus have Vatsevara pratisaad, meaning thereby that Vatsevara was equal to the lord of Vatsas, namely the mythical king Udayana, who, as we know, also belongs to the Pandava lineage. In this interpretation, the verses 2 and 3 will have to be taken as forming a yuyama, and one of the two verbs, abhavat and abhāta, will have to be considered as redundant.
5. The significance of these epithets has been discussed above, p 126.
6. His full name Bharatabala occurs below in verse 10.
7. It is with a good deal of difficulty that I have taken this Indra to be a second name of Bharatabala himself, presuming that he is so called after his mother Indrabhattacharikâ. It is possible that here, too, he is only metaphorically identified with Indra, the lord of gods, as is manifestly the case in the succeeding verse. The eighth couplet indisputably compares him to that celestial monarch.
(V. 6) (He is) Indra in causing a rift (in enemy ranks), a blazing fire in brilliance, amiable, a very Brāhmaṇa in point of noble behaviour, deemed praiseworthy, one who has gained authority and excellence; whose sight inspires joy in (the hearts of) good people and brings to fruition the merit and desires of the common folk, to whom gifts of gold are presented at the time when he occupies the sacrificial seat for (performing) a sacrifice, and who is always respected by worthy persons.

(V. 7) Like a gigantic celestial elephant, he pulled down and tore asunder a multitude of resounding trees (in the form) of overweening foes and had all the quarters thickly strewn over with them. A king capable of such a feat exercises complete sovereignty over the whole world, ensuring righteousness, prosperity and happiness.

(V. 8) In prowess equal to the Lord of gods is the illustrious king Bharata, a paragon of rulers, who, having slain the enemy hosts, bore their Fortune on his own arms as she approached him.

(1. 25) The only one.

(V. 9)—who is, as it were, the Ganges herself, from heaven descended, purifying the people here, possessing the water (in the form) of character pure and brilliant as crystal, with its serene flow bounded within the two banks of self-restraint and self-discipline, ripply with many virtues, such as equanimity,

(V. 10)—royal consort of the king Bharatabala of the glory comparable to shining moonbeams is Lōkaprakāśa, the lady par excellence, who, born in Kōśāla, carrying the high renown of (being of) a divine origin, ever intensely zealous upon righteousness, prosperity and happiness, has attained to a sublime status by virtue of her having sons and grandsons, who are champions of justice and discipline, (and would-be) foremost kings.

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1 I am not certain of this rendering. See above, p. 141, n. 1.
2 The long compound expression sat-critta-shtiti-mātra-vibhūti-puruṣa-pramā-nānaṁ-ānāth is amenable to other interpretations as well, which may be quite different from the one given above, but, the description being more literary than factual, it matters little in whatever sense it is construed.
3 It was of course a custom that a sacrificing king received rich presents from his friends and feudatories. In this connection, the case of Yudhishthira celebrating the Bṛhaṣṭha sacrifice may be recalled when such tributes poured in in a regular stream, so much so that a special steward was appointed in the person of Durvāsana to take charge of them, while his cousins and some of his brothers were posted likewise to look after other affairs of the ceremony. The kings who attended the grand ceremonial vied with one another in presenting Yudhishthira with costly gifts. We read the following in the Mahābhārata, II (Sabhāparvan), Chapter 30 (the reference being to the Southern Recension, P. P. S. Sastrī's edition):

   Tē vai dharmāsatvam ānāpātāh pārthikvāvartata Bhārata
   samādhyā mahārājas ratañī ratañī vivekāndā cha 21

   Bhūva vittām samādhanī vivekāndā pārthikā yugam
   dravajukhaṁ abhānam chetava Dharmarājāmov cha Pāśupatam 23

   Durgadbhasas-tarpanam pratiyogādha nervaśa 63

   Kautham tē maṁ Kṣatrapāy cakrādānatvam samāpāyāt
   yajus-vyāvarāśam vajraṇāḥ aprāhīmāṇād rājas-dhāman 67

4 This refers to one of the eight mythical elephants, guarding the eight quarters of cardinal point, in the space. Their names are Airāvata, Pundarika, Vāmanā, Kumāra, Aōjana, Pushpakanta, Sīvābhāma and Supratikā.

5 See above, p. 141, n. 6.
6 This goes with the 'royal consort' in verse 10. See above, p. 141, n. 8.
7 See above, p. 141, n. 13.
The great king (Bharatabala), an illustrious paramount ruler, whose virtues are well-known, who has destroyed enemy hordes, who has all the quarters overcome by his pair of feet that have the grace of an expanded lotus-flower and are fervently touched by many a prince paying homage to him by reason of his perfect triple power, and, further, whose birth is highly praised by the people as being in the famous Lunar race, —

Likewise issues a command to all the inhabitants concerned, headed by (the state officials, namely) the Grāmakās, the Drāgoṣikās, the Nāyakas, the Devaṇīkās and the Gajākās, at (the village of) Varadhamānaka in the district (vīṣaya) of Pāṇḍagadāṭī within the Northern province (Uttara-vīṣaya) in (the country of) Mēkalā—

Be it known that, for the purpose of increasing His own religious merit as well as that of His parents, this village (of Varadhamānaka), with the vīṣaya and the upāsikā, with the treasures and the deposits, (with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the Chāṭas and the Bhūtas, with the exception of the fines (imposed) on thieves, to the extent of its four boundaries, to last until the end of the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars,—is granted by His Majesty to the illustrious Lōhitātāravāmin of the Vatsa gōra and the Mādhyandina (sākhā of the Śūka Yajurveda).

Having known so, you should obey his (the doner's) orders, duly paying him the customary tributes.

The command is (issued by His Majesty) Himself. And this donation should be consented to and protected by those kings, too, who are born in Our family. And whosoever will cause obstruction to this grant, he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great sins. —

[Here occur three of the customary verses.]

Thus this charter concluded. In the year 2 of the increasing victorious reign on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of (the month of) Bhārānapada, when the sakōhītva was Pusyā. This charter has been written by Śiva, son of the Rāhaskīta Isāna, and engraved by Mihiraka, son of the goldsmith Isvāna.

The present set of copper plates was obtained by the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. M. V. Srinivasan, Manager of the Śrī Sukavanoḷvāra Temple at Salem, in August 1944. The history of its discovery is briefly stated to be as follows.— One Mr. Venkatagiri Bhūtāṭar, the king's minister, on his return from the pilgrimage to the shrine of Śrī Svaroṇi, king of the Śrī Drāgoṣikā, obtained from the king a gift of these plates, as a pledge against a debt. On his return to his capital he immediately sent them to Salem, and presented them to Robertson, the Collector of the European Settlement, who, on his return to England, presented them to Government. —

[End of text]
cook of the temple, sometime in 1930, in course of the repairs being done to the temple, near the southern wall of the outer prakāra just to the west of the shrine where the present Nālvars are placed, at the depth of about three feet, found the set of plates in the earth. The present store-room stands now on the spot where the plates were found. The plates are now the property of the temple.

The set consists of five plates each measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$" by $2\frac{2}{3}$" and about $1\frac{1}{10}$" in thickness. At the proper right margin in each plate is a hole, about $\frac{1}{10}$" in diameter, through which passes the copper ring bearing the seal. The ring measures about $3\frac{1}{4}$" in diameter and its ends are soldered into the bottom of the seal which is oval in shape and measures $2\frac{1}{2}$" by $1\frac{1}{4}$". On its surface is carved in relief the figure of a standing elephant facing the proper right. The set with the ring and the seal weighs 130 tolas.

The characters belong to what is called the Southern class of alphabets and are of the regular type of the period to which the record belongs. The engraving is good and fairly deep and the writing is excellently preserved.

Of the letter kh, both the early form and the later or the cursive form in Fleet's terminology are found in this inscription. The former is met with in mukha l. 15, akhyag- l. 25, nakha l. 29, vikhyāta l. 35 and likhita l. 57; while the later or the cursive form is found in khaqānā l. 2, mukha l. 14, khāda l. 28, khāya l. 40 and khāfjāk. Fleet's theory that this later or the cursive form did not occur in genuine records earlier than A.D. 804 no longer holds the ground. The instances cited above show that both the forms were used at the time of our inscription and the engraver made little distinction between the two. As regards the form of b, the closed or box type has been used throughout the inscription, cf. labha-balā l. 2, Kadamba l. 11, bahu l. 35, etc. The form of the subscript n is the same as that of the primary n, the secondary form being absent throughout the record, cf. nasaṇṇa l. 10, ratna l. 26, mādhyānātha l. 31 and Nāmāppa l. 39. The form of ph is distinguished from that of p by a hook inside at the right-hand stroke, cf. spāhu l. 35. Initial a is met with in Avināśa l. 13, Avāda l. 14, anēka l. 20, api l. 23; initial ā in ājīvajījātānānā l. 47; initial i in Indarājā l. 43, Indarājā l. 47, and initial u in Utarā l. 50. The vowelless k- is met with in -avākī 1.23, and the vowelless t in -āttā 1.42, and kṣmaṇa-kṣki 1.47.

With regard to orthography, the following few points may be observed. The anusvāra is changed to class nasal in jītan-drhayamā 1.1; and anusvāra in place of consonant nasal is found in nīyana l. 36. The use of uṇḍhiṇāya is found in words -uṇṭra-yuṭṭhā-pravāṭā l. 6, -rajasi-prati-virkāthā l. 9, -chariṭa-prati- l. 22 and yasaśā-prita- l. 42; and jiveśuṇiṇa is used in bhaiṣāk-kvātā l. 23, and amarathaka-kvādā l. 28.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is partly in prose and partly in verse, and is, on the whole, grammatically correct. The following phonetic features are noteworthy. The voiceless stops are represented as voiced in the intervocalic position in the following words antavyāma for antavyāmā l. 12, ādva-kopā for ātma-kopā l. 30, Nila-yāthā for Nilakrātha l. 49, and abāhāraṅkā for apahāraṅkā l. 56. This may be due to the influence of the Tamil pronunciation, since the record comes from the Tamil parts. The assimilated speech-form Kāvīkṣyaḥ < Kāvīkṣyaḥ is met with in l. 44. An epenthetic vowel i is found in Saka-varisvākāṭa-uktyā l. 50. The consonant after r is usually lengthened, cf. chītārdanta l. 1, Hārīvarman- 1.8, durlakṣaṇa-vimāda l. 16, āstrā-vartaka l. 21, kiritā l. 27, and māntra l. 33. From these instances it can be seen that this phenomenon occurs both when the vowel preceding r is short

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1 From the diary of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.
2 The Kannada speech-form Kāvīkṣyaḥ is found in E. C., X, Kl. Mb. 80.
and when it is long. It is yet to be investigated whether this feature has anything to do with accent and why it is met with in some speech-forms and not in others. The following instances, however, show the consonant after r to be short or single: rātm-ārka l. 26, and urāpati-babhaṇa l. 59.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Western Ganga king Śripurusha. A good number of inscriptions, on stone and copper, of the time of this king, varying in dates from the beginning to the end of his long reign, have been discovered and published, specially in the volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica and the Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of Mysore. The genealogy of the Ganga kings given in the present record, from Kōhgaṇivarman-Dharma-Mahādhirāja up to Śripurusha, is already known from published records. Fresh historical facts, either with reference to the earlier members of the family or with reference to the king Śripurusha, come to light in this record. Duggamāra is mentioned in l. 44-5, and, from the expression putraṇya Duggamārāya in l. 48, there can be no doubt that this Duggamāra was no other than one of Śripurusha's sons of that name. We learn from two stone inscriptions from Muḥāgāl in the Kolar District of the Mysore State that this Duggamāra was governing Kuvalayā-nāḍu 300 and Ganga 6000 under his father.

The wife of Duggamāra was Kannchiyabhā who is described in ll. 44-9. She was to him as Padmā was to Nārāyaṇa, Gauri to Pārākin, etc. One of the two Muḥāgāl inscriptions referred to above states that Kannchiyabhā, wife of Duggamāra, was governing Agalī. The importance of the present record lies in the fact that it gives in ll. 38-44 the pedigree of this Kannchiyabhā for three generations, starting from king Nannappa, who had a son Sivarāja, whose son was Gōvindarāja. Gōvindarāja's wife was Vinayavati whose father was king Vikramāditya, 'lord of the four directions'. To Gōvindarāja and Vinayavatī was born Indarāja, and Indarāja's elder sister was Kannchiyabhā, consort of Duggamāra. The way in which these princes are mentioned shows that they belonged to a royal family. In the present state of our knowledge it is indeed difficult to identify them. The names Nannappa, Gōvinda and Indarāja are, however, reminiscent of similar names in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. But we do not know of any Nannappa who lived towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D. with whose family the Western Gaṅgas had to do anything either matrimonia or politically. 8

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8 Of Spurious Islampur plates of Vijayāditya; above, Vol. XII, pp. 30-3: Dēvarashali plates of Śripurusha. E. C., IV, Ng. 85.
8 E. C., X, Kl. Mb. 80 and 255.
8 E. C., X, Kl. Mb. 80.

4 The Daulatabad plates of Saṅkaragāna (above, Vol. IX, p. 197) inform us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-) Nirupama was Nannya, brother of Kṛishṇarāja (I) and son of Kakkara rāja (I). Saṅkaragānarrāja is mentioned therein as the son of Nannya. The Tiwarkhed and Multai plates (above, Vol. XI, p. 279; Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 234) also mention a certain Nannarāja, whose father was Śvēmakāra, grandfather Gōvindarāja and great-grandfather Durgarāja.

End of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A. D. is the period to which Nannappa of our inscription can be assigned, as his great-granddaughter Kannchiyabhā lived in A. D. 771, the date of the record. The Daulatabad plates referred to in the previous footnote are dated in Śaka 715 or A. D. 793 and so the Nannya mentioned therein will be too late for the Nannappa of our record. Similarly Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates dated in Śaka 553 or A. D. 631 will be too early. The date of the Multai plates, viz., Śaka 631 or A. D. 709-10, however, agrees with the period to which we have assigned Nannappa of our inscription. The Multai plates have been considered to be not genuine (Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 7). If we assume that the date supplied by the Multai plates is genuine, then the Nannarāja mentioned therein can be identified with Nannappa of our record, since there is no difficulty about the period of the two names. This identification can gain further support from the fact that the name Gōvindarāja, grandfather of Nannarāja of the Multai plates, is repeated in our inscription in the name of the grandson of Nannappa. But, so far, we have not come across any reference to the Western Gaṅgas coming in contact with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family situated so far in the north as Multai in the Central Provinces and, in view of this, it becomes difficult to uphold the above identification.
As noted above, Gōvindarāja had married Vinayavati, whose father, Vikramāditya, is described in ll. 42-3 as chaṭṭur-dhāya-dhīpya ‘lord of the four directions’. This suggests that Vikramāditya was a powerful king. And the only renowned king of this name at that period, that is to say, about the middle of the 8th century A.D., could be Vikramāditya II of the Western Chālukyas of Bādami, whose reign is placed between A.D. 733-34 and A.D. 746-47. It is, therefore, plausible to identify Vinayavati’s father with Vikramāditya II.

The object of the inscription is to register some gifts of land near the village Komāraramagala in the Pudukanda vishaya to one Nilakaṇṭha, the youngest of the five sons of Nilakaṇṭha of the Harita gōtra and the Prāvachana chārapaṇa.

It is not clear who the donor of the grant was. The reading viyādālaṇa pitrāṇa Duggamārāya, etc., in ll. 17-8, has to be construed with Śrīparāsa-saṭhama-nāmakāhyāṇa Prākṣvā-kauśagya-mahārajāṇa in ll. 37-8. The engraver seems to have omitted something here and hence the difficulty about the amaya. We may, however, interpret the whole passage as follows: At the request of his queen Kañcchiyabbā, Duggamāra obtained the grant from his father Śrīparāsa and in turn made it over to a Brāhmaṇa. The name of this Brāhmaṇa and the details of the grant have been given subsequently in the text. The grant seems to have been made for the benefit of Kañcchiyabbā’s brother Indarāja, whose death is referred to just before the grant-portion in the text.

The date of the inscription is given in ll. 50-1 as Saka 693. Chandra (Bhādra)pada Śakla 2, Uttarā-Phalguni naktihatā, Sukrāvāna, which regularly corresponds to Friday, 16th August A.D. 771, when the nakṣatra was Uttarā-Phalguni. The way in which the number 93 is expressed, viz., navatī-tri-nivāsikaraṇa is not correct Sanskrit. It may, however, be due to the influence of the Dravidian style.

As regards the places mentioned in the record, the village Komāraramagala is to be identified with Komāraramgala in the Tiruchengode taluk of the Salem District. It lies at a distance of about 30 miles from Salem where the plates were found. The List of Villages in the Madras Presidency gives a number of places in the Salem District, which go by the name of Pudur. One of them may be identified with the Pudukanda of the inscription.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ůtā ṛitam-bhagavatā gata-ghanam-gauṇa-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [\*] Śilmat-Jāhna-vēya-kul-āmala-vēyō
2 m-avabhāsa-bhāskara-sva-kharag-āika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-nilā-stambha-labhda-badha-balaparākrama
3 mō dāru-āria-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-śalabhe-vṛıṇa-vibhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ Kāṇvāya-sagōraṁ Śilmat-Ko
4 ṣāgamārma-dharmma-mahādhīrājaḥ tasya putrāḥ pituṛu-vāgata-gaṇa-yaktō vidyāvinaya-vihita
5 vṛttāḥ samyak-prajā-pālana-mārt-ādhigata-rājya-prayojanō valuṣṭ-kavi-kāṃchana-ni-kashō

\* I am obliged to Mr. N. Laskhminarayan Rao, for his kind suggestions in connection with this article.
\* From the original plates and inked etchpatches.
\* Expressed by a symbol.
\* Read : Śrīnāp-Jāhnašēya
\* Better read : śhāskartāv śvāna
\* Here sandhi has not been observed.
22 tatva(ttva)-samâraâd heißt-trivarga niravadya-charita-prati-dû[vaksha]-sam-abhivardhama-prahâvâ Bhûvikrama-nama-

1 Here sanadhî has not been observed.
2 There are faint traces of two dots after sâ which are perhaps intended for the visarga. In that case we may take it that the engraver himself discovered the wrong omission of the visarga and subsequently supplied it by inserting the two dots.
3 The more familiar form is anuhuyah.
4 Better read : charma-nalina-yugâ.
5 The letter na is engraved over an erasure.
6 The omission of visarga here is in accordance with the vartika : khur-parâ sarâ va visarga-lûpâ vakshâyâ.
dhéyah¹ apī cha Nāṇā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhat-ōraṁ²-kavāṭ-ōtti(tthi)t-āśrike(g)-dhārāsāvāda-pramatta-
24 dvipa-śata-śaraṇa-kshōda-sammaraddha-bhīmē [³] sa(sam)grāmē Pallav-āndraṇ-urarapatiṃ-
ṣajaya-yō Viṣṇu-ākhīdhaūc
25 rājā Śrīvallabha-khīyas-samara-śata-jay-āvāpa-lakṣhmi-vilāsah [⁴] Tasya-ānujo nata-
26 nareṇḍra-ki
27 rita-kōṭī-ratn-ārka-dīdhi-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ [⁴] lakṣhmyā svayaṁvṛita-pa(ti)r-
28 nNavakāma-nāmā sīṣṭa-priyō
29 ri-γaṇa-dāruna-gīta-kirttiḥ [⁸] tasya Kōgani-mahārājasya Śivamāra(ṛ-ṛ)para-ṃāma-
28 dhēyasya pautraḥ sa-
30 mavanata-samasta-śāmanta-mukuṭa-tāṭa-gaṭita-bahula-ratna-vilasaṃ-amara dhanuḥ. ³
31 khaṇḍa-mandīṭa-chara-

Third Plate; Second Side

32 ṇa-nakha-maṇḍalō Nārāyaṇa-śaraṇa-nihita-bhaktiḥ⁴] ārūparuṣa-turaga-varavāraṇa-
33 ghaṭa-saṅghaṭṭa-dā-
34 rupa-samara-sirasi nihit-ādma(tma)-kōpō Bhumakōpaḥ prakaṭa-rati-samaṭya-samanuvart-
35 ttana-chatura-uvati-de-
36 na-lau(tlo)ka-dhūrttō Lōkadhūrttaḥ sudurddhar-ānēka-yuddha-mūdhnī(rdhn)labdh-
37 viyaya-sampad-ahita-gajaghaṭā-kē-
38 sari Rājakēsari⁵ apī cha Yō Gaṅg-āṅvaya-nirnmaḷ-āmbara-tala-vyābhāṣa[na⁶]-prōḷasam-
39 māda(rītta)nēri-bha-
40 yaṅkaraḥ subhakaras-san-mārgga-rakshākaraḥ [⁸] sautājaṃ samupētaṃ rāja-samitō(au)
41 rā[ja]⁷ guṇair-uttamai rāja Śripuru-
42 shaś-čirāḥ vijayatē rājaṃya-chūjāmaṇiḥ[ḥ⁷] Kāmō rāmaśu chāpē Daśarata(tha)tanā-
43 yō vikramē Jāmadagnya-
44 prājy-āśivaryyē-ṛ Balūri-bahu-mahasi Ravis-cha⁸ prabhutvē Dhanēṣeḥ [⁸] bhūyō
45 vikhyāta-saktiḥ sphaṭataram-

Fourth Plate; First Side

46 m-akhiḷa-prāṇa-bhāja Viḍhātā dhātra śrīṣṭaḥ prajānāṁ patir-ṛti kavayō yaṁ prā-
47 šāṇyaṃtī niṭyāṃ(tyam) [⁸] tēna pra-
48 tīmasā-pravīrtta(tta)-mahādāna-janita-puṇyāḥā-ghoṣha-mukharita-mandírdarōṇa Śrip-
49 puruṣa-prathama-nā-
50 madhēyēnā Prīthuvi-kōgani-mahārājēnā Purā paritrāṇa-suḥraṇ- prajānāṁ sakti-trā-
51 (tra)-āhhyeyechha-

¹ Here sandhi has not been observed.
² The sign of jīvaṃsatiya resembles the form of ak.
³ Here the engraver seems to have first proceeded to carve the next letter gu, since the trace of the first part of gu can be seen in the place of ma.
⁴ This r is superfluous.
⁵ Read : Ravischa.
⁶ See note 6 on p. 149.
Seal: From Photograph
39 ya-nirjit-āriḥ. [\*] suddhair-yayaśobhīr-vvidit-ādi-rājō Nannappa-nāmā nripatir-babhūva [\*] Lēdbhē sa
40 putraṁ : Śivarājam-ārjan(jau) sva-khaḍga-vitrāsita-satru-saintyāṁ [\*] śiv-ōpāsam-pada-natah-prajānāṁ anvartthātāṁ
41 yasya jagāma nāma [\*] Babhūva Gōvinda-samāna-kānti-gōvinda-rājas-tanayastadāyaḥ [\*] sanaṁ guṇā yasya
42 saśi(śi)-prakāśāḥ manāṁśya-akarṣhat-suhridām dvishaś-cha [\*] Dēvi Vinavatayā-āśit tasya yasyāḥ-pit-ābhat [\*] cha-

**Fourth Plate ; Second Side**

43 tur-ddig-adhipaḥ[\*] śrīmān-Vikramāditya-bhāpatiḥ [\*] Sushuvē sā satī viṁśatī Indarājan yasavini [\*] vāpōṇaś sadṛśan-ence
44 shu(śu)r-yasya sanātatsatradāh [\*] Agrajā tasya jātyasya Kaṇchiyabh-āmbujānā [\*] dēvi dēva-samā(ma)ṣaśu(adī) Duggamā-
45 tasya bhūbhritat [\*] Yau dampaṭi samālōkya jana-sandrīṣṭavān-iva [\*] Sa(şa)chhiva(Ba)lavishhōṛ-yōgāṇa [\*] Gaurī-Pālāyinōḥ [\*]
46 Sā Gāṅga-kula-chaṅdrasaya tasya vaksiḥ-viḥārinī [\*] Padmā Nārāyanaṃ-śva babhūva parama-priyā [\*] Gati-
47 tha kāle kasmīnem-(tō) Indarājō divaṁ yāya[\*] didrückṣay-śva lōkanāṁ ājīj(arjīj)-tānāṁ sva-karmāmbahī [\*] Vījāpi-
48 tāya putrāya Duggamūrāya dhīmatē [\*] dattaṁ brāhmaṇāssā(sā)d eencvā tav-ēti kriyātāṃ-
49 iti [\*] Harita-gō-
50 trasya Nilakṣanda(ṇa)-nāmadēhāsaya Prāvachana-chaṇḍasya tat-puṭraṇāṃ pañcāhānāṁ
tat-kanishṭa(ṣṭha)-Nilaga(ka)ṇṇha-

**Fifth Plate ; First Side**

50 śarmmaṇe shach-chha(t-ṣa)teṣha navati-tri-sāṁvatsara-Śaka-varishe(ha)śhiv-atīteṣha Chandra(Bhādra)pada-sūkla-pakṣē dvitiyāyaṁ tithau Uttara-
51 Phalguni(ṇī)-nakshatraḥ Śukla(kra)-vārē Śukil(kr)-ūdaye Pudukanda-nāmadēhā-vishayē Komārānagāla-nāgra)masya pūrvvayān-đi
52 ē tātākasyā-ādhastat khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ vṛhi-khaṇḍraṁ tatha paśchima-tātākasyā-ādhastat khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ vṛhi(vṛhi)-khaṇḍ-
53 tram kramuka-kadalinānāḥ yōgyaṁ khaṇḍuka-dvayaṁ khaṇḍraṇaḥ priyaṅgu-śyāmaka-yōgyaṁ arddha-kara-parīmaṁ
54 qaṁ sā-griham sarvva-parvva-parivārōpēṭa-khaṇḍraṇaḥ dattaṁ [\*] Pā(Phā)la-krīṣṭhaṁ (ṣṭaṁ) mahiḥ-dadyat-sa-viṣṇaṁ samyamā(ṣya-śā)līmitā [\*] yāvat-su-
55 ryya-kritā lōka(kās-ṣ-)āvāt-svarggō mahiyatē [\*] Svā-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā yō harēta vasaunḍharā(m [\*] shasē(ṣṭhiḥ)-vrahe-sahasraṇi viṣhṭāh-
56 ē yāṁ jāye tē krimiḥ [\*] Vindhy-āṭavishv-ātēyaṁ śushka-kōṣṭha-vāśīnaḥ [\*] krishṇa-

āhiḥ(ha)yō-bhijyantō brahmadey-āhapa(ha)hāranaka(kā)ḥ

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1. This gives no sense. The correct reading might be **ṣrīmaṇ**.
2. Better read: **vāpōṇa**.
TRANSLATION

(For the translation of ll. 1-37, see above, Vol. XII, pp. 53-5, where the text is practically the same as that given in our inscription.)

(ll. 38-9) Formerly there was a king Nannappa by name, who was well known for his faultless victory, a refuge to the friendly subjects and a conqueror of the enemy by the three-fold power.†

(ll. 39-41) He obtained a son called Sivarāja who, by his own sword, had caused to tremble the army of the enemies and who, by the act of promoting the welfare (śiver) of his subjects, had justified the significance of his name (Śivarāja).

(ll. 41-3) To him was born a son called Gōvinda whose splendour equalled that of Gōvinda (i.e. the God Vishnu) and whose qualities, shining like the moon, attracted the minds of the friends and the enemies alike. His queen was Vinayavati whose father was the illustrious king Vikramāditya, lord of the four quarters.

(ll. 43-4) That illustrious lady (Vinayavati) gave birth to the brave Indarāja whose enemies disappeared in the battle like (or, with the speed of) the wind.

(ll. 44-6) His (Indarāja’s) own elder sister Kañchiyabbā, of the lotus-like face, became the queen of king Duggamāra, who was like a god. When people saw this couple, it was as if they saw the union of Ścī and Indra as also of Gaurī and Piṇākin. She, captivating the heart of him who was as a moon to the Gaṅga family, became dear to him, like Padmā to Nārāyaṇa.

(ll. 46-7) Thus, after the lapse of some time, Indarāja went to heaven, as if desirous of seeing the worlds (punya-lōkas) obtained by his own (good) deeds.

(ll. 47-8) (By Śripurusha mahārāja the grant was made) to (his) son the learned Duggamāra (who had been) requested by (his) queen (and who in turn) gave the grant to the possession of the Brāhmaṇa (requesting him) to make (the grant) his own (property).

(ll. 48-51) (The grant was made) to Nilakanṭhasarman, the youngest of the five sons of Nilaikanthha of the Harita gōtra and the Pravachana charuṣya when six-hundred and ninety-three years of Śaka era had elapsed, on the 2nd tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada, when the nakṣatra was Uttara-Phalguni, on Friday, at the time of the appearance of the (planet) Śukra (i.e. Venus).

(ll. 51-4) (Details of the grant): To the east of the village Komāramaṅgala (situated) in the Pudukanda eṣṭhayā, below the tank, rice-field (on which) two khaṇḍukas (can be sown); likewise, below the western tank, rice-field (on which) two khaṇḍukas (can be sown); land suitable for betelnut trees and plantain trees, (on which) two khaṇḍukas (can be sown); and land measuring half kara (a measure?), suitable for (sowing) pepper and kūmmaku (a kind of corn), was given, with a house free from all imposts (taxes).

(ll. 54-6) Customary imprecatory verses.

(ll. 57) The inscription was written by Guruśishya, an expert in fine arts, the basis of all arts.

†Namely prabhu-, mantra- and utāha-śaktis.
No. 26—SRINAGAR INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN DIDDÁ

(1 Plate)

KEDAR NATH SASTRI, SARNATH

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab (10\"× 8\") which was discovered in a private house in Srinagar, Kashmir, and was later presented by Dr. G. W. Leitner to the Central Museum, Lahore, where it is now preserved. It has already been noticed by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and briefly described by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. The script is Śāradā and the language Sanskrit. It is dated in the year 68, obviously of the Laukika era (corresponding to A.D. 992), in the bright fortnight of the month of Suchī (Jyēṣṭha or Ashādha) in the reign of queen Diddā of Kashmir. The year falls within her reign as recorded in the Rājatarangīṇī and testifies to the correctness of Kalhana’s chronology. The top and bottom portions of the slab are broken and a good deal of the inscription has been lost, both at the beginning and at the end, including the benedictory stanzas, the genealogy of the donor, as well as the dedicatory portion recording the purpose of the epigraph. Due to a lateral fracture in the slab along its left edge, the opening letters of seven lower lines have progressively suffered damage.

The record consists of ten lines comprising three verses, two of which are almost complete while the third is only partly preserved. The average size of the letters is about 1\"× 3\".

As regards orthography, it may be observed that the letters m and s are very much alike except that the vertical vowel stroke in the latter is slightly elongated downwards. Similarly, the difference between v and dh is not very marked except that the bulge in the latter is more pronounced and a little longer. The confounding letters can be made out more with the help of the context than from their forms. In line 3 upadmaṇīya has been used for visanag and is superposed on the following letter pu. Generally, the composition is free from ungrammatical forms and mistakes in prosody, save for one or two minor flaws.

The first verse mentions that a certain lady, whose name is not traceable in the text, gave birth to a son, named Dharmānaka, lovely as Madana (lit. bearing the stamp of Madana), and a great benefactor of cows. The second describes Dharmānaka as a devoted son who gladdened his mother as Kārttikeya, Gaṇapati, Ādiśya and Krishna gladdened theirs, by charitable diggings (of wells, tanks, etc.), which made the Lord of gods and the people rejoice. The third verse, though incomplete, is more important as it records the date. It informs that in the bright fortnight of the month of Suchī, in the year 68 of the Laukika era, corresponding to A.D. 992, in the reign of queen Diddā, he (Dharmānaka) honoured his mother with utmost devotion (by dedicating some charitable work to perpetuate her memory).

It seems rather queer, that in this inscription, as in another of her reign now preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar, Diddā should have been eulogised by the masculine epithet of raja (king) instead of rājā (queen) which was her due. It may be observed in this connection that she was an energetic and powerful queen who ruled over the destinies of Kashmir for nearly half a century. She was the daughter of Sūnharājā of Lohara, and a grand-daughter from maternal

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1 Antiquities of Chamba State, Pt. I, p. 238, Appendix.
3 I take Madana to be an adjective and not the name of the son which is obviously Dharmānaka as given in the second verse.
4 In the inscription preserved in the Sri Pratap Museum, Srinagar, she is styled as Diddā-dēvī instead of Diddā-devī.
5 [The Kākatiya queen Rudrāmbā of Warangal was similarly called Rudrāmba-Mahārājā in her epigraphs.—C.B.K.]
side of king Bhimaśeṇa of the well-known Śāhī dynasty of Gāndhāra. By virtue of her ancestry she had inherited the valour, statesmanship and other characteristics of the two houses. During the lifetime of her weak and effeminate husband, Keshēmagaṇa, she was the virtual head of the State and wielded sovereign powers. On the coins of Keshēmagaṇa the letter Di is prefixed to the name of the king, meaning Diddā-Kesha, which became the nickname of the king, casting reflections on his political impotency as against his all-powerful queen who acted for him and ruled like the real king. No wonder then, if, on account of her valour, political astuteness and masculine traits, she was styled by people as king Diddā in the lifetime of her husband and during the period when she acted as regent first for her son Abhimanyu and, after his death, for her grandsons. Probably this appellation became favourite with her and she preferred to be styled by it when she became the de facto independent monarch and ruled the State in her name for 23 years (A.D. 980-1003).²

Dharmānka, the donor of the record, does not seem to be a prominent personality of the time, as he is nowhere mentioned in the Rāṣṭarakṛṣṇi. The chronicle, however, mentions one Dharmaśeṇa, who was an official under Tunda, the well-known Prime Minister of the queen and her successor Satrāṇaśi.

I acknowledge with grateful thanks the emendations kindly made in the article and the text by Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra. Without their guidance, it would not have been possible for me to bring out the article in its present form.

TEXT

2. karmāvastāma[sa] [sūra][na] va. bha[sa]kalpār[ma] [ma]-
3. jān pāṇiṇṭān samāvṛtā mabāndra[sa] (pārthavat[sa] [a]
4. [y]sya[ma]: II[sa][sa]* goryā ākāṣṭhaṃ yāya sāyāṇapāṭeṣvāṃ yāya
5. [ja]sāmbhāvyaṃ vāsaṃ yāya narkavāt tāyā yāya
6. [v]vij[sa] [sa] aṣṭāḥśatadvaśīnāyaṃ jānāṃ yā naṃ nāma-
7. [ma]vākāyaṃ kānyānaṃ yāya sāyāṇāṃ yāya
9. [ma] sāṣṭra pālē sāṣṭraṃ kāryaṃ vāsya yā yā aṣṭāṭeṣvāṃ
10. [s]tā[sa]yāsaṣṭa: kṣayā yā yā śaśāṣṭrīṣaṃ

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¹ Keshēmagaṇa was on the throne from A.D. 950 to A.D. 958.
² Diddā acted as regent for her son Abhimanyu and, after his death, for her grandsons from A.D. 958 to A.D. 980.
3 It would be interesting to find out from the Dharmaśastra if the practice of calling the ruling queens by the masculine epithet of rāja or dēva had a religious sanction behind it. This remark has been prompted by the fact that the Kākatiya queen Rudrāmba of Warangal was also called Rudrādeva-Mahārāja in her epigrapha, as observed by Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu in a note above.
4 From the original stone and ink-impressions.
Srinagar Inscription of Queen Didda

Scale: Three-Quarters

Survey of India, Calcutta.

B. Ch. Chauhara.
TRANSLATION

(Verse 1)—(The lady) who gave birth to a worthy son, lovely as Kāmadēva, who, with well-manifested fatherly love, was a great benefactor of all the cows (coming from) far off lands; (and who was) an abode of many acts which bear consummate fruit.

(Verse 2)—Just as Kārttikeya gladdened Gauri, Gaṇapati the divine Jāhnavi, Āditya Aditi, Lord Krīṣṇa Dēvaki, even so, her son, Dharmāṅka by name, unrivalled in the performance of pious acts, gladdened her by (charitable) diggings (of wells, tanks, etc.) which made the Lord of gods and the people rejoice.¹

(Verse 3)—(In the year) sixty eight, in the bright fortnight of (the month of) Śuchi, when king Diddā (was ruling), (Dharmāṅka) honoured his mother (by dedicating some charitable work to perpetuate her memory).

No. 27—NOTE ON EIGHT INSCRIPTIONS OF KADAVA CHIEFS

V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, Madras

In his article on the eight inscriptions of Kāḍavarāya chiefs (above pp. 80 ff.), Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan attempts to give a connected genealogy of the Kāḍava chiefs of Kūḍal, from Valandaṅgar alias Kāḍavarāya who flourished about the time of the Chōla sovereign Vikrama-chōja down to Köpperuṇija and his supposed three sons: Nilagaṅgaraiyā, Sōlakōṇ and Vēṇāvudaiyān. Though in this attempt he has followed the lead given in the early Reports on South Indian Epigraphy requiring revision, the genealogy given in the above article is open to controversy. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the editor of the new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer² has fallen into a similar error in mentioning the three persons noticed above as sons of Köpperuṇijaḍavā. Without going into other details of Mr. Vaidyanathan’s article, I shall confine my remarks to two salient points arising out of the subject:

1) about Köpperuṇija’s father and

2) his supposed three sons.

Mr. Vaidyanathan agrees with me that Köpperuṇija’s father was Maṇavāḷapperumāl who is identical with Jīya-Mahiṃpāti of the Tripurāntakam record³ and with Aḷagiyāsiyān and Aḷagiyā-Pallavan⁴ of other records and that he was the first Kāḍava chief of the Kūḍal family to assert his independence after the battle of Telḷārū. He quotes the Vaiśū record⁵ edited by me, but misses the main point that Köpperuṇija is therein called Aḷagiyāsiyān⁶ as in another record from Tiruvaṇṭāmalai.⁷ Further, Mr. Vaidyanathan quotes my father Venkayya approvingly for taking ‘Aḷagiyāsiyān’ as a name and not as a title.

Since Jīyamahīpāṭi’s son is also known as Köpperuṇija in the Tripurāntakam record, both the father and the son must have been known by the same name. I have arrived at the same conclusion from a record of Köpperuṇija found at Chidambaram⁸ wherein an inscription of ‘Periyadēva’ is referred to, which has been identified⁹ and shown to be a record of Köpperuṇija.

¹ The expression may also mean that ‘the diggings made gods and men rejoice’.
³ A. R. No. 198 of 1915.
⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 23.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 174-82.
⁶ The wording of the inscription is: Śabulabhamavachk-akkavanattī Śri-Köpperuṇijān Śoḷanai-Tallāṭilvenav veḷkal pariḥchayya-man-kondu Śoḷanai-chchivaiy-imtu vaśtu Śoḷanai-kondu Aḷagiyāsīyān.
⁷ S. I., I., Vol. VIII, No. 90.
⁸ A. R. No. 103 of 1934-35; also S. I., I., Vol. XII, No. 215.
Since the term _Periyadēva_ is applied in inscriptions, not to a ruling monarch, but _only_ to a previous ruler, it will be clear that there were two chiefs of the name Köpperuṇjīngadēva.

Secondly, Mr. Vaidyanathan takes Śōjakōṇ as the eldest of the three sons of Köpperuṇjīnga, though he does not show him as such in the genealogy above. The full name of this officer is _Pilīai_ Araiśuruddaiṇān Perumāḷ-Pilīai alias Śōjakōṇ. _Pilīai_ is here used as a term of endearment and Perumāḷ-pilīai is a proper name and should not be construed as the son of Perumāḷ, _i.e._, chief or prince. It may be noted in this connection that in the inscriptions of Köpperuṇjīnga, he is _always_ referred to as 'dēvar' only and not as 'Perumāḷ'. There is therefore no justification for taking Śōjakōṇ as the son of Köpperuṇjīnga. In literature and inscriptions the term _pilīai_ along with _magaṇ_ and _kūrvaṇ_ is freely used, not in the sense of 'son' _only_ but only as a term of affection and endearment. This term¹ is applied to Bhujabalā Siddharasa and Tirukkāḷattidēva in records of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla (Nel. Ins. pp. 1406 and 1218), to Rājarāja Sambuvarāya in a record of Vijaya-Ganḍagōpāla (No. 302 of 1912), to Gaṇḍagōpāla and Pirūdiṅgāgar in records of Rājarāja III (Nos. 6 of 1893 and 410 of 1923 and 496 of 1902), to Śējyakōṇār in a record of Rājendra-Chōla III (No. 278 of 1923) and among the Vaṭṭhiṅava teachers to Lōkāchārāya, Tirumalai-Nambi, etc. Such instances are easily multiplied. Even where _nam-magaṇ_ meaning 'our son' is applied to Śēmappilīai in a record of Rājendra-Chōla III, Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly taken it as a term of esteem and not as 'son' (Cōḷas, Vol. II, p. 207). My strong objections against Mr. Vaidyanathan's interpretation are:

1. Śōjakōṇ is introduced in inscriptions only as 'dēvarumudali', _i.e._, an officer of the king,
2. this officer hailed from Araiśur whereas Köpperuṇjīnga's native place was Kūḍal, and
3. this person is nowhere called a Pallava, Kāḍava, etc., to indicate his relationship with the Kūḍal family.

Again, Mr. Vaidyanathan confuses the name Vēṇuvudaiyaṅ given to Kāḍava-Kumāraṅ in the Tiruvanṇūmalai record with that of the younger brother of Śōjakōṇ mentioned above. This brother is uniformly called in inscriptions as Vēṇṇudaiyaṅ.² This Vēṇṇudaiyaṅ is not even called a _Pillaiyār_ and if, as assumed by Mr. Vaidyanathan, he was really the son of Perumāḷ and the 'conqueror of Mallai, Mayilai, Kāṇchi, Dāṇḍakā-nādu, Kōval', _etc._, he would not be introduced in inscriptions merely as the younger brother of Śōjakōṇ, an officer of Köpperuṇjīnga,³ even in a record of this chief. He is also not called a Pallava or Kāḍava, and as such, he should not be taken as a son of Köpperuṇjīnga.

Nor is there any justification for taking Nilagaṅgaraṅyaiyaṅ as another son of this chief. On the strength of the title _Pillai_⁴ applied to him, Dr. Hultsch was inclined to take him as the son of Köpperuṇjīnga. This interpretation, in the light of later researches, needs modification. Nilagaṅgaraṅyaiyaṅ assumed the surname Bhūpālanōḍhava or Puviaḷappirandāṅ⁵ corresponding to Avaniyāḷappirandāṅ of his master Köpperuṇjīnga, just as the chiefs Vikramaśōla Chēdiyarāyaṇa,⁶

¹ The following phrases may be compared in this connection:—
‘_Pillaiyāl_ Paṇcayamadivarīyaṅ Nilagaṅgaraṅyaiyar. _kumārarpal_ Arunagiri-perumāḷ’ (A. R. No. 365 of 1919) and ‘_Pillaiyāl_ tirumēnikkum kumāragalikkum’ (A. R. No. 13 of 1911). ‘Nam-_pillai_ Vira-Pāṇḍya deśāku gāṇḍu’; _Pillai_ Paṇcayamadivarē Brahmadhīrāyai (No. 431 of 1929-30); _Pillaiyāl_ Edirillieḷā Sambuvārāyaṅ (No. 175 of 1939-40).
² In only one inscription he is called Vēṇṇuvaḷdiyaṅ, S. I., Vol. VIII, No. 94.
⁴ He is called _Pillaiyāl_ in a record of Vijaya-Ganḍagōpāla and so has he to be taken as the son of Vijaya-Ganḍagōpāla also.
⁵ A. R. No. 41 of 1893.
⁶ A. R. No. 349 of 1921 and 235 of 1902.
Alagiyasiyan Sambuvaraya, Kulottungaasola Sambuvaraya, Kulottungaasola Vanaakavaraiyar assumed the appellations of their masters Vikrama-Choha, Alagiyasiyan and Kulottunga-Choha respectively. The adoption of the epithet Puviaalappirandan by Nilaganaaraiyar only shows his subordination to the Kadaiva chief.

Further, Mr. Vaidyanathan accepts that this Nilaganaaraiyar hailed from Amur in the Chingleput District, far away from the Kadal of Kopperunjinga. He also feels that the epithet Paicha-nadivisaan applied to this officer is not favourable to his identification, yet he takes him as another son of Kopperunjinga, admitting at the same time that Nilaganaaraiyar may not be a member of the Kadaiva family. It will thus be evident that the genealogy given by Mr. Vaidyanathan needs modification.

Finally, I may also point out a few errors that have crept into his article.

(1) The Pallavarayapetcai record of Kopperunjinga is not dated in the 26th, but only in the 16th regnal year of the chief. The statement in the Annual Report in this connection has to be corrected.

(2) In No. 439 and 443 of 1921 the title Tribhuvanachakravartin noticed as having been assumed by Kopperunjinga has likewise to be corrected into [Sakalabhuvanachakravartin.

(3) The interpretation of No. 514 of 1918 has also to be altered. It was Kopperunjinga, and not Someshvara, who built the fortifications along the north bank of the Kaaveri.

(4) There is no evidence for taking Rajendra-Choha III as the son of Rajaraja III.

(5) The utmost northern limit of Kopperunjinga’s dominion is taken as Draksharana in the Godavari District. The mere existence of Kopperunjinga’s inscription at that place does not prove that he had really extended his territory so far north, overthrowing the Telugu-Chodas and the Kakatiyas.

P. B. Desai, Ootacamund

No. 28—GOKARNA PLATES OF KADAMBA KAMADEVA : SAKA 1177

This set of copper plates was secured for study during my annual tour in the Bombay Karnatak, in February 1940, through a resident of the place, at Gokarna, North Kanara. It is noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1939-40. I am editing it here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of four copper-plates, each measuring 3½" by 5½", with their rims slightly raised to preserve the writing. All the plates are engraved on both the sides. The writing is in a fair state of preservation except in a few places; e.g., ll. 7-9. Ll. 44-45, 54-60 and 67-69 are palimpsest. The plates are numbered at the left top of the ring-hole on the reverse of each plate. They are held together by a circular copper ring measuring about 2½" in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole about 1½" in diameter near the left margin. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of an oval seal measuring about 2½" in length. The seal bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a chain and a bell round its neck, facing the proper left. There is no reference to this emblem in the text of the record. The Pallavas of Kanchi had the figure of a couchant bull on the seals of their copper plates. The Kalachurias that ruled in Karunaka had the same emblem on the seals of their copper plates. It is referred to in their records as Suvarna-vrishabha.

1 A. R. No. 487 of 1921.
2 A. R. No. 57 of 1908.
3 A. R. No. 440 of 1913.
5 Above, Vol. XV, p. 320.
The alphabet is Kannada of the 13th century and agrees with the general formation of the period. The medial sign is shown independently above the letter ya in *patayē*, l. 1. Attention may be drawn to the cursive form of *ma* which is used occasionally, e.g., *Madhukēśvara*, l. 14. A few instances of orthographical peculiarities and faulty spelling may be noticed. *Gōkara* is written as *Gōkārynā*, ll. 16 and 28. The form *Chandrā-ura* of the place-name (l. 25) is noteworthy. *Lā* is written for *la* in *kaligala*, l. 19; *Rādēya* is a mistake for *Rādhēya* l. 20; *Indhyā- tāvi* for *Vindhyā-tāvi*, l. 78.

The language of ll. 1-12 and 75-80, containing invocation, description of Kāmadēva's genealogy and imprecation, is Sanskrit; all the remaining lines are in Old Kannada.

A post-script in late characters of about the 17th century is engraved in the space remaining after the end of the main record. It runs from l. 80 to l. 88 and records in modern Kannada, the grant of several privileges to certain Brāhmaṇas for the worship of the god Mahābalēśvara, with the alleged authority of the chief Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa of the early record.

The object of the record is to register a *sacramāṇya* gift of lands by Kādamba-chakravarti Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa to Āhitāgū Mahēśvara-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmitra gōtra and others at the *agrahāra* village of Mūrtr (ll. 24-68). The gift was made in the presence of the god Mahābalēśvara of Gōkara in the Śaka year 1177, the cyclic year being *Rākhsasa, on Māgha sūdha 15, Guruvāra*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (ll. 26-28). The details of the date regularly correspond to A.D. 1256, January 13, Thursday.

The record happens to be a royal grant and the donor chief Kāmadēva is described with a long string of epithets and titles (ll. 12-24), some of which are significant. That the chief, notwithstanding his assumption of the high-sounding title of *Chakravartin* (l. 23), was only a petty ruler is partly disclosed by the epithet *Sāmadhiyatapaścamahāśuddha* (l. 12), indicative of his subordinate status. The epithets, *Banavāśipurāvarādhīśvara* and *Jayanti-Madhukēśvara- dēva-labdhā-varaprāsāda*, in conjunction with Kādamba, prove his connection with the later branches of the Kadamba lineage. The earlier stock of the Kadambas split up subsequently into a number of families that are known to have ruled in the western and southern parts of ancient Kārṇāṭaka from the 10th century onwards.1 The better known of these are the Kadambas of Hānagal,2 of Goa,3 of Bayalmād,4 of Bēlār,5 of Bankāpūr6 and of Nāgarakhaṇḍa.7 But the family to which Kāmadēva of the present record belonged, seems to be different from any of those hitherto known. His genealogy as given in this record (ll. 7-12) consists of the following three names:

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Vīra
| Taila
| Kāmadēva
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A chief named *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kāmadēva, who is called *Tailamana-aikakāra* was a scion of the Hānagal branch of the Kadambas, who governed Banavāśi and other districts.8 The latest date available for him is A.D. 1211.9 This precludes the possibility of identifying him with the Kāmadēva of the present record. Another Kāmadēva, who is almost contemporaneous

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1 Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions*, p. 27.
with the chief of our record is found associated in administration with Shasḥhadēva II of the Goa branch. But his parentage and marriage alliance with the Goa chief prove that he was not a Kadamba prince. A few more Kadamba chiefs bearing the name Kāmadēva are met with in inscriptions; but the disparity of dates and other details stand in the way of establishing their identity with this chief.

The seal of our record, which is described above, lends additional support to the view that this Kāmadēva is not connected with any known families of Kadamba rulers. All the Kadamba families, as a rule, had the emblem of lion depicted on their seals (siṁha-lāṭakhana). None of them, on the contrary, appears to have used the bull-symbol on their seals. This indicates that he belongs to a hitherto unknown line of Kadambas.

A glance at the political condition of the country during this period may help us to understand the circumstances of the rise of the new chieftain of this Kāmadēva in the neighbourhood and at the expense of the already existing two other principalities of Goa and Hānagal in the region of the West Coast. The last quarter of the 12th century witnessed the downfall of the mighty Chalukyas of Kālyāpa and the growth of the two powers that contended for the mastery of their dominions from the north and the south, viz., the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hōysalas. The Yādavas under their resourceful ruler Siṅghaṇa II overran the territory south of the river Kṛiṣhṇā as far as the banks of the Kāverī before A.D. 1237-38. The Kadambas of Hānagal who were governing the strategic province of Banavasi as semi-independent rulers had eventually to submit to the suzerainty of the Yādavas. The Kadambas of Goa also were reduced to the same fate as indicated by the Haralaḥalij record which says that Vicaṇa, the victorious general of Siṅghaṇa vanquished the Kadambas who were glorious in the Konkana. Taking advantage of this disturbed political situation in the wake of the Yādava invasion, Kāmadēva of this record seems to have carved out a small kingdom for himself. It cannot be said when exactly this event took place; but it is clear that it must have happened sometime before A.D. 1256, the date of the present record.

Of the two ancestors in the above genealogy of Kāmadēva, the first member appears to be more or less legendary and is reminiscent of the progenitor of the later Kadamba records, who is often described as a warrior and variously styled Jayanta, Trinētra or Mukkaṇa. The second member, Taila, is a name more than once met with in the Hānagal line and it is probable that he was in some way connected with that branch. This suggestion gains support from one of the titles borne by Kāmadēva, viz., Kādamba-chakravartin, which is found applied to more than one ruler of the Hānagal family.

An inscription on stone at Kambalikoppa in the Sagar taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore State, refers to Kādamba-chakravartin Kāmadēva, son of Taila of Chandāvara (Kādamba-chakravarti Chandāvurada Tailapadēvana maha). It is known from the present record that Taila was the father of Kāmadēva and that Chandāvara was his capital. It appears that there were more rulers than one bearing the name Kāmadēva at the time and hence the author of the Kambalikoppa record distinguishes his Kāmadēva with a specific reference to the latter's father and the place from where he hailed, which was probably his capital also. Unfortunately

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 288.
8 Ibid., Sb. 30.
the inscription at Kambalikoppa bears no date which would have helped to establish his identity; but as other details coincide it is tempting to identify the Kāmadēva of our record with that of the Kambalikoppa inscription.

A rough idea of the extent of the territory under Kāmadēva may be formed from the geographical references occurring in this record. Chandāura, his capital should be identified with the modern Chandāvar, an old town of strategic importance, situated in the Honavar taluk and about five miles south-east of Kumta, North Kanara District.1 Mārur, the village granted by the chief is the same as modern Mārur about ten miles north of Kumta, in the Kumta taluk of the same district. As the chief styles himself Lord of the Western Ocean (Paśchima-samudrā- dhīpati),2 it is likely that he held a strip of land on the west coast. It is possible to conclude from this that Kāmadēva’s principality extended over portions of the modern taluks of Kumta and Honavar including the west coast; and, if his identity with the namesake of the Kambalikoppa inscription be correct, over a part of the Shiomga District of the Mysore State.

The Śaivite persuasion of Kāmadēva is attested by the bull-symbol on his seal, and his epithet Mahāmāhēśvara (l. 13). This in no way conflicts with his devotion to the god Madhukēśvara (l. 14) of Jayanti, i.e., Banavāsi,3 who was the tutelary deity of the early Kadambas,4 as well as of the later branches of the family, as evidenced by the epithet, Jayanti-Madhukēśvara-labhāvā-vara-prasāda. The god worshipped at Banavāsi under the name of Madhukēśvara from early times is Śiva in the form of a liṅga, said to have been installed by Vishnu after his destruction of the demon Madhu or Madhuka.5 It is clear from this and numerous allusions in inscriptions that the Kadambas, early as well as later, were devotees of Śiva. In the light of this, the statement of the late Dr. Fleet that “their family god was Jayanti-Madhukēśvara or Vishnu under the name of Madhukēśvara” requires correction.6

The phrase, Hara-Dharaṇi-prasūta-Trilōchana-Kadambarum-appa, occurring among the epithets of Kāmadēva needs explanation. The chief is here metaphorically identified with Trilōchana-Kadamba, who, according to a legend which gained currency in the later Kadamba records of 11-12th centuries, was the first ancestor of the Kadamba family.7 This mythological personage is represented to have been born from the union of Śiva and Earth in the records of both the branches of the Kadambas, Hanagal and Goa; and there exists little material difference in the accounts of his origin as imagined by Dr. Fleet.8 This observation is substantiated by the occurrence of the expression Hara-Dharaṇi-prasūta in some records of the Goa branch as well as in those of the Hanagal branch.9

TEXT10

First Plate; First Side

1 Śrī-Gaṇadhipatayē namāḥ || Namāḥ(s)=tuṅga-śirās-churā-
2 bi-chāndra-chāmara-chārvē || trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-
3 müla-stanbhāya Śaṁbhavē || [10] Śa jayati Ma-

1 North Kanara Gazetteer, Pt. II, p. 277.
2 Unless it be a formal title with no particular significance.
5 Local tradition and athala-purāṇa. That the god Madhukēśvara of Banavāsi is a liṅga is self-evident to those who have visited the place in person.
7 Ibid., p. 366.
8 Ibid.
9 E.g. above, Vol. XIII, p. 308.
10 From the original plates.
GOKARNA PLATES OF KADAMBA KAMADEVA: SAKA 1177

First Plate; Second Side

11. dātma-kāya-kānti-jit-ātmabhūḥ [⋆] Kānadēvāḥ kavi-
12. stōma-padma-rājvinī-patīḥ [⋆] Svasti samadhigata-pañ-
13. cha-mahā-saḍda mahā-mahēsvaram Banavā-
14. si-puravarādhiṣvaram Jayamati-Madu(dhu)kēśvarā-dē-
15. vara(va)-labudha-vara-prasādam sahaja-mṛiga-ma-
16. d-āmādaḥ Śrī-Gokānṛṣṇa(karṇa)-Mahābālēvāra dībya-śri-
17. pāda-padārādhakaruṁ parabāla-sādhakaruṁ hu-
18. śivara-śīna nigajani-malla chaḍadaṇa-Rāma-rāya-ga-
19. mūḍa-dāvaṇi kaligaḷa(a)-mokhada-kai subhaṭa-chū-
20. ḍaṇapī śaḥasottunga satyā-Rād(dh)ēya śaraṇāga-
21. ta-vajra-pañjaraṁ

Second Plate; First Side

22. paśchima-samudrādhipati Hara-Dharanī-prasūta-Trilōcha-
23. na-Kadaṁbarum=appa Śrīma[⋆]-tribhuvana-pratāpa Kādamba-cha-
24. kravartti kaliya[⋆]=abhūdha Śrī-Vira-Kāvadēvarasaru rājadha-
25. ni-Chandāuradalu sukhā-simhāsañ-ādhirūḍhharāgī
dāya Śaka-saṁvatsaratad 1177 ne-
27. ya Rākṣasa-saṁvatsaratad Māgha śuddha 15 Gūruvā-
28. ra Sōma-graharṇadalu Śrī-Gokānṛṣṇa(karṇa)-Mahā-
29. baḷēśvaradēvam saṁnidhiyallī Śrīmad-anādi-agrahā-
30. raṁ Mūḍa grāmādolage taṁma haravariya bhū-
31. miya kāṅgaddeyolage Vōṭūra Gokāṭaḍada Vīśvāmi-
32. tra-gotrada Śaṅkarabhāṭṭ-āhitāṅgījā makkālu Ma-

Second Plate; Second Side

33. hēśvarabhaṭṭ̑-āhitāṅgījīgē Muḍūṭīmhasāsina-gadde go-
34. rāṇite-arāṭi-kaṇḍa sahita gadde mūde 10 avara
35. tammanidhir Gaṅgādharaḥaṭṭariṇgē Muḍūṭīmuṅ-
36. ḍagere Koḍalī-gadde sahitavāgī mūde 10 mattaṁ avara
37. tammanidhir Purushottamabhaṭṭṭa maga Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa-
38. rige Kappāse-gadde mūde 10 Śūgaṇīya-Maṇaliya
39. Bhāṛgava-gotrada Kēśava-bhaṭṭṭpāḍhyāyēra maga Vā-
40. sudēva-bhaṭṭṭpāḍhyāyērgē Homneya-māu(vu) a-
41. rāṭi-kaṇḍa Ekkala-gadde Baṭṭa-gadde Kāluva-gadde sahitavāgī ga
42. dde mūde 12 ā gaddeya mēlaṇa tōta mane makke ā-
43. rave sahitavāgī Vōṭūra Vāsishṭha-gotrada Edā-
44. rakulīya Maḍyusūdanabhaṭṭāra maga [Vīṣṇu-bhaṭṭō-
45. pāḍhyāyērinē Konīgāra-gaddeyolage]

XVI-1-20
Third Plate; First Side

46 dañcga-muñde 3 Kallajana kadoha-nuñde 1 Nariya-gun-
47 ḍi-muñde 1 Dala-mabalana kadoha-nuñde 2 muñ-
48 na heggade adara mëgaña koḍaṅinge erada-raññiyā mu-
49 je 2 Baṃmate múde 2 Mūṇḍina-māṭuva-baļu
50 múde 1 chikicči-bitṭuva-kọdaṅinge múde 1 adara mëgaña
51 tōja ārave kañbi sahitāvägi || Karuvada
52 Áṅgirasa-gōtrada I(ī)āwarana Kattigana makalu Nā-
53 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭarīṅge Bāleyagumji koli-
54 kañda kalła-gaddē aṁtu mūde 10 ||
55 [Āṅgirasa-gōttrada mūdakā],
56 [bharata maṇḍalalī] ...........

Third Plate; Second Side

57 ...........................................................(palimsest)
58 Śrī-Vira-Kāvadēvārasaru ....................................(palimsest)
59 ...........................................................(palimsest)
60 ...........................................................(palimsest)
61 gaddē mūde 69 ā bhūmige baṅda tōta
62 ārave kaṃbi mane sahitāvägi ā Mūrū-
63 ra grāmānumatadīṁda ā ḍu manusya Brahmānariṅgū.
64 vṛtti(vṛtti)gaḷanu madhā nikhēśa sahitāvägi siddhā-
65 ya ye(o)sage kāṅike bēḍunjgo akara sārvv-
66 bādhā-parihi(hri)taṅvāgi sārvvamānasāvaṅvāgi ā ālulu

Fourth Plate; First Side

67 manusyaṅgū Śrī-Vira-Kāvadēvārasaru hiraṁ-
68 nyōdaka-dhārāpūrvvavāṅvāgi koṭṭarū inn-
69 tī dharmamva āyaṅṅū obha pratipālīsīdāvarū
70 Śrī-Gaṅge Varaṅgī Sētu Kurukshētra Śrī-Gōkaṅ-
71 rūna(karṇa) Gae(ye) Prayaṅge emha punya-kheṭtraṅgug[lo] lu graha-
72 na saṅkramaṅa bya(vya)tipātav-emha punnya-kāḷamgala-
73 lu sāvira Vēda-pāraga-sppa Brahmānapargge sēvira
74 kavilaya alamkāra daksīṅge sahitāvägi dā-
75 navaṅ koṭṭa paha(la)nga-akku(akku) || Śva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vvā(vvā)
76 yō haṛētā vasmuhārāṁ [||] shashṭirīn rvva(ya)saha(shu) saha-
77 srāṅi vijñāyāṁ (shtēyāṁ) jāyatē krimi[h] [||] [6]°

Fourth Plate; Second Side

78 I(Vi)ṃdhy-āṭavīṣu(shv)=atōyēṣu śukha(shka)-kiṭara-
79 vāsīnāḥ [||] kriṣṇa(krisha)-sa-prāsarpa(hi) jāyantē
80 Brāhmaṇa-drāh(vy)a-hariṇāḥ [|| 78°] 'Bhārgava-gōtrada-
81 vaṅge trikāḷadalu Śrī-Mahābahalēśvarādēvarā mahāpūjē-
82 ||=agamaryā[de] [Vi]vāmītra-gōtravadāṅge sarvake[laj]sadūla svatha(ta)-
83 śrīṛaṅga Gāvakaṅī-Dirā-māryāde Vas[ṣṭha]gōtravadāṅge paitrīhā-
84 tuga-māryāde Áṅgirasa-gōtronvāṅge pāṭha-kara-ṭāyādegalaṇu
85 ... Śrī-Mahābahalēśvarādēvarā saṁīnidiya Brahmānarīṅgūnā māmū-
86 linadītē Śrī-Vira-Kāvadēvārasaru aṅhūndārkavāgi Mūḷāra
87 grāmānumatadīṁ=ārājaru koṭṭarū sarva-kārayangalalu yaluva-
88 ru pratipālīsuraru rāja-mudṛā-sahita tāṁbha-śādana koṭṭarū [||][8°]

1 The remaining lines from here are inscribed in late and indifferent characters and faulty language.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Lines 1-6 Invocation to Gaṇapatī, Śiva and Mahāvarāha.

L1.6-12 In the renowned line of rulers was born a king named Vīra, who established his command on the heads of multitude of kings. To him was born king Taila, who protected the earth. Kāmadēva is his son, who surpasses in form the mind-born (God of Love) and is the sun to the lotuses in the form of poets.

L1.12-69 The illustrious Kādambara-chakravartī Śrī-Vīra-Kāvadēvarasa, while he was protecting the kingdom, seated on the throne in happiness at his capital Chandāura endowed (on the specified date), in the presence of the god Śrī-Gōkarna-Mahābalēśvara, lands as sarvanāya in the agrahāra village of Mūrūr, wet land, mūde 10 to Mahēśvarabhāṭṭa Āhitāgnī of the Viśvāmitra gōtra; mūde 10 to his brother’s son Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa; mūde 12 to Vāsudēva Bhāṭṭopādhyāya of the Bhārgava gōtra; mūde 10 to Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa of the Āṅgirasa gōtra; etc., in all mūde 69 including the garden area and other adjuncts.

L1.69-80 Imprecation.

No. 29—SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA

(I Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Amraoti

This inscription, though listed in the first edition of R. B. Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work; published in 1932. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined in situ and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, and by the Government Epigraphist for India.

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the Central Provinces, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of the military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sandstone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of these kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salvation, and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.

The record has very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several akṣaras in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgari alphabet, resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhoṭi Deori. The form of the initial i is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; ŋ has not yet developed a vertical at the top; in some cases the letter i is laid on its side, see Bhūtāraka, in l. 2; j still retains its three horizontal bars, see Mahājāṭhārāja, l. 1; p is open at the top, while e which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see pravardhadāmāna, l. 2; the lower end of the wedge of r is in some cases very much elongated, see Paramēśvarau, l. 3. These palaeographical peculiarities

1 Saugor District Gazetteer, p. 237.
2 See below, p. 171 and plate.
indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva. It refers itself to the reign of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Śaṅkaraganaḍēva who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmarājādēva. The object of the inscription is to record some meritorious work (kīrtī) done by a lady named Kṛishṇadēvi for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to Śiva. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at the temple. The male and female figures in it are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who herself is represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious Dēuka who was the son of a king whose name I have doubtfully read as Rārvāya. The latter was born in the family of Kālārāya and was the Emperor of Kaśapura (Kāśipura).  

The inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it may be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.D. It is thus one of the earliest Kalachuri records in C. P. and Berar and is of the same age as the Chhoṭi Deori inscription which also belongs to the reign of the same Śaṅkaragana. But apart from its age, the chief interest of the present inscription lies in that it offers for the first time a satisfactory explanation of the expression Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta which has till now baffled the attempts of scholars. As stated above, Śaṅkaragana during whose reign it was put up meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmarājādēva. A similar statement occurs in several later Kalachuri inscriptions in connection with five Kalachuri kings, viz., Karpa, Yasāḥkarpa, Narasiniha, Jayasiniha and Vijayasiniha, with only this difference that the name of Vāmarājādēva is shortened into Vāmadēva. Again, in the records of some feudatory princes of Karkarēḍī (modern Kakra in the Rewah State) the same statement occurs in the description of the contemporary Kalachuri Emperor, with the addition of one more epithet, viz., Paramānāpiśevara, which is prefixed to Vāmadēva. The statement is again repeated in connection with the Chandella king Trailokyavarman in the Rewah plates of his feudatory Kumārapālavarmanc.  

Judging from other records, the expression pād-ānudhyāta should ordinarily indicate immediate succession such as that of a son to his father or of one brother to another. But Vāmadēva could not plainly have been the immediate predecessor of all these kings. A similar difficulty had presented itself in connection with some Valabhi records which mentioned that certain kings meditated on the feet of the Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Bappa, but Dr. Fleet who noticed an analogous expression in the records of some other dynasties also, solved it satisfactorily by taking the statement to mean that these kings meditated on the feet of their father. Such an

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1 B. B. Hirulal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in the Central Provinces), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A.D., as he thought that the king Śaṅkaragana mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kākāradēva (I). See his Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (second ed.), p. 49.

2 B. B. Hirulal doubtfully read this name as Vākarājādēva. Ibid., p. 49. My personal examination of the record in situ has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly Vāmarājādēva.

3 The horse and the groom are perhaps intended to indicate that Kṛishṇadēvi's father did not belong to the locality where the panel was put up, but had come from some distant place.


explanation is impossible in the present case as Vamadeva does not denote the sense of any relative, but is apparently a proper name. Scholars have therefore offered several explanations of the expression Vamadeva-paad-anudhyata, some of which are noticed below:

(1) In translating the Kairi variants of Yasa-kara, R. B. Hiralal took Vamadeva to be a name of Siva. Most of the Kalachuri princes were devotees of Siva. The expression Vamadeva-paad-anudhyata could therefore have been used in the sense of 'meditating on the feet of Siva'. But in all these records Vamadeva is mentioned with the paramount titles Paramabhujara, Mahakshakshiraja and Paramesvara which are not known to have been used elsewhere in connection with the names of gods. It may perhaps be argued that the paramount titles were prefixed to the name of Vamadeva (Siva), because these Kalachuri kings believed that the kingdom belonged to the god and they only administered it on his behalf. There is, however, no evidence of such a belief in any of their inscriptions. Besides, all these records describe the reigning king as Paramamahesvara, 'a devout worshipper of Siva', which would thus be superfluous. Again, as already stated, Vamadeva himself is called Paramamahesvara in the records of the Kakreri princes, which clearly shows that Vamadeva was a devotee of Siva, and not identical with Siva himself.

(2) Dr. Barnett suggests that 'these princes who are called Vamadeva were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that deity that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself'. This would, in a way, explain the use of paramount titles as well as the epithet Paramamahesvara in connection with the name Vamadeva, but it is doubtful if such a belief was current at the time. Besides, it is unlikely that all these princes were so fervent devotees of Siva that they came to be identified with that god immediately after their death. There is certainly nothing to warrant it in the eulogistic portions of their successors' grants.

(3) It has been recently suggested that Vamadeva was the name of a Saiva ascetic. While editing the Malkapuram stone pillar inscription of Rudradeva (Rudra-maha), Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu first put forward the conjecture that Vamadeva was identical with the Saiva pontiff Vama-sambhu mentioned in that record. This inscription, which is dated Saka 1183 (A.D. 1261-62), says that Vama-sambhu's feet were caressed by the garlands on the heads of kings and that even now (adya-adv) the Kalachuri kings are honoured for worshipping his feet. This Vama-sambhu was second in spiritual descent from Sadhavasamabhu, the founder of the Gokul matha in the Dhaba country, who obtained the gift of three lakes of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva. Dr. D. C. Sircar has recently suggested that this Vama-sambhu was the spiritual preceptor of the Kalachuri king Karpa and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. The description in the Malkapuram inscription that even then (i.e., in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.) the feet of Vama-sambhu were worshipped by Kalachuri kings square with the fact that the expression Vamadeva-paad-anudhyata occurs in almost all records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri from Karpa downwards.

It is, however, doubtful how far the statements in the Malkapuram inscription about the early Saiva acharya of the Gokul matha can be taken to be correct. The name of Sadhavasamabhu
does not occur in any record of the time of the Kalachuris, nor is the magnificent gift of practically one third of the Dāhala country mentioned in any of them. Further, it is not stated whether it was Yuvarājadēva I or Yuvarājadēva II who made this gift. Yuvarājadēva I is indeed known to have invited some Śaiva ascetics to his country, but he and his queen Nōhālā donated only a few villages to them. If the Śaiva pontiffs had obtained such a magnificent gift from the Kalachuri Emperor, they would, in all probability, have mentioned it in their records. As for Yuvarājadēva II, none of his gifts is indeed recorded, but it is certain that the Gōjakī mātha was founded long before his time, if it was identical with the hypaethral temple at Bherā-Ghāṭ near Jubbulpur; for the inscriptions on the pedestals of the Yūgēnas installed in it are in characters of about the beginning of the tenth century A. D., and therefore belong to the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, not to that of Yuvarājadēva II. Again, it is doubtful if Vāmaśambhu was a contemporary of Karṇa. The Malkāpuram inscription states that more than a thousand disciples and disciples' disciples of Vāmaśambhu lived in the Gōjakī mātha and that in that time, in course of time, there was Kirtishambhu, the disciple of Śaktishambhu. The tenor of the description suggests that Śaktishambhu was separated from Vāmaśambhu by several generations of Śaiva pontiffs. From the Jubbulpur stone inscription of Vimalāśīva, however, which I have recently edited in this journal, it appears clear that Śaktishīva (who is plainly identical with Śaktishambhu) was the rājaguru of Gayākarṇa. He must therefore have been separated from Vāmaśambhu or Vāmadēva, the supposed rājaguru of Gayākarṇa’s grandfather Karṇa, by one generation only. Besides, the Malkāpuram inscription does not state why Vāmaśambhu was so much venerated by Kalachuri kings. Its statement that even in A. D. 1261 the Kalachuri kings were worshipping Vāmaśambhu’s feet is not supported by what we know of the history of the Kalachuris of Dāhala. The last known Kalachuri king of Dāhala was Viṣṇyunātha who was ruling in the Kalachuri year 960 (circa 1210 A. D.). Within two or three years afterwards, we find the Chandella king Tri-Statevarman had annexed his kingdom and the Śaiva āchārya too had become his preceptor. That the petty rulers who held parts of Dāhala continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chandellas appears plain from the Iśvarmaū (Hinḍīrī) inscription, dated V. 1344 (A. D. 1287) which mentions Vaghadēva as a feudatory of Bhōjavarman of Kalaṇjara. It is therefore doubtful if there was any Kalachuri king ruling in Dāhala in A. D. 1261 who in his records described himself as Vāmadēva-pand-ānudhyāta. For

1 In the Śkandaśāstra the Dāhala country is said to have contained nine lakhs of villages.
2 The Śaiva āchārya invited by Yuvarājadēva I was named Prabhāvasīva, above, Vols. XXI, p. 149, and XXII, p. 130.
3 The Śaiva āchārya to whom Nōhālā made gifts of villages was Iśvarāśīva, above, Vol. I, p. 238.
5 The characters of these inscriptions are much earlier than those of the Bhārī stone inscription which belongs to the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. See also, Banerji, Haiyagis of Tripūri and their Monuments, (M. A. S. I., No. 35), p. 78.
6 तत्समयं तथा तथा गूर्णेभ्युवविस्तारः प्रतिद्रव्यर्च परेः। विविधतेंतं संतोभोंतु श्रीपीतवस्तुपक्ते। इत्यद्व धिते प्रति न सत्संप्रवाहे न समानाय समार्थिता नाति कालाग्रं मृतसमृत्वमार्गः।
7 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 312.
8 The last figure of the date is illegible. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has read it as 2. Anu. Rep. A. S. I., 1935-36, pp. 39-90.
10 Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (second ed.), p. 56.
11 The kings of Dāhala defeated by the Yādava princes Singhaṇa and Rāmachandra appear to be Chandellas and not the Kalachuris as I had thought before.
all these reasons I am inclined to look with suspicion on the statements in the Mālāpuram inscription about the early Śaiva pontiffs of the Gōlakā maṭha. Even if Vāmadeva was a Śaiva pontiff, the use of imperial titles in connection with him would be difficult to explain, for we have not till now come across a single instance of the assumption of such titles by spiritual teachers.

An insuperable objection to the identification of Vāmadeva with Vāmāsambhū is that the former is mentioned with the same imperial titles in the present inscription which is nearly three centuries earlier than the time of Karpa whose rījaguru Vāmāsambhū is supposed to be. The form Vāmarājadēva of his name which occurs here plainly indicates that he was a king and not a Śaiva pontiff. In a subsequent record the name Vāmarājadēva was probably contracted into Vāmadeva which seems to have been copied in all later inscriptions.

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? Though the present inscription states that Śaṅkaragāna meditated on his feet, it would be rash to assert that he was his immediate predecessor; for we find the expression Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyātu repeated in connection with as many as five other kings. The history of Dāhala or modern Bāghelkhand after the overthrow of the Uchchakalpa and Parivrājaka Mahārājas is enveloped in obscurity. Towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. the Kalachuris were ruling over an extensive empire comprising Malwa, Gujarāta, Konkān and Mahārāṣṭra from their capital Māhishmati. After the defeat of Buddhāraja by Pūlaksūrī II they seem to have remained for some time in obscurity, for we have no information about the successors of Buddhāraja. As the Chālukyas and thereafter the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were supreme in the south from the seventh century onwards, the Kalachuris seem to have turned their attention to the north where there was no great king to check their advance after the death of Harsha in A. D. 647. Vāmadeva seems to be the founder of this northern Kalachuri power. He overran Bundelkhand and Bāghelkhand and established himself at Kālañjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad. This fort has from very ancient times been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in north India. In the fifth century A. D. it was in the occupation of Udayana, the founder of the Sōmavānī dynasty, who was probably a feudatory of the Mauharis. The subsequent history of

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1 As shown before, Saktisambhū and his disciple Kṛitiśambhū are probably identical with Saktisiva and Kṛitiśiva. The latter's successor Vimalasiva is also mentioned in a Kalachuri record. Other names do not agree.

2 Vāmadeva was not an ancestor of the Chandellas. It may therefore be asked whether his name is mentioned in connection with the Chandella prince Trailokyavarm, in a record of his feudatory Kumārapālvarm of Karāra. The ancestors of Kumārapālvarm were the feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records, which have been published, naturally contain the expression Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyātā in connection with the name of their suzerain. The dravat who wrote the aforementioned grant of Kumārapālvarm has blindly copied the expression from the earlier records of the family and used it to describe the Chandella suzerain. It may be noted that he has done the same in regard to the title Trīkālingadhipati also which is not met with in the records of the Chandellas themselves.

The identification of Vāmadeva was discussed by me in an article entitled 'Vāmadeva. An Early Kalachuri King' in the P. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume, pp. 152 ff. Dr. D. C. Sirr has recently objected to the identification of Vāmarājadēva with Vāmadeva on the ground that it is difficult to believe that Vāmarājadēva of the Saugar record was remembered after full three centuries by Karpa and his successors who called themselves Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyātā in their records.' (New Ind. Ant., Vol. III, pp. 36-7). In this connection we must remember that the expression Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyātā generally occurs in the copper-plate grants of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The earliest known official grant of the Kalachuris of Tripuri is the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karpa. In the absence of the grants of earlier kings it is not safe to assume that Vāmadeva was forgotten in the meanwhile.

3 They seem to have tried to rehabilitate themselves during the reign of the Chālukya Vinayakādīya, but the attempt was not attended with success and they were reduced to the same state of servitude as the Ālvas, Gādgas and others, who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas.

4 A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Vaiṣṇava has been found at Kālāṣāra, Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 40 and pl. IX. His descendants removed to Chattīśgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.
the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their possession up to the end of the eighth century A.D. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chandellās and Muhammadan, but the connection of the Kalachuris with the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachurys of South India mention in their records with pride the title Kālāñjara-pura-var-ādhisvara ‘the lord of Kālāñjara, the best of cities’. This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālāñjara.

The Kahla plates of Sōghadēva state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālāñjara from where he raided and conquered Ayōmkha (modern Partabgarh and Rai Bareli Districts of the U. P.). We are further told that having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshaṇa-rāja. As I have shown elsewhere, this Lakshaṇa-rāja was identical with the first prince of that name mentioned in the Kasi stone inscription. As the great-grandson of the latter, viz., Lakshaṇa-rāja II alias Rājawalaya, flourished about A.D. 775, Lakshaṇa-rāja I can be placed in circa A.D. 700. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālāñjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates, but in view of what has been said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. Vāmarāja may therefore be referred to the close of the seventh century A.D.

Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumti in the north to the Narmadā in the south and comprising the modern Bundelkhand and Bāgheli-khand, the Sanjōr and Jubbulpur Districts of the Central Provinces and the central portion of the United Provinces. He assumed the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājahdiṛhiya and Paramēśvara. As the founder of the northern Kalachuri empire, he seems to have been held in great veneration by all his successors who ruled at Tripuri and so we find it stated in almost all subsequent official records that they meditated on his feet. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events of his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chedi country. As Pargiter has shown, Chedi was originally the name of the country along the southern bank of the Jamna from the Chambal on the northwest to the Karvi (which flows north-east of Chitrakūta) on the south-east. Its limits southwards were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times Chedi came to signify the modern province of Bāgheli-khand which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmati to Tripuri, modern Tēwar, 5 miles from Jubbulpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend Tripuri (Sanskrit, Tripuri) in Brahmi characters of the late third or early second century B.C. Varahamihira places the city in the south-eastern division.

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1 The Barah plate of Bhojādeva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. the Kālāñjara-maṇḍala was ruled over by Śrīvarman who was a feudatory of Nāgāhhata II.
2 In the tenth century A.D. the Pratihāras lost both Chitrakūta and Kālāñjara which were occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the time of Kṛishna III. Above, Vol. V, p. 104.
3 According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 127-28) the fort of Kālāñjara was occupied by the Chandellās during the reign of Yakōvarman (circa A.D. 930-960).
4 It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Aibak in April A.D. 1203, but was soon recovered by the Chandellās.
7 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 259.
8 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128 ff.
11 Brihatamahiśiti, adhyāya XIV, v. 9.
and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagari 'the capital of the Chēdi country'. The surrounding country called Traipurā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Mātyagpurāṇa. The Tripuri vishaya (the district of Tripuri) is mentioned in the Betul plates of Saṅkshōhā as situated in the Daḥhālā (i.e., Daḥhā) country, which was under the rule of the Parivrājaka kings down to A. D. 528 at least. It is, however, not known who was ruling the country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Saṅkaragana. We do not know the names of the princes who ruled in the meanwhile. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play Udātārābhīvan was one of them. He is described by Rājasēkhara as the best Kalachuri poet.2 Another Sanskrit poet Bhimaṭa whom Rājasēkhara mentions as the lord of Kālañjara perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājasēkhara tells us that he composed five plays of which Svaṃadāśānana was judged to be the best.3

Saṅkaragana during whose reign the present inscription was put up belonged to the main Tripuri branch of the great Kalachuri dynasty. He must therefore be distinguished from the homonymous princes mentioned in the Kasi stone inscription and the Kahlā plates, who were ruling over the Gorakhpur District. This Saṅkaragana is, again, the earliest prince of this name in the Tripuri branch and may therefore be called Saṅkaragana I. Two other princes of the same name ruled at Tripuri, viz., (i) Saṅkaragana II who bore the biroda Mudhatuṣṇa, Prasiddhadhāvāla and Raṇavīrahāra4 and was the son and successor of Kōkalla I, and (ii) Saṅkaragana III5 who was the son and successor of Lakṣmīnāraṇa II and the elder brother of Yuvarājadeva II. The former may be referred to the period circa A. D. 890–910 and the latter to circa A. D. 970–980.

TEXT

1 लिखित:− तधा नाम: लिखित । स्वतः निर्माणात्[ब] वर्षायाम:−[म] लिखित

2 एत[व]रमभूटरकम्हाराजाविराय[ब]राजव[@]स्वयमित्रा:-

3 कविताशिला (Gaekward's Oriental Series). p. 46; Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, pp. 139 ff.

4 He is called Saṅkaragana and Raṇavīrahāra in some Rāṣṭrakūta records. His biroda Mudhatuṣṇa and Prasiddhadhāvāla are mentioned in the Bihāra stone inscription and the Benares plates respectively.

5 He is mentioned in the Kārītālī stone inscription of Lakṣmīnāraṇa II as well as in the Benares plates.

See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 250.

7 From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. L. Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

8 Expressed by a symbol.

9 The loop on the left of this akṣara has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

10 This danda is superfluous.

11 The context requires a reading like chānāśāhāmāṭ[k]-pūrī...

12 One would expect a reading like pṛṣy-āṭkham here.

13 This visarga is superfluous. Notice that a similar visarga occurs at the end of the Chhoṭi Deori record, below, p. 172.

14 I am not certain about these eight akṣaras at the end of the present record.
TRANSLATION.

Success: Ōṁ! Adoration to Śiva! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the Paramakṣattāraka, Mahārajaḥdhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Śaṅkaraganadēva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramakṣattāraka, Mahārajaḥdhirāja, Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāma-rajaḥdēva—

(There is) the illustrious Dēūka, the son of Rāvīryarāja, the mass of light sprung from the family of Kalakārya (who is) the Paramēśvara (ruler) of Kaśapura. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious Krishnadēvi, born in the family of Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (kīrti) on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (her) mother and father...

No. 30—CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA

(I Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Amraot

This inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1883-84. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it. The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Mr. Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 54, and by Rai Bahadur Hiraral in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*. Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked: 'What the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here for the first time from ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Chhoṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jokāhi; in the Murwārī tahsil of the Jubbulpur District in the Central Provinces. The village is so called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Māghā Deori on account of a number of small temples (mallās), from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Śaiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Śaiva temple as is indicated by its contents. The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female; and below there is a standing male figure.

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' ½" broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet, resembling those of the Sangor stone inscription. Several groups of akṣaras are unnecessarily repeated in ll. 4 and 5 as well as in ll. 10 and 11. The marks for the medial vowels and visarga are omitted in many cases. The form of kh in khaḥi[a], 1.1, līkhatān, 1.9, and līkhatān, 1.10 is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct kha, with

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1 This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.
4 R. D. Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pārvatī. See his *Haityayas of Tripuri*, etc., (M. A. S. J., No. 23), p. 77.
5 Cunningham *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillars see R. D. Banerjī, *Haityayas of Tripuri*, etc., plate XXVIII.
6 Above, pp. 163 ff.
this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of \(p\) in \(kāpālī\), i.2 and \(pūna\), i.9, which closely resembles that of \(d\) is also noteworthy. \(l\) has three different shapes in \(līghātān\), i.8, \(līkhaṭān\), i.9 and \(līkhaṭā\), i.10. The form of \(j\), the left limb of \(k\), has developed a curve separated from the vertical on the right and that of \(k\) has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.D. On the other hand, \(j\), though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical; \(d\) and \(r\) show no tail and the upper part of \(p\) is not closed. In these respects the characters of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kārītalai stone inscription of Lakshmanarāja I, dated K. 593 (A.D. 841-42). It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.D.²

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. \(Vishaṭa\) for instance is written as \(vauśē\), i.6, and \(hauśe\) used in the sense of \(jha\). Except for a verse in praise of Śiva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

After the opening \(Śiddhiknamak\), the inscription has a verse in praise of Śiva which indicates that the temple to which the inscribed pillar belonged must have been dedicated to Śiva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Śāṅkaragaṇa, there was Chūṭa Nāgaka in (charge of) the \(vishaya\) of Kākandakutu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (\(kādar\), Sanskrit \(kṛidar\)) in Kārīkatīn and Asēkatīn which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

From the paleography of the present inscription detailed above, it is clear that the king Śāṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it is identical with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Saugor stone inscription. As shown in the article on that inscription, he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present record, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kākandakutu may be identical with Khuṭanda about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Kārīkatīn, which in its initial portion resembles Kārītalai (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deori Māḍhā. Asēkatīn cannot be identified.

**TEXT²**

1 निहितःः । नमःः । कृतवरःः । खण्डःः खण्डःः(खण्डः) का । श्रीः

2 क्रण । निहितःः । खण्डःः । अछलःः । स्यन्त्समणःः(समणः) सरःः

3 नान्हःः । पनमधःः । ककणः । खबःः

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 255 ff.
² Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are perhaps as early as the 7th century. See his A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 159. B. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Śāṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmanarāja (II) whom he placed in the middle of the tenth century A.D. See his Haṭhapāda of Tripuri, etc. (M. A. S. I., No. 23), p. 19. But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.
³ From inked manuscripts.
⁴ Expressed by a symbol.
⁵ The anusvāra on \(kha\) and \(sa\) is very faint.
⁶ This \(dauḍh\) is superfluous.
⁷ What looks like an anusvāra on \(kha\) and \(sa\) is a fault in the stone.
⁸ Read \(dauḍhāmāk\).
⁹ Perhaps \(punana-dhāri-bankapah\) is intended, but it does not yield a good sense. Read \(pauna-kaush-\)

bankapah.
4 बं वषोऽविन्द्र(धर) सं(स)करः [*][१२] । [१२२][१०] कंक्रेवुददृष्
5 ध्रुतु शकरः ध्रु(धो)शंकरारणदेशे-
6 वर्ज्ञ(रावणे) कंक्रेवुददृष् । सि(धो) यु[२]
7 नागकः । करोकतिनि असेक-
8 त्त्ति क्रमुकेन्द्रः तिथितः कद-
9 हुः पुनि लि लते तस् सर्वे प्रमासिति[१३][१४]
10 हुः[१५] लिलितैं तस् सर्वे प्रम(मा)ष-
11 निविताः [*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration!

(Verse 1) May that Śaṅkara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has a bracelet of serpents,—always cause your welfare!

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa (there is) the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (charge of) the vishaya of Kakandakūṭu.

(Line 7) He has himself recorded (the gift of) a granary in (the villages of) Karikatīna and Aṣekatīna. It is again written that all that is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

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1 Metre: Varnāstha. Some of the epithets of Śiva in this stanza occur in the following verse in lines 8 and 9 of an unpublished stone inscription of Brāhuadēva from Raipur, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum.

2 There is a curve on this akṣara here and in line 6 where the same name is repeated. The word is superfluous here.

3 These five akṣaras are unnecessarily repeated.

4 Read Kakandakūṭu-vishayā. The name of this vishaya is written as Kakandakūṭu in line 4.

5 I am not certain about this letter. It differs from ik which occurs in lines 4 and 6 in that it has a horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor it is exactly like ṭ, for the form of which, see durūṃsamanāḥ, II. 2-3.

6 Amukē-sain seems to be written here in the sense of a+a-a+a-a-a-a.

7 Read likhitam.

8 The medial s of rs is very faint. Read kridaram. This word occurs in another Kalachuri record discovered at Bergson, not far from the findspot of the present inscription. See above, Vol. XXV, p. 280.

9 This dasa is superfluous. Read puṣarā-likhitam.

10 Read ṭat.

11 Read viśrāma-pusadalasmati.

12 This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning iha.

13 This viśrāma is superfluous.
Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* Vol. I, p. 13, gives the following note under Śriṅgavarpupkōta:

"Bōnāṅgi;—6 miles north-east of Śriṅgavarpupkōta. A copper-plate grant in possession of Karikari Jāñiki Rāmayya. It records a grant in Śaka 1508 (=A.D. 1586) to a Brahman by a local chief."

Several times I tried to see it but failed. I found it noticed as No. 3 of Appendix A of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38. On my request the Government Epigraphist lent me the excellent impressions of the said plate and I now edit the same from those impressions.

The language of the record is Telugu written in Telugu characters. The few peculiarities in the script will be shown in the foot-notes to the text. It is written on a single plate about 51" by 31". The mode of writing is peculiar to the copper-plate charters issued by the Nandapur Bhūpatis and their vassals. The first three lines of the record which give the date of the gift are written lengthwise on the obverse and the writing, which is breadthwise thereafter, then continues on the reverse of the plate. The donor's name, the donees and the object of the gift are mentioned there. The concluding part of the record again runs on to the obverse.

The document begins with an invocation to Umāmahāśāvara. It is dated Śaka 1508, Vyaya, Māgliḥa ba. 14, Monday. But the details do not correspond to any date in the month of Māgha in Vyaya. In the previous year (Pārthiva), however, they do work out correctly for Monday, 7th February A.D. 1586, the month being amānta.

The donor was Vijaya-Raṇa-sīnuha Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra Śri-Soṭrāṇu Vīra-Uddanḍa-Rāya. Raṇa-sīnuha means a lion in fight; Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra seems to stand for the leader of the four sections of the army; Soṭrāṇu appears to be a contraction of Chhōṭa (small) Rawoot (horseman), Rawoot being a title conferred on a person who performed a valiant deed. Gānadeva of Koṇḍa-vīḍa was made a Rawoot-rāya when he vanquished two Mahomedan warriors:


This Uddanḍa-Rāya was a minor warrior. Uddanḍa was his personal name. With his epithets expanded and re-arranged, his name mentioned in the record under review would read

'Chhōṭa-Rawoot-Rāya Vīra-Uddanḍa Chaubaḷa-Mahāpātra'.

On pages 469-70 of Vol. III of the *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* by Briggs, a certain Rawoot-Rāya is referred to in the following terms:

"Rawoot Row, a petty rājā in the command of a body of cavalry and infantry, and who was famed for his courage, had sometime before joined, and subsequently acted in concert with Ameenool-Mulk; but being offended at some orders issued by him, Rawoot Row quitted the King's camp without permission, and afterwards induced Hurreycundur to quit it also, and to unite with him in an attempt to establish Hurreycundur in the government of his ancestors at Coimbatore. The first display of open violence evinced by Rawoot Row was to collect a force of ten thousand infantry, with which he made night attacks on the King's army, whose vengeance they escaped by taking shelter in the woods and fastnesses in that strong country. They were, however, pursued; and in a skirmish which took place Rawoot Row lost his life by an arrow-wound."

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1 *Ghas* is a contraction for *chatuṛatāpa*, *rathu*, *gaja*, *harṣa*, *padāyaḥ*—chariots, elephants, horses and footmen. These are the four sections of an army. So Chaubaḷa Mahāpātra means 'the leader of the army composed of four sections'.
This extract furnishes us with an account of Rawoot Row who may be identical with the Mahāpātra Soñārū of our inscription. The dates of the several events narrated above, which would have helped us to confirm the identity are not given. Nevertheless it is possible to work out these dates.

Qu-li Kootb Shah determined to remove his seat of government to a newly built town in A. D. 1589. Many years elapsed without any war taking place. The king thereafter extended his conquests south of the Krishnā. His war with an impostor who claimed to be the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Kootb Shah, and the wars with the younger Mukunda Bhay-bulundar as well as with the king of Beejanagar must have occupied him some eight years, i.e., up to 1597 A. D.

An inscription at Śrīkūrīmān records the subjugation of Bhay-bulundar and other Hindu rājas. It says:

"Commanded by Hazarat Mahomad Qu-li Padshah, Motab Daulat, etc., Ameen-oool-mulk defeated Mukunda Bāhūbalēndra and Vīdyādhara, as they refused to pay tribute to the king, and killed Sarvarāja and other great men in the battle fought near Chintapalli ghāṭ. Mukunda Bāhūbalēndra and Vīdyādhara ran away leaving their territories and he pursued them as far as Bāṅgapuram (Bānūr). While returning he halted at Śrīkūrīmān in the Saka year 1521, Vikāri, Chaitra ba. 10, Tuesday." The details of the date correspond to A. D. 1599, April 10, Tuesday.

Allowing about a year for the Mahomedan leader to pursue the fugitives as far as Bānūr and return to Śrīkūrīmān, we may consider that the battle of Chintapalli, which is not mentioned by Briggs, was fought in about A. D. 1598. Our Uddāṇḍa-Rāya Mahāpātra may have been one of those that fell in the battle or after it.

The record under review says that a piece of land, eight guruses in extent, in the village of Bōṇañgi located in the Tālrī- maṇḍala of the mokhaśa-samata Dēvupalli was given away.

The village Bōṇañgi is about 6 miles from Śrīṅgavaraṇapūkōṭa, the headquarters of a Revenue Taluk in the Vizagapatam District. Tālrī that gave its name to the maṇḍala, is not found in the map. It may be a contraction of Tānḍrāṇgi, a village which is mentioned in a few inscriptions of Śrīnivāsachalam and which is 6 miles S. E. of Bōṇañgi. Dēvupalli is 18°15' N. Lat. and 82°50' E. Long, and is about 3 miles S. W. of Gajapatinagram. The mokhaśa of this chief extended from Dēvupalli in the north along the coast of the ghāṭa to the upper course of the river Sāradā. In this region lie Dēvupalli, Gōpālāpalli, Śrīṅgavaraṇapūkōṭa, Lakkavaraṇapūkōṭa and other places, all of which were fastnesses indicative of the military strength of the country.

This hilly region is full of Śiva temples and waterfalls. Near Śrīṅgavaraṇapūkōṭa is Punyagiri, a place of pilgrimage especially on the Śivarāṭri day. A perennial stream of water falls from a rock about 20 ft. high on a thousand lingas below. Four miles to the South-East of Śrīṅgavaraṇapūkōṭa is Dharmavaram where a Jaina image in Kāyotsarga posture is worshipped as Sanyāsi-ayya. Up to the loins the whole of the lower part of the image is buried underground. The portion above ground is about 3 ft. high. The whole image, when taken out stands about 6 feet. Women desirous of progeny make offerings to this Sanyāsāyya and if they are blessed with offspring, the child is named Sanyāsi or Sanyāsi-amma according to its sex.

1 Briggs: History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, Vol. III, pp. 451-469. There was a Bāhūbalēndra family to the south of the Krishnā.
2 E. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1312. This Mukunda Bāhūbalēndra was quite different from the one mentioned above. He was the Chief of Casimōka.
3 Chintapalli is (82° 22' E. long. 10° 50' N. Lat.) in the Golakonda agency, Vizagapatam District.
4 The same event appears to have been referred to in another record dated Saka 1526, also from Śrīkūrīmān, (No. 1260 of S. I. I., Vol. V.)
5 Digambara. It is not possible to identify the Tirihāṅkara as the one on the pedestal as underground. The head is bald as is the case with all Jaina images in this posture.
The sign-manual consists of two parts: the first looks like the Telugu syllable ṛ̣:i; it cannot be taken to be the initial letter of the name of the donor; nor can it be understood to be Śrī for the main letter in the centre has no form of ś. The second one is the sign of a weapon, one end of which has a trident and the other a lance: the handle in the middle is shown in a spiral. This may be the crest of the donor himself. Regarding this kind of sign-manual generally found in the charters issued by the Oriya rulers and chiefs, I propose to write more elaborately when writing on the charters of the rulers of Nandapur.

TEXT

First Side; lengthwise

1 Śrī Vu(U)mā-mahēśvara (a small circle and a line)
2 Svasti Śrī [[]][[]] Sākāḍha(bela)ḥ 1508 kāṃgānu agunōti
3 Vyaya-nāma-sabhvatsara Māga(gha) ba 14 85

Second Side; breadthwise

4 Vijaya-Raṇa-ś(n)̄hva(ha) Chaubha-
5 la-Mahāpātra Śrī-Sotrā-
6 vu Vi(v)a-Vu(U)ddāra-Rāyinīggā-
7 ru Kukkara Gōpāla-Śasturla-
8 gārīki dayaśāyān-audharihchhehi?
9 na bhūdāna dharma-sāsana-paṭṭa
10 nirnayamu mā mokhāsā
11 samatu Dēvupalli śima(sima)
12 Tāru ma[m] Bōgaṅggiśāl-
13 nu Nērēśu karrivāni yintuvā?
14 guḍjelu meṭṭupallālu ga 8
15 yeśimidi gariśela bhūmi
16 arpitamu4
17 ganu vistimi ganaka chervu
18 chēkuni virigā bha(ba)laparuchu-
19 kr(k)ōni amuduvalla phalaśāyān mi
20 putra-patra-pāramparyaya4 ni anu-

First Side; breadthwise

21 bhaviṇiṣṭu vuniddhi(ddō)dī [[]]Śvadattā[dā]ṃ-
22 dvigunaṃ punyaṃ pa-
23 radatt-āṇupānaṃ (nam) [[]] para-
24 datt-ā apa(apa)hārēṇa svu-
25 dattanī nishphalaṃ bhavē-
26 t [] (sign-manual)

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4 Some blank space is left in the beginning of this line; perhaps this line is to be understood to read in continuation of the first line Śrī Umāmahēśvara, both together meaning 'dedicated to the god Umāmahēśvara,'

5 The second ā is redundant. [Perhaps the intended reading is pāramparyaya.—Ed.]
The set of copper plates which I edit here belonged originally to Mr. R. N. Apte, Principal (now retired), Rajaram College, Kolhapur. He handed it over to the late Prof. K. B. Pathak, who entrusted it to me with a tentative reading of the same. I edited it in Marathi some years ago in the Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I, pp. 33 ff. I re-edit it here for the benefit of a wider circle of scholars.

The set consists of three plates measuring 10½" × 7½" strung on a circular ring with a diameter of 2½". The two ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a rimmed rectangular seal, which bears in relief the figure of a flying Garuda facing front, with a cobra in his left hand. The first and the third plates are written on the inner side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is well preserved. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 278 tolas.

The record is written in Kanarese script of the 12th century A.D. and calls for only a few remarks. The writing in general resembles that of the Śilahara Mārasimha's grant of 8,980.1 Initial short i has two forms; the one in ity-ākhyāṭā (1.29) and iti grāma (1.47), and the other in Īḍuvarādiyāḥ (1.41). The Dravidian r occurs only in one place, viz., Maravaka (1.39). The end of most of the stanzas is marked by a spiral, sometimes ornamental. The stops of the prose portions in lines 50 and 61 are also indicated by spirals.

The orthography has some peculiarities. Lingual l is generally substituted for dental t; but in some words such as Lakṣmi, Mahālakṣmi, Gōukula, Gōvala, Bhī llama, Ballāla, the dental l is retained. The upadhāniya which resembles ṣha is found in two places: tanayāḥ-pratāpa (1.7) and Lakṣmiḥ-prad (1.9). Consonants preceded by the rēpha have been generally doubled; but there are exceptions. Second and fourth letters of the five classes when doubled after a rēpha change the prior consonant to the first or the third letter of the same class as in garbhaha (1.35) and śreit-ārithām (1.49); but this observance also is not without exception. In tōbra (1.30) alone the s has been changed to b. In ārmatā (1.19) and svalabhāyīṭah (1.21) and saka- (1.45) we find n and s substituted for g and ś respectively. On the other hand in Maravaka-śarppah (ll.13, 39) ś has been substituted for s.

The language of the record is Sanskrit intermingled with a few Kanarese words and phrases such as gampaṇa for kampaṇa (1.46), -āravanai (1.48), kederanai (1.50), Maravaka-śarppah (11.13, 39), Ayyana-vinah (1.39), Īḍuvarādiyāḥ (1.41), nāryāvihā (1.48). The portion between the verses 20 and 21 as well as that following the verse 24 is in prose while the rest of the record is in verse.

After invoking the Boar form of Viṣnu, the record introduces the Śilahara dynasty of Karād or rather Kolhapur and gives the genealogy of the family from Jatiga I to Gaṇḍarāditya who issued the present grant.2 This genealogy has some omissions which it is very difficult to account for.

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1 Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India by J. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 102.
2 The genealogy given is as follows:

1 Jatiga I
2 Nāyika
3 Chandra
4 Jatiga II

5 Gōukula
6 Gōvala I
7 Mārasimha
8 Gōvala II
9 Ānika
10 Ballāla
11 Gaṇḍarāditya
Kirtirāja and Chandrāditya who are mentioned in other records of the dynasty as the younger brothers of Gōkāla (I) and Gūvala II are omitted here. Further, Gaṅgadāva who is stated to be a younger brother of Gūvala II in the Kolhapur inscription of Vijayāditya does not find a place in the present grant. This grant is not also of much help to decide the priority of Gōkāla (I) to Gūvala I, though it seems to imply that the former was the elder of the two. It was not certain so far whether Bhōja (I) or Ballāla was the elder brother. This record clearly states that Ballāla was younger.

Let us now turn to the historical information contained in this grant. About Jatiga I, the earliest member of the family, two facts have been noted: (1) he was the commander of the fort Gōmantha and (2) he was the maternal uncle of PermAṇḍi Gaṅga. (1) It is very difficult to identify Gōmantha. The word might possibly have some connection with Gōmantaka; but it must be remembered that the former is the name of a fort and the latter signifies a small tract of country. Moreover in a copper-plate grant from Kotavalli dated Saka 1268 (A.D. 1347) Chandragupti or modern Chandragutti (Sorah Taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore) is stated to be situated on the Gōmanda mountain and that its other name was Gōmanta mountain itself. Its antiquity can be traced back to at least the 3rd quarter of the 12th century A.D. It is, therefore, probable that Chandragutti might have been meant by the Gōmantha fort of our record. There are remains of an old fort there in addition to a new fort. The PermAṇḍi Gaṅga referred to here should be identified with the second son of Gaṅga Bātuga, whose period of governorship extended at least from Saka 885 (A.D. 963-4) to Saka 1395 (A.D. 973-4). Nothing particular has been said about Nāyima or his successors down to Bhōja. The following events about Bhōja are described: (1) he worshipped the feet of the emperor Vikramāditya (probably the sixth prince of that name of the Chālukya family) with the lotus, etc., the head of Kadamba Šāntara; (2) the Kōṅga king fell a victim to his wrath; (3) Bijaṇa, of the solar race, went to the abode of the gods, through his rage; (4) Kōṅkala became a moth to the lamp, his anger; (5) he was a wild fire to Vēyugrāma (Belgaum); (6) he was a very deluge to Gōvinda; (7) he was a thunderbolt to the mountain Kuraṇja; (8) he conquered Kōṅkana; and (9) he liberated Bhiḷama. The Šāntara Kadamba mentioned herein seems to be the same as Kadamba Šāntivarman (II), called also Šānta or Šāntāya whose latest known date recorded by Fleet appears to be A.D. 1089. If the verse implies that Bhōja killed Šāntara and took his head to Vikramāditya, then the event could not have happened before A.D. 1089. But if it simply means that Bhōja overpowered him and took him to Vikramāditya, then the incident might have taken place at any time between 1076 A.D. when Vikramāditya ascended the throne and A.D. 1089. I am able

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2 The third line of verse 6, wherein occur the names of the two brothers, runs thus: Taṇḍya-dāmaja Gaṅkala-Gūvala-dākhaṇa. Here the metre would not have stood in the way of the composer had he wished to place the name of Gūvala first. Hence he seems to have held that Gaṅkala was older than Gūvala.
3 It may, however, be noted that if the reference in the Kolhapur inscription to the five sons of Māraṇimha is considered to be in a chronological order, then it contradicts the statement in the present plates. But it is not necessary to suppose that way.
6 Ibid. for 1931, p. 55.
8 Ibid., p. 561. Prof. Moraes in his Kadambakula has shifted this date to Saka 1016 (genealogical tree-facing p. 93). But I could not trace any evidence in support of this statement.
9 Ibid.
neither to identify the Königaja king nor to say with certainty whether the word should be connected with the Koögá country. Bijjana of the solar race seems to belong to the Kajachurya family of Kalyana. For the Haribhar inscription of Kajachurya Bijjala expressly states that Jógama, the grandfather of the former, had a paternal uncle by name Bijjala.¹ The Hire-Muddunur inscription of A.D. 1105–06 clearly states that this Jógama or rather Jógamarasa and Jógamarâna, as he is named there, was the Manjulâvara of Maṅgalavâja, i.e., Maṅgalavêjha² and belonged to the súryavänis or the Solar race. His uncle Bijjala or Bijjana thus belonged to the same race.³ As Jógama flourished, it seems, in the last quarter of the 11th century, his uncle must have lived in the 3rd quarter of the same century, i.e., about Saka 1000, which is the approximate date of Bhôja’s exploits. I am unable to identify Kôkâla. Unfortunately the grant does not tell us why Bhôja destroyed Veugrama; but it may be due to the enmity that existed between the Silâhâras and the Raṭhas of Saundatti who were trying to extend their power and who had most probably brought Veugrama (Belgaum) under their sway. I cannot identify Gôvinda with certainty; but I would like to connect him with either Gôvindaräja, the last member of the Maurya family referred to in the Vaghli inscription⁴ of Yâdava Sêupa dated Saka 991 or with Gôvindaräja of the Nikumbha family mentioned in the Pâtaç epigraph⁵ dated Saka 1075 and who might be reasonably ascribed to the period circa Saka 1000. The cause of his destruction is not known. Kûrajâ remains unidentified. The name Bhillama tempts one to relegate him to the early Yâdava family; he may perhaps be identified with Bhillama III though there is some difficulty in doing so, for his date is prior to Saka 991, the date of the Bassein grant⁶ of Sêunachandra (II), the successor of Bhillama III, but of unknown relationship to him. The foregoing conjectures of mine may prove correct or otherwise; but one thing appears to me quite certain. All the antagonists of Bhôja whom he vanquished must have sided with Sômâvara II or Jayasimha III against Vikramâditya VI, in the fratricidal wars fought before and after the latter’s accession to the throne in Saka 998. Bhôja, probably owing to the matrimonial connection between him and Vikramâditya VI, joined the latter in his attempts to retain the throne and the subjugation or annihilation of hostile feudatories. Hence all his exploits that are enumerated here should be relegated to the period about Saka 1000. Bhôja’s younger brother was Ballâja about whom the plates tell us nothing. Then comes his younger brother Gaṇâraditya about whom the following information is recorded in the grant: (1) Vikramâditya conferred the title Nîsânâkamalla upon him, (2) by the stroke of his sword the king Daṇḍabrahman, the ruler of the Kuṇḍi country went to heaven. It is very difficult to identify Daṇḍabrahman. According to Fleet, the Raṭha king Sêna II was ruling the Kuṇḍi province as a subordinate of Châmunḍa during the vice-royalty of Jayakarna between A.D. 1102 and 1121.⁷ But none of these three persons had, it appears, the appellation Daṇḍabrahma.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of two villages by Gaṇâraditya who is introduced with the usual attributes, to his vassal Nôjamba.

² Ibid., p. 448 and n. 3. A Kanarese inscription from Mhaswad (Satara) of Saka 1069 also refers to Maṅgalavêjha and Bijjala its overlord (ink impression in the B.I.S.M).
³ Later records of the Kajachurya family connect it with the Lunar race (Bombay Gazettes, Vol. 1, part ii, p. 469). Another instance of this type is of the Châluksa family. The Purânas plates of Châluksa Arikâsirin III (Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 49) state that the Châluksa family belonged to the Solar race. But there are genuine records of the Châluksas of Kâlayân which assert that the family was of the Lunar race (above, Vol. XIII, p. 38, Vol. XV, pp. 106, 349). Can this Bijjana of the Solar race be the Telugu Chôda chief Bijjana who ‘gained a victory over Ballaha’; see Ep. Rep. 1900, page 17.—Ed.
⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 199.
The grant gives the genealogy of Nūlam as follows: in the Nigumba family was born Hūrima, who was the very sun to the lotus, viz., Jaina congregations. His son was Bīraṇa and the latter had a younger brother named Arikkāria. Bīraṇa had a son Kundatī and his younger brother was Nāyima. Nāyima's son was Nūlam, whose banner was marked with a golden fish and a cobra and who acquired the favour of a boon from the goddess Padmāvatī. He received the grant of the village Ādagā, excluding the tax āruvāna. In it were included the two villages Ankulega and Boppavādā. These villages belonged to the gampaṇa and country of Mirījē. The conditions of the grant are described thus. If the Nūgāvāda's of the place were to serve actively they would not get anything in cash towards their maintenance or salary from the donee (except Kōdevaṇa) i.e., they must maintain themselves with the dues of Kōdevaṇa which they would get in their capacity of Nūgāvāda's and if they did not wish to continue in their offices, they would not get Kōdevaṇa (even).

The date of the record given in II.44–46 is Śaka 1037 expressed both in words and in numbers, the cyclic year Manmatha, Wednesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. It is quite regular for the expired Śaka year 1037, the European equivalent being Wednesday, 27th October, A.D. 1115.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant, Venugrama, Kōṅkaṇa, Kupṇḍī, Tagara and Mṛījē are well known. Gomanta has been dealt with above. Ankulage and Boppavādā were the two villages assimilated into the village Ādagā. A word about Valayavādā may not be out of place here. Scholars have expressed different views about its identification. The late Dr. K. B. Pathak suggested, in a talk with me, that it might be identified with Walwadā, about 5 miles to the east of Kolhapur. I personally visited the above village, but did not find there any old remains which would testify to its antiquity. I do not know, however, whether there are any antiquarian remains at the other places with which the village has been identified. I am unable to identify with certainty, any of the three villages granted but I would just suggest some identifications. About three miles to the south-west and north-west of Miraj, are two villages Ankil and Kūpṇḍā which may now represent Ankulage and Boppavādā. Or about thirty miles to the south-west of Miraj are two villages Ankiō and Adi which may be identical with Ankulage and Ādagā; but they are rather too far away to be included in the Mṛījē-kampāṇa. Besides these villages, the Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle has included one Ankil in the Kolhapur State and falling under the Shirol Road (present Jayasinghpur) postal beat, which is only 8 miles to the south-west of Miraj. This may be a modern substitute for Ankulage.

TEXT* 

[Metres: Vv. 1, 12, 16, 17 Anuktūṭh ; 2, 15, 20 Mālinī ; 3, 6, 8, 10, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24 Indravajrā ; 4, 13, 18 Sārdūlavārīṣṭa ; 5, 7, 9, 11, 23 Vasantarākā.]

1 The passage here is rather ambiguous and I explain it with much difference: āruvāna and kōdevaṇa seem to be the names of two taxes like vikāvaṇa, makaṇgaṇa, etc., in Marāthi, but the meaning of the terms is not clear to me. (To me the passage seems to mean that the Nūgāvāda's would not get any gold for their maintenance, i.e., as salary, excepting the āruvāna, if they were prepared to do the duties connected with their office, but if they refused to shoulder the responsibilities of office, they would not get even the kōdevaṇa (read as kōdevaṇa by the author) to which they were entitled as hereditary holders of the office of Nūgāvāda. That kōdevaṇa is a tax is clear from I.44 (there read as kōdevaṇa) of the Kādaṁba inscription of the Kādaṁba prince Tailapa (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 253), where it is mentioned along with nanedege (house-tax). It was probably a tax on umbrellas, though Fleet took it in the sense of 'a āgan or āgaṇa stamped with the device of an umbrella' (ibid., p. 255 n.)—N.L.R.]

2 Prepared from the original. I am thankful to Mr. N. Lakshminarasay Rao for suggesting better readings of the place-names.
1. स्वतः व ज्ञात्यास्नानं विनोभोरित्स भोविश्वार्यः शोभितार्यमें (वस) [1*] श्रीमणिप्रत्ययाप्रिमायः
2. तन्मुन युग: [111*] ज्ञाति ज्ञाति कहो राजत्वीविविधान: विनिविरुपः
3. कर्णस्वरूपे (स्वरूपे) हलोक्कहुद्वंसस् (: 1 स) कुमुक्तवासो दीर्घत्वीविविधायो जनितसुधजः
4. राज: श्रीविश्ववार्यः न् [1121*] श्रीमान्यादिश्वाहारमें श्रीविद्वैत्सर्वः श्रीविद्वैतः
5. कर्मः
6. श्री(श्रीम) [1131*] तद्वर्गे नृपतित्वभूव अतिमो गोपालवृक्षार्यः मात: श्रीविद्वैतार्यपि
7. चतिन्य संस्का पेयमाणेश्व (1 स) स्वायार्यन छत्राणितव्यः श्रीविद्विकः
8. को नृपे: कण्डाकुसुमकुसुमकांविमां विधाराश्चर्यः: न् [1141*] तत्त्वायः
9. जसुदारविवित्तरावर्तमानी (प्राणवेभाव) समुपाजनकतुषुपुंजः [1*]
10. शंकुदार्ये नंति विविद्षेषः (नित) वाणस्वायार्याणी दुष्यमुनाय नयानां
11. राज: न् [1151*] तत्त्वा(स्या) विष पुरे जिति नरेद्रो जात: प्रवीरो यज्ञावस्तुः [19]
12. लन्काय गौकृष्टलार्कर्ये जातायुरी श्रीविश्वविद्वायः न् [1161*] तद्वेगेन्य तन्तुः
13. रथुः श्रीविद्वैतार्यमोहतिमद्वारकः (स)वः [1*] प्राणवेभाव समराववस्तुः
14. धारी विश्वलकिपिङ्कितः परमेज्जातितः न् [1171*] तत्त्वादिनुपुन्यज्ञकश्रीररो वीरः
15. राजग्रामवाहनतावः। कीर्तिप्रयो गूढ़श्वेतनामा ब्रूढ़ भूपः
16. वर्षे नरेजः न् [1191*] तत्त्वादिनुमग्नमद्वारकमुनारानुपालितः भूष: श्रीविद्वायः
17. वेश: [1*] प्रेमविद्वैतार्यमथवाहुविविद्वारिधारिधारि: गिरिविनाश: [1161*]

Second Plate; First Side

18. श्रीमणिप्रत्ययावरिमोहतिमद्वारकः (स)वः [1*] पुजां प्रवेशः सः च चक्रवर्तिविकः
19. भाषिकन्यामुलाएः [1191*] किन्तु (अत्र) नंति ज्ञाति बीतरतः प्रतिजः कोपात: कोपज्ञोपि
20. धर्मव वर्ष [1*] भूपालवायुवार्यस्वस्त: विबिन्दीप च विज्ञानवीच कहे गृहे लुप्तेवभूति यः
21 स्य कोपादु ग्रहतापश्चिपरस्यम् कोशश्चस (वस) सम्भवितः [१*] पल्लिता न
gच्चाये सोऽयः

22 भोजनुपालसः ग्रहः केशुप्रामवानाधि विजेते श्रीरक्षकूडिकोऽथ मोनविष्णुवानः

23 कः दिशारमणी स्व: कुरुशत्य क ग्रहः श्रीरक्षकूडः भुजवधातिदित्तमोऽध्वः

24 इत्यद्वा असलो (चन्द्र) दवापारते रिपुकुम्हुडः हपक्षणेऽहरः [१*] तत्पानुजातो तुषारः

25 वासीत (स) बलाष्ट्रेऽस्व निश्चरितस्थः [१*] जीमुखः वाहन्यायपरतेऽहं सम्यकः

26 मूर्तिभण्डाः (भः) स्व श्रीप्रजाशाली [१२०७*] प्रजानी तदवज्जातितापप्रतिपादः प्रियविश्विवी

27 नूर्तित्रेवल्लकल्लनोऽवासः [१*] क्षत्रियुपवंशाणि राजाविप्रायिन्यां पुषणविवि

28 मूर्तिभण्डाः गण्डरविदेशः [१*] न च जानकम्ब्रसन्यामेऽविश्वासित्वात् [१*] निर्णयः

29 कस्मल इत्यादि गण्डरविदेशपुस्तेऽ [१२०७*] विज्ञाते मानवास्वभ धम्याच मुगऽजातः

30 यः [१*] स देवसततो धतु गण्डरविदेशपुस्तेऽ(ति.) [१२०७*] यत्तन्त्राजः वुज्जीवेऽ

31 तपाक् क्रतुद्रकंदोऽवेशायात्याय इव गण्डरविदेशः जगाम सर्वं संस्थेयमां सूरः

32 यः (१२०७) कञ्चन राजस्तूतरस्त्र्यादिनः तन्मेति भूतोपात्तिनः सोऽयः गण्डरविदेशः

33 गण्डरविदेशसंबंधोऽत्र मूलोऽ [१२०७*] रत्नानि वल्यने देवा सम्बंधे तस्मां रत्नाकः

34 रो भुन्यायासतास [१*] भावव्यास सम्यकालं ब (व) हिंदु सुशरीमणि

35 वासासि हुयाल्पाय तस्मां [१२०७*] विनाशाः भुविष्कृतरपथसुवंचोत्तरमुहुर्तमेति (भः) वनी

Second Plate; Second Side

36 विविधविव: कुरुस्मानमय: [१*] ध्यानपूर्वकाः देशस्यन्तरामया यथा स विविधविवः

37 कार्यत्पानीयः [१२०७*] सम्बिधचंपवंचसहस्राधिकारिकः सकारः [१*] राधुघरकः

38 भीवः भोजनताः हरवः जीमुखावहनानावः सुखण्डः

39 रचनिः मद्द्वाक्रकः (च)ः यः प्रायः दिनाः [१*] रिपुकुम्हुडः च रचनिः [१*] विनाश्चणकाठि

40 रकः गणिज्ञानीयः हुवाल्पाय रकः शोभाप्रेमीयः सत्यारयेयः

41 द्वृतारकादिः स्त्रीनारायणः विनाशकान्तायः शान्तिवारः

42 सिद्धः सिद्धारुपाध्यायः भूमस्तूतरस्त्र्यादिनः सुविधान्तरसावित्रसहस्राधिकारः

43 चीविराधितः भूमस्तूतरस्त्र्यादिनः भूमस्तूतरस्त्र्यादिनः श्रीमधुः
No. 33—MEHAR PLATE OF DAMODARADEVA

B. M. Barua and Pulin Behari Chakravarti, Calcutta

This copperplate was discovered in February 1940 in the village of Mehār, Chandpur Sub-division of the District of Tippera, P. S. Hajiganj, by Muhammad Rahimuddin of Mehār, while he was digging a ditch by the side of his homestead to a depth of about 8 feet. He found it inside a small masonry work, in which it was deposited. He naturally took it to be made of a precious metal, and cut off a small bit from its lower edge, thereby causing a loss of two letters, one representing a number,—better, a certain sum of money, and the other, the syllable ta which has been supplied in the present edition.
On receiving information about it from Mr. Nagendra Kumar Choudhuri, a local Hindu zemin- 
dar, Mr. Pulin Behari Chakravarti (one of the authors) lost no time in approaching Mr. Gulam 
Muhammad Mian, the Officer-in-Charge of the Hajiganj Police Station, and it was mainly through 
his efforts that Mr. Chakravarti was able to procure the plate for the Asutosh Museum of the 
Calcutta University.

This is a single plate which measures 11" by 10" with a thickness of about ¼th of an 
inch. The semi-circular seal forms a curvature in the middle of its upper edge. Its maximum length 
from the top of the curvature is about 13 inches. It contains a Sanskrit inscription of the 13th 
century A.D., consisting of 43 lines, 24 engraved on the obverse and 19 on the reverse. Its seal 
precisely like that of the other copper-plate of Dāmādāra found in the District of Chittagong, 
presents on the obverse side a figure of Vīṣṇu either riding on Garuḍa, his traditional vehicle, or 
in the angry attitude of slaying a fallen foe, and on the reverse side, a rayed disc of the sun set upon 
and inside a crescent. Both the rayed disc of the sun and the horizontally disposed crescent are 
installed each on a finely disposed pedestal. Vīṣṇu who is supposed to be in his Parāshottama 
or Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva form, is two-armed and wears a kūrīta on his head. His figure is full of 
vigour and valour, and shows a strong fighting pose. The lower figure is either Garuḍa with his 
prominent nose and other characteristics and flying attitude or, as Mr. Debaprasad Ghosh, Curator 
of the Asutosh Museum, suggests, a fallen foe about to be killed. It is not unlikely that here we 
have a scene of the wrestling duel of Mādhava with Chāṇḍara, justifying the epithet of Chāṇḍara-
Mādhava applied in the present inscription to Dāmādāra. 

The representation of Vīṣṇu on Garuḍa or of Mādhava overpowering Chāṇḍara is certainly 
symbolical of the Vaisnavism faith of king Dāmādāra who issued the copper-plate. The Vaisnavism 
faith of the royal dynasty to which Dāmādāra belonged is evident from his name as well as those 
of his three predecessors. One may indeed observe with N. G. Majumdar that this dynasty 
professed the Vaisnavism faith like the Varmans and the Sēnas. 

The date of the issue of the charter is the 22nd day of Jyaistha in the 4th year of Dāmādāra's 
reign, corresponding to the 1156th year of the Śaka era (= 1234 A.D.), while that in the 
Chittagong plate is the 1165th year of the same era. The present plate is therefore earlier 
by nine years than the other, and we know that king Dāmādāra reigned at least for 13 years, if not 
for more.

As regards the palaeography of the present record, we may mention that its letter-forms are 
in almost all respects the same as those of the Chittagong plate. The characters of the latter 
are, in the opinion of N. G. Majumdar, evidently proto-Bengali and akin to those used in the 
Bodhigāya inscriptions dated in years 51 and 83 of the Lakshmanaśena era and the Gayā 
inscription of Gōvindapāla of 1175 A.D. In the present plate, the syllables tu and tta, tha and 
ndha are represented alike; the only difference between the two letters, ma and su, is that in the case 
of the latter, the loop to the left is generally open. The form of śn again, is different from the ān 
we come across in other Bengal inscriptions and the Chittagong plate. It resembles the letter 
tha. The figures representing the numbers and fractions are practically the same as those met 
with in the Madanapāda and the Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plates of Visvarūpāśena. The only 
exception to be noted is one which relates to the notation adopted for representing the number 2. 
Strangely enough, this particular number has been represented in one and the same record by two 
totally different symbols: one resembling the consant t in line 43 after Jyaistha-dīsa and the 
other approaching the modern Bengali form of ta in lines 18, 24 and 32. It may be asked: why

2 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p 159.
do we not take one of them to stand for 2 and the other for 9? This is not possible. Firstly, in the case of Jyaiksha-dinē, we cannot but take it to stand for 22. Secondly, in the statement, ēsīā āśānīka-brāhmanā <ο> (line 32), the figure <ο> must be taken to represent 20 and not 90, for, the Brahmins in whose favour the charter was granted are found to be twenty only. Similarly in line 18, the figures < Categoria must be taken as 25 to tally with the income of 25 purānas expressed in words (pañcachalivasati-purāṇa-dipattika).

The language of the copperplate is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we may note a perceptible tendency of Bengali to do away with the difference between b and ṝ in the spelling of such words as brā(h)manā and ērā(h)manā, byābhū and ṛābhū. The word bathu is spelt as vandhu (line 12), badhā as vaddha (line 15), and bahu as vahu (line 37). The letter ṛi is replaced by rī, e.g., Sripatiḥ (line 30) and Śrīvatasa (line 31).

The present record, like the other plate of Dāmādara and some of the Sēna inscriptions, contains a few abbreviated forms of words and phrases, such as brā, ṛa, ṛi, byā-bhū, nā-bhū, grī-fi, mu-fi, bi-khi-mu-ji, siṁ-hi, ṝ-da. The restoration of the intended words and phrases along with their technical significance has been attempted with tolerable success in the following pages. We shall be very glad indeed if any further light can be thrown on this point.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Oṃ and closes with the date of transaction. The Oṃ is followed by an adulatory stanza, which, too, confirms the Vaishnavite faith of the royal dynasty. In it, Purushottama, the synonym of Vishnu, is chosen in honour of the ādi-purusha of the dynasty, while in the other plate the synonym selected is Dāmādara, which is also the name of the reigning king. In both the plates, the royal family is claimed to have descended from the Moon; in others, they professed to have been Chandravasāya Khatatriyas. Both mention four generations of the family, represented by Purushottama, Madhumathanadēva (Madhusūdana of the other plate), Vāsudeva and Dāmādara. In the Chittagong plate, no phrases are used, indicating the kingly position of Purushottama, the first member of the family.

In the present plate, it is introduced as a headman of the Dēva family, Dēv-ānēyā-grāmavī, a phrase which is in effect the same as Dēv-ānēyā-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara applied to king Daṣarathadēva in his Ādāvāḍī copperplate. It is not unlikely that from the position of a grāmavī Purushottama's son Madhusūdana rose to the eminence of a king.

Further, in the present plate, Dāmādara the inscription follows as the biruda of Arirāja-Chāyāra-Mādhava which cannot but remind us of similar birudas assumed by Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavāsaēna in their inscriptions and applied to their three predecessors—Vijayasēna, Vallālāsaēna and Lakshmanapāsaēna: Arirāja-vraikhāva-Sākara, Arirāja-nihāsaka-Sākara, Arirāja-Mudana-Sākara, Arirāja-vraikhāvaka-Sākara, and Arirāja-asūnha-Sākara. These are all Saivite in their form. It may indeed be shown that Vraikhāva-Sākara and Nihāsaka-Sākara were the epithets assumed respectively by Viśvarūpasēna and Vallālāsaēna. But in their fuller forms, the birudas came to be applied symmetrically only in the inscriptions of Lakshmanapāsaēna's sons and successors. The birudas with Arirāja (arch enemy) prefixed to them are highly significant when considered together with the additional title, Garga-Yavan-ānēyā-pralaya-kīla-Riḍra assumed both by Viśvarūpa and by Kēśava. These are at once suggestive of their valorous and terrible struggles against the onslaughts of Muslim forces in Bengal. Though of the same political signi-

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1 Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 159.
2 Ibid., p. 181.
3 Jayaswal is inclined to think that the actual reading might be Garja or Garjha and that it might be taken to correspond to Garjjas, Garj or Garh; J.B.O.B.S., Vol. IV, Pt. III, p. 296 ff. This is not only ingenious but far-fetched. We think that the expression Garga-Yavan-ānēyā simply meant 'those who were descendants of the Yavanas mentioned by Garga (i.e., in the Gāpī Sanskrit)'.
ficance, the *biruda* of Dāmōdaradēva is Vaishnavite in its form, and in this respect, it stands much nearer to the *biruda*, Aśīrāja-Dānunjaya-mādhava, prefixed to the name of Dāsaratheadēva, identified by Dr. N. K. Bhattacharji with Dānunjayamādhava who flourished after the Sēna rule.\(^1\)

Both Dāmōdaradēva and Dāsaratheadēva were Dēva-vyavasāyas and Sōma- or Chanda-vanāya Kehatriyas, and both of them were worshippers of Viṣṇu.

These points of coincidence need an explanation. We may only ask: do they not suggest that Dāsaratheadēva was a descendant of Dāmōdara, if not his immediate successor, and certainly the most powerful king of the Dēva family?\(^2\)

In the present plate, Dāmōdaradēva is called Gajapati only, while in the Ādāvadhī plate Dāsaratheadēva is honoured with the epithet of *Aīvakapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rājakīra-ādhipati*. In the former, there is no epithet indicating the place of which Dāmōdara was the king; while in the latter Dāsarattha boldly claims to have obtained the kingdom of Gauda and issued the charter from Vikramapura, which he could not have done had he not succeeded the later Sēnas after their fall or extermination.

The Chittagong plate of Dāmōdara refers to a village called Kētāngapālā, which was bounded on the north by the Mṛtachchā and had in its neighbourhood, if not actually within it, Bāghapākthirī ‘Tiger’s Pond’. The village may be identified with the modern Kētāngypālā, forming a part of the village of Hāshimpar, P. S. Patiyā, and bounded on the north by the Marāchharā-Pukhariyā which is still the name of a hamlet by the hillside, on the southern bank of the river Šūkha.\(^3\) In other words, the inscription relates to a village in the district of Chittagong, and not elsewhere.

The present inscription places the village of Mēhāra in the khagdala (subdivision) called Vāyisagrāma which in its turn was included in the Paralāyī vilāya of the Samataṣa mandāla lying within the Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti. The Mēhāragrāma of the record being no other locality than the present village of Mehār, it is easy to determine that Dāmōdaradēva’s kingdom extended at least over the three districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong.

Now the question arises whether the rule of Dāmōdara, or for the matter of that, of all the three kings of the Dēva family, was confined to the three districts of Chittagong division, or it was coextensive with not only the whole of the Samataṣa mandāla but also with the whole of the Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti, as it was then known. Apart from being described as Gajapati in one plate and Sakala-bhūpati-chakravartin (the Lord of all the kings), in the other, there is no other indication whatever that Dāmōdara or any predecessor of his in his own line was a paramount sovereign. Nor does it appear that they were Sāmantas under the successors of Lakshaṁapāṇa, who somehow maintained the position as Gauḍēvara and paramount sovereign within the Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti at least for seventeen years after the death of Lakshaṁapāṇa. The length of the reign of Kēśava, the second son of Lakshaṁapāṇa, is not as yet determined. But certain it is that the reign of Madhumatihana-Madhusūdana at least was synchronous with that of the two later Sēna kings. Had Dāmōdara or any of his two predecessors succeeded in supplanting the Sēnas within the Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti, he would have usurped forthwith all the high-sounding epithets including Gauḍēvara, as was done subsequently by Dāsaratheadēva. But Dāmōdara passed as the Aśīrāja-Chāṇakā-Mādhava without the title Gauḍēvara. It is in the Mehār plate of Dāmōdaradēva that Samataṣa finds mention, perhaps, for the first time as a mandāla, within, of course, the Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti. And this may have been a creation of Purushottama’s family for distinguishing it from Vaṅga, apparently a mandāla under the rule of the later Sēnas within the same Pauṇḍravardhāna bhakti, which included in it Vikramapura and

\(^1\) *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 182.

\(^2\) Kētāngapālā must then have comprised a much larger area than it does now.
Nārāya. We need not bring in here other maṇḍalas within the same bhukti, viz., Nārāya, Adhāhpattana, Khāḍi, Varṇendri (?), and Kumārātālaka, that may serve only to fix the limitation of the extent of the Samataṭa maṇḍala in Dāmōdara’s time.

The really plausible explanation of the position of the Dēva kings arising out of the Mehār plate would be that, while they were reigning in the Samataṭa maṇḍala of the Pauṇḍravarīdhana bhukti, the Sēnas held supremacy over the region of Vaṅga including Vikramapura and Nārāya and passed as Gauḍēvaras within the same bhukti. Their supremacy was disputed but could not till then be shaken off. If this inference be correct, one may even go further and suggest that the river Māghnā was the natural boundary between Dāmōdara’s territory and the dominion of Vaṅga under the latest Sēna rule.

The position of the early Dēvas even as regards their suzerainty over the whole of the district of Tippera is rendered anomalous by the Maināmati plate of Rāṣṭavaṅkaṁalla Harikālādevā, issued in the 17th year of his reign which corresponded to the year 1141 of the Śaka era (=A.D. 1218). From the date of this grant and the length of the reign indicated therein, it is evident that if Rāṣṭavaṅkaṁalla Harikālādevā was not a contemporary of both the father and the grandfather of Dāmōdaraṇe, he was at least a contemporary of his father, king Vāsudēva. When precisely Harikālādevā’s reign ended or what happened to his line, we cannot say. From the inclusion of the city or town of Paṭṭikērī with the Maināmati (Lāmā) hillock as its probable natural landmark, it is certain that his principality was situated in close neighbourhood of the kingdom of the early Dēva rulers. Whether a scion of the Dēva family or not, his rule would seem to have been confined to a small portion of Tippera.

The main object of the present plate is, however, to give away by a royal charter certain plots of land in the village of Mehār to twenty Brahmins of high distinction, together with their annual income, with a perpetual right of enjoyment and use. The donees are all mentioned by name. It is not unlikely that their names have been arranged in groups. At all events, some have been distinguished by the gōtras to which they belonged, and some by the villages from which they came. The gōtras mentioned are three in all, namely, Sāvarṇya, Bhāradvāja, and Ātreyō. The villages mentioned consist of Kāṇyamala, Pūrvarāma, Śī[ḍ]halagrāma, Dīṇīsā and Kēsarakōpā. One of the Brahmins is distinguished from the rest as gṛhi-pāṇiṅga. The charter is said to have been received from king Chāṇḍa-Māḍhava by Kāpaḍī of the Sāvarṇya gōtra on behalf of himself and the other donees concerned.

This matter which is presented in the form of a prose statement in a most business-like way has been inserted between two sets of Sanskrit stanzas, the first consisting of seven ślokas, and the other of five.

Along with the four members of the Dēva family, the plate immortalises the name of Gaṅgādharaṇe, the highly eulogised generalissimo of Dāmōdara. It mentions also Munidāsa as Dāmōdara’s chief-minister for war and peace (Mahāśāṅkha-vigrahika), and Dalaēva as Mahāśāṅkha-patalika, both of whom joined with the king in the recorded work of merit.

To what extent the Mehār grant may be taken to bear information concerning the origin of the gōnīs of the Bengal Brahmins is difficult to say. The gōni as a technical term denotes the social status of a Brahmin determined by his original connection with a particular village in Bengal. According to the Rādhiyā sect of Brahmins, the social distinction goes to 56 villages. It is noteworthy that no fewer than four villages, viz., Pūrvagrāma, Siddhala, Dīṇīsā and Kēsarakōpā, mentioned in the inscription, are included in the list of 56 gōnīs. The location of the fifth village, Kāṇyamala, remains yet unknown.

Lastly, the authors must express their indebtedness to Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, for some valuable suggestions regarding the reading of the inscription, to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran,
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TEXT:

[Metres: V. 1 Upajāti, v. 2 Pushpīṣṭāra, v. 3 Śārdūlavikrēṣṭa, v. 4 Mālinī, v. 5 Āryā, vv. 6-8 Sragdarā, vv. 9-11 Anuṣṭubh, and v. 12 Mandākrāntā.]

Obverse

1 Ōhī [ ] Ya[ ] jāgratō yāti jagati-prakāśān niḍārayamāṇa punar-ēva yasmin [ ] nīliğiśyamān-bhavati kṣaṇa-nāma nāmō-stu ta-

2 smai Purushottamāya [ ] 1[ ] Tri-bha(dbh)vana-jayinaḥ smarasya śastrān hariṇa-dṛśān lalit-aika-diṣṭ(j)i-pātram [ ] sakala-sura-

3 guroḥ śrī-vatansō jagati tānuṭṭi sudhām-asau Sudhāṃśuḥ [ ] 2[ ] Vairasō tasya Purū-

4 ravaḥ-prabhritayō jā-

5 tāḥ satam bhūbhujō yēśhān vikrama-dāna-śila-charitar-adyāpi prthvī dhīrāt [ ] ētasmin Purushottamaṁ sa-

6 mahabhavaḥ-Dēvana(v-a)nvaya-grāmaṁḥ prakhyat-ābha(dbh)ta-suddha-kīrtti-visarad-vayāpta-trilokī-talah [ ] 3[ ] Sa Madhumathanāc.

7 dévaḥ prād[u]rāśīd-anmshmāt lalita-madana-mūrtī[ra]vīśa-vibhrānta-kīrttiḥ [ ] tadanu jagati sākshād-vasu-

8 dēvō-vaṭīrṇō vidita-sakala-sāstrāḥ śastra-vidyā-dhūriṇaḥ [ ] 4[ ] Tasmād-Gajapatiṁ-abhavaḥ-Ariś-

9 ja-Chāṇuṇṛ Mādhavo[ ] virah. [ ] śrī-Dāmōdaradēvō jagati rājanvati yēna [ ] 5[ ] Yat-

10 saṅgrāmātītājajā.

11 ḍiv[ ]rada-vara-gaṭā-valpa-kaḍamvī(mbh)ṇ-īyān tat-ka[ ]rṇ-ōttāla-vātyā-vraja iha marutō nyūnaṁ-paṇcāsācē-

12 va yat-tat-sind[u]ra-būṣhā śirasi samuditaś-tēgamatējāḥ-sahasraṁ manyō tad-vidvishaṁ-

13 tat kha-

14 lu kamalabhuvo rātrir-ākasmik-īva [ ] 6[ ] Dévendraṃ yathāiva Mātalir-abhūt Krīṣṇa-

15 sva yantā varah-

16 khyātō Dār[a]-vandhusayā nūpatēk-Vaṁśe-saḥ[ ] līlādvaharāḥ [ ] tat-tulyō-bhava-

17 asya vīrāṇa-gaṭa-sa-

18 tpaṭra-mukhyah kṛtī śrī-Gaṇgādhāraṇāya ēṣha samarē Prāgyōtiśeṇdrōpamaṇaḥ [ ] 7[ ] Śrimad-Ari-

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1 From the original plate and its inked estampane.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Here in the adulatory stanza, this epithet of Viṣṇu is chosen in honour of Purushottama, the ādiapurusha of the royal dynasty.
5 The same as Madhumadana of the Chittagong plate.
6 Similar epithets are applied to the Śena kings in the inscriptions of Kāśarāṣṭrā and Viṣṇavrāpasēna, and the birudā assumed by Daśaratadhēva.
7 We have to take it in the sense of ēkōmapāṇḍhādā.
8 Read samuditaṁ.
9 Read tīgamatējāḥ.
10 Here vanahkī-bhundhā, bhundhā, ‘friend.’
11 Allusion is to Bhagadatta.
14 rāja-Chāṇḍu-Mādhava-dēva-pādā vijayināḥ sī-Paundravaṛdhana-bhukty-antaḥ-śatri-Samasta-
15 ta-mandale Puralīyi-vishaya-prativa(baj)dha-Vāyisyagrāma-khandaliya-Mēhāra-grāma-uyā-
16 si-yathā-pradāhā-jumapādās mahattarāṇi-cha samāśanti viditam-astu bhavatām |
17 upari-likhita-grāmā Sāva[r]onya-sagōtra-paṇi-śri Kāpādkasya pañcavimśati-pu-
18 rā-bāpptikā griha-vāi-kidā-ṭi'ī 'ṛ byā-bhū || ' sāh-Śrī || ' tathā v(b)rāśi-Śūṅkākasya pañcā-pu-
19 ṛ-bāpptikā-śatī 'ī byā-bhū ś sāh-hi 'ī tathā brāh-Śrī-Sudōkākasya chaṭi 'ī vyā-
20 bhu || ' sāh-hi ḫa-
21 v(b)rā-Kālēmikāsya ṣi 'ī byā-bhū || ś sāh-hi 'ī v(b)rā-Tārāpatēḥ chaṭi 'ī byā-
22 bhu || ś sāh-hi Bharadvā-
23 jasagōtra-paṇi-śri-Paundōkāsya griha-ṭī 'ī byā-bhū || x/ ś sāh-hi 'ī || ' sāh-hi || ' Kānyamaliya-
24 v(b)rā-Śrī-Kōsāvasya gri-
25 śi 'ī byā-bhū || ' sāh-hi 'ī || / tathāśya mu-ṭī 'ī byā-bhū || x ś sāh-hi || / tathā
26 v(b)rā-śri Brahōmkāsya gri-
27 śi 'ī byā-bhū || ś sāh-hi 'ī 'ē-da 'ī tathāśya mu-ṭī 'ī byā-bhū || ś sāh-hi 'ī || tathāśya
28 nā-bhū || ś sāh-hi ḫa-

1 The name of the Kāŋhāda is Vāyōna (Bengali Bāte, Skt. Daṇ̄ca) and not Vāyōna. A village of the name of Vāyōna still exists at a distance of six miles south of Māhārā.
2 An abbreviation of pādās.
3 Kāpādka is the same person as Kāpaḍi in line 30.
4 Cf. Tarapadağı copper-plate of Lakshmapāsaṇa, lines 36-37: sa-vatraso: kavardaka-puca-śārvarthadha-
5śat-nāk-śattakī; also Mādhūngar copper-plate of Lakshmapāsaṇa, line 43: sa-vatraso: nāk-śattakī; Madanapāḍa copper-plate of Vāyūrapāsaṇa, lines 41-45.
6 The lower vertical of the j-sign is wanting.
7 Is sī an abbreviation of sāṭi or chaṭi?
8 The numbers are all shown in Dēvanāgarī characters to avoid confusion.
9 For byā-bhū or ṣāṇ-bhū, cf. Sāhliya-Parīṣat copper-plate of Viśarjapāsaṇa, line 44. The word also occurs twice in the Chittagong plate; J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIII, p. 323. Its meaning has so far been missed. The Sāhliya-Parīṣat plate clearly attests that it stands only for Chahū-bīn-āvadekkhi-bhū-bhāmi, i.e., vādāryuta-sāhībāmi, "demarcated homestead land or residential site". In it, ābhū is aptly distinguished from sāhī-bhā, precisely as in our plate.
10 The asterisk is added to indicate that, i.e., or a similar notation in this plate denotes a fraction of an area, a measure or an amount.
11 N. G. Majumdar (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 146, fn. 3) explains sāhī in the sense of śāhīdīyaḥ "in all", while on page 25, fn. 2, he rightly suggests that sāhī stands for sāhīdā. In the Edilpur copper-plate of Kēśāvāsaṇa, all or sāh stands for sāhīdās-sāhīdā-śattukām, hi being obviously sahī (Madanapāḍā copper-plate of Viśarjapāsaṇa, line 44).
12 Evidently the number 2 is represented by two different signs and <, ḫa. 2
13 Vrā or bh stands for bhāmaṇa.
14 Read nā-pāṭṭi.
15 Read sānā.
16 gri-śī = griha-śī = griha-čaṭi; cf. line 37; griha-chaṭi; cf. line 31. vāh compounded with pukhya, vājñāna and lavoś-nāma has been used on p. 320 of J.A.S.B., XLIII.
17 sūn-śī is obviously = mākhaya-śī or mākhya-čaṭī.
18 "ē-da seems to have been an abbreviation of ēdā datam.
19 The letter denoting the amount is missing.
20 Ĥ stands for nāl-bhāmi, colloquial nā-ḥa. The word is discussed on p. 320 of J.A.S.B., XLIII, pt. 1; cf. chahū svāvadekkhi-bhū-vāl-bhāmi.
Reverse

25. tathāasya brā-śri-Sirūkasya griha-ṭi ? byā-bhū // sān-hi \ || Pūrvagrāmiya-brā-śri Dhāranikasya Guṇō \\
26. mbh-ārdhau-ṇu-ṭi ? byā-bhū / sān-hi \ ॥ ॥ Si(d)dhagrāmiya-ṇa-śri-Pām(ī)dukasya \\
(”)chati ? byā-bhū | sān-hi y Ātre-
27. ya-gōtra-brā-śri-Sāṅkōkasya-aśā-bhū | sān-hi ? Dīndisāiyya-brā-śri-Prajāpatēḥ griha-
vātyah
28. bhū | sān-hi | grihi-paun-śri-Nāthōkasya na-bhū | sān-hi || brā-śri-Janō(lō) 
 kasya grā-hi ॥ /// brā-śri-
29. Viśvarūpasya gṛ-ṭī ? byā-bhū // sān-hi \ /// || brā-śri-Mādhōkasya bi-khi-muṭī \ byā-
bhū \ Kēśara-
30. kōnya(v)-(b)-śri-(Śrī)-patēḥ mahāśaṅdhivigrha-śri-Munidāsā-kārita-saṣana-chati ? 
byā-bhū ///
| ēvaṁ
32. saśanika-brāhumaya ॥ ॥ vati ॥ bhū-drō ॥ || nāla-bhū-drō | sān-hi ॥ ॥ ॥
33. Grāmē Mēhāra-saṁyjē sakala-guṇi-gaanvāsā-bhūmā prasiddhē kṛtvā tāmē nirv(b)addhān 
maça [— — —] ॥
34. yathā-sauvibhāgaṇ vibhaktām [—] nānā-gōtra-śāhīdhāna-pratīvīta-sadāḥravadvbhō 
\ dvī-
35. bhayaḥ prādāt chūrṇi-śataṣyā d[vy]ira-dpa-tāsya-saṣānām śāsīt-ārih [ ][ ] [8*] 
Sāvanvya-
36. gōtra-sambhitāh Kāpaḍi dvīya-sattamah [ ] Chāṇāra-Mādhavād-śat pratiṣṭakraha 
37. saśanam [ ] [19*] Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [ ] yasya yasya ya-
38. dā bhūmīn tasya tasya talā phalam [ ][][ ] Sva-dattān para-dattān vē yē harēta vasum-
dhām [ ]
39. sa viktvāyām krimi-śhūtvā pitriḥbhūḥ sāḥ pachyatē [ ] [11*] ity-ādi muni-vacanām-
avāka(kya-
40. Abrahmāṇḍan śhala jagad-śdram svapnā-māya-no-śāni nātēvā nātēvā Gajapatiṃ saṇa yā 
41. chatē bhāvī-śhūjān [ ] bhūyō bhūyō bhūyā kṛita-kara-puṭhō mauli-māṇīkya-kīṭān kṛtt-
42. h satyān sva-kṛita-rūbhasīt pālanīyā mah-_ēti [ ][ ][12*] Śaka-ṇipatē-ṭutī-śv(ō)bādā 
43. 1156 saṇ 4 Jyaishtha-dīnē 22

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2. Om || On whose awakening the world comes to manifestation, in whom, while 
reposing, (ii) becomes merged again instantaneously,—obeisance be to that Purushottama 
(i.e., Vishnu). (v. 1.)

2. The name does not seem to be Pākān.
3. This probably stands for gṛthya-samata-rājabhīṣy-aḥa-kāra-vihaṇya-pratīvyā-abhirā.
4. It stands obviously for hila-khā-khalikya-rāṭhit.
5. For ēnu used as a sort of surname, cfr. Maināmati copper-plate of Raṇaṅgaṇakamalla Harikāladēv, 1 B.Q.
Vol. IX. May be ēn = ēṇa.
6. bhū-drō = bhūmī-drōna; nāla-bhū-drō = nāla-bhūmī-drōṇa.
7. This is evidently a sign to indicate the end of the prose statement.
8. The 2nd pada is wanting in three syllables after maṇi.
Lines 2-3. The weapon of Cupid (who is) the conqueror of the three worlds, the only target of sight to the deer-eyed (women), the adorer of the head of him who is the foremost of all the gods (Śiva),—let that Moon shed nectar into the world. (v. 2.)

Lines 3-5. In his line were born hundreds of rulers of the earth, Pururavas and the like, by whose acts of valour, charity and virtue the earth is sustained even to this day. In his line Purushottama appeared as the leader of the Dēva family (whose) far-reaching, marvellous and pure fame radiating, pervaded the three worlds. (v. 3.)

Lines 5-7. From him emerged the illustrious Madhumathanadēva with the lovely appearance of Cupid, (whose) fame bewitched the universe. After him appeared Vāsudēva in the world (as if Vāsudeva) incarnate, versed in all the Śāstras, (and) foremost in military skill. (v. 4.)

Lines 7-8. From him arose the hero Dāmōdaradēva (adorned with the epithet of) Gajapati and Arirāja-Chaṇūra-Madhava in whom the world found its own king. (v. 5.)

Lines 8-11. Whose column of the best elephants, well-equipped in battle-array, (stood as it were) the evening cloud; the high winds fanned by their ears were as it were the forty-nine maruts themselves. The vermilion decoration on various parts of their forehead were as if a thousand rising suns; that appeared indeed, methinks, to his enemies like the sudden appearance of the night of the Lotus-born (Brahma’s night, i.e., prabha-śuka). (v. 6.)

Lines 11-13. Just as Mātali was to Indra, (just as) Dāruka was the well-known charioteer and friend of Kṛṣṇa, so to this king was the illustrious Gāngādhara-dēva, the foremost among the honest courtiers, resourceful like the scion of the Vrishni family (i.e., Kṛṣṇa). His elephant column was like his (i.e., of the king). He equalled in battle (even) the lord of Pragyjyotisha (i.e., Bhagadatta). (v. 7.)

Lines 13-16. His Majesty the victorious Arirāja-Chaṇūra-Madhava orders the chief citizens and the officers (mahātārhas) inhabiting the village of Mēhāra belonging to the khaṇḍa (subdivision) (called) Vāyisagrāma included in the visaya (district) of Purandara in the māṇḍala (division) of Samataṭa lying within the bhūkta (province) of Paṇḍravardhana: “be it known to you:

Lines 17-32. in the above-mentioned village are thus given away to Paṇḍita Śrī Kāpādika of the Sāvarṇya gōtra one chaṭī (together with) the household garden and the like, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{2} \) (drōγa), yielding an (annual) income of 25 purāgas; likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī Sāṅkōka one chaṭī, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{2} \) (drōγa), yielding an (annual) income of 5 (purāgas); likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī Sudōka one chaṭī, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), income 8 (purāgas); to Brāhmaṇa Kālēmika one chaṭī, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), income 4 (purāgas); to Brāhmaṇa Tārāpati one chaṭī, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 10 (purāgas); to Paṇḍita Śrī Pāṇḍōka belonging to the Bhāravāya gōtra one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 10 (purāgas); likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī Dēḷaka one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 4 (purāgas); likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śrī Sudōka one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 8 (purāgas); to Brāhmaṇa Śrī Kēśa of Kānyamanā one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 4 (purāgas); likewise to him one main house, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 2 (purāgas); likewise to him one main house, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{10} \) (drōγa), (income) 1 (purāga) yearly.

1 The word mahātara here has the meaning of an official.
2 The location of the place is unknown.
3 As the total of the yearly income from different lands as given here falls short by 1 purāga from the total given in line 32, we may take the income of Brāhmaṇa’s land as 1 (purāga) yearly.
(purāṇas) ; likewise to Brāhmaṇa Śri Śīrōka one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{7}{10} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{5}{10} \) (purāṇas) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Dharanīka of Pārvagrāma\(^1\) one chaṭṭi; with a half of the tank Guṇḍimhā (ṭ), demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{2}{16} \) (purāṇas) to Pāṇḍita Śri Pāṇḍuka of Sīd(ḍ)halagrāma\(^2\) one chaṭṭi, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{4}{16} \) (purāṇas) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Śāṅkōka of the Uṭrēśa gōtra arable land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{1}{16} \) (purāṇas) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Prajpāti of Dīṇḍisā\(^3\) homestead land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{3}{16} \) (purāṇas) ; to the householder Pāṇḍita Śri Nāṭhōka arable land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{1}{16} \) (purāṇas) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Jāṇōka the receivable income of \( \frac{1}{16} \) (purāṇas) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Viśvarūpa one complete homestead, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu), (income) \( \frac{3}{16} \) (purāṇas) to Brāhmaṇa Śri Mādākōka one main house with low and fallow lands demarcated homestead land \( \frac{1}{16} \) (drōgu) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Śrīpāti of Kēsārakōṇā\(^4\) one chaṭṭi included in the charter, which was caused to be made by Muniḍāsa, the chief minister of peace and war, demarcated homestead land \( \frac{3}{16} \) (drōgu) ; to Brāhmaṇa Śri Śrīvatsa one complete homestead included in the charter (which was) caused to be made by the chief accountant Dalaēva demarcated homestead land \( \frac{3}{16} \) (drōgu).

Thus (altogether) 20 Brahmans mentioned in the charter, homesteads (numbering) 16, (plots of) land (measuring) \( \frac{2}{16} \) (drōgu), arable land (measuring) \( 2 \) drōgu, the income (amounting to) 100 (purāṇas).\(^5\)

Lines 33-35. In the well-known village of Mēbhara, the abode of all talented persons, that famous Gajapati, the subduer of enemies, having it recorded in a copper-plate in a well-divided form, granted the charter (yielding an annual income) of one hundred chūṛgīs\(^6\) to the Brahmans of different gōtras who were accustomed to observe the rule of good conduct. (v. 8.)

Lines 35-37. The best Brahmin Kāpaḍi of the Sāvarṇya gōtra received the charter \(^7\) (on behalf of all) from Chāṇuṛa Mādhava\(^8\) (i.e., Dāmundara) (v. 9.)

Lines 37-38. The land has been given away by many kings, Sagara and others; whosoever at any time owns the land, to him belongs the fruit thereof. (v. 10.)

Lines 38-39. He who takes away the land given away either by himself or by another person rots, being a worm, in ordure (dirty hell) together with his (deceased) forefathers. (v. 11.)

Lines 39-42. Taking note of such sayings of the wise,\(^7\) This world, nay the whole universe, is indeed perishable like dream and illusion. Knowing (this) for certain, that famous Gajapati entertains the future kings again and again with joined-hands touching the edge of the gem adorning his head, “surely you should maintain the noble deed of mine thinking it to be your own.” (v. 12.)

Lines 42-43. (Recorded in) the expired year 1156 of the Śaka era, the regnal year 4, on the 22nd day of Jyaśātha.

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\(^1\) In the Kalapájikās of Bengal, Pārvagrāma, Sīdhala, Dīṇḍisā and Kēsārakōṇā are counted among the 56 original villages of the Rā dhya Brahmans. See Gauḍī Brāhmaṇa, page 164. In the Mahākāpuram stone-pillar inscription (1262 A.D.) of the time of the Kākatiya queen, Rānḍrāva, Pārvagrāma is located definitely in the Rādhya division of Gauḍī, and also in “Dakshśiṇa-Rādhā in Gauḍī.” See Madras Epigraphical Report for 1917, page 122; N. N. Das Gupta in Indian Culture, April, 1939, page 358.

\(^2\) N. N. Basu, Prāchayavidyāmāhārpa, identifies it with the present village of Pārvagrāma, 7 miles to the west of the town of Mūshahidab. See Bangāṭra jātiya-itkā, Rādhīya Brāhmaṇa varūṇa, pp. 119-25.

\(^3\) The so-called Bhaṭantaravara inscription of Bhāṭya-Bhavādīvī locates the village of Sīdhala in Rādhā, and the Bēḷāra copper-plate of Bhāṭarvanā, in Uttarā-Rādhā, and both mention it as a locality, in which the Brahmans of the Śāvārṇya gōtra settled down. Harekrishna Mukherjea in his Bāṛhāma varūṇa, P.t. II, page 234, identifies Sīdhala with the present village of Sīdhala near Ahmadpur in the District of Bīrbhum.

\(^4\) Dīṇḍisā is identified with the present village of Dīnsā or Diā in the District of Burdwan. See Bangāṭra jātiya-itkā, pp. 119-25.

\(^5\) The same as Kēsārakōṇā, a village in the District of Bankura.

\(^6\) The chūṛgīs, as mentioned in the present grant, are the same as Purāṇas.

\(^7\) The bīruzā really means Mādhau, the subduer of his rival Chāṇuṛa, i.e., Chāṇuṛa-mārdāna-Mādhaṇa.

\(^8\) The italicised portion is the rendering of the prose statement.
No. 34—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE EPOCH OF THE GANGA ERA

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

Since my article on the Epoch of the Gāṅga era was sent for publication more than six years ago, one new record of that era has been published in this Journal, viz., the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. These plates record the grant of a village by the Gāṅga king Anantavarman on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The plates are dated in the year 358 (expressed in words) of the increasingly victorious reign of the Gāṅga family. It would be interesting to see how far this date agrees with the conclusion in my previous article that the Gāṅga era commenced on amānta Chaitra śū. di. 1 in Śaka 420 (=A.D. 498).

According to the aforementioned epoch, the Gāṅga year 358 should be equivalent to the Chaitrādi Śaka year 777 (A.D. 855-56) if it was current, and to the Śaka year 778 (A.D. 856-57) if it was expired. There was, however, no solar eclipse in Śaka 777, while there were two such eclipses in Śaka 778, viz., on the amāvāsyā of the amānta months Āśāḍha and Pauṣa (5th July and 31st December respectively in A.D. 856). The Tekkali plates do not specifically mention in which particular month the solar eclipse occurred, but their evidence, such as it is, is in agreement with the epoch fixed by me. The date of the plates is thus in an expired year. This is as it should be; for, as shown above, the usual practice in ancient times was to date records in an expired year. This new date may, therefore, be said to confirm the epoch fixed in my previous article.

On the other hand, the evidence of this date is definitely opposed to some of the epochs proposed by other scholars. Leaving aside such impossible epochs as A.D. 349-50, A.D. 741, A.D. 772 and A.D. 877-78, I shall examine only those that approximate to the one fixed by me, viz., A.D. 494 proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, A.D. 496 by Mr. J. C. Ghosh and A.D. 497-98 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.

According to the epoch of A.D. 494, the Gāṅga year 358 would correspond to A.D. 852, but there was no solar eclipse in the latter year. The epoch of A.D. 496 would make the Gāṅga year equivalent to A.D. 854, in which case there was a solar eclipse (on the 1st February), but this epoch would not suit some other dates such as that of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvendravarman II. According to the third view, the Gāṅga year commenced on amānta Bhāḍrapada va. di. 13 in Śaka 419 (A.D. 497). The first Gāṅga year, according to this view, extended from Bhāḍrapada va. di. 13 in Śaka 419 to Bhāḍrapada va. di. 12 in Śaka 420. It will thus be seen that this year partly coincided with the first Gāṅga year which, according to my view, commenced on Chaitra śū. di 1 in Śaka 420. It is, therefore, not surprising that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Gāṅga year 358 according to this epoch, viz., that which occurred on the amāvāsyā of amānta Āśāḍha (5th July A.D. 866). I have, however, shown that this epoch also does not suit the date of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvendravarman II.

The only epoch of the Gāṅga era which suits all the verifiable dates discovered so far is thus the one fixed in my previous article. According to it, the Gāṅga era commenced on the amānta Chaitra śū. di. 1 in the Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A.D. 498).

The subjoined inscription\(^1\) is found on a stone built into the back wall of the Chennakeshvara temple at Nāyanapalle, a village about 3 miles from Mōṭupalle in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. The stone is fixed into the wall horizontally while the lines of writing are vertical, thus indicating that it must have been introduced in its present position sometime later when the temple was renovated; but in the attempt to fix the slab into the wall, its top and bottom portions have been chiselled away causing damage to a few lines at the beginning and end of the inscription. A big portion in the middle of the inscribed surface is also very much worn out. As it is, the record is incomplete; a few lines forming the concluding portion of the inscription are probably to be found on the other face of the stone not open to view now.\(^2\) Since even in the present state, the inscription is of great value, I edit it with the permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, Superintendent for Epigraphy.

Owing to the damaged condition of the record, its importance has not so far been properly assessed; but an attempt is now made to read the inscription in its proper perspective and interpret its historical significance.

The epigraph is in Telugu prose and is engraved in characters of the 13th century A.D. Its orthography does not call for any special notice. The word sēyamu used in I.21 offers some difficulty, especially as the inscription is fragmentary. Whether it is used as an order of Gaṇapati to a subordinate official, or, whether the word has to be corrected into sēyinči so as to accord with the sense conveyed by gānki-gonči vachči (I.15-16) and mathamu kaṭṭinči (I.18-19) is not evident. The interpretation of this word does not, however, alter the main historical bearing of the record.

The epigraph is not dated, but it states that the Kākati king Gaṇapatiḍēvā-Mahārājū, in the course of his victorious dāvēśajya campaign, (proceeded to) the southern direction, killed Bayyana and Tikkana who had burnt Nellūru, and proceeding to Druvīdamannaḍalas, won over Kulōṭṭunga-Rājendraraḍā, received presents of elephants from the ruler of Nellūru, constructed a mātha at Śrīparvata, called Bhringī-maṭṭa, described as belonging to the lineage (sandānama) of Mallināthaḍēvā and that he consecrated at Chaitrapura alias Mōṭupalli an image called Kumāra-Gaṇapatiḍēvā, after his name.

It is to be regretted that the concluding portion is lost, but its purport can be easily guessed. It must have contained particulars of some grant of land at Nāyanapalle, made to god Kumāra-Gaṇapatiḍēvā set up by Gaṇapati at Mōṭupalle, a village close to Nāyanapalle. Since the introductory passage has not suffered any damage, the historical portion of the record may be said to be complete.

The present inscription\(^3\) confirms and supplements the literary evidence available regarding

\(^1\) This is registered as No. 769 of 1922-23 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

\(^2\) Mr. H. H. Narasimhaswami who went to the village at my request to examine the other face could not dislodge the stone from its present position in the wall.

\(^3\) [See below p. 197, n. 2—Ed.]

\(^4\) Since sending this article for publication, my friend Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the Madras University has published his study of this inscription in the Telugu Journal Bhārati (February, June and July parts 1945) wherein he seeks to identify Kulōṭṭunga Rājendraraḍā with a Vēlaṇāḍu chief of that name. I have, however, to differ from the identification proposed by him. It may be pointed out in this connection that in an inscription from Śrīraṃgām (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 500) dated in the 9th year of Mārvavarnam Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accession A.D. 1216) the temple managers are said to have colluded with the Ọṭṭar to the detriment of the income of the temple. Dr. Venkataramanayya takes the word Ọṭṭar as Oṭṭiyar, i.e., people of Orissa, and postulates a Kālīṅga invasion of the south as far as Śrīraṃgām about A.D. 1224. The inscription does not refer to any invasion or confusion consequent on the inroad. The word Ọṭṭar must be taken to mean those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement (to the temple) and not as referring to the people of Orissa, for the latter are referred to in Tamil inscriptions as Oṭṭiyar. The theory of Kālīṅga invasion as far as Śrīraṃgām based on the interpretation of this word by Dr. Venkataramanayya is therefore not acceptable.

XVI-1-6
the assistance given by Gaṇapati to the ruler of Nellūru. This evidence is found in the Sōmadēvārājyamū and also in the Siddhēvāracharitramu. The former gives the motive for the destruction of Nellūru mentioned in our inscription. The relevant passage in this connection may be freely rendered thus:

(Poet Tikkana to Gaṇapati) ‘Hear me! O King! It is only an act of Dharma that I request of thee. King Manmasiddhi of the Solar race, ruling in splendour at Nellūru has, alas! been driven into exile by Akkana and Bayyana and his kingdom usurped. I pray you that you may be pleased to chastise them and restore Nellūru back to my sovereign.’

Gaṇapati, assenting, started on a campaign and, having on the way destroyed and burnt Velanāḍu defeating the Velanāḍu King and subjecting him to tribute, attacked Nellūru and conquered Akkana and Bayyana. He restored the city to Manmasiddhi and crowned him there. Proceeding further, he captured sixty-eight towns and made them over to king Manmasiddhi. Thereafter, he caused a big tank to be constructed at Nellūru which spread his fame to the ends of the directions. Then, staying at Nellūru for some months, he instructed Manmasiddhi in kingship and statecraft.

From this reference it is clear that the ruler of Nellūru at the time was Manmasiddhi, that his rivals were Bayyana and Akkana (Tikkana), that Gaṇapati personally came to Nellūru to restore to Manmasiddhi his territory and that he halted at this place for some time, evidently to settle his protégé in the region. The name of the associate of Bayyana is given as Akkana in the Siddhēvāracharitramu, but he is definitely called Tikkana in our inscription. The defeat of the Velanāḍu king mentioned above seems to refer to some local rising, especially as the Velanāḍu territory had passed under the suzerainty of Gaṇapati by about Śaka 1123. Further, our record gives the information that, in this connection, Gaṇapati won over Kulōttunga-Rājendrachōḍa in Dravīḷa-mañḍala. The association of Dravīḷa-mañḍala with the Chōḷa sovereign Rājendra-Chōḷa (III) in the record is helpful in identifying the king. If so, his full name, i.e., Kulōttunga-Rājendrachōḍa, establishes that he was the son of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III, which relationship is a new piece of information supplied by the present inscription.

The ruler of Nellūru whom Gaṇapati restored is not mentioned by name in our record, but as stated in the previous paragraph, he may be identified with Manmasiddhi (II), the patron of the Telugu poet Tikkana-Śāmayaṉī, the translator of a portion of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata into Telugu and the author of Nīvṛcchanottara-Rāmāyaṇam. How long he continued in power after his restoration is not definitely known, but according to the Nandālūr record mentioned below he was in power in A.D. 1257-58. The Pāḍyāya king Jāṭavakrama Sundara-Pāḍyā I claims to have killed a Gaṇḍagōpāla by A.D. 1253 and entrusted the kingdom to another Gaṇḍagōpāla. The Telugu-Chōḷas seem to have ruled the region comprising both Conjeeveram and Nellore. If the order of events mentioned in the prasasti of Sundara-Pāḍyā is to be relied on, the latter claims to have killed Gaṇḍagōpāla and occupied Conjeeveram and thereafter to have proceeded to Nellūru, where he performed the anointment of heroes.

Footnotes:
2 Akkana and Bayyana were the dāyūdas of Manmasiddhi, according to the Siddhēvāracharitramu: see note above.
3 The confusion probably arose by reading a for ti in the word ‘Tikkana’.
4 Am. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1909, p. 121, and for 1926-37, p. 65
5 The relationship between Rājārāja III and Rājendra-Chōḷa III is not definitely known, though tentatively it has been suggested that they were brothers, from a reference in their records to Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III as Periyādevar (Am. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1909, part ii, para. 52).
7 The earliest record where this incident is referred to is dated in the 7th year of Sundara-Pāḍyā.
It is necessary to settle the date of the present inscription. Since in this record Gaṇapati is stated to have come in contact with Rājēndra-Chōja in Dravilā manifold and as records mentioning Gaṇapati and his general Sāmantra-Bhōja are actually found at Conjeevoram1 and Kālalhasti2 situated in this manḍala, which is of which is dated in Śaka 1172, corresponding to A.D. 1249, we may assume that Conjeevoram was also taken in the course of the campaign of the Kākatiya king against the enemies of the ruler of Nellūr. About this time Allun-Tikka Gaṇḍagōpāla was ruling at Kāñchi, as a record of his, dated in Śaka 1168 (=A.D. 1246-47), definitely mentions him as ruling at the place.3 In the fifth year of this chief Kōṅ Kāṭṭaiyān described as the minister of Gaṇapati figures as a donor to the Aruḷāla-Perumāl temple at Little Conjeevoram.4 In the next year of the same chief, the misdeeds of the adherents of Gaṇapati with regard to temple property are noticed in an inscription at Vēppaṅgūḷam,5 near Conjeevoram. This would probably indicate that Gaṇapati withdrew from Kāñchi by the sixth year of the chief, who now seems to restore order in the country after the foreign occupation.

In the above context, the position of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōja III needs elucidation. In A.D. 1249, the date fixed for our record, both Rājarāja III and Rājēndra-Chōja III are mentioned in their records as rulers of the Chōla empire. Rājēndra-Chōja counted his reignal years from A.D. 1246,6 but his predecessor Rājarāja III lived on till A.D. 1260, corresponding to his 44th year.7 Rājēndra-Chōja III is stated in a record of the 3rd year of his reign, corresponding to A.D. 1249-50,8 to have been seated along with his queen on the throne of heroes.9 He could not have occupied the throne when the previous sovereign was also ruling. We cannot, therefore, have records of Rājarāja III beyond A.D. 1249-50 which would correspond to his 33rd year, but we actually find his records9 dated in the 36th, 38th, 39th, 41st and 44th reignal years—all coming from and round the present Gudiyattam taluk of the North Arcot District, with two more stray inscriptions, dated one in the 36th and the other in the 37th year, from the Nellore District.10 These records indicate that subsequent to A.D. 1246, Rājarāja III’s influence was mostly confined to the present North Arcot District, while the rest of the Chōla empire with the exception of the Kāñchi region passed under the suzerainty of Rājēndra-Chōja III. Our record states that Gaṇapati won over Kulōttunga Rājēndra-Chōja (i.e., Rājēndra-Chōja III) in Dravilā manḍala, presumably without any conflict, and established friendly relations. This will be evident from the fact that Mannasiddhi, not long after, figures as a subordinate of the Chōla king and evidently in that capacity proceeds to the aid of Gaṇapati against Kālinta to the banks of the Godavari.11 This expedition was probably undertaken by Mannasiddhi to show his gratitude to Gaṇapati, his erstwhile benefactor, and to forge further the friendly relations between the Kākatīya monarch and his overlord, the Chōla.

After reinstating Mannasiddhi, our inscription states, Gaṇapati constructed at Śrīśailam a māṭha called Bhrūṅi-mṇtha; then Chaitrapura12 alias Mōṭupalle is mentioned where a new

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7. An unpublished inscription from Vīnūchhipurām in the N. Arcot Dist.
12. Whether this Chaitrapura is connected with Charitrapuram mentioned by Huien Tsang (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 39) is more than what can be said at present.
image was consecrated after his name Kumāra-Ganapēśvara, for the worship of which an endowment was probably made. The grant portion, as indicated above, is lost, but it may be pointed out here that the endowment is made over to a Śiva shrine, although at present the inscribed stone is found in a Viṣṇu temple. At present there is only one temple dedicated to Śiva at Mōṭupalle, called Virabhadrēśvara temple, in which the image of Gaṇapati Gaṇarājya set up by Gaṇapati must have been consecrated. But the god in this village is variously styled in inscriptions as Mūlasaṃgha-Rāmīśvara-dēva, Ṭāmarēśvara-dēva3 and Pāṭēśvara-mundaiya-Nāyanār. At Śrīśailam there appears to have been an order of Saiva monks named after Mallinātha. Apart from the Bhrīṅgi-māṭha4 constructed by Gaṇapati, there were also, on the hill at Śrīśailam, Gaṇa-māṭha5 Arusa-māṭha6 Kalu-māṭha7 and the Sārāṅga-māṭha.8 The existence of five māṭhas on the hill is explicitly referred to in an inscription at Śrīśailam.

In the manuscripts collected by the late Mr. Mackenzie there is an account pertaining to Nāyanapalle which is therein styled Mōṭupalle-Nāyuddupalle. It starts with a legendary history of the village which is traced from Udayana-Chakravarthi, through Prōla, Gaṇapati, Gōparāju Rāmāna, Mōṭupalle, Nāyuddupalle, Gaṇapati, Nāyanapalle, through Gaṇapati and the Gaṇapati Gaṇarājya temple. The Gaṇapati Gaṇarājya temple is said to have been consecrated by one of the Gaṇapati Gaṇarājyas who ruled over the village. The temple is said to have been consecrated by the Gaṇapati Gaṇarājya temple, which was a subsidiary deity worshipped in the place (M. R. No. 29 of 1915). A golden replica of this image was presented to the temple by Chandraśekharayya, an officer of Krishnapatnam, a city in Andhra Pradesh. Reference to the cult of Bhrīṅgi in South India may be traced from the time of the Chola king Rājarāja I, during whose reign an image of this deity was set up in the big temple at Tanjore (S.I.I., Vol. II, pp. 190 ff).

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription, Nellūr is identical with the district headquarters of the same name and Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District are too well known. Mōṭupalle, also known as Dēṣyuyayakonda-pattapa9 and Vēśēnavara,10 was an important seaport in the time of Gaṇapati. This king issued an abhayā-śāsana11 in Śaka 1166, corresponding to A.D. 1244, offering protection to foreigners at this port. Since in cases of shipwreck, Gaṇapati promised to take the usual customs duties only, this edict should have been particularly welcome to the merchants. A similar concession was extended to foreign merchants by the Reji chief Anna-Vōta in Śaka 1280 (i.e., A.D. 1358) at this port.12 The Venetian traveller Marco Polo calls the Kāṭakīya kingdom, Mūṭhu, i.e., Mōṭupalle, which according to him was reputed for its large-size diamonds and muslins ‘as fine as the tissue of spider’s web’.

TEXT

1 . . . . . . . . . .
2 saṁstha[-hita] . . . . .
3 hāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākati 13

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1 No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
2 No. 774 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
3 No. 775 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
4 The image of Bhrīṅgi set up at Śrīśailam by a merchant of Rājamahendravaram is one of the subsidiary deities worshipped in the place (M. R. No. 29 of 1915). A golden replica of this image was presented to the temple by Chandraśekharayya, an officer of Krishnapatnam, a city in Andhra Pradesh. Reference to the cult of Bhrīṅgi in South India may be traced from the time of the Chola king Rājarāja I, during whose reign an image of this deity was set up in the big temple at Tanjore (S.I.I., Vol. II, pp. 190 ff).
5 No. 41 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
6 No. 299 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
7 No. 41 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
8 No. 44 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
9 No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
10 No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
12 No. 600 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
13 This line may be filled up as ‘Svasti Śri Samastha-paśa’. Some more lines at the beginning are lost.
14 The missing letters in the gap may be read as Śriṣman-paśa.
TRANSLATION

[Magha]manjulaśvara Kākati [Gaṇapati] with all his titles, having completed his diguisiya (and) conquered other countries and having in the southern region played (like) ball with the heads of his opponents. Bayana and Tikkana who burnt Nelluru together with those of their allies, having won over Kulottunga Rājendrachāda in Dravīja-māndala, (and) having received presents (in) elephants from the king of Nelluru, and built at Śripāvata a maṭha called the Bhringi-māṭha belonging to the lineage of the famous Mallināthadēva and consecrated at Mottupalle alias Chaitravura an image (of god called) Kumāra-Gaṇapāśvara-āri-Mahādēva, after his name.

No. 36—PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF DADDA III; YEAR 427

(2 Plates)

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, BOMBAY

The grant edited below for the first time is engraved on two copper plates, each about 11" in length by 7" in breadth. It is the only inscription of the Gurjara chief Dadda III so far discovered. The plates were recently purchased by the Prince of Wales Museum of West India, Bombay. The owner was unable to give any information as to where, how and when they were engraved.

1 This gap may be filled up with the letter di.
2 I would read [ra∂hia]echi.—N. L. R.
3 The letter mu in this looks like mi in the record.
4 The letter sv is engraved like ma.
5 The letter di is engraved below the line.
6 The continuation of the inscription is lost.
7 Vayirappa-Nāyaka, a minister of Ernasiddha, was called Paḍiyāri (A. R. Nos. 378 and 364 of 1919).
8 Receiving tributes in elephants was common in South India. Kulottunga-Chōja I is stated to have received tributes in elephants from the kings of remote islands (S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 144, 1:9). Muppidi-Nāyaka also claims to have received such a tribute from the Pāṇḍya king (A. R. No. 324 of 1909).
first found. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and have raised rims. The inscription runs across the length of the plates and is well preserved. There are altogether thirty lines of writing, each plate containing fifteen. There are holes for two rings; but the rings, and the seal that must have been on one of them, have been lost. The two plates weigh 178 tolas.

The characters are of the western variety of the Southern alphabet and resemble those found on the inscriptions of the kings of Valabhi, both in the prevalence of round strokes instead of angular ones and in the size of the letters. The royal signature is written in perfectly formed Dēvanāgari letters. With regard to the formation of individual letters we may note the immoderate length of the superscribed ā (lōkapāla, l.4, and vāchādyā, l.20) and ś (prabhās, l.11) and of the subscripted r (prāṇita, l.8, and prāchya, l.12). Attention may be drawn also to the form of the final t (vasēt, l.25, dadyāt, l.27 and saṁvat, l.29). In the last example the right hand stroke of the letter is unusually long. The letter l has two forms, (kumal-, l.3, and likhita, l.29). The first is by far the more frequent.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole composition is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points are noticed: (1) anusvāra has taken the place of n (Vinādhya, l.25), m (gaṁbhir, l.3), n (Gaṅgāditya, l.19), and ŋ (chāchāla, l.22); (2) the vowel ri is replaced by ri (kriṣhite, l.20); (3) a consonant after r is in most cases doubled (Karnau, l.2, the form of the subscript r resembling that of n); (4) occasionally a consonant preceding r is also reduplicated (gōtra and putra, l.19). The reduplication of sh in Harashka (l.4) and varsha (l.24) is, however, ungrammatical. The text of the grant agrees closely with that of the Nausari plates of Jayabhata III and of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata IV.

The document is issued from Bharukachchha, which is modern Broach. Its object is to record the grant of the village of Uvarivadra in Kōrilla chaturāṣṭi (i.e., a district or subdivision named Kōrilla, which comprised eighty-four villages) by the Gurjara king Dadda III. The donor's name has been omitted, perhaps inadvertently, but he is described to be son of Gaṅgāditya, grandson of Dundubhibhaṭṭa, a resident of Sāvatthi (Śrāvasti?), a member of the Chāturvaiḍya community (of that place), and a religious student of the Bahupra ṣākhā (of the Rigveda), who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra. The date is given at the end in figures as Rathasaptami of the bright half of Māgha in the year 427 (of the Chēḍī era), corresponding to A.D. 675. The grant was written by the Mahāśāṃbhivahāphadhipati Saṅgula, son of Durgabhaṭṭa. The record ends with the sign manual of Śrī-Dadda.

The present inscription gives the following partial genealogy:

Dadda

Jayabhata

Dadda, or Bāhusahāya

The dynasty is referred to here as Karṇ-āṇavya, 'lineage of Karṇa'. It thus traces its origin to the Mahābhārata hero Karṇa, the half-brother of the Pāṇḍavas. There is, however, no doubt that the chiefs mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the Gurjara dynasty. The names Dadda and Jayabhata occur in the two Kaira grants of Dadda II, who is distinguished by his second name Praśāntarāga. The dynasty in these two records is specifically mentioned as Gurjara (Gurjara-nripati-vanśa).

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 70-81, with a facsimile plate.
2 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147-55, with a facsimile plate. This record is said to be that of Jayabhata III, but is, in reality, of Jayabhata IV.
3 The Chēḍī Era commenced on Kārttika śa. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A.D. 248. See Prof. V. V. Mirashi.
4 The Epoch of the Kalschuri Era; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 82 ff. and 83 ff.
Further, Dadda II, in the records of some of his successors, is credited with affording protection to the lord of Valabhi against the emperor Harsha. Now this description applies, in the present inscription, to Dadda who heads the genealogical list given here. He may thus confidently be identified with Dadda II. His grandson, Dadda III, is styled Bāhusahāya here as elsewhere.

Till now nine records of the Early Gurjaras, including the present one, are known to us; and Prof. V. V. Mirashi gives the following genealogy, as revised by him:—

Dadda I

Jayabhaṭa I—Vitarāga

Dadda II—Praśāntarāga
K. 380, 385, 391, 392

Jayabhaṭa II

Dadda III—Bāhusahāya
K. 427 (the present grant)

Jayabhaṭa III
K. 456, 461

Ahiroḷa

Jayabhaṭa IV
K. 486 (two grants)

The dates given above are from the records so far discovered. The present grant is dated (K.) 427, and thus is to be assigned to Dadda III.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōmā Svasti śri-Bharukachchāt-satata-Lakshmi-nivāsa-bhūteḥ śrīnā-saṅtāpa-hāriṣa(ni) din-ānātha-vistā-

2 rīt-ānubhāvō(ve) || dvija-kul-āpa-jīvanāmā-vībhava-sālinī mahati mahārāja-Kārnū-

ānvayē

3 kamal-ākara iva rājaḥaṃma(hamsa)ḥ prabhala-[Kali]kāla-vilasita(t-ā)kalita-vimala-svabhāvō
ganabhir-ōḍdā(dā)ra-charita-vismā-

2 From the original plates and photographs.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 Read-bhūte.
5 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, as also those that follow, down to line 15.
4 pita-sakala-lóka-praśa-mànasah parameśvara-sri-Harshshadév-ābhipñjota-Valabhipati-parittrany-ópajata-bhranads-a-
5 dabha-suchar-ābhura-vibhrama-yaśö-vitánaḥ śri-Daddas-tasya sūnur-asaṅkita-āgata-prañayi-jan-ōpahukta-vibhava-saṃchay-ōpachyaya-
6 mãna-manó-nirvṛttir-anēka-kaṃtaka-bhataḥ-saṃdõha-dāha-durilalita-pratgal-ānalō | niśita-nistriṣ(i)śma-dhāri-dārit-ārati-
7 kari-kumbha-muktāphala-chechhat-ōlasita-sita-yaśo-nɨuk-āvagunñthita-digvadha-[ū]-vadana-sarasijaḥ śri-Jayabhac̣a-tasya-ātmajā(jō)
9 ka(kā)l-āvalēpaḥ pranayi-jana-manoratha-vibhava-ṛṣṭita-vibhava-saṃpūdan-arāparit-āśēha-sēsha-pārthiva-dān-ā
t10 nimānō pada-vivāsākkuṣatāvartti-kupita-kari-nivārāṇa-piliitē-guru-gaj-ādhibhāna-pra-
13 vighatana-prakāṭita-[bhu]jā-virīya-vikhyāta-Bāhusahāy-āpamasa-nāmā parama māheśvaraḥ samadhiṣṭa-peñāha-
14 mahāśabda[h] śri-Dadda[h] kuśal sarvvāṇ-eva rāja-sāmartha-bhōgika-vibhaya-pati-rāṣṭrä-grāma-mahattar-ādhikā-
15 tik-adimm(diu) samanudara-śatyay-astu vah samvālitān | [ya]ṭhā mayā mātāpittror-ātmanāḥ-ch-śihk-āṃushikā-

Second Plate

16 puṇya-yaśo-bhivriddhayē Kōṛillā-[cha]turāśiṣṭi-madhyeŚ Uvarivadra-grāmāḥ sōdraṁ16
17 "parikara-daṇḍa-ḍaś-āparaśdhas-oṭṭpadamāna-vri(vi)ṣṭikakah) sa-dāṇya-hirāṇmy212 āsyaḥ a-ča(cha)ndr-ā[rkk-ā]2
18 rūpava-[ksh]) varit-pprvata-samākālinaḥ pattra-paṇṭt-ānvyā-ōpabhōgyāḥ śri-Sāvatthi-vāsavya-taṣaḥ-chātur-vvi-
Mr. G. Ramdas has published an article on the above plates. He does not notice the name of the executor of the grant in his introductory remarks. The published text (1.8) gives the name as follows: अज्ञाब्धोगिकाभोधुदेव. The index to the volume in question gives the article अज्ञाब्धोगिका in the sense of an official and his name as Bōdūdeva. There are one or two serious objections to this rendering of the original. If अज्ञाब्धोगिका is presumed to be an official, the expression as read in the text would carry no sense. It does not either form a sentence or signify a statement by itself. Moreover the official अज्ञाब्धोगिका is not known from any other record. But the official Bhogika figures in several documents like Amātya. It would, therefore, be more correct.

1 Read pradatta udā.
2 Read asmad-dāyō-kamisana.
3 Read rājabhikh.
4 [The ornamental treatment of the stroke indicating the vowelness of the letter t is worthy of note. In section 1.25, and in dāyōt, 1.27, it seems to be mixed up with the mark of punctuation.—Ed.]
5 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 23.
6 D. B. Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1208, etc.

XVI-1-6
to amend the text as ājñā Bhogika-Bodudēvaḥ and render it as 'the ājñā (executor) (is) Bhogika Bodudēva.' The term ājñā is employed here in the sense of the official ājñapti or ājñāpti of other known records.¹

Mr. Ramdas has pleaded inability to identify the gift village Tampyakā. There is hardly any doubt that this is the same as the modern village Tampa which, like Kōraśhaṅḍā (the Kōraśāṅḍāka of the grant), lies in the Parlkimedi ṛāluk. It is noteworthy that this village is even now a samindārī (gift) village.

**RITHAPUR PLATES OF BHAVATTAVARMAN**

Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who has published this record,² reads the text in line 6 as मय चावलीगम्यागिरिकापाठ. He adds a footnote that the expression चावलीगम्य is superfluous. The Editor follows this up with a note that perhaps चावलिगम्य is meant.

By this mis-reading and these notes thereon an interesting and vital point of the document is missed. A careful examination of the original would reveal the fact that a very important proper name is indicated here. The document actually reads मय चावलीमुखरिकापाठ.

It is important in this connection to compare the forms of the letters pi and li as engraved in this record. In the former the medial i-sign is attached to the top of the left arm of pa (cf. pi in ppiśikaka in line 19 and ppirōḥ in line 22). On the other hand, in the letters li and li the medials are attached at the top of the right arm of the letter l (cf. likhita in line 21 and kālika in line 23). It will thus be seen that the actual text must be rendered as मय चावलीमुखरिकापाठ and herein we get the name of the queen, viz., Achalī-Bhaṭṭārikā. This is an important item of information for the history of the Nala dynasty.

Incidentally we may refer to another mis-reading of the text given by Mr. Gupte. In l. 13 he reads लकः and corrects it into लकः. A close examination of the original would show that it actually reads लकः correctly. What Mr. Gupte takes for the ai-sign of lkaḥ is only the l of lkaḥ. The superscript i is engraved on a miniature scale above the letter k which occupies the main portion of this composite letter. An analogous instance may be observed in the formation of the letter ddhyā in upāddhyāya in l. 26. That the letter intended here is l will be borne out by a close comparison of it with the form for the ai-sign in kaṣā in pādakṣā (1. 15). The two prongs of the ai-sign converge to a point while the two arms of the superscript i touch the base of the letter independently.

The name of the engraver of the record is indicated thus: पद्धोडपद्धयायपुत्रकसिन भोपड्येव. This passage has been rendered by Mr. Gupte as 'engraved by Boppadēva, the son’s son of Paddopādhyāya' (loc. cit. p. 103 f.) This interpretation raises the question, rather the puzzle, as to why the name of the father of the engraver Boppadēva is not given. It is a well-known practice of lithic documents to give, wherever they do, the name of the father and not of the grandfather, of the engraver. And why a departure here? In fact, the case seems to be that here is given not the name of the grandfather but of the father of the engraver. If the author had intended to indicate the grandson he could and would have straightaway employed the term ‘pautreṣa’ with reference to Boppadēva instead of the round-about expression putrasya putreṣa. I think that the father’s name in this case is Paddopadhyāyaputra, wherein the suffix upādhyāyaputra must be understood to be the title of the father. It may, however, be argued that this title is not met with elsewhere in epigraphy; but this argument does not militate against the interpretation offered by me here. I am almost certain that the title was in vogue at that time on the analogy of epithets like ārya-

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, text 1. 15; p. 135, text 1. 10; Vol. XVII, pp. 337 and 338; Vol. XXIV, pp. 144, 308n.
² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.
putra, Divaputra\(^1\) (title of the Kushāṇa kings), bhattaputra\(^2\) (found in names of donees and engravers in epigraphs) and Rājaputra\(^3\) (official).

In the light of the foregoing remarks we have to conclude that the engraver of the record was Boppadēva, son of Paddopadhyāya-puṭra and not grandson of Paddopadhyāya.

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**No. 38—NALAJANAMPADU OLD-TELUGU INSCRIPTION**

(1 Plate)

**ALFRED MASTER, LONDON**

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Director General of Archaeology, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, for excellent squeezes of this inscription which is transcribed in modern Telugu characters in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 676. A plate is given therein, but contains several obscurities. The inscription is generally considered to be later than the Addanki Inscription of 844-5 A. C.,\(^4\) but I had reason to suspect that it was, on the contrary, much older.

The inscription is engraved on the two sides of a stone. The village in a field of which the stone lies is situated about lat. 15° 05' long. 79° 30' in the heart of the Telugu-speaking area as shown in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, Map of Dravidian Languages. The stone has a bull at the head. Above it is a tiṅga on a pedestal, on the left of which is a water-pot and crescent moon and on the right a partly defaced mark, which may represent the *tiśula*. The characters are of the Western Chalukya type and resemble those of the Bādami Inscription\(^5\) of Vijayāditya (696-733 A. C.). As regards orthography the following may be noted: a is occasionally written for ā; it is often impossible to distinguish d and d.

**TEXT**

**Front**

1. Svasti \[**\] Bha-
2. gavat-Arha-[pā]-
3. rama-bhāṭṭānaksya pā-
4. dāndhyāṭa para-mā-
5. hēśvara Para[mēḷḷ]vara Pa-
6. llavādiya āri-B[a]li-
7. rājula andu paḷle-

**Back**

8. yari koḍuku Bād[ṛā]-
9. j=envānu rājam[ān]-
10. bu mānu vuṭṭu ṣṛḷa-
11. paṭṭu kṣetra[n]jου p[a][r]-
12. si palleyā[-dā]-
13. yana[n]bunāku ičehe
14. dīṇi rakṣiṇchīnāvāni[ki]

15. sūag-adug-
16. āsvamāṭha[n]bunā
17. palaṇb-ahu
18. dīṇi jachchina-
19. vāṇīkī ekāḷu
20. Śrīparvvatāni

**Notes**

\(^1\) Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 5, 6, 66, 96, 97.
\(^4\) Above, Vol. XIX, p. 274.
TRANSLATION

Hail! Paramēśvara-Pallavāditya, a devoted worshipper of Mahēśvara, meditating on the feet of the Supreme Master, the Lord Arhat. He who is named Bādirāju, son of the village chief in the family of the Bādirājula, divided off a field of three puttis of millet by the royal measure and gave it as the village-chief's hereditary land. He who preserves this (assignment) will have the reward of performing the horse sacrifice often. He who destroys it will ever have the sin of destroying the Śrīparvyyata. Written by Pallavāchārya, son of Vāchcho.. Jāla.

The inscription is ordinarily supposed to have been engraved in the name of a small Pallava chief Bādirāju and the expression Paramēśvara is held to be an epithet. Paramēśvara was a title assumed by Pulakēśin II after his repulse of Harsha and was used by the Western and Eastern Chalukyas after him. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas used it, but not regularly. The Bānas claim descent from the door-keeper of Paramēśvara and do not use the title for themselves. The Gaṅgas do not use the title. And the Chōlas at a later period avoid it. It is therefore unlikely that a small chief of Pallava descent would use it, particularly as the earlier Pallavas used the word only as a personal name and the later Pallava kings were recognised as paramount long enough to make it unlikely that any members of the clan would assume it as a title. Nandivarman Pallavanalla in the Kāśikuṇḍa plates1 (c. 730 A. C.) calls himself paramēśvara and in line 136 the word is used in paramēśvara-mahākākārakāriṣṇa by the king's high-treasurer. If paramēśvara is not a biruda, it must be a name. There is only one name that deserves consideration—that of the Pallava king Paramēśvara I (660 to 680 A. C.). There are the following definite reasons for making this attribution.

(1) The characters belong to the seventh and eighth centuries. They are later than the sixth century as k and r are no longer open. They are not later than the ninth century as they possess an earlier form of l.

(2) The inflexion -ṇu (modern Telugu -du and -ədu) in the Addanki inscription is represented here as -nu. The modern Telugu āḍu 'a millet' is represented, not as āḍu as in the Addanki record, but as āḍu. These forms are closer to the Tamil type, but are not Tamil. The freer use of r is a sign of age.

(3) Paramēśvara I frequently calls himself in Tamil inscriptions Iehehuvaparuma and Paramēchehuv[a]ra2 and in Sanskrit Paramēśvaravarmā3 with only a simple biruda, if any. Pallavāditya is one of the birudas of Narasimha II, Paramēśvara's son, and Mahēśvara is a contemporary name of Śiva, although I cannot find the term paramamāhēśvara until the ninth century in an Eastern Chalukyan grant.5 Paramēśvara, unlike many other kings, often does not use īrī before his name.6

(4) The vocabulary and structure of sentences are not less archaic than those of the Addanki inscription.

The language of the inscription is of special interest. It has been previously noticed,7 that there are several unusual words and forms. Mūṇu (I. 10) 'three' may be compared with Tamil mēṇṭru and is certainly the oldest form known of the numeral substantive three. Paḷḷeyārī

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4 Ibid., p. 16.
5 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 22. (The following rulers of South India who flourished between 4th and 7th centuries A. D. had the biruda of paramamāhēśvara: (1) the Sālakāyana king Vijaya-Dēvar-varman (above, Vol. IX, p. 58); (2) the Kēkaya chief Sivandavarman (Ep. Car., Vol. XI, p. 142) and (3) the Vīghuknūdin king Vikramandivarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 196).—N. I. R.)
7 See, for example, K. Ramakrishnayya: Studies in Dravidian Philology.
(ll. 8 and 12) which seems to be the form intended, can be compared as regards the formation with pāḷuṛu 'tenant'. It seems to have been formed from palle 'village' and the plural suffix -ār. Ekaḷuḷa (l. 9) may be compared with enner (enna ār+), another form of -ār found in a Kannada inscription of c. 700 A.C. but singular instead of plural. Paṭrįḷi (ll. 11 and 12) is uncertain and might be paliṇi or paliṇi or pāḷi for paḷ, without altering the meaning, as Telugu paraṇa means fragment, pāḷu, share and Kannada has paḷi meaning 'divide', paliṇi, paliṇi meaning 'distribute'.

Reward is pala (l. 17) (not phala) as in the earliest Telugu and Kannada-Sanskrit inscriptions. Ekaḷu (l. 19) may be for ekāḷu cf. ekāḷamu meaning 'when'. The final ā is for the emphatic suffix and might be for ā or um. The form of la (ll. 18 and 21) is found in later inscriptions and also in early Kannada.

What Caldwell terms euphonic permutation is rare, the only clear example being vutta (l. 10) for puṭṭu in māṅu vutta. In the other inscriptions it is more frequent. So pandumbu, meaning 'ten tūmsu', sēnu for chēnu, meaning 'field', sēsi for chēsiri; again gānu for kānu meaning 'see', vē-gullu, meaning '1000 families' (vē+kullu), vē-seruvaḷu meaning '1000 tanks' (vē+çeruvaḷu) in the Māḷappāḷu inscription. In the Addāṅki verse inscription the change is common but in the short prose portion rare, only enubadi vuddu, meaning '80 puṭṭas' being found (puṭṭalu replaced by vuddu).

The grammar of the present inscription is closer to Tamil and Kannada than is modern Telugu. The plural termination kal or gaḷ is already worn down to la via gāla which actually occurs in the Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla (c. 880 to 926), in bṛōgala meaning 'cities' (b is the form assumed by p after ni). The ending aru for nominative masculine singular has been mentioned above. The neuter form mōu later mu already appears but seems to be confined to words considered to be of Sanskrit origin. Ichohe (l. 13) meaning 'he gave' corresponds to ichchenu in modern Telugu and ichchen in literary Telugu for M. F. N. sing. and N. pl. Possibly the twin consonant is a sign of the past tense. The suffix ōku (l. 13) corresponds with modern Telugu gā; Tamil āka, āki, Kannada āga are similar in origin. Agu (l. 17 and 22) is a future or optative, cf. Kannada akum⁴ and perhaps Tamil āka in the Daḷavāḷu inscription. The uninflected form of the nominative used as a genitive (palleyari, l. 8) is found in certain nouns in modern Telugu, but the genitive termination na (aśaṃdhañhun, l. 16) is, in modern Telugu, only found in words such as āyana meaning 'his' and in relative participles. The former survives in modern Tamil and Kannada, and the latter only in Tamil.

From the linguistic point of view an early attribution is therefore perfectly feasible. From the epigraphic point of view it has been stated above that the characters are those of the seventh and eighth centuries. They may be somewhat later, for the style of the Telugu alphabet was changed in the course of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Vijayāditya III (circa 844 to 888 A. C.) ; his later inscriptions were engraved in a new more regular style, which is found later in the Bezwada inscription. The latest date of this inscription is, therefore, c. 850.

Historically, the date can be pushed back still further. It has been argued above that Paramēśvara must be a proper name, but there still exists the bare possibility that during a pro-
longed period of disorder a local chief assumed the title of Paramēśvara. There is, however, no
sign of such a prolonged period of disorder. To the north of Addaniki which is only about 30 miles
from Nalajanampādu, the Eastern Chalukya kings reigned with unbroken power since c. 615.
To the south the Pallavas still maintained their power. So late as 862 Aparājīta won a victory over
the Pāṇḍya king and was not defeated by the Chōḷa Āditya till the end of the 9th century. His
predecessors Nandivarman Pallavamalla c. 740 and Dantivarman c. 824 were still recognised as
suzerains by the Bāṇa kings1 and although the Eastern Chalukya advance in 844 was probably
due to the weakness of Dantivarman’s successors, 20 years is too short a period in which to produce
a Pallava chief claiming sovereign powers in a mixed Chalukya-Pallava style and calling his minister
Pallavāḥāryya. The further we recede the less opportunity there is of finding any gap. The
fierce Pallava-Western Chalukya conflicts resulted only in weakening both the sides so much so
that they could be conquered by the Raśhrākūṭas and the Chōḷas, but their kingdoms were not
uprooted and there are no signs of administrative decay as in the last days of the Moghul Empire
or the break-up of the power of the Delhi Sultans.

The inscription itself although simple in its preface in conformity with Paramēśvara I’s
practice, is a formal document in the king’s name. It invokes the support of his successors with
the blessing of the horse-sacrifice and the sanction of a searing curse. If it had been written
in the name of a petty chief, the blessing of the aśvamēdha would have been ridiculous. The mention
of the rājyamaṇḍa or royal measure implies a strong central administration. A petty chief does not
concern himself with prescribing standard measures. There need, therefore, be no hesitation in
making the ascription to Paramēśvara I.2

No. 39—A NOTE ON THE NALAJANAMPADU INSCRIPTION

N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Ootacamund

In his article on this inscription Mr. Alfred Master attributes the record, which he places in
the 7th-8th century of the Christian era on grounds of palæography and language, to the Pallava
king Paramēśvara I. His main argument for doing so is that the expression Paramēśvara occurring
in line 5 of the record is a personal name and not a biruda of Bādirāja (I.7) as has been hitherto
supposed; for, according to him, it is not likely that a subordinate chief of Pallava descent could
have used the biruda as the earlier Pallavas used the word only as a personal name and the later
members of the family had no need to assume it. Moreover this title which was adopted by the
Chālukyas and occasionally used by the Raśhrākūṭas was not used by the Bāṇas, the Gaṅgas or
the Chōḷas. But I may point out that there is at least one inscription at Kaṅehipuram which
indicates that the early Pallava king Narasimhavishnu had the title of Paramēśvara.3 In
the context it is not possible to take the word used in double entendre as the proper name of the

3 In the preparation of this paper, I have profited by some useful suggestions kindly put forward by Dr. L. D.
Barnett. I also owe thanks to Mr. C. S. K. Pathy, D-ēś-L for his perusal of the rough draft.

Bhartṛhā Pur-ōṇmāthana-dṛpta-ḥanum-balasya
ŚālādhīrṬa-tanay-ēva Vṛṣṭadvēṣaya [*]
yā Kāḷakāla īti viśruta-punya-kirtiṃ
kāntā nītānta-dayitā Paramēśvaramatya[nya] [1*]
Dēśe jagad-vala-maha-paddha-dikṣē
nirhimna-śatra-hydyasya Narasimhavishnu[ya] [*]
vallahyam-śrījītam[ya] avāpya viśrājṣē yā
nirṛjitya garvam-īva Pushkaradvēṣṭāyaḥ [2*]

As Narasimhavishnu was the name of the king, the expressions Kāḷakāla and Paramēśvara are to be taken as
his birudas.
king which is given in the second verse of the record as Narasimhavishnu. Among the rulers who claim Pallava descent, Chäru-Ponnéra, who was also known as Pallavädhiräja, bore the title of Paramëśvara.\textsuperscript{1} Vira-Nombådhiräja (apparently Pojaliçhöra, son of Chäru-Ponnéra) had assumed the title Räjaparamëśvara.\textsuperscript{2} Several inscriptions of the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country apply this title to their ancestor Käduveçti or Mukkançi Käduveçti.\textsuperscript{3} Of the other dynasties mentioned by Mr. Master, epigraphical evidence shows that the Western Gänga king śípurusha (A.D. 720 to 788) used Paramëśvara as a biruda;\textsuperscript{4} his son śivamära also bore it;\textsuperscript{5} and a record of Nanniyaga-Çanga, a later scion of the same family, seems to give him the title.\textsuperscript{6} That the Chöja king Virarajendra who ruled from A.D. 1063 to 1070 can be seen from his Chärala plates\textsuperscript{7} of Šaka 991 and from the stone inscription of the 6th year of his reign at Pottapali.\textsuperscript{8} The biruda of Räjaparamëśvara is known to have been borne by Kulöttuṅga I.\textsuperscript{9} It is thus difficult to maintain that the word Paramëśvara used in the inscription is not a biruda of a Pallava chief.

Another reason adduced in support of the contention that the title could not be that of Bädiräja, who was a small Pallava chief, is the blessing of the aśvamäṭha which would be ridiculous in a record of a petty chief and the mention of the räjämäna which implies a strong central administration. I shall give here a few instances from inscriptions which, though they do not refer themselves to the reigns of sovereign rulers, invoke the blessing of aśvamäṭha and mention räjämäna. One of them is the inscription of Prithivipati found in the Cuddapah District of the Madras Presidency.\textsuperscript{10} It is also written in the Telugu language and may be assigned on grounds of paleography, to the 8th or 9th century A.D. During this period there was no independent ruler of the name of Prithivipati in this part of the country. He could be only a minor chieftain. But his epigraph contains a reference to the rächchamäna (räjämäna) as well as to aśvämäṭha (aśvamäṭha). Another inscription\textsuperscript{11} of Šaka 894 which was issued during the administration of Sänativarmmarasa, who was not a paramount king, invokes the fruit of eighteen aśvamäṭhas on the person who protected the gift recorded in it. An early Telugu inscription of about the 7th century A.D. at Bõdanampälu in the Nellore District records a gift of land according to the räjämäna. It may be noted that this epigraph was not issued by a reigning king.\textsuperscript{12} Similarly an inscription at Kōḻalu in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State dated Šaka 953 which does not mention any ruling king registers an endowment of land measuring twelve mattar by räjämäna.\textsuperscript{13}

Let me now proceed to the interpretation of the text of the record. After evasti, which can be regarded as a sentence in itself, the next sentence ends with ichche in line 13. If it is considered that there is another sentence ending with Pallaveditiya of line 6, it would have no predicate. It would not, therefore, be natural to take the passage beginning with Bhagavad and concluding with Pallaveditiya as a complete sentence, nor is there any justification for doing so. The whole passage preceding ēri-Bädirajula would thus govern Bädirajula.

\textsuperscript{1} Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Challakere 33 and 34.
\textsuperscript{2} S. I. I., Vol. IX, No. 17.
\textsuperscript{4} Mys. Arch. Rep., 1927, No. 4.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 1924, Nos. 46 and 80 (L.65).
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., 1923, No. 113 (L.38). Some later chiefs of this family had this title; see e.g. Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Shikarpur 109 and 130 and Shimoga 4 and 39.
\textsuperscript{7} Above, Vol. XXV, page 262, text-line 156.
\textsuperscript{9} S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 200.
\textsuperscript{10} Journal of the Telugu Academy, Vol. 24, p. 160.
\textsuperscript{11} Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, Sornab 44.
\textsuperscript{13} Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Hityur 77.
In view of these considerations it would be highly problematical to ascribe this inscription to the Pallava king Paraméṣvara 1.

Incidentally I may notice here one or two points of the language of the record. The suffix áku (l. 13) is to be taken as a dative case-ending corresponding to the modern termination aku of the same case as in grikamunáku. The long á in áku is found in many early Telugu inscriptions.

In lines 11-12 I would read pañjálsí in place of pañjálsí; pañjálsí may be either a variant of or a mistake for pañjásí meaning 'having obtained'. This word may be construed along with andú in l. 7 which, though locative, seems to have the sense of 'from'. Thus the passage in lines 6-12 would mean 'he who was called Bādirāju, the son of Palleyaru, having obtained 3 veśtu of śīla-paṭṭu land from Śri-Bādirājulu'.

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**No. 40—TASGAON PLATES OF YADAVA KRISHNA; SAKA 1172**

**I Plate**

G. H. KHARE, POONA

Sometime in 1934, my friend Mr. V. T. Apte, M.A., LL.B., of Jamkhandi (the capital of the state of the same name in Southern Maratha country, now merged into the Indian Union) sent to me four copper plates with a tentative reading of the record inscribed on them. He informed me that he got them from Mr. S. R. Apte, the then Public Prosecutor of Jamkhandi who had secured them from Mr. Jog, a pleader at Tasgaon (Satara). On examining the plates, I found that the grant originally consisted of five plates of which the first was missing. But having no hope of getting it in the near future, the incomplete record was edited jointly by myself and my friend Mr. V. T. Apte. After a lapse of 4 years, however, through the good offices of Mr. V. T. Apte, I was able to get the missing plate, which I edited separately. I now re-edit the complete record in this journal for a wider circle of scholars.

The set consists of five plates, measuring 10½", 6" and less than 1/10" in length, breadth and thickness respectively. They were strung on a circular ring, 2½" in diameter, the two ends of which were soldered into a rectangular seal, bearing in relief, from left to right, the figures of a couchant bull and a flying garuda with folded hands. Garuda was the emblem of the Yadava dynasty and the bull probably that of the feudatory family brought to notice for the first time in these plates. The first and the fifth plates are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the remaining three plates are engraved on both the sides. The rims of the plates are turned either inwards or outwards, and the writing is well preserved on the whole. The set weighs 219 tolas.

The grant is written in characters of the southern Nāgarī type of the thirteenth century A.D. and calls for few remarks. The engraver being not sufficiently skilled in his craft has committed several mistakes. It is rather difficult to differentiate between deva and dēha; ra, ta and na also cannot be easily distinguished from one another.

About orthography, some points deserve mention. Jīvāmāluja has been used in 19 places (ll. 9, 12, 16, 19, 21, 24, 39, 42, 44, 45, 53, 62, 66, 68, 82, 91, 96) and upadāmiya in 8 places (ll. 14, 15, 29, 30, 41, 49, 91, 96). S has been used for in some places; e.g., Śrīchandra (l. 37), satam 3

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1 Cf. Vasantiśvarasambhak = ichchinadi (i.e., given to the temple of Vasantiśvara) in No. 334 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; below, p. 236, text-lines 15-16.
2 Palleyaru or Palleyana may be a proper name or the designation of an official connected with a pañja, i.e., Jain temple or establishment to the god Arhat, of whom the chief Bādirājulu was a devotee.
4 Ibid., p. 65.
The language of the record is Sanskrit, except in lines 100-115 which are written in Marathi prose. This passage is valuable as it furnishes a specimen of the rare Marathi of the pre-Jñānēsvara period. It contains one definitely Kannaḍa word oḍēra. The whole of the Sanskrit portion is in verse except the last line.

The record opens with the details of the date below and refers to the grant of the village Manjaravātaka. Then after invocations to Śiva and Vishnu in his boar incarnation, the record describes the members of the Yādava family thus: Formerly in the Yādava family was born the victorious Bhīlama who built his fort Suragiri, i.e., Dēvagiri. From him was born Jaitra who subdued the angry Āndra king. His son was Sūhha born by the grace of the family-goddess Nārasimhi. From him was born Jaitra who begot Krishṇa. Conventional praise is bestowed on these princes. While Krishṇa was ruling, there prospered the family of Chandra and Kēśava whose descent is described as follows:—In Northern India there was a Gūrjara Brāhmaṇa named Satānda of the Krishṇatēya kula (gōtra). He begot Śrīyānanda. From him was born Jalhaṇa-Paḍēta. His wife was Kumārādēvi, the daughter of Prabhāditya of the Viśvāvasu gōtra. Their son was Chandradēva whose younger brother was Kēśava. Here follows a description of the fraternal love that existed between them. Chandradēva who was the tilaka of the Yādava feudatories was also known by the epithet Kharhastamalla. In vv. 18 and 19 there is a veiled allusion to some historical facts and as such I translate them here very closely. (V.18) “Oh! be the king of Kōńkaṇa and then I shall be Chandradēva for a moment.” “If you are the protector of Gōpaka, then oh! I am born as Kēśava.” “You protect your territory and then, oh! I shall take it by assault in a moment.” “Thus was the tumult raised by the boys while playing in the palace.” (V.19) “Oh! Lord! if you are Jayakēśin, the king of the sea, then drive the group of horses”; “Oh Chōla! send speedily a hundred pearls with fresh water”; “Oh king of Nepal, make haste (and send) a clean and white chāmara and musk (to the brothers)”. Thus spoke always, the parrots and sāribīs (of the palace) in the morning. Though nothing has been said in these verses about the relations of the princes mentioned therein to the two brothers, Jayakēśin may be the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin III of Goa, who is assigned to the period between 1187-83 and 1210-11 A.D. by the late Dr. Fleet,MM. Prof. V. V. Mirashi has suggested with some diffidence that some Abhira king may have been referred to by the word Gōpakapālaka. But is it not better to take Gōpaka to stand for Gōpakapataṇa and the whole expression to mean the king of Goa?

These two brothers, out of devotion, constructed a unique temple of Kalidēva. Here follow three verses describing the sky-scraping pinnacles of the temple. For this temple the two brothers made a grant of the village Manjaravātaka with the stipulation that half the income of the village was to be spent for the eight kinds of bodily enjoyment of the god (Kalidēva-Śiva) and the other half was to be utilised in feeding 25 Brāhmaṇas. Verse 24 is imprecatory and verse 25 informs us that one Mhāidēva who was well-versed in six languages and who was a favourite of both the brothers, Chandra and Kēśava, composed this inscription. Now comes the Marathi portion which, besides referring to the village granted and the conditions of the grant, names the villages

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 571. Professor Morier in his Kadambakula, however, has extended this period to 1216 A.D. in the genealogical tree given against p. 167; but on p. 204, he surmises that Jayakēśin might have reigned up to 1212-13 A.D. No evidence has been, unfortunately, put forward in either case. [Two records of this ruler which would take his reign up to A.D. 1215 or perhaps even up to 1217 have been noticed in the An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1925-26 (App. C, Nos. 437 and 439 and App. E, p. 83).—N. L. R.]

2 Above, Vol. XXV, p. 204 and note 4.

XVI-1-6
lying on the boundary of the village granted, and cites the names of nine (not eight as stated in the grant) out of the 14 donees who received shares in half the portion of the villages which was granted to Brāhmaṇas and who were to act as trustees for that portion. The temple was to be in charge of the Guravas who were to look after the bodily enjoyments of the god and the Brāhmaṇa grantees were to take care of the sūtra. In addition to these duties, the Brāhmaṇas were to perform daily pañcāhāmyajita, waving of lights etc. to the god. After the Marāṭhi portion the verse describing Mahādeva, the composer, is repeated. The grant then ends with a benediction in verse and prose.

The details of the date are given thus in ll. 1-2: the Śaka year 1172 represented by the words nētra (2), adri (7) and sudra (11), the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa, the month Māgha and the day of Purāṇi, i.e., the 14th of the dark fortnight. The 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha is the well-known Mahāśivarātrī day; but as no week day is given, it is not possible to verify the date. The day on which the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of a month falls at midnight is reckoned as the Śivarātrī day. In the present case the 14th tithi was current at midnight on Monday, the 20th February A.D. 1251 and ended on Tuesday the 21st of February 1251 A.D. at 03 after mean sunrise. It follows, therefore, that the 20th was the date intended.

Of the place names occurring in this grant Mānjījāvātaka or Mānjījārabāde is the modern Mānjījārde, a village nine miles to the north-east of Tasgaon, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Satara District. Gōvaru, Vālagavāda, Hadhinaura and Pēžha are the modern Gōvarao, Balagavade, Hāṭnur and Pēž at a distance of 2, 2, 3½, 3½ miles respectively from the village granted. Suragiri is evidently Dēvagiri or modern Daulatabad. About Parṣa-khēta a few words are necessary. Hēmādri in his introduction to the Vṛata-khaṇḍa, a part of the Chaturvaryachintāmaṇi informs us that Mallugi, a Yādava prince, captured the town Parṣa-khēta from his enemies with a view to making it his residence.1 Prof. V. V. Mirashi has opined that this town must be situated somewhere to the east of Khāṇḍeṣh, possibly in Berar, and has suggested that it should be identified with Pāṭkhēṣa, a village about 4 miles to the south-west of Bārāli-Takaji in Berar.2 Ordinarily the word Parṣa-khēta would be transformed into Pāṭal-kēṣa, Pāl-kēṣa or Pānkhaṅḍa, but not to Pāṭkhēṣa; for Pāna, Pāla, etc., are the derivatives of Parṣa and Pāta, Patṭa, etc., of pillar. I, therefore, think that Prof. Mirashi's identification does not hold good as far as phonetics is concerned. I venture to suggest an identification of the place. In the south-west corner of the West Khandeṣh District is a comparatively big village named Pāl-kēṣ or Pānkhaṅḍa which may with greater probability be identified with Parṣa-khēta.

TEXT

[Metres: vv. 1, 2, 5-9, 11, 12, 14-24 Sārdūlavikrīḍita; 3, 25, 26 Sraṇḍharā; 4 Prithvī; 10 Gūṭi; 13 Āryā; 27 Śālīni.]

First Plate

1 ओँ || स्वति श्रीमति शाल(लि)वाहनपाले नेष्ट्रिक्ष्णोदयः

2 तस्मा(ला)धरणवङ्ग(ला)रे उस्फितं मात्रे [पु]रस्तितिव्र 1 [सा]-

2 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 131, f. 1 n. 1.
3 From the original plates.
4 Shown by a symbol.
5 Read. पुरस्तिति. 
3 सम्पूर्णसुप्रति सर्वत्र श्रीमान्य नाम नाम
4 संवरुषकुतम्य विनायक लक्ष्मण निःश्ववते।।
5 एव प्रसंग श्रीनाथव्रतमुखे विकारणां श्रीमान्य च नित्यवण यथेऽपि।।
6 श्रीमान्य चन्द्रशेखरदेवदैवसुलालये रघुतरामे नाम।।
7 नु ॥ कृपिति (सत) पत्तायसु (रघु) पां विकारणभो (रघु) मांस्तु लिन्नु।।
8 [स्ता]रघुनाथव्रतकबेदनिर्ज्ञनाती (रघु) श्रीमान्य नाम।।
9 लिन्नु।।। श्रीमान्य रघु नुस्तु कोलूरुत रघुमिन्द्रायकोद्वः।।
10 श्रीमान्य रघुनाथव्रतकबेदकनिर्ज्ञनाती।।। श्रीमान्य नाम।।
11 कृपिति नुसु लोन्हुलु मुरुहु बाल्यगतः।।
12 श्रीमान्य रघुनाथव्रतकबेदकनिर्ज्ञनाती।।। श्रीमान्य नाम।।
13 रघुवशंकरबुधकान्ति ॥ ३॥ अयो समवः।।
14 लुरु युद्धके नुसु लिन्नु (रघु) (श्रीमान्य प्रक्रियाविष्कारः।।
15 ततं ततं कल्याणालयाय प्रथमात्मा विनित।।
16 ततं ततं कल्याणालयाय प्रथमात्मा विनित।।
17 नहं यो निःश्ववते विषयति कलमिन (रघु) रहस्या।।
18 मुखी ध्रुवराशिकालयाय प्रथमात्मा विनित।।

Second Plate; First Side

19 निःश्ववते कलसमन्तिरत्वादि।। वर्ष (रघु) द्राक्षनंद्य-।।
20 श्रीमान्य (रघु) युद्धके मनसा मुरुहु नामसवः ॥।
21 मुरुहु नुसु कुरुसिवारुपालिं ॥।। तदुभवसु कुरुवेदेति मुखिता भृगु (वीं)।।
22 वर्णम लेक्षणम (रघु) ततं श्रीमान्य श्रीमान्य रघु (श्रीमान्य) होति।।
23 यथा।।। श्रीमान्यमीत्रिति (रघु) से निःश्ववते प्रक्रियालयाया।।
24 निःश्ववते प्रक्रियालयायाय (रघु) नुस्तु वानाद्विते ॥।। यथा।।
25 श्रीमान्यमीत्रिति (रघु) श्रीमान्यमीत्रिति (रघु) नुस्तु वानाद्विते ॥।। यथा।।

01
26. ಯಸ್ತಿರಸುತ್ತಿಗೆ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕಾಳಾಂತ.
27. ದುಪ್ಪನೂರಿನಾಕಾಶದ ತಸ್ಸ ಕಾಯಮುನ್ನಾಗೆತ್ತಿತ ವೆ.
28. ಪಿತಾದ ಮುಖಾಂತರಾದ್ಯ.
29. ಕೋಶುಣದಶ್ರೀಮಂಗಾಡಿನ ಪೂರುಷಾಧಾರಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಂಗಾಡಿಗೆ.
30. ಸಂತರಳುಕು.
31. ವಿಧಾನಪದರಾಯದ ಪರವಲಯವನ್ನು.
32. ಲಂಬಾಯಿ ಸುಬ್ಧ ವಿಸ್ತಾರ ಸುಬ್ಧ ಹುಬ್ದಾಮುತ್ತಿ.
33. ಮರುಮುಖದ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯದ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ.
34. ದೀಪಮಾಡಿ ದೀಪಗೆ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಯಿತ ದೀಪ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿಗೆ.

Second Plate; Second Side

35. ಬೀದ್ರಗೆ ಸುಭಾಗವೇಳಿ ಕಲಾದು ಕಲಾದು ಕಲಾದು.
36. ತನ್ನ ಜೀವನ ಸುಭಾಗವೇಲಿ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
37. ಯಸ್ತಿರಸು ಕಾರ್ತಿಕಾಡಿಗೆ ಹುಬ್ದಾಮುತ್ತಿ.
38. ಉಷ್ಣದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
39. ವಿಧಾನಪದರಾಯದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
40. ವಿಧಾನಪದರಾಯದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
41. ದಿಪ್ಪಿ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ.
42. ವಿಧಾನಪದರಾಯದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
43. ಎಂತೆ ಎಂತೆ ಎಂತೆ ಎಂತೆ.
44. ತನ್ನ ವಿಸ್ತಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ವಿಸ್ತಾರದಲ್ಲಿ.
45. ದಿಪ್ಪಿ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ ದಿಪ್ಪಿಗೆ.
46. ಮರುಮುಖದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
47. ಮರುಮುಖದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
48. ಮರುಮುಖದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
49. ಮರುಮುಖದ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ ಸುಖಾದಾಯ.
TASGAON PLATES OF YADAVA KRISHNA; SAKA 1172

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA
Third Plate; First Side

50 तस्याभुतनयः प्रभुवधिनयः (य:) श्रीचंद्रदेववामिष्यलेहि

51 प्रकृतिप्रामार्थिबन्धस्वतःनुवः केनवः । ययोः

52 प्रकृतितपतापतः (य:) तः निमानामोर्निः जस्ते पारः पारः (पारः)

53 पंचन × किमुक्तः योः (य:) हस्ते श्रवः कविः कलहः (वघ) ते (१०) ॥ १४ ॥ [२०] वस्ती (लो)ः

54 भावमंडितः मुद्रमितः किं द्वारन्तन्वितः भ्रमः¹ यः

55 द्वारसतः [त्व] तेतत्तविलं प्रत्येकतमार्गं । किं यसुः (या) संप्रेष

56 तिरामणकृष्णभरिः जः (अच्छा) षण्णि नवदेवं कृतं यत्रोऽपि

57 प्रणायमसाधनविश्वसुङ्गिरिः गिरि गोवर्णः [१०] । १५१ ॥ [१०] यः

58 तस्मात्मयात्मा नित्यानन्दानं श्रीसंतवर्धिन्यः

59 स्त्रुतः (स्त्रा) बालविराजितांशु (प्रिघ) युगांसप्रांत नुवः सुः (सु) मिस्यः: ॥

60 सोपः यादवमंडलीलेकान्तकोणीचंद्रदेवाशिवः

61 प्रश्यतः लक्ष्मणः (स्त्रा) मलः (स्त्र) इति वस्तः स्त्रा मृतः

62 × केनवः: [२०] ॥ १५१ ॥ [२०] यहानिविवशस्यव्यस्यज्ञातारः

63 कः [व] लक्ष्मणिरिः भांतागारमायस्य पेन बः

64 गतः (ला) दोषेयवशस्य अलं । दासोविन्यः

65 कारिः येन ब[सु]ः या स्वाम निश्चितः (श) स्मणिः या

Third Plate; Second Side

66 तेवः (श:) स्वरः ने कक्षकालोन्मनमविश्वस्तत्रवत्ते सांतः

67 प्रत्यः ११५१: स्वः रे कक्षकालोन्मनमविश्वस्तत्रवत्ते चंद्रदेवः

68 × ्तवः तवः नेंद्रोपकालकोति तवः बालस्यः

69 केनवः: । रा कस्तवः विश्वस्य किं तवसस्य धापः विश्वस्य

¹ This全年 is met with in the Rik and Atharva Vedas, the Mundaka Upanishad and the Nirukta (Bloomfield: Vedic Concordances, p. 514a).
² Balarāma is implied by Rāma.
³ This letter is engraved at the bottom of the plate and the omission indicated by a kākapāda below the letter form. The numerical figure 7 by the side of this shows that it is to be inserted in the 7th line from the bottom.
70 कलातिक्ष (त्च) सन्नु (यत्र) पवित्रे कलातिक्ष सिद्धुकी- 
71 द[वृ] ॥ ॥ वेश तथा जयकी के सिद्धुन्दुपिनिलमोहे वा- 
72 सिद्धुकी शीर्ष प्रेमके चोल [नू]तन्त्रले मुतातुलामान। 
73 स (ह) त। तथा नेपालरक्तमथक्करणें कालुरिकां च त्वर्ते। 
74 भाषयेशुठ (चु) काशुरिकाभिनितं भधिमस्य (दय) तेस्ते (त्रयं) नियः। 
75 [1 य] ॥ ॥ तिधी कलिंतिवेंद्रङ्गीतं लोकोजनं च 
76 कतुलींर्मांगमलयानय वस्त्र महिमा कालिमथवागोऽ- 
77 चर्ते ॥ मुनोरुतन्तुषुन्नात्रस्वत्वं तलभेदेश्वरस्वं तो 
78 निश्चय न्य (तैर) निःसंयुक्ते चतुर्विशेषःतित नसंतोश (ब्रह्म) वे [1 य] ॥ ॥ 79 यदावविशेषासजः (भिन) ता हिङ्गवणा वासिकोदयेनित तत्ते। 
80 पूर्व वे हुवनं (ब्रह्म) वा विविधे बल्लों सम्य ते च ते ॥ 

Fourth Plate; First Side

81 सौरतीयसीविभागविभागपरस्तयात्वात्र पाणिका-
82 स्त्रीवर्मे × कलेशनिलिप्रश्च प्रेमिनिलोप्यात्वकम् [1 य] ॥ ॥ ॥ [1 य]
83 प्रत्यां प्रतिपः प्रतिपः प्रतिपः प्रत्यां प्रत्यां प्रत्यां प्रत्यां 
84 निःसं प्रतिकानि प्रतिनिन्त्र प्रत्यां प्रत्यां प्रत्यां प्रत्यां ॥ चापोऽ
85 कृष्णास्वेदेनस्वादलरा नमनाधिकानीवतां 
86 त वरित [नु] रिव [स्व] वलये वे ब्रह्म न यमुखितं ॥ ॥ ॥ मक्ता 
87 पर्वतम चंकेधवत्ते प्रामोहतां पुनर्मम्म चां 
88 जरवदं तत्क्षर देवदिनामीचे वे \ इ[ह्य] [व्र] (च) क- 
89 लिन्देवंसं कक्तिकतान्त्रांगमोहिनिश्च (हिन) ताबहे (च) भा- 
90 द्वाणं पंचवर्ण (व) [य] निगण्यावाक्ष (व) सत्य भोजनं ॥ ॥ ॥ 
91 काल (च) कौष्ठवीरिक्तत्त्वलवच्च (प्रासा (म) भवतिर्व) 

1 This letter is engraved above the previous letter म.
2 The vertical stroke of स्त्री denoting length is indicated by a sign overhead.
92 नू(प्रेष)मै सं(मेष)बी. या यव श्रीकिको यवि पुनःपूणीति-
93 कारी यवि । तायां दुःखाने दुर्लंकवस्था(स्वा)नपान्-
94 भावणीतत्त्वाता नवतत्त्वेन रभसा सोपकर्ते
95 यथये ११२॥१ उद्ध(ख)च्छेदप्राध्यायासूतिद्वात二胎-
96 स्तोत्रस्त्रयभक्ताः (प्रेम्यत)× केषावक्ष्यक्रम-

*Fourth Plate; Second Side*

97 रकरहस्तजोगवैभवञ्ज्ञानः । मूलपालकर-
98 हरस्वस्वभावति बिंगत(त) । । शारवपर्यन्त यथसागरात्मा-
99 यांच्याकारी कविरकृतित(त) कुली शालसं र्हाई(डू)त-
100 वेश: [१९] । १२॥। अंजनकाले गामु घारु घारु कलिवेचा
101 प्रज्ञानभौमा यथां पंचबीता श्राहणोवजानाः
102 प्रमाणात्पूर्व वसिते गोविश्य मुः(पृथ्व)सतीमा बलिः-
103 व विसे वालगावाद तीमा पत्थरसिद्धमेव हरिनीर म-
104. वार्तिसा उत्तर वेद स्वयंबतेर एवान्तरकां
105 या वित्ता कृते बेदाञगारति गुरुद्वारा(स्वा)नापती
106 कालवाहूः नरसिंहस्वरूपे
107 अछण्ठन्त्रुः गंगापर्मदुः म-
108 हावेदवन्हूः गोविश्यवहूः
109 विषुवन्हूः चाचरसु ला-
110 लावन्हूः हे नासहे भूमिसे कदनु चाचरसु वृ-
111 तिमंत सत्यपालक देवस्थ(स्वा)लालित मूरवी

*Fifth Plate*

112 शोचेरक सरस्व(स्वा)लालित ब्राह्मण शोचेर सन
113 भोगु प(पत)लावा गुराशी देवभोगु प(पत)लावा ग्र(ग्रा)-

¹ This dandha is superfluous.
² The six languages meant here are: Mahārashtrī or Pākrit, Saurasūtra, Māgadhi, Paliāchā, Chālīka Paliāchā and Apabhramśa. (Vide Skandhābhāṣāsvar, p. 4); Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. 71).
³ From here begins the Marāṭhi portion of the grant.
No. 41—PONNU\(T\)UR\(U\) PLATES OF GAN\(G\)A SAM\(A\)NTAV\(A\)R\(M\)AN; YEAR 64

M. Somasekha\(R\)a Sar\(M\)a, Gunt\(U\)r

This set of plates was discovered, some time in 1941, by a peasant in a field named ‘Ling\(g\)āla\-mer\(n\)aka’, belonging to the village of Ponn\(u\)ṭ\(u\)r\(u\) on the northern bank of the river Va\(n\)̄sadv\(a\)dh\(a\)ra, about a mile from Sōmarājapuram in the Parākimeḍi Estate in the Pātāpaṭ\(a\)mīlā of the Vizagapatam District. The farmer gave the set to his landlord, Śrī Vaṇam Rāghavadasaṇaiaṇḍu\(g\)ār\(u\), six months after its discovery. Subsequently, my friend, Śrī Bhyra Appaḷa\(s\)vāmiṇaiaṇḍu\(g\)ār\(u\), took these plates on loan for a short period from Rāghavadasaṇaiaṇḍu\(g\)ār\(u\), and was kind enough to send them on to me for decipherment and publication.

This set consists of three plates, each measuring 4\(\frac{6}{6}\)” long and 2\(\frac{1}{1}\)” broad. They are strung on a copper ring 2\(\frac{5}{5}\)” in diameter, which is passed through a hole, 3\(\frac{5}{5}\)” in diameter, near the left end of the writing. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The ends of the ring were connected at the bottom of a small rectangular seal, 1” long and 3\(\frac{5}{5}\)” broad. On the counter-sunk rectangular face, measuring 65” by 45”, of this seal, there is a figure of a couchant bull, facing proper right. The weight of the plates with the ring and the seal is 41 to\(l\)ās.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the other two, the second side of the third plate bearing only one line. The first and second plates appear to have received some mild crowbar blows probably at the time of discovery, but they did not damage the plates, as they are fairly thick. However, some of the letters on the first and second plates are slightly damaged. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims, yet the writing, on the whole, is in a good state of preservation.

\(1\) The vertical stroke of 90 might have been intended to serve as a 90.
The characters are of the early southern type and belong to the Kālīṅga variety of the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Uṛāmī and Nārāśingapalli plates of Hastivarman, and Ahyutāpuram plates of Indravarman. The difference between ca and va is very little. The letter ṅā looks like ṣgā, the superscript r being indicated by a serif (I. 3, 27). The medial i is represented by an inner circle within the sign for medial i (I. 11, 17). The signs for the medial vowels ai (I. 11, 17) and au (in I. 1, 4, and 13) are particularly noteworthy. Numerical symbols for 4, 8, 10, and 60 are used in the date portion (I.29). Final t can be seen in I.24.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. With the exception of five customary verses in the end, the inscription is in prose. As to orthography, there is little to note. A consonant before or after r is often doubled.

The inscription pertains to Sāmantavarman (I. 29), or Mahāsāmantavarman (I. 7), of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kālīṅga. It is issued from Saumyavana, the abode of the goddess of Victory (Jayaśī). Its object is to record the grant of the village of Pratishṭhāpura, situated in the district of Dāghi-paṅchālī, to four Brāhmaṇas, Yajñāśarman, Gaurīśarman, Agniśarman and Umasarman by name, of the Vatsa gōtra, who were students of the Vaiṣṇava Śaṅkara, for the increase of the merit of the king and of his parents. It is stated that the king made this grant at the request of his (?) uncle, Ādiyārāja (mām = Ādiyārāja).

The date of this grant is given both in words and in figures. In words, it is the sixty-fourth year of the victorious reign, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Pushya. In figures, it is the year 64, Pushya-dīna 28.

The writer and engraver of the grant was Vinayachandra, son of Bhāmichandra, the very person who wrote and engraved the grants of the Early Gāṅga kings of Kālīṅga till the 91st year of the Gāṅga era. One Ādiyārāja acted as dātaka, here called rājājñāpada.

After the Jirjīṅgi plates of Indravarman, the present is the earliest of the Early Gāṅga grants that have so far come to light. Like the other grants, it also begins with the praṅasti or eulogy of the Early Gāṅga kings of Kālīṅga. Its praṅasti, however, differs from that given both in the Jirjīṅgi plates of Indravarman and in the grants of Hastivarman. This preamble attained a sort of standardisation only from the time of Hastivarman. His successors took the eulogy given in his grants as model in drafting their records. Another fact worth mentioning in this record is the title Trikaliṅgādhipati. It is significant that, with the exception of Indravarman of the Jirjīṅgi plates and Sāmantavarman of the present record, no other Early Gāṅga king had that title. The years mentioned in this grant and in the Jirjīṅgi plates refer in all probability to the Gāṅga era. If this conjecture is correct, then, considering the nearness of time, it may be supposed that Indravarman and Sāmantavarman stand as father and son, or as brothers, in relation to each other.

This grant makes one point very clear, and that is about the system of reckoning of lunar months then in vogue in Kālīṅga. The 13th day of the bright half of Pushya in the given year was equal to the 28th day of Pushya. It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the Pāṛṇīma system of reckoning was in vogue in Kālīṅga during the rule of the Early Gāṅgas. This is confirmed by some other early grants also. The Uṛāmī plates of Hastivarman record a grant made on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight of the month of Kāṛtika, which is equated with the eighth
day of the month of Kārāṭika. The Tekkāli plates of Devendravarman register a grant made at the time of a lunar eclipse, but the month in which the eclipse occurred is stated only at the end where it is given as "the 30th day of the month of Māgha." This day according to the Pūrmāṇa system happens to be pañcānadi or the 15th day of the bright fortnight.

The localities mentioned in the grant are Saumyavana, Pratishtāhāpura, and Dāgha-paṇchālī. It is of interest to note that this grant was issued from a forest-settlement, similar to Madhuvana, Tumbavana, Pusakavana (Pashyakavana), the dwelling places of some Buddhist monks and house-holders which are referred to in certain Brāhmaṇ inscriptions from Bhāsa and Amarāvati.

Saumya is the name of one of the forests wherein the Pāṇḍavas resided for some time during the period of their mārāvāsa. It appears that this Saumyavana was either within Kaliṅga or on the borders thereof; yet it cannot be located with certainty. In this connection it may be interesting to note that there was a town called Saumyapura from which the Kōḍgaḍa grant of Dharmarājadeva of the Šailodbhava family was issued. This town has not been identified either. If it were the chief town of the forest colony of Saumyavana and named after it, then it may be concluded that this forest was in the direction of the ancient territory of the Šailodbhava kings.

It may not be out of place here to point out that Rāṇabhitā, the title assumed by Hastivarman, the successor of Sāmantavarman of the present grant, was actually the name of the earliest Šailodbhava king, referred to both in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarmar and in the Kōḍgaḍa grant of Dharmarājadeva, and that Hastivarman made a grant of some land to god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), known also as Rāṇabhitādaya, who was probably consecrated by the king himself after his own name.

Pratishtāhāpura, the village granted, I am unable to identify. It is possible that it is the Sanskritised form of some dēśi name like Pērū, the word pēru being equivalent to the Sanskrit word pratishtā. That there was a tendency to Sanskritise ordinary village names in early times in Kaliṅga is proved by the Bṛihatprāśṭḥā grant of Umarvarman.

The village of Pratishtāhāpura is said to have been situated in the district of Dāgha-paṇchālī. This territorial division is not mentioned in any of the Kaliṅga grants so far discovered, though the names of some viśayas or districts ending in paṇchālī occur in some of them. I know four such, namely, Kōṛāṅka-paṇchālī, Dēvanna-paṇchālī, Pashyagiri-paṇchālī, and Chikhal-paṇchālī. To this may now be added Dāgha-paṇchālī. Its exact location is not possible at present.

2 [The word was in the present instance need not denote "a forest"]; There are instances of place-names ending in āva, like Kāmyskavāna; see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 332 and n. 7. Their counterparts in Tamil are place-names ending in āva, like Tiruvāḷangādū. The word āva often stands also for upāvaṇa which means "garden." In this connection the use of the word ākṣama as the place of issue of a royal charter may be compared, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 250 and n. 3, p. 251 text l. 9.—Ed.]
3 See Liddell's List of Brāhmaṇ Inscriptions, Nos. 288, 291, 449, 450, and 1272.
4 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 269, text l. 42.
5 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 66, text l. 13.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 21.
First Plate

1. धोमः स्वस्तिः [II*] अयशोभिनवासप्रस्तृतयवनानराजरघुरोरीः

2. सकलशास्त्रसरस्वते जग्नः शिवशुद्धिलिङः

3. यहेतोमहेभ्राचकलविवरनिवासिनि गोकणे

4. स्वामिनः सततप्रणामपरिनिणंत्रितः ५ श्रीं द्रा ५ का

5. लेवदोके गाजः मलमलजलगनलसहस्त्रकिमः

6. स्वातिः यः रापरिश्वाहिनतराजसदिव्यकल्लिन्जः भिन्नि

7. बीमहराजमहातमसतम् वायपकवालीविवे

Second Plate ; First Side

8. प्रतिष्ठापजनिवासिनिसहस्तमुखेयतांकुटुम्बिनस्तमाः

9. जायति विवितमलु चो यथायां प्रामाणंत्रक्यारंगे

10. हुस्तायधिकांताकर्मफ्रित्तमपहारकुर्वा मापांित्य

11. राजप्रतिविचतरसमाभिमांतिपूर्णोरामस्तम पुथा

12. विभूते वाजनंयवासारियो वस्तस्ताः चै भ्यो

13. यहमविनिरंतरसामाहमसिद्धसमम (सम्) भ्यः ३ उवकूलसमू

14. तरायणे प्रशः [II*] तदुपल्म यथोचितं भागमोगमू

Second Plate ; Second Side

15. नेयं भवजुरिति [II*] प्रस्तृय च दलवस्मेयातुपालने भविष्या

16. ग्राजः स्वबलदायः [ना]यायमयांश वोधयति यम्मेञ्जममकरकः

17. मेलपल्म भूमिं भूमिऩ्नालरे दलवस्मेयातुपालनीः [II*]

18. ग्राजः [II*] मा भुव [व] लश्चुवः व परदेपि पर रिच्या भागः [II*] स्वाता

* From the original plates.
* Indicated by a symbol.
* This anagama is superfluous.
* Read लिङ्ग instead of लिङ्गति.
* Sundhi has not been observed here.
* Read स्ववंद्यः.
No. 42—TELU GU CHOLA RECORDS FROM ANANTAPUR AND CUDDAPAH
(2 plates)

K. A. NILAKANTA SAS TRI, MAD RAS; AND M. VENKATARAMAY YA, OOTACAMUND

Seven of the subjoined records, which come from the Cuddapah District, were first noticed in the early years of the last century by the Assistants of Col. Colin Mackenzie and described by them in their reports which are well-known as the Mackenzie Manuscripts Collection. The description of the contents of the inscriptions and their eye-copies found in these manuscripts revealed their importance for the history of the early Chōja rulers of the Telugu country. Estampages of the inscriptions were secured by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in May 1937 when he was studying Telugu Chōja history as a Research Scholar in the University of Madras, and they are now edited from those estampages. The rest, A, G, H, I and L, are edited from the estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, late Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. We are greatly obliged to Mr. N. Lakshmirayanan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, for his many useful suggestions and criticisms during the preparation of the article.

All the twelve records are in the early Telugu language and are engraved in the early Telugu-Kannada script of the variety employed in the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They are assignable on palaeographical and historical grounds, which we shall discuss presently, to different dates from the second half of the 8th century to the end of the 8th century A. D. and belong to different members of the dynasty of the Chōlas of Rēnāpdu.
A. The Kalamalla Inscription of Eriikal-Muturaju Dhananjaya

This inscription is engraved on two faces of a broken pillar in the courtyard of the Chennakesava temple at Kalamalla, Kamalapuram taluk.

It is damaged and several lines of the inscription are completely effaced and lost.

It is engraved in bold characters, and, in its palaeography resembles the Srangupa stone inscription of the Western Gang King Nirvinita (i.e., Avinita) of the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. The present record may also be assigned to that period. Apart from considerations of palaeography, we have to assign to King Dhananjaya some date about c. 575 A.D. on other grounds as will be explained in the sequel. King Dhananjaya is, without doubt, the same as Dhananjaya, the father of Chōla-Mahārāja Mahēndravikrama, mentioned in the Mālepāṭu plates of Puyyakumāra.2

The resemblance noted above between the present inscription and the Srangupa record is noticeable in almost all test letters like r, n, k, g, y and l both in their style and stage of development. Attention may be drawn to the medial long a sign in bū of 1.6 and mū of 1.8. The medial ē sign in rē of 1.7 resembles the same sign in the Tamil-Grantha script.4 Final a in 1.5 is distinguishable from a by the absence of the serif, the presence of which signifies the voiced consonant.

The inscription is one of the earliest completely Telugu records so far discovered; and consequently of great value for the history of Telugu language and orthography. It may be noted that at this early date Telugu had already begun to develop as a language distinct from Kannada although the script continued to be common. Although several Pallava records earlier in date than the present inscription contain Telugu words, this is the first complete inscription in Telugu so far known.

The inscription has unfortunately suffered damage at many points resulting in the loss of several archaic Telugu words. It seems to record a gift to (or by) a certain Rēvaṇakālu of Churumāru when [Eriikal-Muturaju Dhananjaya] was ruling Rēṇāju.

The king Dhananjaya (Dhananjayara as in the inscription) bears the epithet Eriikal-Muturaju, which is also borne by several of his successors, e.g., Puyyakumāra (Puyyakumāruṇu as in the inscriptions E and F below). A prince bearing a similar epithet, Erigal-Dugaraju, figures in the inscriptions of Chōla-Mahārāja edited below (ins. C and D). The word Eriikal or Erigal which occurs as a prefix in these descriptive compounds seems to be the name of a place, while the suffixes Muturaju and Dugaraju seem to signify some official dignity, especially as Dugaraju may be taken to be a form of Yuvaraja or heir-apparent (vide B below, Erēragunjiṇā inscription of Eriikal-Muturaju). This place, Erigal, finds mention in a more complete form as the name of the territorial division, viz., Erigalvāḍi-six hundred in the Maddagiri inscriptions of Dhananjaya I18 and in the Chikka-Madhura inscription of Pallavādhiraṇa Nojamba who is stated to have

1 No. 380 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
4 Cf. S.I., II, pl. X, Vallan āvare ins. 1.4, Kandādēṇavāṇu.
4 Ep. Curn., XII, Mi. 92-3, 97, 100; 94 and 101 are also his records. There is some difficulty in determining the exact form of the name of this territorial division. Rice reads the portion relating to the country as either Ālavāḍi 600 or Erigalvāḍi 600, while H. K. Sastrī (above, Vol. XI, p. 341) preferred the reading Ālavāḍi 600 treating the term 'Erigal' as part of the personal name of Dhananjaya. But an examination of the record shows that 'Erigal' should be taken as part of the name of the region—witness the nominative singular form Dhananjaya (Mi. 92-3). Further the same territorial division is called Erigalvali (with short i) in 'Erigal' which may well be a corruption of 'Erigalvāḍi' in the Chikka Madhura inscription of Pallavādhiraṇa Nojamba (Ep. Curn., XI, Cl. 34). According to the inscriptions edited here, the term has to be read either as Erigal or Erigal, the initial vowel being read as long ē or short e for the form in which the initial vowel is written in both cases is alike. But in view of the existence of the term 'Erigalvali' with short i, the form Erigal has to be preferred. The long ē in Erigal as read by Rice need not be considered a difficulty. The existence of the form Erigal with short ē and short u, the suffix -ud meaning rock, and the probability of the name of a place being Erigal or Erigal like Kunigal, Dērapāḷ (Chittor D.), and Kangayal (Anantapura D.), all render it very probable that the name of the territorial division is Erigalvāḍi or Erigalvāḍi 600; the distinction between ordinary ē and rough r being not strictly observed, e.g., in Rēṇāju and Rēṇādu.
5 Ep. Curn. XI, Cl. 34.
been ruling Irigalvādī as a subordinate of Prabhūtavarsa Sṛivallabhā, i.e., Gōvinda II (c. 775 A.D.). The territorial division takes its name after Erigal which has to be looked for somewhere in this region. It may be suggested that Nidugal of the modern maps in the Pavagadh taluk of the Tumkur District is the ancient Erigal. The provenance of the Maddagiri inscription close by renders the identification very likely. It may be added that the antiquity of Nidugal is carried back to about 8-9th century A.D. by an inscription of Nolamba Pallava Bihāchārarasa of the time of king Mahāndra at the place.¹

Moreover, except for a few brief periods in the 8th, 9th and part of the 10th century A.D. when it was wrested from the Telugu Chōjas by the Nolambas in the reign of Pallavādhārāja Nolamba², the region was long associated with a line of Telugu Chōla rulers, known as the Nidugal Chōjas. Considering the early date to which the present inscription may be ascribed, the mention of the region Erigal in it leads to the conclusion that the region round about Nidugal on the borders of the Pallava and Kadamba dominions must have formed one of the earliest settlements of the Chōjas in the Telugu country. It would appear that it was from this region that the eastward expansion of the Telugu Chōjas into the neighbouring tracts of Rāmaṇi-nādu³, Rēnādu 7000, Siddhi 1000⁴ and Hiraṇyarāṣṭra⁵ seems to have taken place; and this appears to be conveyed by the epithets Erigal-Mutturāju and Erigal-Dugarāju by which some of the Chōjas of Rēnādu describe themselves in their inscriptions found in the Rēnādu country (ins. a to F). Thus Dhanāṇjaya, in describing himself as Erikal-Mutturāju ruling Rēnādu in the present inscription, signifies that he held the official position of a Mutturāju,⁶ being attached to Erigal, which was probably the ancestral seat. Similarly, Puyākumāra (ins. E and F below) holds the same official position; and in one inscription (F) he describes himself as the ruler of Rēnādu with Chirpāla as capital. Again in two subjoined inscriptions of Chōla-Mahārāja (c. 991 D) an Erigal-Dugarāju figures as the donor, and he was probably a prince of the family holding the official position of Dugarāju or Vuvārāju at Erigal.

It may be objected that in the compounds ‘Erigal-Dugarāju’ and ‘Erigal-Mutturāju’, the prefix ‘Erigal’ may not signify a place but stand for the name of a dynasty or clan of chiefs in the same manner as the compounds such as Vāllava-Dukārāju (ins. B below), Vaidumbā Mutturāju,⁷ Chōlaka Mutturāju (or Mutta-rasa), Kāduvetṭi Muttarasa,⁸ Pṛthvī-kongānu Mutta-rasa⁹ and Perbāga Mutta-rasa,¹⁰ the prefixes in all of which refer to a dynasty and not to a place. It is however quite possible that the prefix sometimes refers to a place named¹¹ and the more so as a tract known as Erigalvādī is found. Further the forms Erigalulu and Eyalra-kallu (ins. I below, text ii. 6-7 and J, text, ii. 14-15) point to the same conclusion.

¹-Ep. Cura., XII. Pg. 48.
²-Ibid., Vol. XI, Cl. 34.
⁴-Above, Vol. XI, p. 345, Māhāpādu stone inscription of Satyāditya.
⁶-Vide page 224 below.
⁹-This occurs as the surname of Šrīpurusha in many records: Ep. Cura. IV, Ch. 63; III. Tn. 53, etc.
¹¹-This practice seems to have been widely prevalent in the Kērala country where the king was usually designated by the name of his kingdom (see Padmanābha Menon: History of Kērala, Vol. V, p. 4) in record issued by him and was referred to, for example, as Jayatunugannatā-Muttatanbrān without mention of his proper name (T. A. S. Vol. VII, p. 95) or Śīharāy-Mutta-Tambārān (T. A. S. Vol. VI, pp. 178, 181). Further, inscriptions issued barely in the designatory name of an official both in the North and South are not uncommon and are explainable by the importance of the office. See, for example (1) above, XXIV, p. 206 where an inscription recording a gift by ‘Māthuraka Kāsaḷvāḷa’, i.e., ‘the Kālaḷvāḷa (off.) of Mathurā’, is noticed; (2) ins. issued in the name of Kōṇaḷa Mutta-rasa (Ep. Cura., III, Tn. 53; IX, Ht. 21).
Of the two terms indicating official dignity, Yuvarāja is the well understood term signifying the dignity of heir-apparent while it is not quite clear what official position is exactly indicated by the title Mutturāja. In the present context, the term is a title or dignity and not a personal or dynastic name like Chola or Pāṇḍya as we see from an examination of its derivation and the combinations in which it occurs. The term seems to be derived from Mudū or Mutu in Telugu meaning elder or advanced in age corresponding to Mūtta in Tamil conveying the same meaning. The Tamil and Kannada renderings of the title Mutturāja appear to be Muttaraiyar and Muttarassa respectively. In this connection we may cite some of the titles of the Kērāḷa kings occurring in their inscriptions, such as Tiruppāpur-Mūtta Tiruvadji (or Mūttaavar)8 Jayatūṅganāṭṭu-Mūttatambirān (or Mūtta-Tiruvadji),9 and Siraiyāy Mūttatambirān meaning the first or the Senior prince or ruling chief (Tambirān) of the royal family of Tiruppāpur, Jayatūṅganāṭṭu and Siraiyāy (Āṭtingāl) respectively. Judging from the instances of its occurrence in the inscriptions of the Kērāḷa kings, it would appear that the prince who held the title issued records, making gifts, like a ruling prince in the same manner as the inscriptions of Erikal-Mutturāja, edited here, have been issued. Several Gaṅga inscriptions10 issued in the name of Koṅkaṇi Muttarassa without any personal name or titles attached thereto, may be cited also as instances indicating that the person who held the title Muttarassa enjoyed an official position comparable in dignity and status to, but not identical with, the Yuvarāja or the Adhirāja (Mahārāja, Mahārājāḍhirāja), who generally issued grants in an independent capacity. A Vaidunnatha inscription11 records the crowning or the binding of the fillet (pattānāṭṭu . . . . . .) of a certain Gaṅḍara Muttarāja (i.e., *Mutturāja among the heroes*) by the Vaidunnathas presumably prior to his entry as general in the war in which he is stated to have been killed. It is not clear whether the dignity of Muttarāja was conferred on him during his anointment. That Mutturāja cannot be identical with Yuvarāja is clear enough if we compare the import of Yuva meaning young and of Mūtta meaning elder or advanced in age. But it is doubtful whether a prince referred to merely as Mutturāja (without supreme titles like Mahārāja), e.g., Erigal Mutturāju, Koṅkaṇi Muttarassa, Kāḍuvedṭi-Muttarassa, Ilaṅgo Muttaraiyar, etc., enjoyed the position of an Adhirāja. It is significant that the personal names of the princes thus referred to are devoid of the honorific plural endings which characterise those of the supreme rulers. Thus Erigal Mutturāja Dhanāṇjayad and Erigal Mutturāju Puniyakumāra are called simply Dhanāṇjayad (ins. A) and Puniyakumārun (ins. E and F below) respectively with the nominative singular ending rū or nru attached to their names. Further in a few inscriptions they also figure in a subordinate capacity, as for instance, Erigallu-Mutturāju in the Nallacheruvapalle inscription (I) edited below. Kāḍuvedṭi Muttarāyan figures as the donor in an inscription of Pallava Dantivarman.7

Considering the occurrence of the term Mutturāju (Muttarassa, Muttaraiyar) in the inscriptions of all the dynasties, it would appear that the title, when not accompanied by any supreme title, Adhirāja or Mahārājāḍhirāja, was applicable to the seniormost among the princes of the family other than the ruling king and the Yuvarāja. The dignity or status of first prince,

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6 Mudda or Mudda in the Kanara Sāhāyaṇa plate occurring in the passage *Mudda-sahita-grāmīgya-kās* (above, XXIV, p. 281). The term obviously stands for an office or dignity corresponding to Kṣaṇara of Tamil ins. meaning elders of the village.


10 Ep. Cara., III, Tn. 53; IX, Ht. 21; X, Kl. 75; M.A.R. 1917, pp. 31, 38; M.A.R. 1925, Ins. 73; It is difficult to assign all these records to Śrīpurusha as has been done by some scholars. They may belong to different kings of the Gaṅga dynasty, who held the dignity of Muttarassa.


the eldest (Mūṭṭa) among the princes (other than the king and the Yuvarāja) of the royal family, seems to be what is indicated by the title.¹ In the compound titles like Perumibhiṅgu Muṭṭaraiyaṉ, Viṭṭalibhiṅgu Muṭṭaraiyaṉ, Vijayālagaya Muṭṭaraiyaṉ, Anapāya Muṭṭaraiyaṉ and Parāṉakka Muṭṭaraiyaṉ, the person referred to probably bore the title on the principle stated just now and exercised the authority of Muṭṭaraiyar (third dignity of senior or first prince) in the time of that king whose surname he bore.² In other combinations like Erikal-Mutturāja, Jayatunga-nāṭṭu-Muṭṭiṭambrāṅ or Siraiyāy Muṭṭiṭambrāṅ (Tambrāṅ-Rāja), the prefix to the title stands for the seat or area of his authority.

Among the Telugu Chōḷas, Dhāranaṉjaṉa, the third of the brothers, according to the genealogy found in the Māḷeḻaṇu plates is called Muṭṭurāja in the present inscription: his position in relation to the throne was thereby recognised, although he was the third brother and his two elder brothers Sundaranaṉda and Sūīṉavishuṇ had sons of their own (tē ṇutrampuṯṭru-anubhūta-rajaśriyaṉ). Similarly we find Puṇyaṉkumāra, the second son of Chōḷa-Mahārāja as stated in the Māḷeḻaṇu plates, holding the title Erikal-Mutturāja according to ins. E. and F below as he had an elder brother Gunamudita who probably held the position of Yuvarāja and who was perhaps the Erikal-Dugaraṉu of the two subjoined inscriptions of Chōḷa-Mahārāja (C and D). An important fact emerges when we understand the political significance of these three terms occurring in early Telugu Chōḷa inscriptions, Mahārājādhirāja, Dugaraṉu or Yuvarāja and Mutturāja, viz., that the kingdom established by these Chōḷas was divided into three well-defined charges each held by a prince of the royal family including the king who held direct rule over one part while exercising sovereignty as Adhirāja over the other units to which the princes of the royal family were sent out as viceroys. May it be, that succession to the throne was regulated by seniority in age and not by the law of primogeniture ?

The well-known expression applied to Karikāla in the Māḷeḻaṇu plates, viz., Traiṟṟaṉaṭṭhim-admaṟṟi-kṟutavatyaṉ has never been satisfactorily explained. It seems to us now that in the light of the foregoing discussion it must be taken to mean that for a part of his reign, if not the whole of it, Karikāla was his own Yuvarāja and Mutturāja and dispensed with the assistance of sub-kings of which lesser monarchs found need to avail themselves. The context in which the expression occurs fully supports this view.⁴

Rēvaṇapāḷu, who figures as the donor in the present inscription, may be identified with the donor of the Pōḷadurṭi-Māḷeḻaṇu inscription of Chōḷa-Mahārāja.⁵ The name seems to be a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit name, Rēvaṇapāḷu, the suffix pāḷu being literally rendered in Telugu as kāḷu or kāḷu meaning foot or feet. Another person bearing a similar name, viz., Kuṟṟi-kāḷu, figures as the donor in the Errāṇuḍipāḷu inscription of Erikal-Mutturāja (inscription B below).⁶

¹ This would be the third dignity in the whole realm corresponding to Vīrāḷi (Vīra-Eḷaya) of the Cochin Royal family—Padmanabha Menon: History of Kerala. Vol. I, p. 511.
² Cf: Māṟpiṇgu Raṭṭaluḷu meaning the person who held the office or dignity of Raṭṭagudi in the time of the king who bore the surname Māṟpiṇgu. This rule applies only to really early instances: later, the term ṇuṭṭaraiyaṉ lost its special significance and became a general title of nobility.
³ The rulers of Ceylon seem to have regulated their succession by the law of seniority; see Cey. Journal of Science, Vol. I, pp. 75-6. Or, the two principles were in conflict as was also the case among the Chōḷas of the early period of the Vijayālagaya line.
⁴ It was precisely in this manner that Chāḷuḷya Vikramāditya I assumed full control of the kingdom of his father as implied by the words kṛitamkāḷiḥahāḥhiḥ-tāēca-hāyaḥbhāraḥ in the passage 'Sagurahōriyaṁ-amucpataṁ-trīśvaṁkāṭaṁ-admaṁ-kṛitaṁ kṛitaṁ kāḷiḥ-aḥca hāyaḥbhāraṁ tasmān hāyaḥbhāraṁ vināśatam āyāmabhāmadvādhiṣṭham-'
⁷ Mr. M. S. Sarma however suggests that the suffix kāḷu is a variant in Telugu of the honorific Tamil goj or goj as in avargōj.
Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Erigal may be identified with modern Nijugal. Rēṇāṇḍu is roughly the country between the two tributaries of the R. Pennār, viz., the Chitrāvatī in the north-west and Cheyyēru in the south-west comprising a major portion of the Cuddapah and parts of Kolar and Chittoor districts. The chief city or the early capital of this region appears to have been Chippili in the Madanapalle taluk, Chittoor district, which is referred to in a slightly different form, Chirppali, in the Tippalūr inscription of Punyakumāra (ins. 6, below), wherein it is described as the capital (paṭa) of the king. It has been supposed that Rēṇāṇḍu means Rāgadināḍu ‘the black-soil country’ which is, accordingly, traced in the regions along the valley of the Kandān river. The explanation is rather fanciful. The real meaning of the term appears to be ‘the country of the king or Rāḍu or Mahārāja’, precisely the same as Mahārāja-pāḍi that finds mention in a good number of inscriptions later than the 10th cent. A. D. as the name of the region. Mahārāja-pāḍi 7000 signified, doubtless, what had been once called Rēṇāṇḍu 7000 and they both refer to the same tract.

Chirumbūru to which Rēvaṇakālu belonged may be identified with the modern Chilamakuru in the Kamalapuram taluk, a few miles E.S.E. of Kalāmala, the findspot of the inscription.

A. TEXT

First side

1 ....
2 -kalmu[tu]rā-
3 ju Dhanarbha-
4 yuṛu Rēṇā-
5 ṭu ḍāṇa
6 Chirumbāri
7 Rēvaṇakālu [paṁ-]
8 pu Chenūrakāju
9 alik[a]ūrī-
10 ṭa vāru[ūrī]...
11—14 four lines damaged
15 .... paṇc[ha][ma*]:
16 hāpātakaša-
17 [ku]

Second side—damaged.

B. Erragudipadu inscription of Erikal-Muttaraju

This inscription is engraved in bold and big size characters on two sides of a stone standing to the right of the Chennakōṣava temple in the village of Erragudipadu, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district.

The palaeography of the inscription which resembles, in almost every detail, the Kalāmala inscription (No. A above) and is likewise assignable to the last quarter of the 6th cent. A.D. or slightly later calls for few remarks except that it is written in a more cursive style than A. Subscript I (1.2) may be noted as affording an instance showing that in early Telugu-Kannada script a letter even when used as subscript was written in full with no change. The Dravidian $l$ (1. 11) is also worthy of note.

As regards orthography, the syntax of the inscription is not clear. It is not apparent who the actual donor was, although the text may be interpreted so as to give the

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2. From the estampages secured by Mr. M. Y. R. A part of this inscription was copied by the Epigraphy department and numbered A.R.E. 98 of 1929-30.
meaning that the gift was made at the instance of Kuṇḍikālu. The word nīvabukānu in ll. 3-4 is peculiar and has been understood by us as nepamukānu which literally means ‘being the pretext or reason,’ taking nīvabu (or nīvambu) as the archaic form of nepamu. The name Dujayārāju appears to stand for Durjajarāju and Vallava Dukaraju may be taken to be a corruption of Pallava (or Vallabha) Yuvarāju. The letters ν and π are generally substituted one for the other in inscriptions of this period.

That the word Dukarāju which has other forms like Tugarāju (ins. C below) and Dugarāju (ins. D below), is a form of Yuvarāju is clearly borne out by the records of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṇgi Yuvarāja in which the king is alternately described as Maṇgi Dogarāju and Maṇghi Duvarāju. These afford instances of the substitution of d for y. Further the distinction between k and g or between t and d (cf. Dugarāju and Tugarāju (ins. C): Erika and Eriyali; Dugarāju and Dukarāju) does not appear to have been maintained in archaic Telugu, a feature which persists in Tamil even to the present day.

The proper name, Kuṇḍikāllu and Kuṇḍikāllul with the honorific plural seems to be a Telugu rendering of the Sanskrit name Kuṇḍipāḍāḥ in the same manner as Rēvāṇakālu of ins. A above stands for Rēvāṇapāḍāḥ.

Attention may be drawn here to the term pannasa (I. 9) which is apparently a mistake for the usual form, pannasa. It has been stated that the term stands for a number, viz., 50, the word being supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit, paṅchāśat. Although this is very plausible, especially as the word panna meaning 50 in use even at the present day, the fact that several instances are found in inscriptions wherein the extent of land given is different from 50 units although the word pannasa is also used to denote such gifts, militates against this interpretation. In the present inscription the extent of land given is stated to be 24 maruturs and the gift is, all the same, described as pannasa. The word has probably to be understood as denoting a kind of land-tenure. It has been suggested that the word is made up of the Prākrit words paṇa and nas meaning absence (nas) of money or tax (paṇa). In this connection attention may be drawn to the term pannāyam indicating a kind of income occurring in several inscriptions. Although the exact connotation of the term pannasa is not clear, it might be stated that it seems to contain some reference to a tax, on account of which, the grant is called pannasa. Support for this surmise is derived from the fact that in Telugu the word pannu at present indicates a tax generally, so that pannasa appears to be the Telugu counterpart of the Tamil term iraiyuli meaning tax-free. The extent of land given away is not indicated by numerical symbols but written in words. The extent of land is stated to be iraiyuli maruturru which, when translated, would read ‘four-preceded-by-twenty maruturs’. A similar instance of indicating a number of two digits is found in the Dongalaśāni inscription of Venkaya Chōla, where the regnal year 41 is written in words as nolūdyāidiyakoti. This manner of signifying a two digit number describing the tens digit and the units digit separately would appear to have been followed in early inscriptions when expressing the number by means of figures, e.g., 20 (+) 4.

The inscription contains some words of literary interest. The word koṭṭamбу, meaning either a settlement or a territorial division appears to be derived from Sanskrit gōṭham, meaning a settlement of cowherds. The word, Bōya-koṭṭambu, occurs in a few Eastern Chālukya inscriptions of the Nellore district3 from which it may be concluded that the word meant a settle-

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ment generally. In Tamil inscriptions and literature the word kottam conveys the meaning of a territorial division larger than a small settlement. The word sakhiki in line 8 clearly stands for sakhikhi or witness.

The inscription records the grant of a pannasa of 24 marudiya of land in the territorial division (kottam) to a Brahmana (pura) during the reign of Erikal-Mutturaju at the instance of (or by l) Ksandikalla, the witnesses to the deed being Dujayarajula Mutturajulu, Navapriya Mutturajulu and Vallava Dukaraju.

The identification of the persons mentioned in the inscription presents much difficulty. It is not possible to state definitely whether the king Erikal-Mutturaju of this record is to be taken to be identical with Erikal-Mutturaju Dhana-jaya of ins. A above, although the palaeography and the provenance of the record may render it plausible. Dujayarajula-Mutturajulu may be taken to refer to the official Mutturajulu who was either called Durjayarajulu himself or was a subordinate under the latter whose name or surname was Dujayarajulu. The identity of Dujayarajulu is not easy to establish. It is perhaps to the point to recall here the descent claimed by some later royal line of the Telugu country; the Kakatiyas, Konjarapudumatis and the Velanadu kings claimed descent from a certain Durjaya of the Chaturthakula.1 It is possible that our Dujiya has greater claims to be considered as identical with this remote ancestor of the later Telugu monarchs than the RanaDurjaya of the Tanjivada grant to whom this position has been assigned by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi,2 for the evidence is by no means clear that RanaDurjaya was a Cholla monarch of the line of Karikala.

Vallava Dukaraju was the Yuvaraja of the Pallavas3 who must have been one of the contemporary Pallava princes of Kanchi which was at this time ruled over by Simhavishnu (c. 575-600 A.D.). Navapriya Mutturajulu may be identical either with Navarana, the son of Sundarananda mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates of Srikanta-cha Cholla or Navarana Cholla-Maharaja Mahendravikrama, the son of Dhanajaya (of the Mahal village plates). It is more likely that he was the latter in view of the fact that he figures along with Vallava Dukaraju and bears the name Mahendravikrama which was also borne by the contemporary Pallava prince Mahendravikrama I, son of Simhavishnu.

The mention of the Pallava prince in an inscription of the Telugu Cholla may be taken to indicate political alliance either as between a subordinate and overlord or on equal terms.

B. TEXT

First side

1 Svasti Sri [J*] Erika-
2 Imutturajulla

2 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 96.
3 It may be asked whether Vallava Dukaraju may not, instead, stand for Vallabha Yuvaraju, Vallabha being a dynastic name indicating the Western Chalukya. Pulakesin I calls himself Chalikya Vallabhesvara (An. Rep. of Kanada Research in the Bombay Province, 1940-41, p. 9), and is also referred to as Vallabha in the later Chalukya records (Fleet; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 344; Chipul Plates of Pulakesin II, Ep. Ind. III, p. 51, I. 3). Likewise, Pulakesin II is referred to as the Vallava king in Pallava records (Fleet; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 324, 326, 351, 377) and also in his own records (Nerur Grant, Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, p. 43, I. 3; Koparam Plate, E. I. XVII, pp. 229, 260). Kritivarman II is spoken of as Vallabha in the Sambandar grant of Dantidurga (Ind. Ant. Vol. X, p. 112) as also, probably, in the Dasavatara Cave Ins. (Arch. Surv. of W. India, Vol. V, p. 88). While it is not impossible that he was a Pallava prince of the present record may be a Chalukya prince, it would seem more likely that he was a Pallava prince in view of the close political relationship that existed between the Pallavas and the Chollas of the early period as indicated by the close correspondence in their names and titles. There is however a stray instance of the Pallavas being called Vallabhas (Ongodu grant of Simhavarman II: Ep. Ind. Vol. XV, p. 255, l. 17).
C. Uruturu inscription of Chola-Mahārāja

This inscription⁴ is engraved on a slab near a well in the village of Uruṟṟu, Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah district.

The inscription is written in a cursive style of writing as shown by the letters I, a, k and r, which in the next inscription (ins. D) of the same king are found written in a square ornamental style and may be assigned on palaeographical basis to the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. The letters I and r are more developed than their usual form in this period. Attention may be drawn to the r subscript in uru in 1.7 which differs greatly from the r of 1.3 raising the question whether both signify the same consonant. More about this will be said below under ins. G, Rāmēśvaram Pillar Inscription of Puṟyakumāra.

As regards the orthography of the inscription attention may be drawn to the forms Mahārājula and Tugarājula which contain the peculiar suffix ṛlu. Tugarāju, as has been noted under ins. B above, is a corruption of Yuvarāju.

It records that while Chōḷa Mahārāja was ruling, a certain Eriyal-Dugarāja granted a pannasa of 50 (mattars?) of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Tiruvulī.

The Chōḷa king may be identified with Mahāṇdravikrama Chōḷa-Mahārāja, one of whose records has been edited by Mr. M. S. Sarma⁵. Inscriptions issued by Chōḷa-Mahārāja are assigned to Mahāṇdravikrama on the following grounds: (1) Palaeographically, they fall in the early part of the 7th century A.D. and this period for Mahāṇdravikrama has been established on other grounds.⁶ (2) The title Pariprāpta-Chōḷa-Mahārāja-sabdaḥ is borne by Mahāṇdravikrama who further declares that he was a Muditaśīlākara, a title borne out by the numerous early Chōḷa-Mahārāja inscriptions. From this it may be concluded that inscriptions issued barely in the name of a Chōḷa-Mahārāj, of which there are several in the early period, are to be generally assigned to this king if their palaeography admits of this being done (See also H. K. Sastrī, above, Vol. XI, p. 343). Although the successors of Mahāṇdravikrama used the title their personal names are invariably stated in their inscriptions. If the identity of Chōḷa Mahārāju with Mahāṇdravarman suggested above is accepted, Tugarāju has to be identified with the king’s eldest son Guṇamudita, who must have been the Tugarāju or Yuvarāja, while his father was king.

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¹ From impressions secured by Mr. M. V. R. The inscription has been copied by the Epigraphy Department and numbered 330 of 1932-33.
² G. V. R. Comm. Volumes, p. 301.
Tiruvulā, probably the place to which the Brāhmaṇa belonged, may well be the same as Tiruvuura, the scene of a battle mentioned in an inscription of Dhanañjaya II of Erigalvādi.¹

The same place appears to have been the scene of another battle in which a general of the Vaiduñha-Mahārāja (c. 9th century A.D.) is stated to have lost his life ²; but its exact situation is not known.

C. TEXT

1. [Chōla-Mahārājuṣṭa]
2. [ēṣa] Erigal-Tuga-
3. [rājjuṭa] ichchina pannāsa
4. rāchamānanūbuna ēbadi
5. Tiruvulā pāraku ichchija
6. pannāsa dēniki³ vakram[bu]
7. vachinavaṁru⁴ pañchamahā-
8. pāstaku agu ['][*]

D. Indukuṟu Inscription of Chola-Maharaja

This record³ is engraved on a stone at the entrance to the village of Indukuru, Kamalapuram taluk.

The record is engraved in bold square characters in a style which differs from that of ins. C although both may belong to the same period. The orthography of the inscription reveals a few interesting points. A clear distinction is noticeable in the forms of the full consonant and the final consonant in that the latter is written in a slightly diminutive form without the top stroke, e.g., n, final, in ll. 2 and 5 and l final, in ll. 2 and 3. The phrase, [Rō]*vaiṣāramārikku (l. 5) perhaps shows that in popular pronunciation of the time Śarmanvrū or Šarmayvrū became Šarmaṇ. The n ending, of the word, as in poetry, is also noteworthy. Similarly, in l. 7 in the compound word Sanīyuktunrugu which is made up of two words Sanīyuktunru-+agru either the letter a is elided or possibly we have an antique form of the sandhi, u+a. We may note here that in a similar sandhi (u+a) in the compound Uttamottamur-aginavangu in the Tippalur inscription of Punyakumāra (ins. F below l. 4), the letter u is elided in the more usual way.

The consonant is found doubled after the rēpha in Rēnavamē of l. 5. In sanīyuktunru (l. 7) we have an instance of the doubling of the consonant after the anusvāra. The distinction between t and d is not observed in the word tēnī in l. 5 which stands for dēnī.

The inscription registers the gift of a pannasa to [Rō]*vaśarman, a Brāhmaṇa (pūra) of Kochchiya, i.e., of the Kauśika-gōtra, by Erigal-Dugarāju while Chōla-Mahārāju was ruling. The record is stated to have been composed or engraved (likhitam) by Asivairuṉ.

The inscription belongs to the same king Chōlamanahāraju of the Uruṟuṟu inscription (inscription C above) and hence he may be Mahendradivikrama Chōla-Mahāraju and the donor Erigal-Dugarāju may likewise be Guṇamudita.

¹Ep. Carn., Vol. XII, Mi. 101. If however, Tiruvulā has to be interpreted as the pūrṇa of the Brāhmaṇa, it may be taken to stand for Traivaṇa-gōtra.
³ē seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted below the line.
⁴Read sukchēna.
⁵From the impressions secured by Mr. M.V.R. This has been copied by the Epigraphy Department and numbered 310 of 1935-36.
Asivairuvu, who is mentioned as the engraver or the composer of the inscription figures in another record of Chōja-Mahārāja, evidently the same as the king of this inscription, viz., the Pōṭladdur-Mālpādu inscription edited by Mr. Sarma. The term Kochchhiyapa may be rendered as the Brāhmaṇa of Kochchhiya village, or of the Kauśika-gotra, Kochchhiya being a corruption of Kauśika. The form ‘Kośiya’ occurs in inscription J. below (Veludurtti inscription of Uttamāditya Chōja), also evidently standing for Kauśika.

D. TEXT

1 Svasi śr[wa] Chōja-Mahā-
2 rājullōjan Eriga[1-]
3 Dugarājul ichchina pa-
4 mnaa Kochchhiya pāra[Re]
5 vas(ā)armārki[ñ | ] tēni ā-
6 echina vānru paśchamahā-
7 pātaka saṃvyuktunruggu
8 Asivairuvu likhitam [][*]

E. Veludurtti Inscription of Erikal-Muturaju Punyakumara

This epigraph is engraved on three sides of a stone in front of the Chennakēśava temple at Veludurtti, Kamalapuram taluk. It is highly damaged, the inscribed portion on one side being completely effaced.

There is not much difference between the present inscription and the inscriptions of Chōja-Mahārāja (ins. C and D) in point of palaeography and it may be assigned to the same period.

The portions of the inscription which are preserved furnish the information that a gift was made by (or to) a certain Atiśaya-Raṭṭakutṭa in the time of Erikal-Muturāju Punyakumārunru. The donee’s name is given as Pālaśarmē.

The inscription belongs to Punyakumāra who is probably the same as the second son of Mahēndravikrama-Chōja Mahārāja of the Mālpādu plates. The record appears to have been issued by him while he was holding the dignity or office of Mutturāju, a rank which, as we have stated above, was lower than that of the Dugarāju or Yuvarāju, which was probably held about this time by Punyakumāra’s elder brother Gunamadita. In this connection the nominative singular ending āru to Punyakumāra’s name, the significance of which has been discussed above (p. 223), may be noted.

The information conveyed by the inscription is very meagre, except the mention of a personage, Atiśaya Raṭṭakutṭa. The word Atiśaya seems to contain a reference to the Adigaimān chiefs of the south who had their capital at Tagadilur (Dharmapuri, Salem district), for it conveys more or less the same meaning as Adigan, i.e., one who excels (others). Or in the alternative, it may be the title of the king which was borne by the subordinate official (Raṭṭagudi) as Atiśaya-Raṭṭakutṭa. Instances of the latter kind are numerous in epigraphy. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the name Atiśayachōla Viranārāyaṇa held by a prince of the Koṅgu country in the Chōja period.\(^3\)

\(^1\) G. V. Ramaswami Pantulu Commemoration Vol., p. 310.
\(^2\) From impressions secured by Mr. M. V. R. and from those secured later by the Epigraphy Department and numbered No. 298 of 1937-38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
\(^3\) Nos. 708, 710, 718 to 720 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
The same name Atiśaya-Raṭṭakuḍi occurs in the Chilamākuru inscription of Vikramāditya Chōla II (ins. H below). Raṭṭakuḍā occurring in the present inscription seems to be a variant of Raṭṭagudi or Raṭṭakuḍi which, as explained by H. Krishna Sastrī, signifies an office or dignity. Various forms of this word such as Raṭṭalūru, Raṭṭalū, etc., are found in early Telugu inscriptions. The exact nature of the office or dignity signified by the term is not clear. In its earliest form, i.e., Raṭṭakudi or Raṭṭagudi, the name seems to be made up of two words Raṭṭa and kudi, the latter term conveying the meaning 'habitation' or 'settlement'. Raṭṭakuḍi may therefore be tentatively rendered as 'settler in the country (raṭṭa)', or 'cultivator' as suggested by H. K. Sastrī.

E. TEXT

First Side

1 Svaṣṭi Śri [***] Erikal-Mu[tu]rājulpriti...m Puṇyakumārunru
2 Atiśaya Raṭṭakūṭṭana ṛkup....raṭṭakuṭṭa

Second Side

1 ...ehhadi ma....
2 ...ri...māsaprūṇa[m]i..
3 ..Pālaśarmmāri [ki]...

Third Side

1 dini kāchi kuḍipinavāru[bhû]midānanibu palaṇibu
2 vakrapalkinavāru paṇcha-mahāpaṭā[kan]ī bupādu [**]

F. Tippaluru Inscription of Erikal-Muturaju Puṇyakumara

This inscription is deeply engraved on a red-stone in the village of Tippalūru, Kamalapuram taluk, in well-formed ornamental characters.

This is a unique record both for its palaeography and subject matter and for the particulars of the date it provides. In addition to the unique feature of possessing a date that mentions the week day and the hōra, instances of which are rare at such an early period, the record bears a striking palaeographical resemblance to the Vallam rock inscription of Mahēndravarman I Pallava. In general appearance this resembles the so-called Pallava-Grantha script than the usual Telugu-Kamāja script of this period and locality. The inscription may be assigned to the first half of the 7th century A.D. and would belong to the same king as inscription E above. Attention may be drawn to letters y, k with the u medial sign, r, l, b, and y to indicate what has been stated above. The letter y in this form is also noticeable in the early Kālīṅga grants.

As regards orthography the inscription does not provide any unusual features. The doubling of the consonant after the ōpāha (r—superscript) in Tarkka (line 6) and Sārmma (line 7) and kārtiya (l. 8) may be noted. The practice, however, does not seem to have been consistently.

2 Written below the line.
3 From estampages secured by Mr. M. V. R. and those secured later by the Epigraphy Department; A. R.
4 No. 283 of 1937-38.
5 SIH, Vol. II, plate X; cf. The Mahēndravādu inscription of Gunabharā (Ep. Ind., IV, p. 152, plate); Sīyamaṅgala inscription of Mahēndravarman I (Ep. Ind., VI, p. 319, plate); Dalavānār ins. of the same king (Ep. Ind., XII, p. 228, plate) and the Manṣāgapaṭṭu ins. (Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 12, plate) for forms of k, r, l, b, n, t and y.
observed as the consonant is not doubled after the sēpta in Chirpaliya (l. 5) and Tiripalura (l. 7). The distinction between k and g is not observed, e.g., pūjuku for pījuku. The object of the grant is described as a pānāsa which stands for pānasa, the meaning of which has been discussed above (ins. B). The inscription contains a few archaic words: pātu, in l. 5, may be taken to mean 'seat or capital'. The meaning of the word Pāradāya, is not clear. In Tamil inscriptions we have a similar word Pāradāya. As suggested in the An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for the year 1938, it may be the corrupt form of Bhāradvāja, which was probably the gōtra of the Brähmaṇa. Pūnar-Pushyanbū stands for Pūnarvasu which, in Tamil, has the form, Pūnarpuṇam.

An instance of a single letter abbreviation for a word is found in dhā in l. 11, which seems to stand for dharmam, unless the inscription is incomplete.

The inscription registers the grant of fifty (mattara) of land as pannāsa in the village of Tiripaluru to Kattisarmacā of Kilivuru, a pāradāya of (or at) Tarkkapulōlu by Chāmaśakālu while Erikal-Muturāju Puyakumāranīru endowed with the titles Marunjapījuku, Madamudītuttāru, Uttamottamāru and Gaṇyamānanu was ruling over Rënnāḍu from his capital (pātu) at Chirpali. The gift is stated to have been made at the time of Bryhaspati-hōra, on the second titki of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika, Monday when the nakshatra of the day was Pūnarupushyanbū (Pūnarvasu).

Of the places mentioned in the inscription Erikal and Rënnāḍu have been identified already. Tarkkapulōlu may be identified with Takkavōlu in the Siddhavattam taluk of the Cuddapah district. It has not been possible to trace Kilivuru or Ėvvuru in the modern maps. The name Tarkkapulōlu, which is made up of two words Tarkka and puḍolu, appears to have changed into its modern form, Takkavōlu, through successive forms like, Tarkkapōlōlu, Tarkkapōlu, Tarkkapōlu and Takkavōlu as indicated by Mr. M. S. Sarma in his disquisition on prōlu and other archaic Telugu words. Thus the word prōlu by which a place or settlement is generally indicated at present appears to have been derived from puḍolu (cf. Kannada peṭal, meaning town).

Another early Telugu word found in the inscription is chiku which may be taken to mean 'dark' and to indicate the dark fortnight of the month. The word is at present preserved in chiki which means darkness.

The astronomical details provided by the inscription are unfortunately not enough for calculating the corresponding English date. But it may be remarked that the details constitute an exceptional occurrence in a single day. It is exceptional for nakshatra Pūnarvasu (Punarpushyanbū) to be associated with Kārttika ba. dl 2 for between paurṇamī and bīdīga of the lunar month, four nakshatras, Kṛttikā, Rōkṣī, Mṛgaśīrō and Ādrā must have completed their duration. This would only be possible under the following conditions:

1. That the nakshatra, Ādrā must have ended before midday of Monday as during the Bryhaspati-hōra of that week-day (on Mondays, Bryhaspati-hōra would fall before midday) Pūnarvasu is stated to have commenced.

2. That, accordingly, the Kṛttikā-nakshatra must have ended before the midday of Friday.

3. That, as the month is Kārttika, the paurṇamī of the month should have begun on the day which began with Kṛttikā and it follows that after the midday of Friday, paurṇamī should have commenced and ended on Saturday sometime after midday.

4. That bīdīga on Monday continued up to the time of the Bryhaspati-hōra though this

is perhaps not quite necessary as it should have been enough for the day to have opened with devīśī.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription belonging to the early 7th century A.D. mentions the week-day and the hōra. The mention of the week-day is rather a rare occurrence till about the 9th century A.D. The early Pallava Prākrit and Sanskrit charters make no mention of the week-day anywhere. It begins to be mentioned in Western Chālukya grants from about the time of Pulakēśin II, i.e., just about the same time to which the present inscription belongs.

On the hōra we have the views of Burgess and Svaminathan Pillai that its mention in India, either in literature or epigraphy, prior to the 5th century A.D. is improbable. The present instance is the earliest so far available in South Indian Epigraphy.

The inscription was issued by Puṇya Kumāra while he was ruling Rēṇāṇḍu from his capital Chirpali; the title Erikalla Mutturāju indicates the position held by him while ruling Rēṇāṇḍu. This together with the nominative suffix aru attached to his name, to which attention has already been drawn, may be taken to indicate that he had not become supreme ruler on the throne. This may have been in the period before he issued the Mālpādu grant and the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription (ins. G below) wherein he is found to assume supreme titles in place of the subordinate title of Mutturāju held by him earlier. That he wielded considerable power and dignity even as a Mutturāju is indicated by the string of bīrudas with which he is described in the present grant. He assumed most of the titles in imitation of the Pallavas. Marunampiḍuṇa, a thunderbolt to the enemies, is analogous to one of the bīrudas of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, viz., Pagōppiḍuṇa found in several of his inscriptions. It is almost synonymous with Marampiḍuṇa a probable title held by Puṇya Kumāra (see ins. G below). Madanūḍitunrū seems to have been modelled on Mattavallāṇu, one of the bīrudas of the same Pallava king. Some of the titles of Puṇya Kumāra borne by him in the present record were improved upon and later added to by him as noticeable in his Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription (ins. G below) and the Mālpādu plates.

F. TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī [1*] Erikalla-Mutu-
2 [rāju Puṇya Kumāra]nuṛu gaṇya-
3 mānuṇu marunampiḍuṇu madamu-
4 dīnuṛ-uttamottamunr-ayinavā-
5 aru Chirpaliya patukānu Rēṇāṇḍu-
6 juchu Tarkkapalāda pārādaya
7 Ki lēvuru (Kīlevuru) Kattisarmāmakū Tirpalī-
8 ra panāśa koṇḍa Kāḷṛttilīya-chiku-
9 na Bidiya Sōnavārambu Puṇaru-
10 Pushyaṇbu Bra(Bri)haspati-hōra kā-
11 nu embadīye Chāmaṇākāla dha [1*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! prosperity! While Puṇya Kumāra, the Erikalla-Mutturāju, who was held in

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2 The Koppara plate, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.
6 The long mediāl is attached to the letter p on its right prong instead of on its left prong by mistake. That this does not make it as can be seen by comparing the latter letter in 1.10 where its right prong is lower down.

XVI-1-6
high esteem, was the thunderbolt to hostile kings, was happy in his pride and the noblest of the
noble, was ruling (the) Rēṇāṇḍu (country) with Chirpaliya as his capital (paṭu), a paṇāḥ at
Tirpaluru given to Kīlevaru or Lēvuru Kattiśārmma, the pāradāya of Tarakapulō, on
the second day of the dark fortnight of Kōṇḍa-Kārtilāka, Monday, Puṇara-pushyaṇī and (at
the time of) Bṛhaspati-hōra, (is) fifty (mattarā ṭ). (This is) the charity of Chāmaṇaḵāla.

G. Ramesvaram Pillar Inscription of Punyakumara Cholamaharaja : 5th year

This inscription (No. 384 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is engraved on a
pillar set up in the courtyard of the Rāmalīṅgēśvara temple at Rāmēsvaram near Proddatūru,
Proddatūru taluk.

The inscription is marked by a few paleographical and orthographical peculiarities
to which attention may be drawn here. The long medial i is indicated by a circular loop attached
to the short medial i sign as in ni in line 9. The letter which has been read as ri in pōrī of line
7 presents a problem. It differs from thi of Prihiṭēvi of line 3 in having a bar instead of a dot in
the centre. Compare ri in lines 10 and 21 and rv in line 13. The subscript of nṛs in line 9 closely
resembles ri in pōrī. It may be doubted whether this letter has to be pronounced as r or th; on
the whole it seems best to take this letter as an alternative form of ṭ, a letter for which we get
three different forms in this inscription, in ll.7, 10 and 21. The letter ṭ in line 8 may be noted as
it appears to be in a transitional stage between its earlier and later forms. The subscript i in
line 9 is of peculiar interest as it appears as a miniature replica of the consonant.

Pri is written for pṛi in Prihiṭēvi in line 3. The absence of the usual doubling of the
sonant after the ṛēpha in rmu in Rūmkha of line 2 may be noted. The word, Mārpiḍuṅga (l.14)
has to be split up as Mār-+piḍuṅga meaning the thunderbolt to the opponent (cf. Marunrapidiṅgu
of inscription F. Tipalūr inscription of Punyakumāra, above).

The form Dēvula, the honorific plural of Dēvi, in line 8 is noteworthy.

The inscription states that in the fifth year of the reign of Pūrmukharāma
Prihiṭivallabha Punyakumāra-Chōjamaḥarāja, (his) queen Vassantipōrī Chōjamaḥā-
dēvi granted to the temple of Vassantiśvara in Tārumunṛ, two gardens of the extent of three-
hundred (mārtur) at Virirpuru with Mārpiḍuṅga Raṭṭagulū as the Āṇāti (ājāṃgī). The
blacksmith (kumārī) of Virirpuru is stated to have engraved the inscription.

Regarding the persons mentioned in the inscription, besides the king who is the same as the
donor of the Mālēpāḍu plaits, Vasantipōrī Chōjamaḥādevi, the queen, does not find mention else-
where. It is not unlikely that she belonged to the Pōri family several records of which, assign-
able to the 7th century A. D., are found in the Chittoor Dī. The dominion of these Pōri chiefs
lay in the Madanapalle taluk, Chittoor District, and was not far removed from Chippili, the capital of
Puṇyakumāra, which was situated in the same taluk. Raṭṭagulū, who was the Āṇāti (executor)
of the grant must have been an official who derived his surname Mārpiḍuṅga from the surname
or title of Puṇyakumāra, viz., Marunrapidiṅgu which he is found to bear in the Tipalūr inscrip-
tion (ins. F. above). Of the places mentioned in the inscription Virirpuru and Tārumunṛ can-

1 Lines 6-7 may be read alternatively as 'Tarkkapulō pāradāya Kīlevaru Kattiśārmma ka' and rendered
as 'Kattiśārmma of Kīlevaru, a pāradāya (i.e., Bhāravāja) of or at Tarkkapulō'.
3 Attention may here be drawn to a chief, Vavyandippiariassaru, figuring as a subordinate of Pallava Mahēndra
I in a record at Vallam (S.I.I., II. plate X., pp. 340-1). It is difficult to say if he is connected with Vasantipōrī of our
record judging exclusively from the similarity of their names. If Vasantipōrī is to be equated with Vavyandippi, the
change in the latter part of their names, that is, Pōri—pōri or vice versa is difficult to accept phonetically.
4 Vide also H. K. Sastri, above, Vol. XI, p. 342 and n. 7.
not be satisfactorily identified with any modern village. Bī(Vi)rīpāru is referred to in several other records, viz., the Mālēpādu plates of Punyakumāra⁴ and the Mālēpādu stone inscription of Rāṣṭrakūta Nityavarha (Indra III). In the former record the place is said to lie on the south bank of the river Suprayogā in Hiraṇyarāṣṭra. The Suprayogā may be identified with the river Pennār while Hiraṇyarāṣṭra may be taken to be identical with the region around the present Kamalapuram and Cuddapah taluks. Besides the above records in and around Mālēpādu, two more inscriptions refer to Virīpāru. One is the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin II⁵ and the other the Mayidavolu plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarma. In the former it is stated that the ‘road leading to Virīpāru’ (Vi)rīpāru-patha) constituted one of the boundaries of the village granted, viz., Irbulī in Kairaṇarāṣṭra (Guntur Dt.). In the second, Virīpāru is described as belonging to Andhrāpatana. It is doubtful if the same village is referred to in all these records. The Virīpāru (Vi)rīpāru) mentioned in inscriptions in and around Mālēpādu may be different from the Vi)rīpāru or the Virīpāra of the Andhrāpatana mentioned in the aforesaid Kopparam and Mayidavolu plates and which has been identified with Vipparia, Narasaraopet taluk, Guntur Dt.⁶

Therefore, the Virīpāru of our record has to be looked for in the region around Rāmēsvaram and Mālēpādu as stone inscriptions at the latter place also mention it. The importance of the place and its situation south of the river Pennār make its identification with Mālēpādu itself not unlikely, as both have their location on the south bank of the Pennār and their very names also appear to have a common import.⁷ The village Tārumunṭa cannot be located.

G. TEXT

1 Svasti śrī ["] Pō-
2 rmukharāma Punyaku-
3 māra Prithivivallabha
4 Chōla Mahārājulaku
5 pravaruddhamāna viṣaya ra-
6 rājya samvatsarambu yē
7 nagu nāḍu Vasantipōri
8 Chōlamahādēvulu Tāru-
9 mūri Vasa'ntīsvarambuna Pālla-
10 vaṭṭambara-vāriki Vi)rīpāry-
11 [ti]-pulombuna reṇḍu totālu
12 [ṛ]hihitabham račhamānapbama

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, l. 20; H. K. Sastri’s reading as Birapāru is to be corrected as Biripāru.
⁴ JTA. XI, p. 201 ; A. Bh. O. I. IV, p. 49 ; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.
⁵ Above, VI, p. 87, text l. 12.
⁷ Mālēpādu, a probable corruption of Mallepādu, means the ‘place of jasmines’ (malle) and more or less the same meaning is conveyed by the name Biripāru or Vi)rīpāru which means literally the ‘place of flowers’. The Vi)rīpāru is a variety of the malle or jasmine and the term viripāru is the colloquial name of this flower. Cf. also malle, garland. It has been suggested (An. Rep. on S. I. Ep. for 1936, para. 7, pp. 56-7) that Billupādu in the Atmakur taluk, Nellore district, must have been the ancient Biripāru; but there are no vestiges of Telugu Chōla rule in that region in this period.
⁸ Cancel this ra as the letter is repeated at the beginning of the next line.
⁹ First written as ša and then corrected into sa.
¹⁰ This may be read as [śa]hitabham.
Hail! Prosperity! In the 5th year of the increasing victorious reign of Pōrmukharāma Puyakumāra Prithivivallabha Chōjamahārāja, (queen) Vasantipōrī-Chōjamahādēvl gave to the people of the flower garden (pūla-vatam) in the (temple of) Vasantīvara in Tārumunru, land of the extent of three hundred (mattars ?) by the royal measure including two gardens in the field belonging to Viriparu, Māripudugu Raṭṭagullu being the āvatī (i.e., Ṭjanapati). He who destroys this gift (incurs the sin of) killing 1000 Brāhmaṇas at Vārāṇasi (Benares).

The black-smith (kammari) of Gaṭṭu-Viriparu, Vunyaṇa, wrote this.

H. Chilamakuru Inscription of Vikramaditya Chola-Maharaja II

This inscription (No. 400 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection), which is damaged towards the end, is engraved on one of the three faces of a pillar that once stood in front of the Agastyaḷvara temple at Chilamakuru, Kāmalapuram taluk, Cuddapāh district. The stone has since been removed to the Madras Museum. The other two faces of the pillar contain two other inscriptions which mention a certain Bāṇjayas but are not issued in the name of any ruling king.

Some words of linguistic interest are found in the record. The word Sāmantakamul in lines 6-7 affords another instance, like dēvul in line 5, of the use of the honorific plural for sāmantakam or kama. The word ānēi in line 21 is used either for ānēi or dānēi, meaning ‘which’ or ‘this’ respectively. The distinction between ā and d which exists in Sanskrit, does not appear to have been observed in early Telugu, a feature which is also characteristic of other Dravidian languages.

Lines 4-5 which seem to have been read as Elaṅchōḷamahādēvuł as reported in the Epigraphical Report for the year 1905, have been re-read here as Elan-Chōḷamahādēvuł so as to comprise two words and not one compound word taken to refer to ‘a queen of Elancheḷa’. The inscription abounds in archaic Telugu words, the meaning of some of which it has not been possible to determine exactly.

The record reveals a few peculiarities of palaeographical interest. The letter which has been read as the final l in -jul of line 4 is worth noting. It is not certain if the letter stands for the final l as a sign of ṭēpha is found attached to it, rl. It is possible that the medial vowel sign a has been omitted to be attached to rl in which case the letter intended would be ṛlu the honorific plural suffix of Rāju (Rājuru). The distinction between the short e and the long ē, initial, is not indicated, e.g., in ēlu in line 4. The distinction does not arise in Sanskrit as the short e has no

1 Space for two lines left between lines 20 and 21, but there are no traces of writing.
TELANGU CHOLA RECORDS FROM ANANTAPUR AND CUDDAPEH (II)

(Side I)

(Side II)

G. Second piece

G. First piece

SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH

(From Photographs)
place in Sanskrit orthography. But in Telugu the distinction is observed from early times although the same letter indicates both the long and the short forms. The initial long ū in line 8 (ūra) and medial ū in pūrvaru of line 20 may be noted.

On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to a period later than the Râmeśvaram pillar inscription of Pûnyakumâra (ins. G above), i.e., to about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. It may accordingly be assigned to Vikramâditya II, the father of Satyâditya, the donor of the Mâlêpâdu stone inscription.

The record under study states that in the reign of the Vikramâditya Chôla-Mahârâjul while the queen, Chôlamahâdévul, with Uttamâditya (probably the king’s son) as Sâmanta was ruling at Chîrumburu (i.e., Chilamâkuru) a gift of land (û) was made, the details of which are lost. Eçupâra are mentioned. They were probably the recipients of the gift.

In regard to the persons mentioned in the inscription, if Uttamâditya is taken to be the king’s son, which is very likely in view of his status of Sâmanta ruling in conjunction with the queen, probably his mother, he would be another son of the king, besides Satyâditya, donor of the Mâlêpâdu stone inscription.

A number of other persons are also mentioned in the inscription, viz., Tolâkâmi-Raṭṭagulû, Chôliya Raṭṭagulû and Aṭiṣaya-Raṭṭagulû, the exact nature of whose connection with the donation is not clear. It is probable that they figure in the record as witnesses.

Further Raṭṭagulû is common to all the names thus indicating that it refers to the office of the Raṭṭagudi or the head-man of the village. The prefix in these compound names represents either the personal name of the Raṭṭagulû or village-headman or the dynasty of the community to which he belonged. Aṭiṣaya, as pointed out above (ins. E, Veludurti ins. of Pûnyakumâra), may stand for the Adigâman rulers of Tagûdur or Dharmapûri or it may be his personal name.

1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 245. H. Krishnâ Sastrî translates the genealogical portion of the record as ‘Satyâditya of the Kâyapa-gûra, son of Śaktikomâra Vikramâditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chôla Mahârâjâdhirâja Vikramâditya’, thus making out three generations of kings. But as the text has no word describing Satyâditya as a grandson, and since only one relationship is stated, viz., that he was the son, the passage may better be rendered as ‘Satyâdityyunû, of the Kâyapa-gûra, son of the great lord, the glorious Chôla-Mahârâjâdhirâja, Vikramâditya-Śaktikomâra-Vikramâditya’. The supreme titles have to be attributed to the second Vikramâditya in the compound, who being described as Vikramâditya-Śaktikomâra-Vikramâditya, was evidently the son of Śaktikomâra and the grandson of Vikramâditya. Thus four generations are made out in the record, viz.,

Vikramâditya I
Śaktikomâra
Vikramâditya II, Chôla-Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramâvars
Satyâdityyunû

The objection to this construction on the ground that only three generations are generally stated in inscriptions and not four does not arise in the present case as the record does not purport to give three generations but simply describes the donor, Satyâdityyunû, as the son of the king Vikramâditya. It may not be far wrong if we take Satyâdityyunû figuring in the record only as a prince, as his name ending in nominative singular ‘ûru’ without the usual honorific ending of a ruling king, may be taken to indicate. If so, the ruling king of the record is Vikramâditya II bearing imperial titles, whose ancestry is, as usual, indicated for only three generations including himself in the threefold name he bears. Proof that such a practice was prevalent in the Telugu country is afforded, although at a late period, by such names as Râmarâja-Timmârâja-Vîthâlarâja (A. S. E. 1908-9, p. 193).

2 Above, Vol. XI, p. 243, where the names of other Raṭṭagudi are cited from the other inscription on this stone.

3 Cf. also, above, Vol. XI, p. 243, where H. K. Sastrî notes the instances Salki Raṭṭagudi, Gaṅga Raṭṭagudi, etc.
I. Nallacheruvupalle Inscription (of Vikramaditya-Cholamaharaja II)

This inscription (No. 495 of 1906 of the Madras Ep. Collection) is engraved on two sides of a pillar near the well called kattubhāri on the way to the Mōpūr temple from Nallacheruvupalle, Pulivendla taluk, Cuddapah Dt. It is damaged and fragmentary. The first few lines, probably two in number, containing the name of the king are lost.

It is written in characters which are cursive and lacking in uniformity; see letters r, f, j and k. The long i in l. 5 is noteworthy as the same form persists in Tamil at the present day while in Telugu it has undergone considerable change.

The inscription contains a few orthographical peculiarities which are common to the period. Thus the use of k for g in Kaṇṭalūṇu of l. 8 and that of t for d in tēvaḍ in l. 10 and in tēnī of l. 3 of the second side show that the distinction between t and d or k and g was not always strictly observed in the early Telugu of the period, as in other Dravidian languages.

The proper name Mankhi (Mañchi ṭ) porriyāru in l. 12, seems to be made up of the name Mankhi (Mañchi ṭ) porri and the honorific suffix āru which is a shortened form of āru (gāru). Mankhi (Mañchi ṭ) porri and āru became Mankhi (Mañchi ṭ) porriyāru, the letter y being the usual euphonic insertion in such cases. A similar instance is found in Sarmmāru in ins. K, Chamalūru inscription of Vijayāditya(chēla) below. The word koṭche in line 9 (second side) meaning 'engraved' (Skt. ukhiṣyam) appears to be the earlier form of kročche which occurs in later inscriptions with the same meaning. The change from koṭche to kročche is easily understandable (cf. Puḷḷḷu which underwent the changes purīḥu, prōlu and prōlu). It is possible that the Tamil word kalittal and the Telugu koṭche are related. The meaning of some other words in the inscription is not clear.

1 The reading adopted by Venkayya is 'Eṣṭi-Chōljamahādēva', i.e., the queen of Eṣṭi-Chōlā.
On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to the same period as the foregoing inscription II, i.e., the beginning of the 8th century A.D. It may also be noted that perhaps the same queen Chōjamahārājuladēvu] is mentioned in both considering that the records come from places within 15 miles of each other. If so the king of the two records may be the same, Vikramāditya Chōla II. The queen's name is given in this record as Mañchi (Mañchi) pūrṇiyāru and she seems to be ruling, residing at Ujjaini, a place which may be identified with Ujjini in the Kudligi taluk, Bellary district, about 100 miles west-south-west of Erigal (Nīguarda).

As the inscription is highly damaged, the names of some persons mentioned in it are lost. An Erigallu-Mutturājū is referred to and he may have been a prince of the family holding the official dignity of Mutturājū. It is not unlikely that he was the son of the king and queen of the record, but his identity with any of the known sons of Vikramāditya cannot be established at present. As can be gathered from the Mallūpājū stone inscription of Satyāditya and the foregoing Chilamaku ru inscription of Vikramāditya II (ins. H), Vikramāditya II had evidently two sons, Uttamaṇḍīṭya and Satyāditya; it may be suggested that the Erigallu-Mutturājū of the present inscription may have been one of these, probably the younger, being only a Mutturājū and not a Yuvarājā. As Uttamaṇḍīṭya is seen to be ruling from Chilamakuru in company with Chōlamahādevi (his mother) during the reign of his father Vikramāditya as recorded in the Chilamakuru inscription (H above) it may be inferred that he was the Yuvarājā (although referred to by the general epithet of Sānantas in the record) and hence, the elder of the two brothers; Uttamaṇḍīṭya succeeded to the throne as he has left an inscription (J, the Veludurti inscription below) in which he bears kingly titles and is described as ruling the earth.

I. TEXT

First Side

1-3 lines lost.
4 ... [ā]jū...
5 ṣju ēja ḫ[s]-
6 ddivādi Erīga-
7 Ilū-Mutt [u] rāju
8 ēja Kāñgaluru ē-
9 [a Chōjamahā-
10 rājula tēvu] Ma-
11 nkhī (nchi ḫ)p[o]rrī-
12 yāru [uṇdō]-
13 lu Ujjayi-
14 ni ichhi [na*] pannavi
15 ... ga [n[ijipā]ṛa mā-
16 ...diyārīki tēni
17 [ni*]ki ... nṛugō
18 [ṇḍapu ... lva]-

Second Side

1 ..... 
2 kāṇṭje
3 [t]tēni [ae]huvā-
4 [dī] vaḷvar-ācha[ntrā]-
5 dīṛu bārapā-
6 si vēvura vadhit*].
J. Veludurti Inscription of Uttamadityya-Cholamaharaja.

This record is engraved on the three sides of a stone in front of the Chennakēśavasvāmi temple at Veludurti, Kamalāpuram taluk, adjacent to the inscription of Erikal-Muturāju Pungayakumāra, edited above (Ins. E).

On palaeographical grounds the record may be referred to about the same date as the Mālepadu stone inscription of Satyāditya¹ and may be assigned to the second quarter of the 8th century A.D.

The writing is more cursive than ornamental and the engraving has not been done in a uniform manner. The same letter is written in different styles. Thus the forms of b in lines 17 and 22 differ from each other. The latter b is of the same form as the b in line 13 of the Mālepadu stone inscription of Satyāditya.

Attention may be drawn to 1 subscript (l. 15), η (l. 18), ρ (l. 12), which appear to be in a transition stage from the earlier square type to the later cursive form.

The record reveals a few orthographical peculiarities and contains some archaic Telugu words.

It is interesting to note that in the word kunrugu (l. 26) which is made up of two words kunru and agu the initial vowel of the latter word is dropped instead of the final vowel of the former as is obtaining in similar sandhis of u and a at present. A similar instance has been noted in ins. D. above (l. 7).

The word chakshi in l. 20 meaning ‘witness’ (sākshi) may have been pronounced popularly as chākshi and then contracted into chakshi. Koṭṭali (l. 30) may be taken to mean ‘engraver’. In the proper name, Veṇa Vōjanru (ll. 18-20) the suffix -vōjanru occurs in combination with many proper names in Telugu inscriptions of a later period. The word wōja (wōjru) seems to signify an artisan or one who is skilled in the use of tools. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit śyas meaning ‘skill in the use of weapons’ or alternately from ṣvādhyāya (Skt.) through its Prākrit forms, Ucājīha, Ojha, etc. In the latter case wōja should be taken to mean teacher.

The record is issued in the reign of king Uttamadityya Chōla-Mahārāja and registers the gift of a pannavīsa by a certain Immidji Itō (or Ratō) to Chediśarmmā, a Brāhmaṇa of Kōniya, i.e., of the Kansika-gōtra. The inscription is stated to have been composed (ṣyāsīri) by Erāna, the Brāhmaṇa (pāra) of Kachēry and engraved (kotte) by the koṭṭali, Kuṇandāl vra. The witnesses to the deed were Eyarikallu-kulaṭṭuṇḍu (i.e., kulaṭṭuṇḍu of Eyarikallu, possibly same as Erigallu) and Vendarambulu Vēna Vojunru, i.e., Vēna, the wōju of the place called Vendarambhu.

The king of the present inscription, Uttamadityya Chōla Mahārāja, can be identified with Uttamadityya, evidently the son of Vikramadityya II, who figures as a Sāmanta in the Chilamakuru inscription of Vikramadityya II (ins. H) wherein it is stated that in company with (his mother) Cholamahādevi, he was ruling at Chirumburu (modern Chilamkur). He seems to have succeeded his father, and the present inscription was issued when he was ruling the earth (priṃhīcīṃgaṇa-chērya). Thus, of Vikramadityya’s two sons, Uttamadityya I and Satyāditya, Uttamadityya was probably the elder as he is found associated with the queen (his mother) and holding the office of Sāmanta while his father was reigning and later on succeeded him. Regarding Satyāditya it is

¹ From impressions secured by M. V. R. and from those secured later by the Epigraphy Department, A. R. No. 297 of 1937-38.
² Above, Vol. XI, p. 348, plate. H. K. Sastri thinks that the inscription is engraved in characters similar to the Ālāpa inscriptions at Udayāvara (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 15-24) of about 800 A.D.

MGIPC—81—XVI-1-6—$ 3-50—450.
not known if he succeeded to the throne, as the only inscription left by him, viz., the Mālēpādu stone inscription, although describing him as ruling Rēnādu 7,000 and Siddhi 1,000, does not give him kingly titles nor even the honorific ending to his name.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Vendaramбу (ll. 17-18) may be taken to be the old name of Veludurthi, the find place of the inscription. Kachēru (l. 27) to which Ėrama, the composer belonged cannot be identified. Eya(ra)kalu may be identical with Ėrigal, the identification of which has been discussed already.

J. TEXT
First Side
1 Svasti Śrī[*]
2 Uttamā-
3 ditya-Chō-
4 la-mahā-
5 rāju prī-
6 thivirajya[m*]
7 chēya
8 Immaḍi-
9 Ito iechhi-
10 na pannavi-
11 sa Kösiya-
12 para Chēdi-
13 šarmako[k=i]echhiri

Second Side
14 Eya[ra]-
15 kalu kuja
16 gaṭṭuḷu
17 Vendarambu-
18 lu Vēpā-
19 vōja-
20 nru chakshi [||]
21 [dējini va-
22 kraṁbu va-

Third Side
23 .............
24 paṁcha-ma-
25 hāpata-
26 kunṛgu
27 Kachēru pā-
28 la(ra) Ėrama
29 [vrālsiri [||]
30 Koṭṭali
31 Kuṇāṇḍā-
32 juvānṛu
33 koṭṭe [||]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! While Uttamāditya-Chōlamahārāja was ruling the earth, Irmaḍi Itō gave to Chēdisarmmā, the Brāhmaṇa of Kösiya, (i.e., of the Kauśika-gōtra) a pannavīsa,

1 May also be read rato.
2 This line is completely lost.
Eya[ra]kallu-Kula-ghattulu and Vendaraṁbhalu-Vēṇavōjanru being the witnesses. He who destroys this (gift) becomes guilty of the five great sins. Erana, the Brāhmaṇa (?) of Kachēru wrote this. (This is) engraved by the Koṭṭali, Kuṇḍalālūvānuṁ.

K. Chamaluru Inscription of Prithivivallabha Vijayadītya Chōla: 22nd year

The inscription is engraved on four sides of a stone lying in a field on the borders of the village of Chāmalūru, Jammalamadugu taluk. The stone is broken and fragmentary and the inscription damaged in places, although at the time when the Assistants of Col. Mackenzie inspected it and took an eye-copy, it was in a better state of preservation. The lost portions are here restored with the aid of the eye-copy left by them. Portions of the record appear to have been damaged even before it was noticed by them as there are some blanks in their copy also.

The record is written in the Telugu language. A slight mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit prose in the sentence describing the donee presents a peculiarity.

The inscription is engraved in bold characters. The letters j, l and b are in a transitional stage from the earlier square type to the later cursive type. The subscript l which, in earlier inscriptions, is in the form of a miniature of the consonant, is here found in an attenuated form.

Several words of linguistic and orthographical interest are found in the record. The word ēdīḍḍi in I. 5 of the third side corresponding to the modern form ēdhūḍi meaning 'fifty' is noteworthy. Penbāra in II. 7-8 (same side) meaning the chief (or big) (pen or penu) Brāhmaṇa is a word of rare occurrence. It is made up of two words penu and pārā which, when compounded take the form penbāra. p being changed into b. Chavachcharanbūl in II. 4-5 (first side) is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Satīvatsara. The donee's name, Agnisārmamāru (II. 8-9 of the third side) is a shortened form of Agni-Śarmamāru with the q elided. Similar instances occurring in ins. D (Indikuru inscription of Chōla-Mahārāja) and ins. I (Nallacheruvamalle inscription) have been noted above; āgī, the Telugu form of Sanskrit āgni, is in use at the present day. The words tānbul in I. 9 and annma in I. 10 meaning younger brother (or sister) and mother respectively may be noted as instances of the early use of these words in the Telugu language.

The record seems to register a grant by the queen-mother (Chōla-Mahārāja-umma) of Chōla-Mahārāja when Bānārāja was ruling (at) Pānhulīggi in the 22nd year of reign of king Prithivivallabha Vijayadītya-Chōla. The queen’s relationship to a Pallavādirāja is mentioned though its exact nature is not clear owing to the archaic wording of the record. The passage describing this relationship Pallavādirāja Kūchaṭpōiyāri tānbul Chōlamahārāja-umma may be understood either as Chōlamahārāja’s mother (who was) the younger sister (tānbul) of Kūchaṭpōiyāru (the queen) of Pallavādirāja or the mother of Chōlamahārāja who was the younger brother (tānbul) of Kūchaṭpōiyāru (the queen) of Pallavādirāja. In either case the relationship through marriage between the Pallava king and the Telugu Chōla king is indicated and is noteworthy.

The inscription is dated in the 22nd year of the reign of king Vijayadītya-Chōla who might have been so named by his father after his Chālūrka overlord, Vijayadītya, who is known to have ruled from A.D. 696 to 733. If so, the period of rule of the king of our record has to be put a generation later, say about A.D. 750 and he would have ruled some time after Uttamādītya and Satyādītya. The palaeography of the inscription though a little archaic for the period may be taken to support this date. Thus the record is important in that it adds one more name to the dynastic list of the Chōlas of Rēṇādu. Several points of historical interest arise out of this and from other facts mentioned in the record. In the first place, the supreme title of Prithivivallabha

1 Mack. Mas. 15:3-60. Ms., pp. 74-75; vide photo-plate subjoined.
2 The Kannada counterpart Hēbhāruva retained in the name of the Hēbhā community of Mysore may be compared with this name; vide Hayavadana Rao, Mys. Gaz., Vol. I, p. 233.
held by the Telugu Chōla, Vijayaḍītīya indicates that after he became king, he threw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas and assumed independence. In the wake of his assumption of independence, the Bāna subordinates of the Chālukyas in this region were subdued, and they passed under his suzerainty from that of the Chālukyas as indicated by the mention of the Bāna in a subordinate capacity in the record under review.

It would be of interest to trace here the activities of the Bānas during the period prior to their subjugation by the Telugu Chōla Vijayaḍītīya of the present record. Several inscriptions of Chālukya Vijayaḍītīya found in the locality around the place where the present record has been discovered, mention a number of Bāna chiefs ruling over this region. One of these dated in his 23rd year (= A.D. 719) found at Konḍupalli, Gooty taluk, Anantapur District mentions Vikramādiṭīya Bali Indra Bānārāja, son of Balikutatila Naarasīṅha Bānāḍhīrāja, as ruling over Turumara-viśhaya. At Bētapalli in the same taluk, an undated record of the same Chālukya king is found mentioning an unnamed Bāna as ruling the same viśhaya while the Bāna’s uncle, Vikramādiṭīya, was ruling Ayirāṭī. Another record of Vijayaḍītīya (date lost) is found at Dānavulapadu in which a chief, Bhūpādiṭīya, finds mention. This Bhūpādiṭīya may be identified with Bhujaṅgadi Bhūpādiṭīya of the Perbāṇa family, who figures as the donor in the Arkaṭavēmula inscriptions of Śrī-Vallabha, which has been assigned to Vikramādiṭīya I on the ground that the title Śrīvallabha was an epithet of Vikramādiṭīya I assumed by him after his conquest of the Pallavas. The same Bāna, Bhūpādiṭīya, is mentioned as ruling Rēnāṇḍu in another record of Vijayaḍītīya at Rajolu, Sirvel taluk, Kurnool District, which has been noticed and copied by the Assistants of Col. Mackenzie. The Bāna subordinates of the Chālukyas under Vijayaḍītīya seem to have extended their rule from Turumara-viśhaya, north of the river Pennār, to the south of the river, into Rēnāṇḍu. They appear to have been in occupation of Chilamakūrū (Chirumāhūrū of the inscription) in the Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District, as evidenced by an inscription of an unnamed son of Vikramādiṭīya Perbāṇāḥdīrāja at the place. As the Telugu Chōlas up to the time of Satyādiṭīya were ruling over Rēnāṇḍu, the Bāna occupation of their territory must have taken place during or subsequent to his rule. The conquest of their own dominions (i.e., Rēnāṇḍu) as also those of the Bānas by the Telugu Chōlas under Prithivivallabha Vijayaḍītīya Chōla seems to be indicated by the record under review. The Perbāṇa family to which some of these Bānas of the Ceded Districts are stated to belong, may have, as their family name indicates, belonged to the Bṛhad-Bāna line, the foes of Kadamba Mayūrāṣarman, mentioned in the Talagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman.

Regarding the other persons mentioned in the inscription and their identification, Pallavādhīrāja may probably be identified with Nandivarman Pallavaṇmall (acc. c. 725 A.D.) as the date assigned for this inscription falls during the period of his rule. The mention of the Pallava in terms of family relationship to the mother of the Telugu Chōla king would indicate that friendly relations that had subsisted between the two dynasties earlier in the time of Mahēndravikrama Chōlamahārāja, were again established. This was evidently made possible by the assumption of independence—as his title Prithivivallabha indicates—by Vijayaḍītīya-Chōla from the yoke of the
Chāḻukyas, the inveterate enemies of the Pallavas. The Bāṇa king, who ruled from Pāṃbulīggi, may have been a successor of Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāgarāja, son of Balikulatilaka Narasiṅha Bāṇāḏhirāja, who figures in the inscription of the 23rd year of Vijayāditya Chāḻukya at Koṇḍupalli noted above. The Chōlāmahārāja referred to in the record was evidently the king of the record, Vijayāditya[tya]-Chōla. Pāṃbulīggi from where the Bāṇa is stated to be ruling, may be identified with Hāṇīlīgige as its name, evidently a later from of Pāṃbulīggi occurring in our record.

K. TEXT

First Side

1 to 3 Svasti Śrī [||*] Prithivivallabha-Vijayādi[tya*-Chōlarāju] iru2-
4 [vādirēnḍu [cha]va-
5 cheharambūl pravartti-
6 llan Vānarājul Pā-
7 mbulīggi ēļuchu Palla-
8 vādirājula [Kū]chāpō-
9 riyā tāmbul Chō-
10 jamahārājula amma

Second Side

All lines lost.

Third Side

1 ... pāgadaṇu...
2 jōjur U Kūchāpōrīki-
3 [nētra] ... da ... ichci a[n]na[nta-]
4 nākā ... de [rana] rāchamā-
5 nambunan ēbbādi maru-
6 ntrul nēla ala[gha] chinta u-
7 [tara]bu kaťtu Kauṇḍilīya-gōtrasya pe-
8 nāra Rēvasasārmāṇa [pu]ttrasya Aggi-
9 S[Śjāmrāk-]iĉchina dati [||*]

Fourth Side

[Svadatāṁ paradatāṁ vā yō harēti vasumāra[h*] shasṭi-varusha-sahasrāqi vishtā].-1
1 yā[ṛ]h jā-
2 yā[ṛ]ya[ṭō]
3 krimi[h||*]

L. Budidigaddapalle Inscription of Mahendra (II)

This epigraph4 is engraved on a hero-stone set up to the north-east of the village of Būdźidigad-
dapalle6 in the Hindupur taluk of the Anantapur District.

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1 No. 440 of 1920 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. We are obliged to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this identification.
2 The first three lines have been restored from Mack. Ms. 15-3-60, p.74-75; see photo-plate. Owing to the fault of the eye-copyist ṯya has been omitted.
3 Restored from Mack. Ms. 15-3-60, p. 72-75; see photo-plate.
5 In the same village there is an inscription of a Chōlāmahārāja mentioning as his (māyaṛa)son (or subordinate) a certain Araval Mahendra Rāṭṭagudi (No. 798 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.).
On palaeographical grounds the record has been assigned to about the latter half of the 8th century A.D., which may be accepted as correct, as the inscription shows, especially in the letters k, r, l and j later forms than the Veludurti inscription of Uttamāditya-Chōla (ins. J. above) which we have assigned to about the second quarter of the 8th century A.D.

The letters are deeply engraved and are well-formed. While, as we have noted, a few letters are of later development than the Veludurti inscription of Utmāditya, only the letter l (line 4) appears more archaic than the l of the Veludurti inscription. This need not be taken to militate against its date being later than that of the inscription of Utmāditya. The persistence of old forms of certain letters in later inscriptions is not uncommon in South Indian Epigraphy.

Attention may be drawn to the letter r in 1.1 which is exactly in the form in which it is written as subscript in sr1 of lines 2 and 3. The absence of the serif in a final (lines 1 and 4) may be noted. The u, medial sign, attached to m in lines 2 and 3 presents a peculiar form.

The inscription records that a certain Arivarajama fell after piercing Dantiyamma-Maṅgu while Kāpi-Bōla-Mutturāju, the ruler of Pudali (Pudali eluṇāru) and the son of Mahēndra sur-named Mānaravi and Mūrāpi[duugu], was looking on with wonder.

The title Mūrāpi[duugu], ‘thunderbolt to enemy kings’, of Mahēndra recalls a similar title of Pūnyakumāra, viz., Maruṇapādugu (ins. F. Tippalur inscription) meaning ‘thunderbolt (piḍugu)’ to the enemies (maruṇa). The meaning of the title Mānaravi is not clear but it seems to be identical with Mānāditya which was the name of a Telugu-Chōla subordinate of the Kalūga Gaṅga kings.1

The place Pudali, which is stated to be under the rule of Kāpi-Bōla may be identified with Būdili, a hamlet of Būḍidigadapalle, where the present inscription has been found.

The inscription2 is important for the several personalities it mentions and for the useful information it provides in regard to the Telugu Chōla genealogy. Mahēndra, who bore the birudas, Mūrāpi[duugu] and Mānaravi, father of Kāpi-Bōla Mutturāju, may be identified with Mahēndravarman II of the line of Sundararannya mentioned in the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha.3 The Elaṇjōla (crown-prince or Yuvarāja) mentioned as the successor of Mahēndravarman in the record of Śrīkaṇṭha may have been another son of Mahēndra besides Kāpi-Bōla-Mutturāju of the present record. Kāpi-Bōla, being a Mutturāju, was probably the younger brother. Further, the Chōlaka Muttarasa figuring in several inscriptions at Śrīvaṇagudi4 Miḍagēśī hobī, Tumkur District, (a place which is 30 miles west of Būdili and 10 miles south-east of Niḍugal or Erigal) and in another record at Nagaragere, Goribidnur taluk5 (a place 10 miles south-west of Būdili), wherein he is described as holding sway over Kandakoṭṭa and Rāmaḍi-nāḍu, may probably be identified with Kāpi-Bōla-Mutturāju. Probably he is the same prince mentioned in an inscription at Dānṇavulapāḍu6 in the Jammalamadu taluk of the Cuddapah District, as Kāpyanā, son of .... Chōlamahārāja (name lost).

Regarding Dantiyamma-Maṅgu, the opponent of Arivarajama, it may be stated that he is probably identical with Maṅgi, who seems to have renewed a grant of a Chōla-Mahādēvi at Chilamakūru.7 His surname, Dantiyamma (i.e., Dantivarman), would make him either a contemporary

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2 Although the record which is a śrayal inscription, does not specifically describe Mahēndra as a Chōla, considerations such as the title he bore which are similar to those used by the princes of the family, the provenance of the inscription in Telugu Chōla territory and the identifications proposed above would render it quite likely that he was of Telugu Chōla extraction.
3 JII, Vol. XV, p. 32.
4 Ep. Cura., XII, Mi. 94, 95 and 96.
5 Ep. Cura., X. Gm. 76.
or, more appropriately, a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurgā (c. 750 A.D.)\(^1\) whose name Dantivarmanā he bears. The subjagation might have taken place when Dantidurgā conquered Kāñcchi and the Śrīśaila region.\(^2\)

**L. TEXT**

1 Śrī Mahendran Mānaravi Mārurāpi[du]gu
2 maganru Pudali ē[uvānu] Kāpi-Bōla-Mutturāju
3 achen[r]vunuru Arivarajamunu anvānu
4 Dantiyamma-Maṅgu tōJan pojunči paṇiyen.[[*]]

**TRANSLATION**

While Kāpi-Bōla-Mutturāju, son of Śrī Mahendrā Mānaravi Mārurāpi[du]gu, the ruler of Pudali, was looking on with wonder, he who was called Arivarajama (death to the best of enemies) fought with Dantiyamma-Maṅgu and piercing, fell.

We may proceed to discuss the origin, genealogy and chronology of these rulers. Only a few inscriptions of the Chōlas of Rēnādu have so far been edited and their historical contents elucidated. They are: 1) The Mālēpaṇḍu plates of Punnyakumāra,\(^3\) three of whose stone inscriptions, E, F, and G are edited by us here. 2) The Mālēpaṇḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya\(^4\). 3) The Mālēpaṇḍu-Pōḷadurū record of Chōlamahārāja,\(^5\) two of whose inscriptions (C and D) are edited here. 4) The Madras Museum plates of Śrīkanṭha-Chōla.\(^6\)

In a note on the date of the Mālēpaṇḍu plates of Punnyakumāra,\(^7\) Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has discussed the history and chronology of these rulers expressing certain views different from those held by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. A brief account of their history has been furnished by Dr. M. Rama Rao.\(^8\)

In regard to their origin, beyond the bare statement that they belonged to the family of Karikāla, we have no information in their inscriptions as to the date and manner in which they established themselves in the Telugu country. The circumstances of their migration to the north can, however, be ascertained by a study of the legendary traditions which are found embedded in their puṇṇāstī regarding their ancestry.

As stated already, the Chōlas of the Telugu country included Karikāla among their ancestors in their inscriptions\(^9\) from very early times.

In them, the common fact mentioned is the construction by Karikāla of the Kāvēri banks to which an additional detail is sometimes added, viz., that the work was effected with the help of the dependent kings led by Trilēchana.

Traditions like these may not constitute conclusive proof for the solution of historical problems. But what they reveal to us in a general way is that a live connection may have existed between these Telugu Chōla chiefs and Karikāla, who may be taken to be a historical figure. The nature of this connection has been envisaged by several scholars in a variety of ways. Venkayya\(^10\) and

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\(^1\) The Pallava Dantivarman was removed from the time of the Chōla by over a generation as his rule lasted from c. 750 to 840 A.D.

\(^2\) ASI, V, p. 88; the Dañarrāra cave ins. of Dantidurgā.

\(^3\) The word tōJan meaning 'with' is evidently the earlier form of toJan, ja being replaced by du. Cf. Nolambiki nēi kagamabana (in the sight with Nolambi). Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, 1.3 of text of ins. C.

\(^4\) Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

\(^5\) Above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

\(^6\) G. V. R. Comor, Vol. p. 301.

\(^7\) JIH, Vol. XV, p. 30; C.P. No. 5 of 1935-6 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

\(^8\) M. C. C. Morgan, Vol. IX, pp. 7-18.


\(^11\) Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 200; ASI, 1905-6, p. 175, n. 8.
H. Krishna Sastrī stated that the Telugu country may have once formed part of the dominions of Karikāla whose empire was believed to have extended to the river Kṛishṇā. Recently the nature of Telugu-Chōḷa migration has been sought to be explained by attributing it not to any activity on the part of Karikāla but to that of the Pallavas, who under Śīhavishṇu, brought to subjugation the Chōḷas of the Kāvērī region and who thereby served as the medium through which the drift of the Chōḷas to the north took place. Although it is true that the Telugu-Chōḷas of the early period bear names and titles which betray strong Pallava influence, a fact that renders the above view plausible, yet it would appear that long before the Pallava conquest of the Kāvērī basin took place in the time of Śīhavishṇu (c. 575-600 A.D.), the Telugu-Chōḷas had already established themselves as a dynasty in the Telugu country. The first known member of the family, Nandivarman, obviously bears the surname of the Pallava monarch Nandivarman, who preceded Śīhavishṇu. In the whole genealogy of the Pallavas of the period prior to Śīhavishṇu, there figures only one Nandivarman⁴, viz., the grandson of Śīhavarman, lord of Kāṅcē (c. 435-461 A.D.) mentioned in the Lōkaśāhāya⁵ and the son of Skandavarman (c. 461-485 A.D.) who installed Mādhava II (c. 475-600 A.D.) on the throne. This Pallava Nandivarman (c. 485-510 A.D.) is likely to have been the king after whom Nandivarman-Chōḷa was named by his father probably in token of submission. This would also presuppose that even for a generation prior to Nandivarman-Chōḷa, the Chōḷas were probably under subjection to the Pallavas.

We have therefore to assume the existence of the Telugu-Chōḷas in the Telugu country earlier than the Pallava conquest of the Chōḷa country of the Kāvērī basin. Further, the probability of a Chōḷa occupation of Kāṅcē earlier than the time of Śīhavishṇu leads us to the supposition that the migration was part of a general northward movement caused by the conditions following upon the disturbances due to the Gupta raid into E. Deccan in the 4th century A.D. But whether such a major conquest on the part of the Chōḷas took place under Karikāla, as has been supposed by some scholars⁶, is more than what can be said at present in view of the absence of a more direct and concrete piece of evidence, epigraphical or otherwise, than what has been adduced so far. And so long as the question remains open, no final account can be given of the nature and circumstances of Chōḷa migration to the Telugu country.

We may proceed to examine the chronology and genealogy of these rulers. The chief records that furnish data besides those edited by us are (1) the Mālpāḍu plates of Puyyakumārī,⁸ (2) the Mālpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya² and (3) the Madras Museum Plates of Śrīkaṇṭha-Chōḷa.⁸ The following genealogical table can be constructed on the basis of the above records and those edited by us here.

N.B.—The family tree as here constructed cannot be strictly called genealogical as the relationships at several points of the genealogy are not definitely known. In the table where relationship as between father and son is definitely known, descent is indicated by a straight line, and where such relationship is not known and only sequence in succession is established, a dotted line represents the probable descent.

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¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 284 and n. 2.
⁵ The latter record gives the genealogy after Nandivarman as:

Nandivarman

Simhavarman

(Son)

Simhavishṇu.

⁸ Venkayya: A. S. R., 1900-6, p. 175, n. 8: H. K. Sastrī, above, Vol. XV, p. 248 and n. 2;
⁹ Kāṅcē: Pallavas, pp. 65-66. Mr. Gopalan notes several objections against a Chōḷa interregnum;
¹⁰ Gopalan: Pallavas, pp. 63-66. Mr. Gopalan notes several objections against a Chōḷa interregnum;
¹¹ (1) that Kāṅcēvarman may have conquered Kāṅcē from one of his collaterals or from the Kadambas and
¹² (2) Kūmāravishṇu is not credited with the conquest of the Chōḷas even not necessarily from the Chōḷas. (3) the reign of Karikāla, who it was that caused an interregnum in the former Vēḷāṛāḷayam plates.
¹⁴ Ibid., p. 345.
Solar race:
Karikāla

Generations:
I Nandivarman, of the Kāyapa-gōtra (c. 550 A.D.).

II Śudhavishnu (c. 575 A.D.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III</th>
<th>Navarāma (c. 600 A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahēndravikrama I (c. 600 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naravarūma, Muddālīkhākura, Lord of Chētra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Eravammas (c. 625 A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guṇamudita Puṇyakumāra. m. Vasantipēri Chōla Mahādevī (c. 625 A.D.), sur. Pērmaukarūma, Purushārthāla, Madanavillāna, Madanudita, Utamottama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| V | Viṣayaḥkāma (c. 650 A.D.) |
|   | Vikramāditya I (c. 650 A.D.) |

| VI | Viṭākrīna (c. 675 A.D.) |
|    | Śaktikomāra (c. 675 A.D.) |

| VII | Āgrāṇapījura (c. 700 A.D.) |
|     | Vikramāditya II Chōlāmahārāja (c. 700 A.D.), Chōlāmahādevi |

| VIII | Kōkili (c. 725 A.D.) |
|      | Utamāditya (c. 725 A.D.) |
|      | Śatyaśānti (c. 725 A.D.) |

| IX | Mahēndravarman II (c. 750 A.D.) |
|    | (Bṛha interregnum) Prithivīvallabha Viṣayaḥkītya Chōla (c. 750 A.D.) |

| X | Elaṅjōla Kāpi-Bōla-Motturāja (c. 775 A.D.) |
|   | Srijōka (c. 800 A.D.) Dīvākara (c. 825 A.D.) Šēkkaṭhā-Adhēśa (c. 850 A.D.) |

1 The assignment of the kings from Vikramāditya I onwards to the line of Puṇyakumāra is based upon historical and chronological probability as explained in the body of the article rather than upon any definite evidence connecting them with this line to the exclusion of the two other lines.
The genealogy consists of two collateral lines representing the descendants of two of the three sons of Nandivarman. Of the descendants of the remaining son, viz., Sinhabashyru, the eldest, if there were any, we have no knowledge. But that the sons were each endowed with the wealth of a kingdom that remained in the continuous and separate enjoyment of their sons and grandsons is implied by the statement in the Mālepāṇu plates of Pūṇyakumāra, viz., tē puṭrāṇa-purṇy-
āmbhīrtā-rajabu-riṣṭa, made in reference to all the sons of Nandivarman. The passage conveys the meaning that at the time when Pūṇyakumāra, ruling over Rēṇḍu and Hiranyarāṣṭra, issued the plates, the two senior lines were in existence exercising sway at other centres;² probably Erīgal and Bēḍīli which are known to have been other capitals of the Telugu Chōla.

The descendants of Sundarananda, who are represented in the lineage of Śṛṅgacchā seem to have carved out a separate territory for themselves, viz., the country round Bēḍīli, as can be gathered from the fact that Mahēndravarman II and his son Kāpi-Bēla-Mutturāja of this line are stated to be ruling from Bēḍīli in the Būḍhidgāḍapalle inscription (ins. 1 above).

Coming to the third branch founded by Dhanañjaya I, it becomes known from the Mālepāṇu inscriptions and other records in the region of Rēṇḍu left by the members of this line (ins. A to K) that Dhanañjaya I and his descendants who hailed from Erīgal established themselves in the territories of Rēṇḍu, Hiranyarāṣṭra, and Siddhi 1000. They seem to have exercised sway from two capitals, Chirpali or Chippili in Madanapalle taluk, the capital of Rēṇḍu, and from Bīrīpiṇu or Mālepāṇu in Hiranyarāṣṭra. The details as to whether the three branches held independent charges over their respective territories or ruled conjointly over the entire Chōla dominions are by no means clear in the present state of our knowledge.

Examining the collateral lines more closely it is found that there are some gaps in the genealogy. Among the descendants of Dhanañjaya I, the immediate successor of Pūṇyakumāra remains unknown. But palaeographical and historical considerations point to the probability that the four generations of kings detailed in the Mālepāṇu stone inscription of Satyāditya must have immediately succeeded Pūṇyakumāra and hence probably belonged to his line—the historical considerations being that the set of kings ending with Pūṇyakumāra bear the titles of the Pallava kings while the set ending with Satyāditya have names of Chāḻukyas of a later date, and both are found ruling over the same tract. The resemblance between Pūṇyakumāra and Śaktikumāra, the names respectively of the predecessor and the son of Vikramāditya I may perhaps be taken to give some support to this arrangement, besides the more general considerations of history and palaeography. The two inscriptions found so far of Vikramāditya-Chōla-Mahārāja (ins. H and I) have to be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the second king of that name. His queen Chōḻaṉṭāṭēvidi alias Manikhiporri seems to have been an important personage as she is represented in the Chilamākkūru inscription of Vikramāditya II (ins. H) as ruling at Chirumbūru (i.e. Chilamākkūru) in company with her son Uṭṭamāditya. It is not known to which line Prithiviradhaba Vijayāditya Chōla of ins. K belonged. As his record is found in Rēṇḍu (at Chāḻamārūru, Jammasalamadugu taluk, Cuddapah District) he may have belonged to the line of Dhanañjaya and ruled the Rēṇḍu tract subsequent to Satyāditya after driving out the Bānugā who had temporarily occupied his ancestral dominions. If so, he would be the last known member of the line of Dhanañjaya.

The line of kings founded by Sundarananda, which held sway from Bēḍīli, and Kāndakōṭṭa—some members of this line are described as ruling from these places—seem to have lasted longer

² A certain Adhirāja Dhanañjaya of the Chōla family is mentioned as ruling Erīgalvāḍi 600 in several epigraphs at Maddagirī (Ep. Carn., XII, Mi. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99 and 101). He lived about the middle of the 8th cent. and was a contemporary of Sēṇpuruṣa of the Ganga dynasty. His connection with the ma in dynasty is not known.
³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 345

8 XVI-I-8
than the rest. After the extinction of the other two collateral lines Śrikanṭha remained the sole representative of the progeny of Nandivarman, and he accordingly assumed the title of Chōḷa-Adhirāja. Stray inscriptions of a slightly later date than Śrikanṭha which mention Chōḷa names like Mayindama-Chōḷa, Mayindavikrama and Chōḷa Perumāṇaḍi are found in the vicinity of Būdili, at Nagaragere1 and Baṅgavāḷi2. It has been correctly stated that the Mayindavikrama who took part in the battle of Sōremadi was a Telugu Chōḷa king.3 He is therefore the third of that name among the Telugu Chōḷas. At Būdili itself is an inscription, later than the above, of a Sōḷa-Mahārāja who is found to adopt the Aridurddhara, etc., praṇāma4 and whom we may designate Chōḷa-Mahārāja II to distinguish him from the Chōḷa-Mahārāja I alias Mahendravikrama of the early Rāṇāḍu-Chōḷa family. This king has left a good number of records in the Rāṇāḍu and other tracts in which he describes himself as the ruler of Rāṇāḍu 7000.5 It is not known definitely if all these later chiefs belonged to the line of Śrikanṭha. But as they are found to hold sway over the region of Būdili, in and around which their records are found, they may be assumed to have been his descendants, or, better, political successors who, in spite of constant conflicts with the Bāṇas, Vaidumbas and Nolamba-Pallavas, continued to hold sway over the region. Chōḷa-Mahārāja II extended his rule over the whole of the dominions of the Telugu-Chōḷas as the distribution of his records shows.

Turning to the chronology of these rulers, it has to be remarked that there are no definite dates to work upon as none of the inscriptions under consideration bear any date, either in the Saka or any other era. Our construction has therefore to depend upon palaeographical and historical considerations alone which, however in this instance are found to be rather weighty owing to the number and variety of inscriptions on stone and of copper-plates that are available. The method we shall follow will be to fix a probable date for one or two members of the line on palaeographical and historical considerations and assign corresponding dates to the other members calculating on the basis of twenty-five years for a generation.

On palaeographical grounds, the records of some of the members of the family edited above have been assigned to dates ranging from the 6th to the 8th century A.D. Apart from palaeography, other considerations such as the similarity of the names and titles held by these chiefs with those of the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas render it necessary to treat them as their contemporaries and place them accordingly in the same period, during which the Pallavas and Chāḷukyas also held sway. The above arrangement may also be supported by reference to an ancient practice of feudatories assuming the names and titles of their overlords which affords a reliable canon for chronological studies as it enables us to treat the feudatory and the overlord as contemporaries.6 In accordance with this practice it will be seen that Nandivarman

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1 Ep. Carn., X, Gn. 69, 72, 73 and 75.
3 Above, XXIV, p. 183. Sōremadi can be identified with Chōḷamari on the east bank of the Pennār, a few miles west of Pennakonda in the Anantapura District. The place is situated about 20 miles west of Vāṇavāḷu and 20 miles north-west of Būdili; vide Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XII, p. 193.
6 Numerous examples of this practice can be cited. To mention a few, the Western Ġarha kings of the Pennakonda Plates of Mādhava II (above, Vol. XIV, p. 331) are found to bear Pallava surnames like Simhamvarman and Skandavarman consequent on the fact, clearly stated in the record, of their having been installed on the throne by the two Pallava kings bearing the same names. The Kadamba king Simhamvarman, son of Vīshṇuvarman of the Brur plate (Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kadur 162) and the Hebat record (Mys. Arch. Report, 1925, p. 88) evidently bears the Pallava name of Simhamvarnā in consequence of the fact that Vīshṇuvarman had a Pallava overlord (Uruvupalli grant of Simhamvarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 52; Trilokana Pallava and Kariṭala Chōḷa, p. 54).
and his son Simhavishnū, the earliest known members of the Chōla family, bore the names of their Pallava contemporaries, Nandivarman and Simhavishnū who were ruling in the 6th century A.D. and of whom they were evidently feudatories. Accordingly, Nandivarman-Chōla must be taken to have been ruling in c. 550 A.D. and this date affords a workable basis for the calculation of the dates of his successors and it is found that the results so obtained accord well with the facts of contemporary history. Thus we find the Telugu Chōla Mahêndravikrama I Chōlamahārāja, the grandson of Nandivarman, adopting the name of the Pallava Mahêndra I of whom he was evidently a contemporary. The available records of Chōla Mahêndravikrama I, bearing evidence of his activities, enable us to state that he was in close connection with both the Pallava monarchs, Simhavishnū and Mahêndra I. That he was also associated with Simhavishnū may be accepted for a fact, for, as recorded in the Mâlêpâdu plates of his son Puyakumāra, he gets the title 'Lord of Chēra, Chōla and Pândya countries' which Simhavishnū of the Pallavas is said to have conquered. It is probable that the Chōla took part in the campaigns of the Pallavas in the southern regions.

Similarly, Gunamudita and Puyakumāra bear some of the surnames of Pallava Mahêndra I indicating that they were all contemporaries. The name Gunamudita is, doubtless, modelled on that of Guṇabhara, a surname of the Pallava king. Again, the epithets Marunrapidu (or Mârpidu), Madanavilasa and Madamuditupu of Puyakumāra can be traced to similar titles, Pagâpidualu and Mattavilasa of the Pallava king. If he is treated as a contemporary of Mahêndra I, Pallava, whose latest date has been placed at A.D. 630, the year in which his son Narasimhavarman I is known to have come to the throne, his date would fall about A.D. 625 and this date is also arrived at by calculating the generations from Nandivarman-Chōla (c. 550 A.D.). Confirmation of the above dating is afforded by the inscriptions of Puyakumāra. Of this king three inscriptions have been edited above (viz., ins. E, F and G) of which the second (ins. F) viz., the Tippalur inscription, bears a striking palaeographical resemblance to the Vallanam rock inscription of Mahêndra I, Pallava, on the basis of which it might be stated that Puyakumāra and Mahêndra could not have been removed from each other in date by more than a generation.

Another factor supporting the above scheme of chronology is that these dates can also be obtained by working independently from other starting points, of which, the Madras Museum plates of Śrîkantha is one. Professor Kielhorn who compared the palaeography of these plates with those of the Masulipatnam plates of Vijayâditya III (A.D. 854-897) was of the opinion that they may be assigned to the same period.

It is found that nearly the same date for Śrîkantha is arrived at by counting the generations from the time of Puyakumāra.

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2. This date is obtained for him by calculating from the Bâdami ins. of the 13th year which is supposed to coincide with the last year of Pulakeshin’s rule, in A.D. 642 (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 359.)
4. If, as stated by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, the Puyakumāra of the Mâlêpâdu plates has to be assigned to the end of the 8th cent. A.D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 344), the Puyakumāra of the above stone records which are of the 7th century A.D. is to be considered as a different and earlier member of the family. But for reasons stated above we have not accepted Krishna Sastri’s dating of the Mâlêpâdu plates and are inclined to treat the Puyakumāra of the stone records as identical with his namesake of the copper-plates. Attention may, however, be drawn here to two other chiefs of the same name figuring in stone records from Bôdhinîyanipalle (A.R. No. 183 of 1931-32) and Chippilli (A.R. No. 299 of 1905) in the Chittoor District. The script of both of them is referable to the 8th or 9th cent. A.D., but it is not clear if they were of Chōla extraction.
Inscriptions on the Yüpa of Mālava King—[Śri?]Śoma, Kṛita Year 282

The two inscriptions on the yüpa of a Mālava king whose name cannot be completely deciphered, which I am editing here, were discovered in February 1927 by the late Rai Bahadur M.M. Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha in the village of Nāndsā, situated in the Sāharā District of the Udaipur State. This village is about 35 miles to the east of the Railway Station, Bhilwara on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, and about four miles to the south of Gangapur, a town in the jurisdiction of the state of Gwalior. Both the inscriptions are inscribed on one and the same stone pillar, about 12 feet in height and 5½ feet in circumference. The pillar stands in the bed of a lake near the village, and so remains under water in the rainy season when the lake is full, but emerges out in view in the hot season when the water level goes down. The inscription A is written vertically along the pillar, reading from the top downwards. The inscription B is engraved in horizontal lines.

These inscriptions were noticed for the first time by Mr. R. R. Halder, who published a short note about them in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. LVIII, p. 53, along with the facsimile of a portion of the first line of the inscription A, giving its date, both in words and in numerals. This short note was an important one, as it gave publicity to the discovery of the oldest inscription in the Kṛita, i.e., Vikrama era. The information, however, which this note gave about the names of the sacrificer and the sacrificer and the number of lines in the inscription B was inaccurate. In February 1928, the ink-impressions of these inscriptions were prepared and sent to Ootacamund by Mr. A. K. Vyas, M.A., Superintendent, Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, at the request of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist; and under his instructions Dr. B. Chhabra, then Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, kindly forwarded the ink-impressions to me for editing them in the Epigraphia Indica. Dr. Chhabra has helped me in my work by a number of valuable suggestions, for which I am highly indebted to him.

It appears clear from the records on the pillar that it was erected as a yüpa to commemorate a sacrificial sattra performed in the locality early in the 3rd century A.D. The Vedic texts require the yüpa to be an octagonal pillar; the sacrificers at Nāndsā do not seem to have paid attention to this injunction. I do not know whether this yüpa has a chashāla near the top or a girdle at the centre, as is the case with one of the Isāpur yūpas preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathura. For further information and discussion about the yūpas I would refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on yūpas', published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43-55.

The two inscriptions engraved on the yūpas are practically identical in their contents. The only difference that can be seen in their preserved portions is that the date in the opening line is given both in words and in numerals in the vertical inscription, henceforth called inscription A; and only in numerals in the horizontal inscription, henceforth called inscription B. Why one and the same pillar should contain two copies of one and the same record is really a mystery. It may perhaps have been solved if both the records had been preserved in their entirety, for it is possible, though not probable, that after recording the performance of the Ekashankhirātra sattra, the record, later inscribed, may have commemorated a different benefaction of the king, as, for instance, is done in the inscription on the Allahabad Municipal Museum yūpa.1 It would appear that the inscription A, written in vertical lines, was the first to be engraved. Its execution is more careful and characters more graceful than those of the inscription B; its

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date is also given both in words and in numerals. Inscription B appears to be engraved later. If such is the case, and if the inscription B was nothing more than a copy of the inscription A, it is likely that it may have been subsequently engraved to make the task of the reader easier. Inscriptions written in vertical lines, six or seven feet in length, are difficult to read; those written in horizontal lines, about three feet only in length, are easier to scan. I have, however, to admit that both the above explanations about the existence of two apparently identical copies of the same record on the same pillar are not quite convincing.

The length of the extant portions of the vertical lines of the inscription A is five feet. But ten to twelve letters of each line have been completely destroyed. So originally its lines must have been about six feet in length, covering approximately half the height of the pillar. Letters at the ends of its lines have been considerably damaged. The damage is most extensive in the last line, nearly half of which is completely peeled off, resulting in the loss of about 34 letters, supposing of course that originally it was of full length. The extant lines on the average contain about 72 letters each, the number of the letters in the first three lines being about ten less than those in the last three. The average height of a letter without a vertical is \( \frac{1}{4} \) inch, that of a letter with a vertical or a subscript being about twice as much.

The inscription B is written in horizontal lines, commencing at the same height of the pillar as the inscription A, and covering practically the whole of the remaining portion of the surface of the pillar. The two records, have, however, been nearly and carefully separated from each other by a blank space of nearly four inches at one end and six inches at the other. The length of each line is about three feet, and each line on the average contains about 22 letters. The height of the extant portion of the record is about five feet; but there is space for two lines more at the end, which have been probably peeled off. Considerable portion of the first half of each line has been damaged, the damage being more extensive in later lines. The letters of this record are larger than those of inscription A; those without verticals are about 1.1 inch in height, those with verticals and subscripts having about twice that dimension.

The engraving of both the records has been done fairly carefully; mistakes like pūrveśyā for pūrveśyā (B, l.1) and paitāmahiṃ for paitāmahiṃ (A, l.2; B, l.4) are really few. If there is a solecism in the record after the end of the series of absolute clauses, the mistake is probably of the draftsman and not of the engraver.

**These records are the earliest inscriptions dated in the Krita, i.e., Vikrama era, and so, we may note the peculiarities of their characters rather carefully.** The letters ka, ra and ha have developed tails at the ends of their verticals; cf. gurudā in A, l.1 and B, l.2; -śīna in A, l.2 and B, l.3; gajñā in A, l.4 and B, l.10. Ya has a loop on the left; cf. Kriyāvar. in A, l.1, māyāsa in A, l.3 and B, l.7. The subscript ya is usually bipartite; cf. samudrātya in A, l.2 and B, l.4. In a few instances, however, the cursive form of the later period makes its appearance; cf. nīravakāśya in B, l.9. The letters ma and na have a triangular base and the horizontal bar of sa does not yet reach the other side; cf. māyāsa in A, l.3 and B, l.7, ṣakṣī in A, l.1 and B, l.2. Letters pa, sa, ka, ga, and ha have an indent in their left limb; cf. mahāti and pūrṇāmasi in A and B, l.1, -ṣaṣṭī in A, l.2 and B, l.3, Brahm-śradda- and śākam-auga in A, l.3 and B, l.8 and l.7. The vertical line of ka has developed a curved ornamental tail; cf. avipulam in A, l.2 and B, l.5, Māla in A, l.3, etc. The form of the letter ṣa, resembling the reversed form of the modern Devarāgari letter ṣa, is rather peculiar; cf. taṭāka in A, l.4 and B, l.10.

The medial ā is usually denoted by a small horizontal stroke to the right, but in the case of mā, ṣa, dhā, ṣa, and thā this stroke is attached to the centre of the letter on the right; cf. pūrṇāmasi in A and B, l.1, gurudā in A, l.1 and B, l.2, -dhārā in A, l.3 and B, l.7, yathārtham in A, l.5 (but not in B, l.13), vaśeśvarāsah in A, l.3 and B, l.8, etc. In the case of mā the
stroke for the medial vowel is similarly attached at the centre to the left of the letter, cf. anut-tāmēṇa in B, l. 5. In the case of ī also the medial ś-mūtra is attached to the centre of the letter, but it develops into an ornamental curve; cf. praṇjapati- in A, l. 3 and B, l. 8, prajā- in A, l. 4 and B, l. 10, etc. Short medial i is denoted by an ornamental curve opening to the left, and the long one by a similar curve opening to the right; cf. siddham and pūrṇaṃrāśī in A and B, l. 1, etc. Medial ri is denoted by a short curve or stroke attached to the left of the letter usually at its bottom; the subscript ra differs from it only in being a little longer; cf. sattra in A, l. 3 and chandra in B, l. 2, with pīṭrī- and samuddhritya in A, l. 2 and B, l. 4; see also vṛpragṛśhtha, A, l. 6. In the case of kṛi, this stroke is attached, however, at about the middle of its vertical, in order to distinguish it from the tail, which the letter has developed, cf. kṛi in Krṣṇagūra-, A, l. 1. Medial au is denoted by a curve above the letter with a horizontal line on its either side; paṇ-trasya in A, l. 5 and B, l. 15. The curve is attached at the end of the right hand stroke in the case of maḥa; cf. bhūmaḥ and kāma-vighaṭa- in A, l. 3 and B, l. 7. The stop m occurs in siddham at the beginning of the inscription A; it is denoted by a smaller form of the letter ma, but written below the line.

Most of the paleographical peculiarities noted above occur also in the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman I, dated in the [Saka] year 72. Our inscription is only 76 years later than this record. As will be presently seen, Nāṇḍā was under the Sakas rule for a fairly long time. The paleographical resemblance, therefore, need not cause any surprise. It may also be pointed out that many of the paleographical characteristics of this record also recur in the Kusāna inscriptions of the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D.

**Numerical symbols for 200, 80, and 2** occur in both the records in the opening line. The symbol for 200 is exactly similar to that occurring in the inscriptions on the three yāpas at Bādvā. Symbols for 80 and 2 are the normal ones for the period.

As regards the **orthography**, the following points deserve to be noted:—The usual symbol for upadhmāṇi is used in inscription A, l. 4; cf. prasāṅgaraḥ puruṣa-. In the corresponding place of the inscription B, however, the vīraṇa has been engraved; cf. l. 11. But the most interesting orthographical peculiarity of the records is the surmounting of the anuvṛtta by a concave semicircle, when it is followed by a va or a ūa or a ra; cf. dhūram vasār- in A, l. 3 and B, l. 7; vaṇiḥ Maṇava-vaṇiḥ in A, l. 5 and B, l. 14; puruṣaṃ rājarṣi- in A, l. 4. In the last case both the anuvṛtta and the concave semicircle above it are midway between ūa and rā; but there can be no doubt that they were intended to be engraved above the ūa in puruṣaṃ. In siddham vatsya, A, l. 3 and B, l. 7 we expect this concave semicircle above the anuvṛtta, as it is followed by a va; but it does not occur. The medial ī mark has, however, a natural concave semicircle in it, and the anuvṛtta has been engraved under it; this may possibly be the reason for an additional semicircle not being engraved over the anuvṛtta. It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation for this concave semicircle mark in the above cases. One is tempted to think that it may be possibly the Vedi ś-„ mark, which is common in the text of the Yajurveda. Such, however, does not seem to be the case. This mark is used in the Yajurvedic text when an anuvṛtta is followed by śa, sa, sa, ha, and ra. In our inscription it is no doubt used when the anuvṛtta is followed by a va and śa. But it is also used when the anuvṛtta is followed by a va as shown above, and not used when it is followed by a va; cf. dharmamārāmaḥ samuddhritya, A, l. 2 and B, l. 14. The occurrence of the mark is thus a puzzle, difficult to explain.

The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit. There is some influence of Prakrit as in kṛitīḥ for kritiḥ in B, l. 1. The language is on the whole correct; we, however, have an incorrect

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1 Above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 52.
2 *Ahaśavādaṇaḥ* *Śaivamārāmaḥ kusānaḥkaraṇīya haṃsa trivādiḥśam-kāhyādān. The Pratītikārā of Yajurveda, No. 2.*
form in avatārayita for avatāraya in A, ll. 1-2 and B, l. 3. If the record has been correctly copied, we have to admit that there is a glaring syntactical irregularity in it. The series of the absolute clauses with which the record commences is left without any subject, nor are they followed by a principal clause, as is usually required. The author of the record adopts the ornate style of Sanskrit prose. There are several similes and metaphors; anuprīsa is not forgotten (B, l. 9); compounds are frequent and some of them are very long (A, l. 4). The record is a pratikāsti, and it must be acknowledged that the language used is appropriate for the occasion. It gives a vivid idea of the fame and exploits of the hero it commemorates.

Both the records are dated. The date, which is given in numerals as well as in words in inscription A and in numerals only in inscription B, is the full moon day of the month of Chitra of the Kṛṣṇa (i.e. Vikrama) year 282. The corresponding year according to the Christian era would be A.D. 226. The inscriptions are thus the earliest records of the Vikrama era so far known. They are two years earlier than the Barnāla ṣūpa inscription A, and 11 years anterior to the three ṣūpa inscriptions of the Maukhariya discovered by the present writer at Badvāī.

The inscriptions are primarily intended to commemorate the performance of the Ekāhasthitirātra sacrificial session, which, as its name indicates, used to extend over 61 days. The following constituent sacrifices were offered in this session in the order given below:

1st day, Prāyaṇa sacrifice.
2nd day, Chaturviniṣa sacrifice.
3rd to 20th day, Three Abhiplava sacrifices, each lasting for six days.
21st to 26th day, Prishṭhya sacrifice.
27th to 35th day, Navarātra sacrifice.
36th to 41st day, Pratiloma Prishṭhya sacrifice.
42nd to 47th day, Abhiplava sacrifice.
48th day, Āyu sacrifice.
49th day, Gau sacrifice.
50th to 59th day, Daśarātra sacrifice.
60th day, Mahāvrata sacrifice.
61st day, Udāyaniya sacrifice.

The Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇa Śūtras give several details of each of the above sacrifices, but it is unnecessary to discuss them here. The purpose and significance of the session itself will be discussed later on.

We have so far noticed several ṣūpa inscriptions, but they usually refer to short sacrifices. The longest sacrificial session, so far discovered from epigraphs, was the Devadaksitirātra-ṣattr, performed at Iṣupur near Mathurā in the 28th year of the reign of the emperor Harshākya by Brāhmaṇa Drṇālā. A long sacrificial session, lasting for as many as 61 days, is referred to for the first time in the present records.

A sacrificial ṣattr can be performed only by Brāhmaṇa, but the potentate who is eulogised in our records was a Kahatriya. So it is stated that he did not himself perform it, but caused it to be performed; cf. avatārayita-ya(avatar-ya)-kāhasthitirātram-ṣattrah, B, ll. 3-4. Not

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3 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 118 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43 ff.
5 Pañcarāja Brāhmaṇa, XXIV, 18; Kāhāyaṇa Śramaṇa Śūtra, 25, 18, 17-24.
6 Kaśyapa Brāhmaṇa, XXIV, 1-3; Aśoka Brāhmaṇa, IV, 19-16; Saṅkāyaṇa Śramaṇa Śūtra, IX, 22.
8 बांधवानं वेतरयोरालिष्यमाभासति II Pārussimānak, VI, 6, 18.
less than 17 Brāhmaṇas are required for a sattrā; they are both pīripeks (priests) and yaṇamōnas (sacrificers). Since a Kahatriya could not be a pīripeks at the time of our record, he could not himself perform the sattrā; he could only get it performed by Brāhmaṇas officiating on his behalf. All the Brāhmaṇas had to be of the same gōtra and kalpa; otherwise there would result a conflict at the time of offering the Āprio offerings.

It is indeed a strange irony of fate that there should be an uncertainty about the full name of the king, whose exploits are described on the pillar, though he had taken the precaution of getting the record engraved twice on it. In inscription A, the concluding part of 1.5, where his name occurred, has been peeled off; in inscription B the relevant portion in 11.15-16 has been so heavily damaged, that so confident reading of the text is possible. After mentioning the donor's father's name as Jayasūma, the records proceeded to give his own name. It is given in apparently eight letters. The first two of these letters are Sōgi. In inscription B so, which is the last letter of 1.15, appears to have a subscript, and the next letter gi, which is the first letter of 1.16, looks more like gui than gi. But if we examine these letters in inscription A, 1.5, it becomes clear that neither so nor gi had any subscript. The reading Sōgi may therefore be taken as certain. The succeeding two letters are quite illegible in inscription A. Inscription B (l.16), however, shows that the first of them was certainly me; the next letter, (which is the 3rd letter of 1.16), appears most like a damaged tuḥ. These four letters may therefore be read as Sōginētuh, meaning 'one of the leaders of the Sōgis'.

It appears that before giving the king's personal name, an epithet of his has been given. Who then were the Sōgis, whose leader the king claims to be? The mystery is solved by a fragmentary inscription which is being edited at the end of this paper as C. This inscription was also found in the village Nāndsā, where the yūpa bearing inscriptions A and B was discovered. It is also inscribed on a pillar, standing not far away from the other yūpa. Paleography shows that its time is not far removed from that of the former inscriptions. Unfortunately this inscription is extremely fragmentary, but its 7th line distinctly refers to a Mahāśenapati Bhaṭṭisūma, who is styled Sōgi; cf.

Mahāśenapatisya Bhaṭṭisūmasya Sōgisya ma-

It is therefore clear that the Mālavas had a subclan called Sōgi, probably so-called after its gōtra, Saugi. The hero of our record was a leader of these Sōgis and was very proud of that fact: His personal name is therefore preceded by the title Sōginētuh. The Sōgis still exist in Mewar as a caste group, and have been so recorded in the census of 1941.

The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th letters of 1.16 of inscription B give the personal name of the hero. Of these the 5th and the 6th letters, though considerably damaged, definitely look like sōma, and the succeeding letter, though partly obliterated, looks like eṇa. The space between ma and eṇa is not greater than the ordinary space between two consecutive letters of this record. What therefore looks like the remnant of a damaged letter after ma would probably be nothing more than a mere damage in the stone surface. The 5th, 6th and 7th letters of 1.16 are therefore sōmanā. The hero's name therefore ended in sōma, as was the case with that of his father and that of the Sōgi general, mentioned in inscription C below. It was preceded by only one letter, but it cannot be made out with certainty. It is considerably damaged, but a portion of what remains looks like a part of ga or ṣa, with perhaps an i-matrā above it. I would therefore suggest, without some diffidence, that the letter may have been Śṛi; one can hardly think of any other suitable monosyllabic letter to precede Sōma. The king's name was therefore most probably.

1 śatnākālayā । śatnākālatnu । Sabara on *ibid.*, VI, 6, 1.
2 śatnākālayā । śatnākāla pakṣitakṣipakṣa paṭeṣa । *ibid.*, VI, 6, 1. See also the commentary of Sabara.
3 Gārapiyamānambhakodambaha (Mysore edition); p. 177.
NANDSA YUPA INSCRIPTIONS

Srīśōma, the first letter being merely an honorific prefix. As, however, the reading of this letter is very doubtful, I would prefer to restore it conjecturally as [Srī] śōma. It is very likely that this [Srī śōma is identical with Mahāśēnāpati Bhāṭṭisōma mentioned in inscription C below.

The name of the father of the king, Jayasōma, is clear in both the inscriptions (A, l. 5 and B, l. 15). The grandfather's name again is seriously damaged in both the inscriptions. In inscription A the letters are partly blurred and partly damaged, and what we can read does not make out a good sense. All told 11 letters are used in this connection. The first two letters are fairly clear in both the records and they are Jay. The last three letters are legible only in inscription A, and they are certainly vardhāna. The three preceding letters, which have been completely peeled off in inscription B, can be seen in inscription A, but in a damaged condition. The first of these letters looks like a pu but may also have been a pra; the second letter undoubtedly looks like ṛbhā, and the third one may appear to be a damaged ga or ḍha with a subscript. This letter has a round back, which is always the case with the ga of this record and never with the ḍha. I would amend ṛbhā into ḍhā and read the last six letters as Prabhāgarvārdhāna. The preceding five letters seem to have denoted an epithet of Prabhāgarvārdhāna which began with Jay. The next three letters look like natana in inscription A, but in inscription B (l. 15), there is a clear mark of the superscript r over the second of these letters, which is otherwise completely destroyed there. I therefore think that the grandfather of the donor is described as Jayanartana, and that Prabhāgarvārdhāna was his proper name. The epithet Jayanartana probably had a reference to the real or imaginary victories of Prabhāgarvārdhāna, which perhaps made him dance in joy. The readings proposed are of course not free from doubt, but I wonder whether we can propose anything better in the present state of our knowledge and with the present impression.

The sacrificer claims that he was a scion of the royal Mālava family (Mālava-rājarshi-van śē-prasūta), which was as famous as the Ikshvāku family of Pauranic fame (A, l. 5). The expression used in this connection is Ikshvāku-prathita-rājarshi-van śē Mālava-van śē prasūtasya, and it is possible to explain it as Ikshvākūnām prathitē rājarshi-van śē Mālava-van śē prasūtasya, of one born in the Mālava family, which was a royal family of the famous Ikshvākus'. This construction is, however, unnatural and involved and the expression, Ikshvāku-prathita really means Ikshvākunā-prathita and maintains that the Mālava royal family was as famous as that of the Ikshvākus, from which Śrī-Rāmachandra had sprung.

The Mālavas had issued a very copious copper currency in this part of Rājputāna during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. Bhapaṇiyana, Magaja, Mapaya, Magagaśa, Magōja, etc., are some of the queer personal names occurring on these coins, and as they all look extremely un-Indian, it has been suggested by Smith that the Mālavas were probably a foreign tribe, which had not been yet completely Hinduised during the 3rd century A. D. This suggestion will have now to be given up, for the present record, which is almost contemporaneous with the coins in question, clearly states that the Mālava stock was as respectable as that of the Ikshvākus. They were zealous champions of the Vedic sacrifices, and though Kshatriyas by caste, were adopting names like Jayaśōma and Śrīśōma which showed a keen appreciation of the Brahmanical Vedic religion.

The performance of the Ekāḥashtirātra-sattra does not support the theory of their foreign descent. It is true that the Paṃchavinsā Brāhmaṇa informs us that this sattra was performed by Vṛtyādevas (XXIV, 18), but it does not state that, as a result, they ceased to be vṛtyās and became pure gods. Had such been the case, it could have been argued that king [Srī śōma performed this sattra to make himself a Hindu or Kshatriya of the bluest blood. Of course the names on the contemporary Mālava coins are foreign-looking. They may be either unintelligent attempts to

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reproduce parts of the legend Mālavāna jayah, as Mr. Allan has recently suggested, or they may be contraction of Mahārāja followed by his individual name as Jayaswal had thought. It has to be admitted that neither explanation is convincing.

There is, however, no doubt that the Mālavas were a people of great antiquity in ancient India, and that they were enjoying a high status and respectability even in the epic period. In the great war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, they had thrown in their lot with the latter, and on several critical occasions their battalions had saved Bhishma himself. The mother of Kichaka was a Mālava princess and so was the wife of the Madra king Aśvapati, the father of famous Sāvitrī. Yama, the god of death, informed Sāvitrī that the hundred sons that would be born to her father and Mālavī mother as a result of one of his boons, would be known as Mālavas. The political geography of the present version of the Mahābhārata generally holds good for the period between 300-100 B.C. The above statement of Yama would therefore lead us to infer that during this period the Mālavas were closely allied to the Madras. The latter are known to have been in the occupation of the Central Punjab; the Mālavas were most probably their southern neighbours.

The Mālava-gaya-vishaya or the country of the Mālava tribe, which is referred to in the present inscriptions was, however, not located in the Southern Punjab. It was obviously a portion of Eastern Rajputana, where Nāndā is situated. The fact is that during the different periods of Indian history different tracts were known as Mālava country. Besides Mālvā, the well known province in Central India, even to-day a large part of the Southern Punjab, comprising the districts of Ferozepore and Ludhiana and the Indian States of Jind, Patiāla, Nābhā and Mālertoṭā is known as Mālvā. There is no doubt a tradition to the effect that this name is a modern one, the title of Mālava Singh having been conferred upon the Sikhs of this tract by Banda Bairāgī in the 15th century, who promised that the tract would be as fruitful as Mālvā. There does not seem to be any truth in this tradition. We have already seen that one of the boons given to Sāvitrī clearly shows that the Mālavas were close allies and neighbours of the Madras, probably occupying the territory to the south of the latter's. It is precisely this territory that is now being occupied by the Mālava Sikhs.

The Mahābhārata, however, refers to the Mālavas of the east, the north and the west. It would therefore appear that the Southern Punjab was not the only tract occupied by them in c. 300 B.C. In numerous places in the epic the Mālavas are closely associated with the Kshudrākas; the devadāsa compound, Kshudraka-Mālavāḥ is usually used to denote them. Thus the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas had come together to offer tribute to Yudhishṭhira at the time of his Rājasūya sacrifice (II, 78,90); in the disposition of the Kaurava forces on the eve of the great war, the battalions of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were grouped together (V, 57, 18); both of them suffered severely when Arjuna had launched a heavy attack on the Kaurava forces on the third day of the great war (VI, 59,139). This close association of the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, disclosed by the great epic, is confirmed by the Greek historians of Alexander the Great. They describe how the leaders of these tribes, whom they name as Oxydrakai and Malloi, had decided to offer a joint resistance to Alexander the Great, and how Alexander smashed the

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1 Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, Intro. p. evii.
(Kumbhakonam edition.)
4 पितुष्ठ ते वुगटसं भन्ति तव मतारिता मालवां मालवा नाम शास्त्रवा: स्वपरीश्च: III, 299,60-1. (Kumbhakonam edition.)
Malloi before they could effect a junction with the Oxydrakai. At this time the Kahudrakas were occupying the territory roughly corresponding to the Bahawalpur State and the Mālavas were their northern neighbours in the occupation of the Ravi-Sutlej Doab, from Multan to Kasur. These were probably the Mālavas of the West referred to in the Mahābhārata.

But apart from the south-eastern and the south-western Punjab, portions of Rājputāna were also occupied by the Mālavas fairly early. At Nāgar, 25 miles south-east of Tonk, a very large number of Mālava coins were discovered, some bearing the names of individual rulers and some having the legend, Mālavāṇāśa jayaḥ or its equivalent. The former coins are no doubt of the 3rd or the 4th century A. D., but the latter ones are much earlier. Cunningham thought that the earliest of these go back to c. 250 B. C., but Rapson and Smith felt that their antiquity could be taken back to only c. 150 B. C.¹ The latest writer on the subject, Mr. Allan, thinks that they are not earlier than the second century A. D.² Unfortunately the coins are too small to enable us to form any decisive opinion about the time suggested by their palaeography; but I think that the earliest of the Mālava-gaṇa coins are not later than c. 150 B. C. If such is the case, we shall have to postulate the Mālava occupation of this tract in central Rājputāna in about 150 B. C.; it may have been necessitated by the pressure of the Greek invasions under Demetrios, Apollodotus and Menander. From the 2nd century A. D. we get ampler proofs of the occupation of this tract by the Mālavas. The Nasik inscription No. 10 shows that the Mālavas were a strong power in the territory round Ajmer, and were in a position to harass the Uttamabhadras, who were the allies of the Śakas (Ante, Vol. VIII, p. 78). This inscription does not give the precise location of the Uttamabhadras and the Mālavas, but it says that after relieving the former, Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇa, bathed in the lake of Pushkara near Ajmer. The Mālavas therefore must have been occupying the tract near Ajmer.³ The Mālava-gaṇa-viśhaya, mentioned in inscription B, included the territory round about Nandsā, which is about 75 miles south-south-west of Ajmer and 110 miles east of Nāgar. In 1940 a seal bearing the legend [Mālava-jana-patasa] was found at Rairh in Jaipur State about 56 miles from its capital, which from its characters appears to be as old as the 2nd century B. C.⁴

It would thus appear that Mālava-gaṇa-viśhaya, referred to in our record, extended over a considerable portion of south-eastern Rājputāna, comprising parts of the States of Udaipur, Jaipur and Tonk and the district of Ajmer. Whether the Mālavas continued to occupy their old homeland in the Southern Punjab at this time is not known. But there is nothing improbable in such being the case, when we remember how the tract is still known as Mālwā.

The expression Mālava-gaṇa-viśhaya occurring in our record thus signifies the territory of the Mālava gaṇa or republic. It would therefore appear that the term gaṇa in expressions like Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-viśāt cannot mean gaṇaṇa or counting as Kielhorn had thought. Expressions like Śrī-Mālava-gaṇa-āmnātī and Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-viśāt ought therefore to be translated as 'according to the era current in the Mālava Republic' and 'according to the usage of the Mālava Republic.' There is no justification for the view that these expressions refer to an era founded to commemorate the constitution of the Mālava Republic, that was established in 57 B. C.⁵ The Mālava republic existed several centuries earlier, as shown above.

² Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, p. cvii.
³ It is interesting to note that the Mahābhārata, while narrating the conquests of Nakula, states that the Pāṇḍava hero first defeated the Mālavas and their neighbours, and then on return defeated the Ustvasaṅkītās near Pushkara (II. 35, 7–8). If we assume that the Ustvasaṅkītās were the same as Uttamabhadras, it would follow that the relative geographical situation of the Uttamabhadras and the Mālavas was the same in the 2nd century A. D., as it was in the 3rd century B. C., when probably the Mahābhārata account was written.
⁵ See J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 913 and p. 996; and 1914, p. 413 and p. 745.
Let us now proceed to discuss the historic data supplied by the record. It is a eulogy of the Mālava king [Śrī]ṣoma. It is interesting to note that neither this king nor his father or his grand-father bears any royal, feudatory or military title like maḥārāja, rājā or sīnāpata. It would appear that the republican traditions were still strong among the Mālavas, and no regal titles were permitted to their rulers even when they had established hereditary dynasties ruling at least for three generations. Inscription B, l. 4 refers to the hero supporting the ancestral yoke of administration borne by his father and grandfather, and l. 15 gives their names. Inscription B, ll. 5-7, informs us that the hero had filled the space between the earth and heaven by his all-excelling fame, and had heralded an era of uncommon prosperity for his country. The fame of the king and the prosperity of the country must have been the result of some signal victory over an important enemy; it is a pity that the record does not preserve his entire name.

We know that during the reign of Rudrādāman I, in c. A. D. 150, the sphere of influence of the Śaka power had extended to Bahawalpur; for the Ginnar inscription of the above king informs us that he had conquered Māru (Marwar), Sīndh and Sauvitra (Southern and Northern Sīndh). Rudrādāman also claims to have defeated the Yaudhāyas, who were then occupying the Bahawalpur State and the territories beyond. It will thus be seen that both the earlier and later homelands of the Mālavas had come under the rule of the Śakas in A. D. 150. The Śaka rule over these territories continued for about half a century. Then, however, started a struggle for the Śaka throne, lasting for about 15 years from c. A. D. 181 to 196, between the Mahākṣatrāpa Jivadāman and his uncle Rudrasinhha I. This must have weakened the Kshatrapa power and given an opportunity to the Mālavas to assert themselves. The father Jayaśoma and the grandfather Prabhāgravarddhana (I) of the hero of these records were ruling from c. A. D. 180 to 200 and from A. D. 200 to 220 respectively. Whether they initiated any revolt against the Kshatrapa power is not definitely known.

If the record really uses the epithet jaṣunārtana with reference to its hero’s grandfather, it is likely that he may have scored some victories. But these need not necessarily have been in any open revolt against the Śakas. Probably he fought as a partisan either of the uncle or of the nephew in the struggle for the throne that was being fought in the Śaka kingdom at that time; his victories may be the victories which he had won for his suzerain. The real revolt must have been initiated by [Śrī]ṣoma himself. He describes his bravery as suv-vakti-gupa-gurugā ‘great on account of the quality of his own prowess’. This epithet is more or less similar to the title suvam-adhikāra-mahā-kṣatrāpa-nāmnā, which Rudrādāman I had taken for himself, and may have been even suggested by it. The Śaka ruler defeated by [Śrī]ṣoma may have been either Rudrasēna I (A. D. 200-222) or one of his younger brothers, Saṅghadāman (A. D. 222-3) or Dāmasēna (A. D. 223-235). Most probably it was Saṅghadāman, the shortness of whose reign may have been due to his having died in the struggle against the Mālavas. It is interesting to note in this connection that his death took place only three years before the date of our record, and after a short reign of only about one year.

It was probably to celebrate his signal victory over the Śakas that king [Śrī]ṣoma performed the Ekaśaṁśaṁṭṭhāra sacrifice. The sacred texts state that as a result of this sattrā, nature regains its original vigour and brilliance and there ensues a period of all round prosperity. During the

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1 Since both the records are almost identical, they will henceforth be referred to in the singular.

2 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

3 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

4 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

5 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

6 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

7 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

8 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

9 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

10 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

11 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

12 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

13 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

14 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

15 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

16 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

17 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

18 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

19 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

20 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

21 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

22 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

23 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

24 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

25 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

26 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

27 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

28 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

29 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

30 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

31 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

32 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

33 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

34 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

35 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

36 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

37 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

38 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

39 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

40 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

41 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

42 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

43 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

44 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

45 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

46 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

47 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

48 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

49 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

50 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

51 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.

52 Bhārata, A Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra, Kshatrāpas, etc., p. cxxv.
foreign rule of the Sakas, the country of the Malavas must have been squeezed out, and as a result of the victories of Śrī Śōma it must have been restored to its prosperity.

We should not, however, exaggerate the importance of these victories. They secured independence for the Malavas, and to that extent circumscribed the boundaries of the Sakas empire. Perhaps they brought about the death of Sañghadānān. But they did not give any serious setback to the Sakas power. There is no break in the dates of the Sakas coins at this period, nor do we find the title Mahākṣatrāpa in abeyance, as it subsequently became, during the first half of the 4th century A.D.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. While doing so, we shall refer to the lines in inscription B, as they are shorter and therefore easier to follow. L. 1 (with the exception of the last two letters) gives the time of the record as the full moon day of the month of Chaitra, which would appear to be the last day of the Bhāshāṣṭṭhīrātra sattu. The sattu must have started about the full moon day of the month of Māgha, falling sometime in the month of February or March A.D. 226. The next clause from mahaśā to dharmāsepīra (ii. 1-4) refers to the sacrificer Śrī Śōma and the sattu performed under his auspices. It is worth noting that the causal construction is used here. We are told that the king caused the Bhāshāṣṭṭhīrātra sattu to descend to the Malava country. Prima facie this causal construction seems inexplicable, but the mystery is solved when we remember that this sattu, like all other sattus, could be performed by Brāhmaṇas sacrificers (gajāmānas) only. The chief Śrī Śōma was a Kṣatriya and so could not be consecrated as a gajāmāna at this sacrificial session; but he could only get it performed under his auspices. The next two clauses, from samudhīrītra to gajāsā, ii. 4-6, describe Śrī Śōma as belonging to a well-established house and his own fame as having filled the entire space between the earth and the heaven. The implications of this statement have been already discussed above. The next clause, from eva-karma-sampadāyā to viśyā, ii. 6-7, points out that the fame of the hero was not an empty one; his achievements enabled him to acquire riches, which were so immense that they appeared to be as it were a result of magical power (ātmassiddhi). The next clause, from mrigīvara to hūta, ii. 7-8, describes how very liberal presents were given to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the sattu. It is interesting to note that according to the traditional practice, no dakshinā can be given on the occasion of a sattu. This was but natural. The sacrificer gives the dakshinā to the priests; in a sattu, the priests themselves are the sacrificers; so no gift of a dakshinā was possible. Brāhmaṇas were, however, naturally not unwilling to permit their patron to depart from the usual practice in this respect. He may have stated that the dakshinā was being given to them not as ārāhikā (priests) of the sattu, but simply as learned Brāhmaṇas. The words used in this clause have a double entendre. The Purāṇa is called Agnivavānara in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 25. One way in which the present clause can be explained is as follows: — having offered to the sacrificial priests, who are veritable Agnivavānara, a stream of wealth as it were, which was sufficient to satisfy all their desires. But the clause also recalls the concluding scenes of the sacrificial session. Vasodhārā is the technical name of the final oblation offered to Agnivavānara at the end of the sacrifice, when he is made whole and entire. Agni is the priest among the gods, and so the compound Brāhmaṇa-Agnivavānara would, in this case, mean Agnivavānara, who is Brāhmaṇa. Vasodhārā consisted of 401 ghee offerings made continuously to fire. They were so called, because when Agni receives them, he satisfies all the desires of the sacrificer. While they are being offered, the mantras in the Vajasaneya Samhitā, XVIII, 1. 29, are recited for the fulfilment of all varieties of desires of the sacrificer. Vasodhārā also represented the consecration ceremony of Agni as King. It was therefore regarded as a kind of superior consecration ceremony for the royal sacrificer himself.

1 Parskruya-chaśa tādarthāyā. Puramātmakā, X, 2, 35: Satirākha dokehiṇa na sapt. Šabara’s commentary on the above.
more potent than the Rājaśīya or the Vājapēya. It is but natural that king [Śrī]sōma should have shown unstinted liberality on the occasion.

Grammatically, the clauses in ll. 2-8 are defective as no subject whatever is supplied to the verbal forms occurring in them. After a series of absolute clauses, we expect the main clause, but it does not make its appearance. In its stead we have a series of compounds ending in the genitive case in ll. 8-16, which further describe the achievements and lineage of the royal patron.

The first of these epithets, Brahm-indra.....niravakāsasya, ll. 8-9, describes how the king who gave no room (avakāśa) to sin, had allotted space (krit-avakāśa) at places sacred to Brahmā, Indra, Prajapati, Vishnū and Maharshis. There is a pun on the word avakāśa, but there is some uncertainty about the meaning of krit-avakāśa; it seems that the royal patron had allotted extensive sites (avakāśa) or landed properties or both to the temples of the above deities. Whether Brahmā was at this time regarded as a god separate from Prajapati, or whether the two expressions have been used by oversight, cannot be definitely stated. Temples of Maharshis or great sages are not known in modern times; but it appears from our record that in the 3rd century A. D. there used to be shrines dedicated to sages like Agasti, Vālmīki and Vasiṣṭha.

The next epithet viṭa-sabhā.....niśchayasya, in ll. 9-12, describes how king [Śrī]sōma had resolved to follow unwaveringly the path chalked out by ancient royal sages by building magnificent (viṭa, literally, white) halls, rest-houses and temples, by digging wells and tanks, by following injunctions about sacrifices, charity and truth and by properly protecting his subjects. The succeeding clause, sva-guṇ-ātikara.....m-anubhavataḥ, ll. 12-4, states that the numerous qualities of king [Śrī]sōma were as high and genuine as those of Manu. The next clause Ikṣvesākū... vanāśa.....sōma, (ll. 14-6), discussed already, (p. 257), describes the family and genealogy of the donor. The next four letters, which occur only in inscription B, cannot be confidently read and interpreted. The first of these is seriously damaged, but may have been a na, the second is certainly a ka, the third may be a damaged sa and the fourth is a ta. The reading -sa-guṇēka-hata-gō-sahasra-dakīphiḥ gives an excellent meaning. The king claims to have given several laks of cows in charity. There is nothing improbable in this. Ushavādīta had given three laks of them. It is true that we expect sata to go along with sahasra, and not to be separated from it by the word gō. Transposition of adjectives in compounds is, however, sometimes done in this record; immediately in the next sentence we have vṛiṣa-pramatta- instead of pramatta-vṛiṣa-. The same may have been the case here.

The last sentence, vṛiṣa.....gūpa-pra, ll. 16-18 is both incomplete and considerably damaged. It is possible that it could have contained many words more after pra, if we merely take into consideration the remaining space of ll. 6 of inscription A. Such, however, was probably not the case, this line being shorter than the earlier ones. The stone gūpa on which the records are inscribed is even to-day standing in the bed of a tank at Nāndsā. I therefore think that the clause very probably ended with gūpa-pra(tīkṣhāḥ krīḍā). There may have been some more adjectives, but it is doubtful whether any other sentence or clause followed this sentence. The word saṅkata in the first compound of the sentence is to be taken in the sense of 'full'; it states that the bank of the tank was full of wooden gūpas, against which bulls scratched their horns. This reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the Sarayū as a river, whose bank was full of gūpas. It appears that the custom was to perform the sacrifices on the banks of rivers or tanks or to transplant the gūpas in these places, after the sacrifices were over. The expression Pushkara-pratilambhābhūte states that the lake was a 'reproach to,' i.e. a rival of, the famous Pushkara lake near Ajmer in sanctity.

2 बलानित ता तीर्थनिवासयुग वह्ययोग्यामनु राजधानीम् I Bāghavatīsa, XIII, 61.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Inscription B

1 लिङ्ग (मु) [1] हृतेन्द्र (न) २०० दृष्ट्वृष्ट्वमाली (श्य) मस्वैं बु (ह) श्वपाय (ह)
   महं-

2 ता स्वशक्तिसूक्ष्मुष्ण योश्येण प्रवचन कन्दकार्यमिति-

3 व मालवगमपिपाताराकथिते १ कवित्तराजनिति-

4 सतमपररस्तर्मान्त समुद्भृत चिन्तणीतमि (हय) बु-

5 रमावसूतु भुवितु ३ शाखाप्रथितवेरतमनुष्माणान यति-

6 ता स्वकर्मसंपेदया विपुल (ल) समुद्भयारुद्धारासिद्धिः-

7 चिन्ते (हित) चित्व नायकिते कत्वमूलवति सर्वकामोपायां ५ अनोदायाः-

8 रामिक श्या (ब) सुयादित्विवेदावरेणु हुता ब्रह्मद्रव्यापितमहाः-

9 विद्विषणवाचे [रु] इतिविदाध्वस्य पापनिर्वकालस्य सिद्धसं-

10 भाष्याभास (त) दाकुपुंजेरवत्तानपाला ४ नलप्रभाविः-

11 पुनस्तानां सूक्ष्मुष्ण दुराराजविवर्धमंडली (हत) सत-

12 तहत्तम [नु] [मन] ३ नगरतस्य स्वप्नातिशयायिः-

13 सतवेंद्रनुमभिक्षों पृथि भूषि मनुमघाले यथार्थम्-

14 नुभवत इत्वाक्रुषि १० तराजपिव २ से मालवं वंसे प्रभूत-

15 ए जन्तुनं प्रभाजाः १३ वर्करात्रिस्त जयस्यमुद्धृतम् सती-

16 गितेतं (ह) [१२] श्री ? समस्यायं १५ कमलगो १४ खलव्यन्तिः [1] बुन-

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1 Read -त्रयमालका.
2 The letter पु is damaged.
3 The letter पा is damaged.
4 The letter म is damaged.
5 The anuvāra here is surmounted by a concave semicircle.
6 The letter दा is damaged.
7 The letters पालङ्क्रक्रस are damaged.
8 The letters च्च are damaged.
9 Letters sīsa are damaged.
10 Letters Khakāku are completely, and prati, partly, damaged.
11 Letters Prabhāg are completely damaged. For this reading, see the discussion in the introduction.
12 The reading ए is not certain. See the introduction.
13 The traces of त are certain in the original.
14 The letter गृ looks more like ए, but there can be no doubt that गृ was intended.
TRANSLATION

(References are to the lines in inscription B.)

Line 1. Be it auspicious! On the full-moon day of (the month) of Chaitra (of the year)
282 by the Krita (era).

Li. 1-4. On the afore-mentioned (day), king [Śrī]sōma, having caused by means of his valour,
remarkable on account of the qualities of his prowess, the great Ekāshṭhirātra sacrificial session,
(a source of) incalculable merit, to descend down to the country of the Mālava republic,—(the
sacrificial session, which was as welcome) as the sight of the new moon,

Li. 4-5 having supported the yoke (of administration) descending down from (his)
father and grandfather,

Li. 5-6 having covered (i.e., filled) the ample space between the sky and the earth with his
unsurpassable fame,

Li. 6-7 having made the great prosperity produced by the richness (i.e. excellence) of his
karma (i.e. bravery, ii, religious merit) (appear like the result of) his own spiritual power,

Li. 7-8 having offered on the sacrificial ground in Agnivaśvānara fires, Brāhmaṇas (by
caste), Vasār-dhārā oblation series,2 magical as it were, (as it produces the satisfaction of)
the stream of all desires,4

Li. 14-16 a fee of several hundreds of thousands of cows (was offered) by [Śrī?]sōma, the leader
of the Sōgis, son of Jāyasōma, grandson of Prabhāgra[vardhana, dancer at victory, born
in Mālava stock, as famous as the royal stock of the Ikshvākus,

Li. 12-14 (king [Śrī?] sōma), who was experiencing (i.e., having), on account of the extent
of his excellent qualities, genuine human qualities in no way different from (i.e. inferior to) (those
of) Manu,

Li. 9-12 who had formed a continuous (i.e., standing) resolution to follow the footsteps of
the ancient royal sages in connection with the full protection of his subjects, the (construction
of) white (i.e., splendid) assembly halls and rest-houses, (the digging of) wells and tanks, (the
erection of) temples, (the grant of) gifts at sacrifices, and (the telling of) truth, and who had thus
left no room for sin,

Li. 8-9 (and) who had given space (i.e., building sites or lands) to the temples (literally,
establishments) of Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati, the great sages and Vishnu.

Li. 16-18 The (stone) yūpa pillar (was erected at the end of the sacrificial session) in the
great tank, which is a landmark of Dharma,5 which is (as it were) a censure (i.e., a rival) of Pushkara
(lake) and the bank of which is full of yūpas of holy trees against which bulls with full youthful
vigour scratch their horns.

1 The letters in the brackets are supplied from the text of the inscription A.
2 These letters are conjecturally supplied. See introduction, p. 262.
3 The word is in the original is inapplicable in this rendering. For the meaning of this expression, see
introduction, p. 261.
4 The other meaning of this clause suggested by the double entendre is as follows:—"having sacrificed (i.e.
offered) to Brāhmaṇas (as pure as) Agnivaśvānara a stream of wealth as it were, on the sacrificial ground magical
as it were (as it led to the fulfilment of) the stream of all desires.
5 The tank may have been excavated by king [Śrī?]sōma.

XVI-1-5
Inscription C

A Fragmentary Inscription of Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma

Not far from the yūpa which bears the above inscriptions, there are two other pillars at Nāndsā, situated only within a distance of about a quarter of a furlong from it, in the same lake. According to the information supplied by Mr. A. K. Vyas, M.A., Superintendent, Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, one of these pillars, which is uninscribed, is undamaged; but the other which was inscribed, was broken into several fragments by a stroke of lightning some years ago. One of these broken pieces has been preserved in the kōṭūḍī (store room) of the village and the inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is inscribed upon it. It is unfortunate that other inscribed fragments of the pillar should not have been found. I am editing here the fragmentary record that is available, because even in its present condition it is historically important.

The inscription consists of seven lines of very uneven length. It does not seem very probable that there were any letters to the left of the present first five lines. It would then follow that they were shorter in length than the subsequent lines. How far each line extended to the right cannot be ascertained or inferred. Nor do we know whether the inscription began with yasya, which is the opening word of its present first line. It did extend further than the seventh line, for we can clearly see the medial mātri знакs of the letters of the eighth line.

The engraving of the record is careful, and its letters show the same palæographical peculiarities as those in inscriptions A and B above. It would therefore appear to be not far removed in time from them. Its extant portions contain no date, but we may place it in the 3rd century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit, but there is occasional influence of Prakrit, as in the forms sēnāpatisya and Sōgisya in l. 8. The record was probably in prose; the word yasya in the first line and gralōkāḥ in the second could, however, well have been the beginning and concluding words of a line of verse.

The first two lines were probably a eulogy of Mahāsēnāpati Bhaṭṭisōma, as they state that ‘all the worlds were filled by his fame’. The 3rd line reads: svu-dēśe Kōṭiśirōthē, which would show that the fief of Bhaṭṭisōma was in the vicinity of Kōṭiśirthā. The passage probably refers to some of his benefactions at that holy place. There are several Kōṭiśirthas in India in places like Banaras, Mathurā, Kurukshētra and Ujjayinī, each of which boasts of one. Which one is intended here is difficult to say. The fourth line [pārāvī Śalāli-śritakāḥ refers to a salāli tree in the vicinity of something. Why this tree is mentioned here we do not know. It was not one of the trees out of which a yūpa could be made. The fifth line is tāpas-āśrama-va[na]; it probably refers to a forest given as an āśrama to ascetics. The sixth line probably refers to something done by Bhaṭṭisōma for the increase of his family and gōtra, and refers to his sons and grandsons. The last line describes Bhaṭṭisōma as a Mahāsēnāpaṭi. In contemporary Maukhari, Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku records, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district. The same probably was the case with Bhaṭṭisōma.

Bhaṭṭisōma is further described here as a Sōgi. We have seen above that the records of the Mālava chief [Śrī?]sōma on the yūpa in the tank describe him as a leader of the Sōgas. We have already discussed the significance of this term. It would appear that the Sōgas were a sub-clan of the Mālavas and that some of their generals had acquired the leadership of the whole state.

Can we identify Mahāsēnāpatai Bhāṭṭisōma of this fragmentary record with [Śrí?] sōma, the hero of the inscriptions A and B of the Nāṇḍa yūpa? The question is difficult to answer with certainty, but the probability is that the two personages are identical. It is true that the title Mahāsēnāpatai is not given to [Śrí?] sōma in inscriptions A and B. The records however make it clear that he was a distinguished general, who had a number of victories to his credit, and there is nothing improbable in the Mālavas having formally conferred that title upon [Śrí?] sōma in recognition of his great services to the republic. A Yaudhēya record, no doubt about two centuries later in date, shows that the titles Mahārāja and Mahāsēnāpatai were conferred upon the highest dignitary of that republic, who was elected to the post.¹ [Śrí?] sōma may have got this honour later than 226 A.D., when the Nāṇḍa yūpa records were inscribed. That the fragmentary inscription we are dealing with here was issued late in the life of Śenāpatai Bhāṭṭisōma is made clear by its referring in 1.6 to his sons and grand-sons as well established in life. In favour of the identity of Bhāṭṭisōma with [Śrí?] sōma, it may be further pointed out (i) that the palaeography of the three records is of the same period (ii) that both [Śrí?] sōma and Bhāṭṭisōma are described as the leader of the Sōgis and that (iii) Śrīsōma is hardly different from Bhāṭṭisōma, both Śrī and Bhāṭṭi being honorific prefixes. Inscriptions A and B refer to [Śrí?] sōma's benefactions in favour of gods and sages; the fifth line of the present record, which refers to a forest āsūma of acetics, probably mentions a similar donation of Bhāṭṭisōma. This may also lend additional weight to the view that Mahāsēnāpatai Bhāṭṭisōma is identical with [Śrí?] sōma.

2. From ink-impression.
3. The letter sō looks like sē.
4. The letter pā was probably at the end of the previous line.
5. The restoration of sē is conjectural.
6. The turning of the curve for the medial mātrā u to the right is a peculiarity shared by this inscription with inscriptions A and B. Compare kāpa in A, l. 4 and B, l. 10.
7. Letters nārāhāra are carelessly engraved and the is rather faint.
No. 44—DOMMARA-NANDYALA PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA: 10TH YEAR

(I Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACUMUND

During my tour in the Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah District in the year 1940-41, while I was engaged in copying some stone inscriptions in the village Dommara-Nandyala, some villagers brought the set of copper plates under review to me. They said that several years ago one of their kinsmen, while ploughing a field struck against a sealed earthen pot which contained these plates preserved in paddy-husk. It is remarkable that to this day the plates are quite well-preserved. The owner of the plates was sorely disappointed when he learnt that the strange record which he thought preserved the secrets of some hidden treasure was merely a document referring to some gift-lands. As the plates were useless to him he readily consented to make a gift of them to the Government Epigraphist’s office where they are now preserved. I edit the inscription on the plates with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three rectangular copper-plates, each measuring 7" by 2{1/2}" and strung on to a circular copper ring of about 2" in diameter and made of copper wire 3" thick with its ends soldered into a circular seal which depicts on its flat surface, in high relief, a rampant lion with a prominent mane and raised left paw. The rims of the plates are slightly raised so as to protect the writing they bear. The plates along with the ring and the seal weigh 7½ tolas. For their neat execution with regard to the inscription as well as the seal, these plates show a marked contrast to the Malēpādu plates.

The initial ā is used only once in Aṭrēya in 1.17. The initial vowel ē occurs in Iruga-sarma in 1.15. The forms of k and r, though narrow and elongated, have developed complete loops and may be favourably compared with their forms in the Kondūr and the Vakkalēri plates of Kṛttivijayan. The slight contrast that these forms bear to their earlier forms with loops still incomplete as in the Jejurī plates of Vinayādiriya and their shorter, rounder and therefore more developed forms as in the Edēru plates of Vijayādiriya, may be noted. The letter b which occurs twice in 1.8 is noteworthy for, it shows the open form which, as will be alluded to in the sequel, gives an indication of the period to which the charter may be assigned. In the Malēpādu record itself there are both the closed as well as the open forms of this letter—the b in Bādhā being of the open type and that in the superscript of abhā, of the closed type, both occurring in 1.23 of the text. The letter ž is used thrice in the inscription, once in the expression Chōla-Mahārāja (1.7), and twice in the words Chōla and Kērāla (1.8). The final form of t and n may be noted in lines 1 and 12 respectively. They are, as usual, cut in a diminutive form.

As regards orthography, the doubling of consonants either before or after a répha, usual in records of this period, is not observed. Such minor grammatical discrepancies as (i) the wrong

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1 C. P. No. 35 of 1940-41.  
2 As instances of copper plates preserved in this manner in ancient times, the Chendalū plates of Kumāravishnu and the Chendalū plates of Sarvalokākāraya may be cited: above, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 and 235.  
5 Above, Vol. XIX, p. 64. plate.  
6 Above, Vol. V, p. 120.  
8 The Malēpādu plates of Punyakumara as well as the stone inscriptions of this period belonging to this dynasty invariably use the form Chōla.
use of the visarga, as for example, in nāmaḥ for nāma (1.5), pauruṣamasyāḥ for pauruṣamasyān (1.14), dattaḥ for datta (11.16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 22); (ii) the omission of the visarga as in kārīṣṇa for kārīṣṇa (1.4), pāraga for pāraga (1.8) and kriṇi for kriṇi (1.23); (iii) wrong sansādi as in adhipati tasya for adhipatī- tasya (1.8), Punyakumāra nāma for Punyakumārō nāma (1.12), etc.; (iv) the use of d for t in adma (1.4), the aspirate ḍhi for the unaspirate in vidhitam (1.13), the unaspirate ṭ for the aspirate in visīṣṭāyam (1.23), and a few other errors which have been duly corrected in the body of the text itself may be noted. Except for the invocatory verse at the beginning and the imprecatory verse at the end, the one in the Ārya-gītī and the other in the Anushīthāk, the entire record is in Sanskrit prose. The text contains no signs of punctuation anywhere in its body.

Coming to the contents of the record it may be remarked at the outset that the text of these plates is almost identical with that of the Mālepāḍu plates, but for a few variations here and there. The opening verse is in praise of Śiva in his form as Lakuṭāpāpi.¹ Nandivarman, described here in terms similar to those used in the Mālepāḍu plates, had three sons named Śimhavīṣṇu, Sundarānanda and Dhanājaya-Varman, of whom the youngest and the last, i.e., Dhanājaya-Varman, had a son named Mahendravarman who acquired or obtained the title Chōṭa-Mahāśīva, was well versed in grammar and other sciences, was the lord of the Pāṇḍyas, Chōṣa and Kērāla (countries), and possessed many titles such as Mudatāśilākashāra, Navarāma, etc. His son was Guṇamudita whose brother was the glorious Punnakumarā who bore the epithets Pōrmukharāma, Māndavaśītta, Mudanavīlīśa, etc., and was the lord of the Hiraṇyāraśastra. The object of the inscription is the grant by Punnakumarā in the 10th year (of his reign), while he was camping at Pūḍūrū, of lands in the villages Nandigāma and Pasundikuru to five Brāhmaṇas. The inscription closes with the usual imprecatory verse and mentions towards the end Koṭṭikuṭārāja as the writer of the charter. This chief, it may be observed, figures in the Mālepāḍu plates as the Ajīntapī.² The record is not

¹Reference to Śiva as Lakuṭāpāpi in this record is of considerable interest. It has been shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that Lakuli, the last incarnation of god Mahēvara, could be placed in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and that the worship of Śiva in the form of Lakuḷā or Lakuṭāpāpi was prevalent not only in Central India but also in regions as far south as Mysore and as far east as Orissa (An. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, 1906-07, pp. 179 ff. and J. B. R. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 151 ff.). The earliest inscriptions refer to Lakuli and to Lakuli’s pāśupata cult in South India is furnished by the Chikballapura plates of the Gangā king Jayēśa of A.D. 810 (Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1914, p. 29 and para. 60). That this cult flourished in the Telugu as well as in the Tamil countries further south also is vouched for by references to teachers or pontiffs of this school in inscriptions (above, Vol. XXII, p. 162; An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy, 1908, p. 75; South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 18; A. K. No. 100 of 1906). But none of these references, it may be noted, take us to a date prior to the 9th century A.D. It will thus be seen that the record under review and the Mālepāḍu plates (see fn. 6 on p. 374) give the earliest epigraphic reference so far known to the worship of Śiva in the form of Lakuṭāpāpi or Lakuḷā in South India. It may not be out of place to quote here a verse which gives the characteristics of the image of Lakuli from Vīṣṇukarnāvatāravātsāstra, a Ms. in the Dekkan College Library, cited by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Na(Lakulī)saṁ ādhvamādhvam
padmāsana-anusthītanām

dashiniśā matainingga cha
vāmā daṇḍam prakṛtti tāt

Dr. Bhandarkar has also cited several images answering to this description, but all these sculptures are confined to Central India; and, so far as I know, no image of Lakuli or Lakuṭāpāpi has come to light in South India.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 339 and 345; the chief’s name which was read as Koṭṭikukuraṇās can be clearly read as Koṭṭikukuraṇā as in the record under review. The name Koṭṭikuṇṭa sounds very much like a placename and it is possible that the chief derived his name from the region over which he wielded authority or the place he hailed from; but I am unable at present to identify any place in the region which conforms to this name.
dated. As in the case of the Mālepāḍu plates, the date of this inscription can only be approximately fixed, mainly on palaeographical considerations.

In his learned article on the Mālepāḍu plates my father, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has assigned that charter, on palaeographical and other considerations, to about the end of the 8th century A.D. While discussing the palaeography of the plates under review it has been shown that the forms of the letters in this record compare well with the forms of those of the Kendūr and the Vakkalēri plates of Kṛttivarmaṁ II. The open form of b to which attention has already been drawn calls for some remarks. The short vertical stroke inside the closed form of the letter found in records as early as Śaka 500 onwards is perhaps a precursor of the loop with which the open form of this letter begins. This stroke which persists in the Kendūr plates referred to above is already seen to assume the rudimentary loop noticeable in the Vakkalēri plates. But it must be borne in mind that all these forms are only transitional stages from the closed form found for this letter in earlier records leading to its open form as it occurs in the inscription under review. It is true that this letter retains its closed form in a dated copper-plate grant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (A.D. 804) which has been the basis for Dr. Fleet's theory that the later cursive form of this letter which can be traced back to the time of Amōghavāroha I cannot however be carried back to an earlier date than A.D. 804. If this were really so, the present record will have to be assigned to a date posterior to A.D. 804, a date somewhat later than that assigned for the Mālepāḍu plates. Now, except for this single letter b, all other test letters and especially kh, t and j still retain their earlier forms in this as well as in the Mālepāḍu plates; and it may be observed that in their execution both these records show a more archaic type of writing than that found in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa record cited above. Their palaeography may be favourably compared with that of the Kendūr and Vakkalēri plates of Kṛttivarmaṁ II and they may be, therefore, assigned roughly to the same date viz., the middle of the 8th century A.D. It will be seen in the sequel and from the synchronistic table appended hereto that this date fits in very well with the contents of the record. As for the cursive form of b that we have in the record under review, we have indeed a case here answering that cited by Dr. Bühler of the occurrence of numerous cursive forms together with very archaic ones, both in the Aśoka edicts and also in later inscriptions. The charter being dated in the 10th regnal year of Puyakumāra, the initial year of the king might be fixed at c. 740 A.D. Assigning arbitrarily a reign of 15 years for his brother Guptamāda who preceded him and a reign of 25 years, as usual, to Mahēndravarman and again a period of 15 years to each one of the three brothers Simhavishṇu, Sundarānanda and Dhananjaya-varman—for it is said of them that they enjoyed the fortunes of the kingdom (i.e., ruled) in succession—and 25 years to Nandivarman, we get for the initial year of this king the year c. 630. The Pallava and the Chālukya contemporaries who were reigning at this period were Narasimhavarman I and Pulakēśin II. The names of Nandivarman’s successors Simhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman and Guptamāda at once bring to our mind the names of Narasimhavishṇu, Mahēndravarman and Paramēśvaravarman I (Guṣabhājana) of the Pallava family.

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4 Above, Vol. III, p. 163.
5 Compare plates on p. 126, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI.
TELU GU CHOLAS

Nandivaman

c.630-655 A.D.

Simhavishnu

c.655-670 A.D.

Sundaranna Da

c.670-685 A.D.

Dhanajaya

c.685-700 A.D.

Mahendravarma II

c.668-679 A.D.

Mahendravarma

c.700-725 A.D.

Narasimhavarman II

c.660-715 A.D.

Parameswara varman II

c.715-731 A.D.①

Vikramaditya II

Vinasiditya

c.690-696 A.D.

Parameswara varman I

Gupitha
c.670-690 A.D.

Vikramaditya I

c.655-680 A.D.

Mahendravarma

c.600-630 A.D.

Pulakesin II

c.600-643 A.D.

Simhavishnu

c.575-600 A.D.

CHALUKYAS

Narasimhavarman I (Narasimhavishnu)
c.630-668 A.D.

Nandivaman II

[N from Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.]

Kritivamana II

747 A.D., 757 A.D.

[From Dr. Fleet's Tables.]

① Maltpudu plates, 8th year.
② Dommara-Nandyala plates, 10th year.
③ See f. n. 4, page 272.
The similarity of names and titles assumed by the three generations of these Chōla kings to those of the Pallava monarchs of this period only shows, as has been pointed out by Mr. Krishna Sastri, an undefined relationship between members of these two dynasties. If it meant any relationship of a political nature, the omission of its mention in the records of either the one or the other dynasty is very unusual. If, on the other hand, it implied any matrimonial relationship between these two families, all the records hitherto known of both these families are silent about it. It may be recalled that it was Chōla Mahēndravarman that acquired the title of Chōla-Mahārāja. The possible reason for his apparent bid for independence is perhaps to be sought for in the great political upheaval that occurred at this period on account of the wars between the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas. Or more probably it may be that Mahēndravarman obtained or was bestowed with (paripṛāpta) this title by the then suzerain power which wielded authority over the tract held by the Chōla kings. Which could this power be? By their proximity and their great strength the Pallavas must have undoubtedly made their influence felt over these Telugu-Chōla kings. The assumption of names or titles similar to those of the Pallava monarchs by these kings already alluded to makes this inference obvious. It is likely that the powerful king Paramēśvaravarman I conferred this title of Chōla-Mahārāja on Mahēndravarman whose predecessors were more nyāppatī. Instances of subject or subordinate chiefs raised to a higher status or allowed to retain their royal prerogatives and privileges by the suzerain power are not wanting in the history of the South Indian ruling families. The Penukoḍa plates of Mādhavavarman (II) specifically state that the Pallava kings, Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman installed the Gaṅga kings Āyyavarman and his son Mādhava Mahādhirāja respectively, allowing the latter to retain his royal titles. Śivamāra II, a later king of the same dynasty who is also said to have been crowned by his Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava suzerains bears all the paramount titles characteristic of his family. The Bāṇas though figuring as a subordinate power, are invariably characterised by their titles Mahābali Bāṇarāja or Bāṇādhirāja.

Of Guṇamudita, the elder son of Mahēndravarman, nothing is known. It was during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman II that the power of the Pallavas was completely eclipsed by the Chāḷukyan onslaught under Vijayaśīrō, his son Vikramāditya II and the latter’s son Kṛttivarman II. The reign of Puṇyakumāra, the brother of Guṇamudita, probably coincided with the fall of the Pallava power; and with the conquering power of the Chāḷukyas situated far away to wield any effective authority over the conquered territory, he probably found it conducive to rule as an independent king. He now calls himself lord of the Hiranyarāṣṭhā. His authority over this territory while issuing the Mālepādu charter five years prior to this grant was implied as he is then said to have addressed the subjects of his territory along with those of Hiranyarāṣṭhra.

It is evident that the territorial division of Hiranyarāṣṭhra must have included in it parts at least of the present Jammalamadugu and the Prodduturu taluks inasmuch as the villages Nandigāma, Pasiṃdiṅkaru and Pudorūru mentioned in the record can all be identified as shown in the sequel, with villages bearing more or less similar names in these two taluks, though it must be admitted, there is no definite statement in the record that the villages wherein the gift lands lay

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1 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 333.
3 Above, Vol. V, p. 50; ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 224. etc.
4 An inscription of the Western Chāḷukya king Vijayaśīrō copied recently at Ujchal in the Kurunel District by Mr. N. Lakshmmanaarayanan Rao, is dated in his 35th regnal year and refers to an expedition undertaken by Yavarāja Vikramāditya, son of Vijayaśīrō, against Pallava Paramēśvaravarman (II). This obviously is Vikramāditya’s first attack on Kāṭṭali. His two subsequent expeditions against his hereditary foes are those mentioned in the Vakkālēri plates of his son Kṛttivarman (above, Vol. V, pp. 200 f.).
were situated in this territory; of the three villages, the first and the last are situated on the northern bank of the river Pennār while the second, identified with the village Paiḍēḷa, is on the southern bank of the Kundēru, a tributary of the Pennār. It is strikingly singular that neither of these rivers is mentioned in the record. The only other inscription which mentions Hiranyarāṣṭra is, as far as I know, the Mālpāḍu plates which state that the village Biripāru wherein the gift lands were situated, lay in Hiranyarāṣṭra and was on the southern bank of Suprayōgā.1 Basing his conclusions on the probable identity of this village with Billupāḍu situated about 4 miles to the south of Pennār in the Atmakur taluk of the Nellore District, the late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu surmised that this territorial division must have included in it the northern and the western parts of the present Nellore District.2 Mr. M. S. Sarma has pointed out that the river Suprayōgā identified with Pennār must have formed a natural boundary between the Muṇḍarāṣṭra on the north and the Hiranyarāṣṭra on the south, as the villages Uruvupalle and Biripāru, the one situated in the former and the other in the latter of these territorial divisions, lay on the river’s northern and the southern banks respectively.3 But if the identification of the villages mentioned in the record under review is correct, it clearly points out that Hiranyarāṣṭra extended even to the north of the river, in fact more in this direction than towards its south. In his ‘Notes on the Ancient Political Geography of South India’, while attempting to fix the boundaries of Muṇḍarāṣṭra, my colleague Mr. M. Venkataramayya, M.A., has identified the river Suprayōgā

1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 339. An inscription of Rāštrakūta Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-968) from Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah District has been cited as furnishing yet another reference to this province (J. O. R., Vol. XII, p. 363). The inscription is in Kannada and the relevant portion construed as referring to this territory reads as follows:—

1. 15 inti dharmavan-ārā-
16 [n]ujm honna māḍi Muḷuki
17 nāḍanāḍu mahārājyaṃ
18 geyvaru i dharmavanam-
19 disadē nāsājadē, etc.

(N. J. I., Vol. IX, Part I, No. 69.)

On examining the impression of the epigraph, the words konna māḍi are unmistakably clear. As it is, the reading presents some syntactical difficulties which, however, can be got over by considering the words i dharmavanam repeated in l.18 as redundant, and taking the expression konna māḍi to mean ’having made fruitful(?)’. But the usage of this phrase in this sense seems to be very rare. If konna māḍi is to be considered a mistake for Honnavāḍi, we have certainly a territorial division of this name in this tract which could no doubt have formed part of the ancient Hiranyarāṣṭra inasmuch as Pushpagiri in the Cuddapah taluk is not far removed from that part of the Jammalamadugu taluk which we now definitely know formed part at least of this territorial division. But the evidence afforded by this record for establishing the identity sought between Hiranyarāṣṭra and Honnavāḍi, taking the latter as a vernacular rendering of the former, is unsatisfactory not only on account of the uncertainty of the interpretation of the readings, as we have already observed, in the epigraph but also for the great disparity in date between the two records.

3 Journal of the Madras University, 1940, p. 140.

The main reason adduced by Mr. Sarma for identifying Suprayōgā with Pennār seems to be that Muṇḍarāṣṭra of which the former forms the southern boundary corresponded with the Kōvur taluk of the Nellore District and Pennār being the only prominent river flowing through this tract, it (Suprayōgā) could, ’without any hesitation, be safely identified with the Pennār’. The evidence cited from the various Parāṇas in support of this identification presents certain difficulties in our accepting it. All the rivers according to these Parāṇas are said to have originated from the Sahyādri. Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao kindly drew my attention to the fact that the river Pennār takes its origin not in the Sahyādri, which is usually identified with the Western Ghats, but in the small hill-range round the Nandi-hills in the Kolar District of the Mysore plateau. These hills are no doubt far from the Parāṇas and the Western Ghats and could hardly be considered as part of these Ghats though perhaps, removed and isolated from the Western Ghats and could hardly be considered as part of these Ghats though perhaps, the Parāṇas inadvertently made a mis-statement in saying that this river, viz., Suprayōgā, along with the other well-known rivers, took its origin in the Sahyādri.
with Pennār and the villages Urupala, Kenḍukura, Karupura and Koṇḍamuravuṇḍu of the Urupulai plate; with villages of similar names like Ulavapalle, Gollakandukurū, etc., evidently on the phonetic similarity of names. While the identification of the river Suprayāgā with Pennār may be accepted for reasons pointed out by Mr. Venkataramayya, it is doubtful if the identity of the villages could be upheld—unless we consider the river to have changed its course—for the mere fact that the modern Ulavapalle identified with the Urupulai of the plates lies to the south of the river whereas the inscription definitely mentions the river as the southern boundary of the village or in other words, the village was located on the northern bank of the river. It is not unlikely that Munḍarāṣṭra extended on the southern side of the Pennār also. For, if the identification made by Mr. Venkataramayya of the village Pikira situated in Munḍarāṣṭra with the village Piglam in the Venkatagiri Division of the Nellore District be accepted, it would be obvious that this territorial division extended far to the south of the river Pennār. And this surmise is strengthened if Takkulam, a village referred to as situated in Māndainādu—probably a mistake for Munḍainādu—in an inscription at Chikavolu, a hamlet of Erṛguntapālem in the Rāpūr taluk, could be identified with the village Chikavolu itself which also lies to the south of the river Pennār. It is thus obvious that the river Suprayāgā identified with Pennār runs through the territories of Hiranyarāṣṭra and Munḍarāṣṭra whose boundaries however cannot yet be conclusively fixed with the material now available.

Of the place-names occurring in the grant, the villages Nandīgāma and Pasīndikurū wherein the gift lands were situated may be identified with Dommar-Nandyāla, the find-spot of the plates and Pāidēḷa (Pāidī being a corruption of Pasīndi) situated about 15 miles to the north of Poddatāru, and Pudurūr wherein Pūnyakumāra is stated to have encamped is, in all probability, identical with Poddatāru itself.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōni[*] Svasti śrīmā [||*] Jayati dhṛta-chandrarēkhād(khaṁ)–vipul-āmala-tānākā-śu-
2 bha[ñ]ū lōkē [||*] gaganam-iva suprasannai naapur-apratimaḥ Lakṣuṭapāṇāḥ [||*] Dīnakara-ku-
3 la-Mandarāchala-Mandāra-pādapasya Kavi(ve)ratanayā-vēl-olagham(laṅgha)na-prāṣa-
4 mana-pramukh-ādy-anēkā(ka-ā)śraya-kāriṇāḥ trairāja-sthitim-ādama(tma)-
5 vat[*] kritavataḥ Kārikālasyā-anvayē Nandivarmanāṁmah(m) nippatīr-ahavat-tasya traya-
6 navaḥ Siṅhav-piya[*] S mahaṇaḥ Dhu[n]a[n] jayavarna-ōti[*] tēṣām(maḥ)nupūrva
7 śrī[yāṇa] kanīyasō Dhanaṇājaya varmanāḥ putraḥ pariprāpta-Chōla-Mahārāja-

4 From the original plates.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 This verse is identically the same in the Mālēpāṇḍu plates also, and portions of it in that (Mālēpāṇḍu) record which could not be made out precisely then due to the corroded state of the plates, can now be emended or restored in the light of the readings afforded by the record under review. But even then the verse is defective and with the emendations suggested in the body of the text itself it may be translated as follows:—

    May the bright and matchless form of Lakṣuṭapāṇi (Siva), adorned with the crescent-moon and auspicious on account of the wide, spotless pupils (of its eyes), comparable to the sky (which is similarly) crescent-adorned, expansive, spotless, starry, bright and matchless, be victorious in this world.
7 The Mālēpāṇḍu plates correctly read ātmasāti.
8 Read Dhanakajavarnmaḥ ch = ści.
Seal

From a photograph
No. 44] DOMMARA-NANDYALA PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA; 10TH YEAR 275

Second Plate: First Side

8 sabdaḥ sabdaśastra-vidy-ānēka-para[ga[h*] Pāṇḍya-Chōja-Kēralānāmā(m-a)dhipati ta(s-ta)-
9 sya śri-Muditaśilaksha Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya[ya[*] Mahēndravaranma[na]-
10 putraḥ Gunamuditā nāma nṛpitair-abhavat-tasya priyabhṛtāraḥ[1] Pōrmu-
11 kharāma-Punyakumāra-Mārlavacheṣa-Madanavīlās-ādy-anēka-nā-
12 nām-adhēyasya[sm] śri-mūn Punyakumāra(rō) nāma Hiraṇyārāśhr-ādhipati[h*] sva-rā-

Second Plate: Second Side

14 rūr-adhivasati(dbbh)[i] Phalgunīyāṃ paurṇamāśyāḥ(syānḥ) Nandigāma-grāmē uttara-
15 disa[ś] rājamānē[na*] kṣētram dattaḥ[tt] Gaṇḍīlāya(Kaṇḍīnā ?)-gōtrasya Iruga-
16 sarmaṇa*-puter-Dēvaśa-
17 rma[ṇa]-rājamānē[na*] pañcadaśam kṣētram dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
18 putra-Kavīlasarmanā[ṇa*-f] rājamānē[na*] pañcadaśatin kṣētram dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Atra(trīya-gō-
19 tra-Koṇḍiśarmanā*-putra-Dōṇaśarmanā[ṇa*] rājamānē[na*] pañcadaśatin kṣētron 
dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Ga-
19 udīlāya(Kaṇḍīnā ?)-gōtra-Mārisarmanā[ṇa*]-puter-Duggasarmanā[ṇa*] rājamānē[na*] pañcacha-
daśatāin kṣē-

Third Plate

20 tra[nh*] dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Pasiṇḍikuru-nāma-grāme daksinādisa[ś] rājamānē[na*] pañcacha-
daśatāin kṣē-
21 tra[nh] dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Vēḍiśarmanā[ṇa*]-puter-Vēḍiśarmanā[ṇa*] rājamānē[na*] pañcach-
22 dasa[ṇa] kṣētram dattaḥ[tt] [[*] Sva-dattām paraddattāṃ vā vo(yō) harēti(ta) vasuddha-
(na) rāma[ni*] shāshtini varṣha-
23 sahāsrāṇi vishtā(ṭhā)yāṃ jāyata kṛimi[ḥ*] Koṭṭikuṭarāja-līkhitah[tt] [[*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-2.—A verse in praise of Lakuṭapāṇi (see f.n. 6, p. 274).

ll. 2-5.—In the lineage of Karikāla (who was like) the Mandarā tree on (the hill) Mandarāchala which was the solar race, who was famed for many astounding deeds like the stopping of the overflow of the river Kāverī (the daughter of Kavēra), etc., who made the Traṇāyjasyathiti as his own, was born a king named Nandivarman.

1 Read priyabhṛtā
2 The syllable sa is repeated unnecessarily here.
3 Read nāmadhēya
4 Read uṣṭkāma hūtapsati
5 The sandhi has not been observed here.
6 The syllable sa is redundant.
7 The syllable sa or sa is redundant.
8 The viśṛṣṭa is redundant.
ll. 5-9.—His three sons were Sīnhavishāṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanañjaya varman who enjoyed in succession the fortune of (their) kingdom; of them the last (was) Dhanañjaya varman whose son (was) Mahendravarman who had acquired the title of Chōja-Mahārāja, who was well-versed in grammar and other sciences, who was the overlord of the Pāndya, Chōja and Kērala (countries), and who bore the titles Muditaśīlākhara, Nararāma and many others.

ll. 10-13.—His son was king Guṇamudita whose dear brother was Puṇyakumāra who had several names such as Pōrmukharāma, Puṇyakumāra, Mārdavachita, Madanavilāsa, etc., and who was the lord of the Hiranyakarṣṭha. (He, Puṇyakumāra) orders the inhabitants of his territory.

ll. 13-14.—Be it known to you that we, in the 10th year (of our reign), while camping at Pudorūr, in the month of Phāḷgaṇa, on the day of Paumāmāsī, endowed land by the royal measure in and to the north of the village Nandgāma.

ll. 15-22.—To Dēvaśarman, son of Irugaśarman, of the Gaṇḍīlya (Kaṇḍīnyā?) gōtra, 50 units by royal measure.

To Kaviraśarman, son of Mādiśarman, of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, 50 units by royal measure.

To Dēpaśarman, son of Koṇḍiśarman, of the Āṭrēya gōtra, 50 units by royal measure.

To Duggaśarman, son of Māriśarman of Gaṇḍīlya (Kaṇḍīnyā?) gōtra, 50 units by royal measure. And in and to the south of the village Pasindikūr, 50 units by the royal measure to Vēdiśarman, son of Dēvaśarman, of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.'

ll. 22-23.—Imprecatory verse. (This is) written by Koṭṭiṇuṭṭarāja.

No. 45—KONI INSCRIPTION OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA II ; K. E. 930

(I Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

This inscription is edited here from an excellent ink impression which I owe to the kindness of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription was discovered at Koni, a small village on the left bank of the Ārpā, about 12 miles south by east of Bilaspur, the chief town of the Bilaspur District in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. The circumstances of its discovery are stated in the following note kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra.

"Early in November 1945, I received information, almost simultaneously from the following three gentlemen, Pt. L. P. Pandey, Raigarh, Mr. P. L. Gupta, Bilaspur, respectively Honorary Secretary and Joint Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosal Historical Society, and Mr. G. L. Kumar, Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Bilaspur, to the effect that a stone slab bearing a finely engraved longish inscription had then been dug up at an ancient site, not far from the village of Koni, about 12 miles from Bilaspur. Subsequently I visited the place on the 8th January, 1946, in company with Mr. G. L. Kumar, Mr. K. L. Agnihotri, President of the Mahakosal Historical Society, and Dr. B. P. Mishra, Principal, S. B. R. Arts College, Bilaspur. Up to the village of Darri on the left bank of the river Ārpā, 7½ miles from Bilaspur in the easterly direction, we drove in a truck. Further on, to reach the site, we walked about 5 miles, almost following the river downstream, passing the villages of Lāwar and Koni on the way. The site with a black granite Śiva līṅga prominently standing in the centre, then recently exposed, lies about ½ mile west of Koni. At that point the river takes a graceful bend towards the south, thus providing an excellent site for a sanctuary. The one that stood there in the 12th century was a Śiva temple, as indicated by the surviving līṅga. The temple is referred to in the inscription by the special designation of the type, Śiva paṇḍhāyatana. The site consists of a small mound strewn over with
brickbats. The protruding bricks had attracted the attention of some villagers who started digging there and laid bare the liṅga, the inscribed slab and a number of sculptures. Among the latter I saw two images, one of Vishnū and the other of Sūrya, and a couple of lintels each with a figure of Gaṇeśa in the centre and some carvings on either side."

The inscription is incised on a stone measuring 3' 5" broad and 1' 10" high. It consists of 28 lines, each of which is 3' 3-2" long except the last one which measures only 1-2" long. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the last three lines where a few aksharas here and there are now damaged. Most of these aksharas can, however, be restored conjecturally from the context as well as from the traces left behind.

The characters are Nāgari. The record is well written and engraved, but in both writing and engraving a few mistakes have remained unnoticed. The average size of letters is 4". As shown below, the present inscription was incised only twenty years after the Sarkhā plates were issued by Ratnadēva II in K. 880, but its characters in some cases show considerable development over those of the latter record. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of the initial ॐ consisting of two curves, one below the other, which are still unconnected; the upper one is as in the Sarkhā plates, but the lower one is shaped differently, see iha, l. 12 and idam-, l. 24; initial ॐ has a form similar to that of p with this difference that its vertical stroke on the right is not lengthened below the base, see etat-, l. 23; medial ह is, in some cases, indicated by a curve attached to the middle of the vertical and turned downwards, see sahasradyunī-, l. 26; medial ष and ṣ are generally indicated by prīṣṭhamātrās, but in the case of ai and au one of the mātrās appears on the top; in such aksharas as ku, kri and kra, k has an unlooped form, see a-kunṭha-, l. 2; u-sakrit-, l. 2; and kri-, l. 25; subscript ṣ of the conjunct ṣy appears almost like n, see agambhirya, l. 16; ँ is still without its dot, see -śuśa-raṁgat-, l. 2; the conjunct ṣy is indistinguishable from ll, see vinirṇaya-, l. 17; subscript th is placed horizontally exactly like subscript chh, see kar-ōdara-stham, l. 3; ṣ has developed a horn on the left which now clearly distinguishes it from ṣ, but it is still without the horizontal stroke at the top and the two vertical strokes of ṣh are still joined by a bar in the middle, see dharma-mārttiḥ, l. 6 and sudhā-śrīṣṭiḥ, l. 10; ं and ॐ are written alike in all cases not excepting even the form b̄hū; the left limb of the palatal ṣ has now assumed the modern Nāgari form, see Śivaya, l. 1. The avagraha is used to denote the elision of a in karttā-'tha, l. 19 and manjā- 'mushmin-, l. 23. The vertical dash is used at the end of several lines to denote an incomplete word.

The language is Sanskrit. Except Om nameḥ Śivaya in the beginning and the mention of the date and the ruling king at the end, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are, in all, 38 verses, all of which are numbered. The record is composed in a verbose style full of hyperbolical expressions, well-known from the records of later periods. The poet shows considerable command over the language, though here and there one comes across a grammatical solecism or a metrical irregularity. See, e.g., adhirēpyata in l. 21 for adhyāryāpyata. Lakhamā in l. 15 should be Lakṣmā to suit the Mālīni metre of the verse. As regards orthography, the consonant following r is reduplicated in many cases, see, e.g., karṇa-, l. 2; the dental s is occasionally used for the palatal ṣ as in sikhara-, l. 2; y is used for j in paurorsa-yushāṁ, l. 15; n is used for h in prīṣṭhāya-tanam, and for anusvāra in vidhvansā both in l. 23. As stated before, v is used for b throughout. Finally, in niḥkṣayaka, l. 18 and 19, the visarga takes the place of sh.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Prithvidēva II who belonged to the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The object of it is to record the construction of a five-shrined

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1 Some mistakes were corrected subsequently, see, e.g., the anusvāra on the second nā in durjivanāṃ, l. 6, has been cancelled and the word damiḥ which was at first omitted was incised subsequently in ll. 19-20.

2 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 f. See especially the forms of ॐ, ṣh and ṣ.
[temple of Śiva by Purushottama], a minister plenipotentiary (Sarvādhikāra) of Prithvidēva’s father and predecessor, Ratnadēva II, and the grant of some land in honour of the gods installed in the temple and to a Brāhmaṇa named Vāsudeva.

The record is dated in the year 900 (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era, without any further details such as month, fortnight, tithi and week-day. The date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era which was current in that period in Chhattisgarh. It falls in the reign of Prithvidēva II whose known dates range from K. 890 to K. 915. Verse 35 mentions a solar eclipse, on the occasion of which Prithvidēva II granted a village to the minister Purushottama. No year is mentioned in connection with this eclipse, but supposing that it occurred in the same year in which the present record was put up, we get some data for verification. I have shown elsewhere that the epoch which satisfactorily explains all later dates of the Kalachuri era is A.D. 247-48 and that the Kalachuri year began on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of the pūrṇimānta Kārttika. According to this epoch the year 900 mentioned in the present inscription will have to be taken as current; for there was a solar eclipse in the current Kalachuri year 900 (corresponding to A.D. 1147-48), which occurred on the pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha amāvasaya (20th April A.D. 1148), while in the expired Kalachuri year 900 (A.D. 1148-49) there was no solar eclipse at all. The date may therefore be said to be regular. This is one of the few later dates of the Kalachuri era, mentioning a current year.

After four mahāgya śīkras in praise of Śiva, his vākṣana (the bull Nandi), the goddess of speech and Gaṇapati, the author states in one verse the importance of having a poetical record of one’s achievements. He then proceeds to state the pedigree of the ruling king Prithvidēva II from his great-grandfather Prithvidēva I who is called the lord of Tummānā. The description of this king as also of his son Jājalladēva I and grandson Ratnadēva II is mainly conventional. The only historical event referred to is the defeat which a king of Kalinga suffered for the first time at the hands of Ratnadēva II. The reference is evidently to the defeat which that Kalachuri king inflicted on the mighty Gaṅga king Ananta-varman Chōḍaganga and which is mentioned in several records of his descendants.

With verse 14 begins the genealogy of Purushottama who erected the temple of Śiva recorded in the present inscription. His ancestor Sōḍhadeva belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family which served the Kalachuri princes for several generations. Sōḍhadeva was appointed Minister by Prithvidēva I (v. 15). His son was Nimhadēva. He and his wife Lakhmā (Lakshmi) are glorified in three verses (vv. 16-18). Their son was Purushottama who was appointed to the post of Sarvādhikāra (Minister Plenipotentiary) by Ratnadēva II. He is eulogised in as many as eight verses. We are told that all kings having been subdued by the policy or prowess of this minister, the king Ratnadēva II was able to rule without any trouble.

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1 This date is furnished by the Daikon plates still unpublished, of which a set of ink impressions has been kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist.
2 This date occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Brahmadēva. See Hiralal’s Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, 2nd ed., p. 127.
4 Another solar eclipse had occurred just before the commencement of that Kalachuri year, on the amāvasaya of the pūrṇimānta Kārttika (26th October A.D. 1147).
5 The original epoch of the Kalachuri era was A.D. 248-49 which suits early dates of the era found in Gujarāt and Northern Māhārāṣṭra as shown by me elsewhere (A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 1 f.). That epoch does not suit later dates of the era and would not at all suit the date of the present inscription; for according to that epoch the solar eclipse should have occurred in A.D. 1148-49 if the year 900 was current and in A.D. 1149-50 if it was expired. But in neither of these years was there any solar eclipse.
6 Tummānā was the earlier capital of the Kalachuris in Dakshina Kōśa. That Prithvidēva I was ruling at Tummānā is known from line 28 of his Amoda plates, above, Vol. XIX, p. 80.
Verse 26 mentions the exploits of Purushottama. He conquered the Khimmini Mañjala, made the Talahāri Mañjala attractive, punished Daṇḍapura, subjugated Khijjingga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhuhti. It may be noted that some of these countries are also mentioned in a fragmentary verse eulogising the Kalachuri king Jājalladeva I, which occurs in his Ratnapur stone inscription dated K. 866.1 Jājalladeva is said to have received annual tributes from the rulers of Dakshina Kōsala, Āndhra, Khimini, Vairāgara, Lānjikā, Bhaṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa. It will be noticed that Khimini, Talahāri and Daṇḍapura are common to the two lists of countries. It may therefore be conjectured that Purushottama took a prominent part in the expeditions of Jājalladeva I against the rulers of these three countries. The present inscription no doubt states that Purushottama was made Sārvādhikāris by Ratnadeva II, but that does not necessarily imply that he first came into prominence during that king’s reign. He may have held the office of a minister under Jājalladeva I also, and may have distinguished himself during that king’s wars. Of these three countries Talahāri Mañjala was probably the name of the southern portion of the Bīlāspur tahsil and the adjoining portion of the Jānjigir tahsil. Jājalladeva’s conquest of Talahāri is mentioned in some other records of the period.2 Khimini or Khimidi may be the modern Kimidi Zamindari in the Ganjam District. Jājalladeva I’s expedition against this country which probably owned the suzerainty of the Eastern Ganges may have provoked Anantavarman Chōdajaṅga into launching his invasion of the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of Jājalladeva’s son and successor Ratnadeva II. Nothing is known about the expedition against Daṇḍakapura. That it was different from Daṇḍabhuhti is clear from the separate mention of the latter in v. 26.

The remaining three events mentioned in v. 26 may have occurred during the reign of Ratnadeva II. The first two of these, viz., the subjugation of Khijjingga and the slaying of Haravōhu, are not known from any other source, but the third one, viz., the intimidation of the lord of Daṇḍabhuhti, may have happened during the expedition against the Gauḍa king which Ratnadeva II launched probably soon after inflicting a crushing defeat on Anantavarman Chōdajaṅga. This expedition is mentioned in several records3 of Vallabharāja who was a feudatory of both Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II. Vallabharāja is said to have fought valiantly in the presence of his lord (Ratnadeva II) and captured many elephants in the enemy’s city. This invasion of the Gauḍa kingdom is probably referred to also in the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandin. From v. 133 of Canto IV of that Kīcya we learn that Madanapāla drove back to the Kālini (which flowed near his capital) the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side.4 The invader who is not named in Sandhyākaranandin’s Kīcya was probably Ratnadeva II. Like Vallabharāja, Purushottama also seems to have distinguished himself in this expedition in the course of which he intimidated the ruler of Daṇḍabhuhti (modern Midnapur District of Bengal).

Purushottama was probably an old man when the present inscription was put up. Verse 27 states that he had four sons, Madhusūdana, Lakshmīdhara, Yāsōdhara and Gaṅgādhara, all of whom turned out to be very able statesmen. The eldest of them Madhusūdana is said to have attained great renown. He may have been appointed a minister, though not Sārvādhikāris,5 by Prithvīdeva II. Nothing is known about the other three sons of Purushottama.

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2 See, e.g., the Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāladeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 135 ff.
3 See, e.g., the Akaltarā stone inscription (Hirālā’s Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, 2nd ed., p. 121).
5 Prithvīdeva II’s Sārvādhikāris seems to have been his Maṅgarī Brahmādeva whom he specially called from the Talahāri Mañjala and made his chief minister as stated in a Ratnapur inscription dated K. 915.
Verse 29 states that, being convinced that human life is transitory and full of sorrows and that wealth is very unsteady, Purushottama became intent on acquiring religious merit. He raised several groves, erected many *māthas* and *maṇḍapas* (temples) and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built the five-shrined temple of Śiva where the present inscription was put up, and laid out a pleasure-garden near it. From v. 35 we learn that Prithūvidēva (II) donated the village Salōṇi to Purushottama on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Verse 37 eulogises Kāśala, the poet who composed the present *prasāti*. He is said to have been proficient in various arts and sciences including those of medicine and elephants. He had also mastered the āgamas of the Buddha and others. The description is interesting as it clearly indicates that though Buddhism which was once flourishing in that part of Chhattisgarh ceased to have any followers there, its religious and philosophical works continued to be studied in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala down to the 12th century A.D. It may be noted that the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva dated K. 866 also mentions a Śaiva ascetic named Rudraśīva as proficient in the works of Dīnāga and others.³

The last verse (38) records two gifts, one of four plough-measures of land made to the gods installed in the temple and the other of two plough-measures made to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsamēlī who was evidently a priest of the temple.

As for the localities mentioned in the present *prasāti*, Tumāna still retains its old name in the form Tumān and lies about 45 miles north of Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur District.² Khimniḍū may be identical with modern Kimeḍī Zamindari in the Ganjam District. Talahā is said to have comprised the country round Mallār in the Bilaspur and Jānjīgīr tahsīl. Its ancient name seems to have been Tarādārsakabhuṣāni mentioned in an old copper-plate grant⁴ of Mahāśīvagupta-Bālārjuna, found near Mallār. Khijjiṅga⁵ and Daṇḍapura cannot be identified. Daṇḍabhuṣāni is mentioned in several old records and probably comprised parts of the Midnapur District.⁶ Finally, Salōṇi, the village granted to Purushottama, may be identical with Saranā which lies only about a mile and a half south by west of Koni where the present record was discovered.

TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 27, 29, and 34 Śārdulavikrīḍita; vv. 2, 9, 11, 36, and 37 Srāghdhāra; vv. 3–5, 7, 14, 21–23, 26 and 28 Vasantatālakā; vv. 6 and 32 Mandēkrāntā; v. 15 Harini; vv. 16 and 18 Mālini; vv. 24, 25, 30 and 38 Anushtubh; vv. 31, 33 and 35 Āryā.]

1 ओ न: शिवाय || पायालाभं मुनिनि द्रवपक्षं त्रिमण्डलं ग्रन्थम् इति प्रस्तावयमशुमादविभागितविद्धि-

2 च व च शिवाय || पायालाभं मुनिनि द्रवपक्षं ग्रन्थम् इति प्रस्तावयमशुमादविभागितविद्धि-

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 36.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 120.
⁶ [Khijjiṅga is apparently the same as modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, Orissa.—Ed.]
⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 154 f.

* Perhaps the intended reading was च्छस्तारिष्कुयाधी-, but the compound should correctly be च्छस्तारिष्कुयाधी- according to Pāṇini, V, 4, 74. This would not however suit the metre.
3. प्राविन्धिन्मय करोदरघं भूत व भावे च सर च समसि संस्त्र संसि । तो श्रवानमयुदयवहेनुभुत । वञ्चयं प्रभुवसंवद्वहवाद्विपुलअ । भर्तृपेश्वरत्नाय रणायगुणाय । नामार्गवर धनायनुमानाय । कलासेन तबं जिनलं प्राव (न) कलासचक्षुयोपन कविं-जनतेनिव(न) कृपणमानाम्। ॥३॥ संसेनाय: कल्चुरिकुले निम्नम्। ॥

4. तोदेवो देवलो: स भवतां हितासानेत। ॥४॥ कुजाननु कौतिनसातान रणाय गुणाय । महामुख वैदिककर्त धनानुमानाय । कलासेन तवं जिनलं प्राव (न) कलासचक्षुयोपन कविं-जनतेनिव(न) कृपणमानाम्। ॥४॥ संसेनाय: कल्चुरिकुले निम्नम्। ॥

5. लर्देवकर्तिकेश्वरं शारस्वणकारण(न) क्यायं(न) क्षणीयम्। पूर्वं गन्धर्वसर्वनपत्तयात: विभवत् भाराव्यानु पृथ्वीदेवो सन्निर्दर्वजुवषं सूक्षपाय:। ॥५॥ पुरं: पवित्रसहस: सममुद्रमूखी श्रीमान्यमहामूलमूण। प्रवृत्तविभावः। ज्ञाते। ॥

6. जलवेद ध्वनि विश्वविद्विदत्रेषां राजा प्राविन्धिन्ममति: दातु धममजूयति:। ॥६॥ दर्श: सर्वः सार्वभूमियों प्रणामान्त: प्राविन्धिन्ममति:। स(स) रणार्गसय वस्तित: ता वुजंनामीः। ॥

7. यदि प्राविन्धिन्मकर्ति: नृजारिणि महिः पार्ति श्रवनरामवल्। ॥७॥ उदयकविंद्वान</p>
12 जो कस्मसामग्रिस्यान् भाति: । शालापुल्लित्तेतृतकुमुदार्धतमकल्याम: । कल्पदु: प्राणिनान् विकृ
सोहोंदेव: । ॥१४॥ यहं महिमागः: परं जगाम दुर्गायिव (ब)धृष्टेऽद्वितीय: नदा वर्षयोत्तर- मयेशोभिषेषोभिष । । स इह नृपति: गुर्जीवेन: । प्रकाशित:-
13 विक्रम: कस्मकस्मकोत्तिस्य चित्रप्रमुखस्य च च्युत । ॥१५॥ निजनुजितकामः: सवर्गविद्वापृगम: 
सुसमुच्छतन्वाय भीमाविद्वायमः । नृपसदस्य ललामः: सज्जनानामलवाम: समभववः पुषो 
निव (ब)वेषः ॥१६॥ यो बताः: । । शिवभा:-
14 वित्तय स्वायं भमस्य विशा (त्र) मभुः: काश्यपः विनेषां नुसनसां प्रस्तगुणः स्वायमः: 
प्राप्तार्यो विनेषाय महसर्यम् स्वयंस्य वेषम् वेषमः: कांगेरतर्यात्तरं पुरेरिप सव: 
कीर्तिर्मन्त्यालयम: । ॥१७॥ रक्षित्रेणाय सु (ब)भूधायर्यात्तरं सच्चिद्विः विश्वविभवनि
15 गृहेठोंहवं भमस्य (ब)विषः । । वि: वि: समस्ताय (अ) पतामेकपायथ (ब) निजनुजितकाम ललामः 
नाम पत्नी तवोयः । ॥१८॥ सत्त्वातीयसवं सवंविषातिगुपायभंगुपायमो नवविभावाधावः: 
प्रज्ञाविख्यात्वर्यात्तरमु(ब) वा प्रज्ञातामु: 
16 पुषोऽरुपस्यतः सुखि वस्त्रायाम विकृ सव कावश्चः । ॥१६॥ यो जयाः: समुर्गतिः सुरसमर्ग- 
 क्षतिग्रस्यभोगोऽभिविष्टस्यात्तिट्यस्य रक्षा (न) न वनतिहितस्य विभावः: महः: 
। क्षतिग्राहितस्य विषय (दिन) वायानात्रकात्तिगिशियं न निरापदे रक्षित्रेणाय: सीमी
17 शैलूस्वलसः । ॥ २०॥ कल्पदु: अस्तमस्या शुची नृश्रवः स्वं हे श्रोहण व्रजभयं विहारं 
तत्वादि। । सा कामेवृत्ति गच्छति वस्त्रमया लीलायुरस्तु भूवने पुरुषोत्तमार्यः । ॥२१॥ यो 
मत्रसंशायविभिष्यस्यात्तरमु (ब) विषः: । । शक्तिवच्चरणयम (न) प्रस्तगुणविभवः: 
। । । शाल्युपपायम:-
18 हिन्दाभ्यपनीतावायः: सवर्गायायातिभिन्नतिस्यात्तिट्यायः: । ॥२२॥ दशे (त्र) कोशिकापायानुपरत्वः 
सवर्गायायातिगितस्य (दिन) रस्युपे (त्रशु) । सवर्गायायातिगितस्य व्याय (स्वर) निनकटकः 
मुख्य चकार चिराय राजस्य: । ॥२३॥ सवर्गायायातिगितां नीतो यविन नाम स 
भूमजा: । वा-
19 [क्षित्व (ब)विषः] । इत्येव तत्तादि मुख्य विविधः । ॥२४॥ तत्या मनवेण दशयेन निजिने राजमणिते 
निनकटकः विलस (लार) चके चके राज्यां स भूपति: । ॥२५॥ शिविनिजिग्नेयस्वलस्तलहरि
हारि कल्याण वर्णपुरस्वलस्तलहरि (ब)हः: । । शिविनजन्मजानवरे हरेवाहुलस्ता यो बः-

1 What appears like an anusvāra on त्रा, is a defect in the impression.
2 The visarga is superfluous.
3 Read निनकटकः.
4 The metre requires this name to be लक्षया, or its Sanskrit form लक्ष्यी;
5 Read निनकटकः.
6 Read चायुदुरिकः.
7 Read निनकटकः.
The correct reading may be मण्डलस्तलस्तलहारि.
20 धृष्टिकारणविद्यमानं समस्यतानां धुरुस्तमानं 
च यत्विषयं धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं 
मनोबोधितं धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं 
समस्यतानां धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं धुरुस्तमानं 

d4. [The word ठंड, which was omitted at first, was added subsequently, ठंड being written at the end of line 19 and ठंड in the beginning of line 20.]
3 Read निराक्षर.
8 Read यत्विषयं.
4 The *visarga after तम* is dropped according to the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.
5 Read विच्छेद.
8 The third akṣara of the village-name, which is damaged, is conjecturally restored.
7 Read श्रीमानुजः.
Om! Obeisance to Śiva!

(Verse 1).—May the terrific and violent tāṇḍava of the god Śiva always protect you!—(the tāṇḍava) which bewildered the guardians of the quarters by the dashings of his shining arms against the mountains on the borders as he whirled them violently, while the earth sank under his steps, and in which the brahmāṇda was pierced by the sharp points of his khaṭēṅga which struck against it!

(Verse 2).—May the Bull of Śiva grant you the attainment of your desired object! —(he) who frequently torments the brahmāṇda by the hard and dreadful rows of hair (on his body); who, by the noise of his thunder-like uncheckered bellowing, causes intense pain to the ears of elephants (stationed) in the different quarters; who, by the edge of his very high-jumping hoofs, bruises the hoods of the lord of serpents; who destroys the splendour of enemies' cities; and who is adored by the three worlds!

(Verse 3).—We bow to that Speech who makes the practical life in the three worlds possible; who causes the attainment of the imperishable goal; and by attaining whose favour, good people regard the past, present and future as (placed) on the palm of their hand.

(Verse 4).—May that god, the son of two mothers (i.e., Gaṅgā and Gaṅgā) increase your welfare!—(the god) who threatens, as it were, a large multitude of obstacles by the humming of bees intoxicated by the drinking of the limpid rutting juice as it gushes forth with force at the commencement of his dance!

(Verse 5).—(People) may construct hundreds of temples, perform glorious deeds on battle-fields, exterminate a host of enemies and give in charity (plenty of) wealth; but all that would, in course of time, be like dancing in pitchy darkness (in case it is not recorded by poets).

(Verse 6).—Formerly there was, in the family of the Kalachuris, a king (named) Prithividēva (I), the lord of Tummāna, of spotless and abundant fame, who by his administration of justice, made the whole world always seek refuge in righteous deeds; who was the sun to the darkness in the form of arrogant kings, and an ornament of the earth.

(Verse 7).—From him of holy luster was (born) an illustrious son, namely, the king Jājalladēva (I), who was possessed of superhuman virtues and an excellent nature, whose prowess spread in the (whole) world (and) who, being intent on the welfare of his subjects, was indeed an incarnation of righteousness.

1 Read राजकृष्णस:.
2 The visarga is superfluous.
3 Read संप्रवतः.
4 For a similar idea, see the Bihārī stone inscription of the rulers of Chedi, above, Vol. I, p. 254.
5 Generally the word prāṅśī is feminine and signifies a cow that has had only one calf. When masculine, the word means a boat. Here it is used in the sense of Śiva's bull.
6 Gaṅgā is so called because he was brought up by two goddesses Durgā and Chāmuṇḍā.
7 i.e., it would remain hidden from the people.
8 The meaning may also be that he was an incarnation of Yudhishthira, the eldest Pāṇḍava prince, who was well-known for his righteous conduct.
(V. 8).—While he, who conferred obligations on all people, spread the mass of his fame and destroyed advancing lordly elephants of his enemies, was ruling the earth, there were nowhere (to be seen) the arrogance of any kings, the fever-like anxiety, due to poverty, of suppliants, the affliction, due to terror, of the person who sought protection and also the habitation of wicked persons.

(V. 9).—To him was born (a son) named **Ratnadēva** (II), the king well-known in the three worlds, who was the first to teach humiliation to the flourishing lotus of Kaliṅga; who had an extremely developed and spreading fame; who had full knowledge of thirty-six sciences of weapons and the pride of fully developed arms; (and) who was the great magical incantation for the destruction of evil spirits, namely the rising kings on (this) earth.

(V. 10).—Does that illustrious Ratnadēva (II) need to be praised—(he) whose sole delight at all places and times was in the festivity of battle whether he was followed by a host of armies or was alone, and the great noise of whose dreadful marches incessantly hovers over (other) kings, proudly rebuking them as it were and challenging them to fight again and again!

(V. 11).—When he, possessed of boundless, dreadful and mysterious prowess was about to invade the circle of quarters, the highest mountains all round, with the resounding and dreadful reverberations of the sound of his war-drums, were, as it were, calling out to the lords of regions, uttering terrific cries, being apprehensive as regards the support of the earth burdened with his large marching hosts.

(V. 12).—From that king was born (a son) named **Prithvidēva** (II), the off-shoot of gems in the head-dress of the lords of the earth, even as the sun rises from the slope of a mountain, as the moon was produced from the ocean, as Pradyumna was born from Purushottama, Hari from the illustrious cowherd Nanda, and Śkanda from the moon-crested (Śiva).

(V. 13).—How many warriors did he not vanquish? What good people did he not please? At the doors of what panegyrist did he not keep lordly rutting elephants tied? How many princes did he not protect when they sought refuge on the battle-field? What excellences of the victorious Prithvidēva (II) are not attractive?

(V. 14).—There was **Sāchdēva** like a jewel adorning a family of Brahmans, who received the hereditary ministership of these kings that bore the burden of all good qualities (and) who was verily a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants.

(V. 15).—Who being an abode of greatness crossed the ocean of excellences, whose great fame adorned the world and whom, possessed of many and marvellous qualities, that (famous) king Prithvidēva (I) made his hereditary minister.

(V. 16).—His son was **Nimbadēva** who in his personal form surpassed the god of love, who looked attractive with all (kinds of) learning (and) who was a wreath on the crown of good people, the heavenly abode of wealth and fame, an ornament of the royal assembly and a friend of good persons.

(V. 17).—Who was the dwelling place of pleasing speech, the abode of religious merit, the resting place of compassion, the resort of good people, the hermitage of wisdom, the support of modesty, a large shrine of steadiness, the residence of wealth, the dwelling of beauty, the house of contentment and the sole receptacle of glory.

(V. 18).—He had a wife named Lakhamā who was, as it were, his own body, the sole receptacle of all virtues, who resembled Rati in lovely form and Arundhati in righteous deeds and who, being religious-minded, was the desired object of the prosperity of her house.

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1 This suggests that his feet were bowed to by the heads of these kings.
(V. 19).—He had a son (named) **Purushottama** who bore his name significantly, who was the sole resting place of a multitude of excellences such as boundless self-control and forgiveness, the ornament of the family of earthly gods (i.e., Brāhmaṇas), the foremost among statesmen, the performer of blameless deeds and the first among wise persons possessed of great and attractive prowess.

(V. 20).—Who adopted exaltation from the celestial mountain (Mēru), serenity from the ocean, munificence from (Karpā) the son of the sun, vigorous lustre from the sun, great prowess from the lion, bright mass of fame from (Rāma) the exterminator of Rāvana, learning from Bṛhaspati and a strong and beautiful form from the god of love.

(V. 21).—O Wish-fulfilling Tree! be happy, getting rid of all exhaustion; O Mēru, you also are now free from the fear of being wounded; that celestial Cow also may now repair to her calf! May that Purushottama be long-lived in (this) world!

(Vv. 22-23).—Having seen him whose intellect was adept in deciding doubtful matters of royal policy, who had an excellent nature on account of his use of the three royal powers, who was free from pride because of the great religious merit accruing to him by the use of the six measures, whose good character was tested by all kinds of tests and who was endowed with the multitude of ministerial qualities, Ratnadēva (II), the lord of Kōsala, gave him the unique post of Sarvādhikārin and ruled without any trouble for a long time.

(V. 24).—Though he was elevated to the position of sarvādhikārin, he became famous on the earth as one who bore the burden of the four (purushārthas).

(V. 25).—The multitude of princes being vanquished by his policy as well as by his weapon, the king freed the earth from all troublesome persons and (himself) ruled without any trouble.

(V. 26).—He (i.e., Purushottama) captured the Khimminerī (mayalav) and made the Talahari (maṇḍala) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Dāṇḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjhg. He killed Haravōku (and) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Dāṇḍabhakti.

(V. 27).—His son was Madhusūdana; (then) was born his younger brother Lakshmidhara and the blessed Yaśodhara and another meritorious one named Gaṅgādhara. That wise (Purushottama) had these four sons well-versed in statecraft, who were, as it were, the four objects of human life incarnate, moving about on the orb of this earth.

(V. 28).—Among them this Madhusūdana, who has a multitude of all noble qualities, infinite prowess and modesty and who is an abode of humour, has attained great fame whereby his father has been placed in the forefront of all fathers of sons.

(V. 29).—Having realized that human life is unsteady like the flapping of the elephant's ears and is subject to innumerable sorrows, and that wealth, being momentary, is extremely disagreeable when enjoyed, the mind of that illustrious Purushottama which had become purified by the constant study of the various Śāstras, Purāṇas and Vedas, became solely intent on the acquisition of religious merit.

(V. 30).—Having been adorned all round by various kinds of groves and meritorious works of monasteries and temples erected by him, the earth has attained marvellous splendour.

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1 i.e., he was the best of men.
2 The wounds of Mēru are caused by the gifts of gold from the slopes of the mountain.
3 For the various upadās or tests of honesty, see Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (second ed., by Shama Sastrī), p. 16.
4 These are dharmā (religious merit), artha (wealth), kāma (enjoyment of pleasures) and mokṣa (liberation).
5 This and the following verse are relative clauses.
V. 31.—He made a lake at Ratnapura which is deep, contains many creatures, is clear, extremely beautiful and fit to be used by all people (and thus) resembles his heart (which is serene, very courageous, pure, very fine and fit to be resorted to by all people).

V. 32.—This faultless and beautiful five-shrined temple of Śambhu has been erected by him with a view to dispel the mass of darkness (i.e., ignorance) of the three worlds. Having made his abode here, even (Śiva), the sole lord of the whole universe, does not, I fancy, think at all of Kailāsa on account of the excellent offerings of worship (here).

V. 33.—This five-shrined temple also of him (i.e., Śambhu) has been raised by him from water (the temple) which, by its forms, makes itself identical with Dvārakā on the earth.

V. 34.—He himself, shining with valour, has raised this pleasure garden of the conqueror of Mura (Śiva), in which beautiful bees disport themselves, which has hundreds of beautiful blossoming creepers, which contains various flowers and fruits, which resonates with the warbling of innumerable joyful birds and which has covered the space in the sky with rows of strange trees and creepers.

V. 35.—While the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu, Prithvidēva (II) granted by a charter this village Salōṇ to the wise Purushottama.

V. 36.—As long as the moon with its stain washed by the river flowing from the head of Śiva is wakeful as long as the resplendent sun sanctifies the world with its rays, as long as the lord of serpents supports very firmly the orb of the earth on the top of his hoods—even so long may this glorious temple honoured in the three worlds last on this circle of the earth!

V. 37.—The illustrious, clever and compassionate Kāsala who is skilled in the sciences of arms, who has attained proficiency in numerous and varied arts, who is conversant with the science of elephants and that of medicine, who is a swan (expounding) among lotus-plants which are the entire poetic arts, who knows the three ratnas (and whose intellect is well-known in expounding) the multitude of the āgamas of Śrīghana (the Buddha) and others, has composed this prāśasti.

V. 38.—He (Purushottama) gave four plough-measures of land to gods and two plough-measures (of land) to the learned Brāhmaṇa Vāsadēva.

The year 900, in the reign of the illustrious Prithvidēva.

No. 46—BARDULA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA : YEAR 9

P. B. DESAI, OTACAMUND

These copper plates were found buried underground some years back at Bārdalā, a village in the Sarangarh State, Central Provinces. They were traced and sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India by Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Secretary, Mahakosala Historical Society, Raigarh. As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an opportunity of studying them critically. I am grateful to Mr. Pandeya for his kind permission to edit them here.

1 The temple is called paścākāyatanā, because the main structure was surrounded by four small shrines dedicated to Durgha, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, etc.; cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 130. For another such temple of a slightly earlier period see the Rewah stone inscription of Vapula, Haikagyas of Tripuri, etc., p. 131.
2 Lit. celestial.
3 This verse is rather obscure. Perhaps the temple was surrounded by water on all sides and therefore resembled the city of Dvārakā.
4 According to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, Mura or Mura was killed not by Śiva, but by Krishna.
5 i.e., at the time of a solar eclipse.
6 As the author speaks in this verse of his knowledge of the Buddhist āgamas, the three ratnas may be the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.
The set consists of three copper plates of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side, and the second on both the sides. The letters are deeply engraved and show through on the back of the first and the third plates. All the plates are of equal dimensions, measuring 9" in length, 6" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The second plate is slightly thicker than the other two. The rims of the plates are not raised; still the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. A small rectangular piece is set off from the right corner at the bottom of the third plate without affecting the writing in any way. The plates are held together by a copper ring which passes through a hole, 6" in diameter, bored in the middle of the proper right side of each plate at a margin of about 1.5". The ends of the ring which is about 4" in thickness and 4.5" in diameter are soldered below a circular seal, 3.2" in diameter. The surface of the seal, which is deeply countersunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandin) with a triśūla in front and a pūrya-kumbha behind. Below this is engraved the legend (identical with that on the seal of the Mallar plates\(^1\)) in two lines, consisting of a verse in the Anuḥṭuḥbha metre, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is depicted a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves. The execution of the plates and of the seal resembles that of the Mallar plates.\(^1\) The whole set inclusive of the ring and the seal weighs 261 tolas. The ring and the seal taken together weigh 120 tolas.

The charter contains 30 lines, there being eight lines on each of the first three inscribed surfaces and six on the fourth one. The letters are neatly and boldly engraved and their average size is \(\frac{1}{2}\)". The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rajim\(^2\) and Baloda\(^3\) plates of Tivaradēva and the Mallar and Lodhia\(^4\) plates of Mahāśīvagupta. No doubt a few letters seem to evince a tendency for elongation, e.g., the form of the letter ṭha in the Baloda plates (ll. 23, 29, 30, 35) is roundish; while the same is somewhat elongated in the present plates (ll. 7, 9, 14, 21, 24): But if we examine the Lodhia plates we find that the same roundish form of the letter is consistently retained (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15, etc.). It may be noted in this connection that the Baloda plates are dated in the 9th regnal year of Tivaradēva and the Lodhia plates were issued in the 57th regnal year of his grand-nephew Mahāśīvagupta. This will show that the two records were removed from each other by about a century. Still the scripts of the epigraphs do not show appreciable difference. From this we may conclude that what appeared as a tendency for elongation in the above particular case is not a general sign of development in the script, but only an individual trait of the scribe. The letter ēri is invariably written as ēri or ēri ( śro or sı)V in all the four records under reference. The palaeographical peculiarities pointed out in connection with the other plates of the series, such as the length of the medial ı being denoted by a dot inside the circle at the top of the letter, etc., are common to these plates also.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end. There are a few instances of faulty spelling, some of which may be noted here. The short form of the medial ı is written for the long one, and vice versa; as in kāhātā 1. 1, pidu 1. 10, prithivi 1. 14. Likewise b is written for v and vice versa; as in -briddhayā 1. 16, vatsalyam 1. 19 and vahubhi 1. 27. The final s is changed to anuṣṭāra; as in Brāhmaṇa and sopradhānā 1. 6 and -purushātm 1. 8. The anuṣṭāra is consistently changed to ś before a sibilant; as in vahā 1. 4, anyānāstha 1. 8. Among the orthographical

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\(^{1}\) Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 112 ff.
\(^{2}\) C. I. L., Vol. III, Plate XLV.
\(^{4}\) Under publication by Pt. L. P. Pandeya in this journal.
peculiarities may be noted the occasional doubling of the consonant before or after $r$; as in
$pitrôrā$ 1. 16, $kār̥yaga$ 1. 3, $sarpa$ 1. 8, $vaijñita$ 1. 10.

The inscription purports to record the gift of a village named Vaṭapadraκa situated in the
Kośira-Nandapura viṣhaya to several Brahmaṇas by the illustrious Mahāśivaguptarāja, son of
Haradēva, of the lunar lineage, an ardent worshipper of Mahāśvara, for his own merit and
that of his parents. The gift was made on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of
Kārttika in the 9th year of his increasingly victorious reign. The grant village was to be divided
into thirteen shares, twelve of which were full and one was half. The full shares were to be
enjoyed by Brahmaṇas, whose names are specifically mentioned and who it seems had settled in the region
of Chhātranātā. The half share was to be allotted to a Brahmaṇa of unimpeachable character
(a-vīraha-charitāya). The royal order communicating this grant was addressed to the residents
of the village, including the chief members amongst them (sa-pradhānān pratīciṣeṣitāḥ), as also to the
royal officials, Samaṅga, Sambhūkata, and others including the Karanās.

This Mahāśivagupta belonged to the earlier line of rulers known as the Pāṇḍava or Sōma-
vaṃśi kings of South Kosala and is identical with his namesake, who bore the distinctive epithet
Balārjuna as known from stone inscriptions discovered at Sirpur. He had a distinguished
career and was credited with an unusually long reign of about sixty years as indicated by the
Loḍhi plate. About half a dozen stone inscriptions and three copper plate documents assign-
able to his reign have so far been discovered. Of these records only two are dated, namely the
Loḍhi plates and the present ones and the dates are in regnal years. But unfortunately these
dates are not verifiable for want of sufficient details. So we have to fix his date by approximation
only on consideration of palaeography and other circumstantial evidence.

The latest attempt in this direction has been made by Principal V. V. Mirasmi, in his 'Note
on the Date of the Sōma-vaṃśi Kings'. I generally agree with his views and place Mahāśivag-
upta in the first and second quarters of the 7th century A.D. in view of the high reign year
accorded to him by the Loḍhi plates, viz., 57th year, it is likely that his reign extended still further
into the third quarter of the century.

The following places are mentioned in the charter. The grant village Vaṭapadraκa may
be identified with modern Baṭapadaka, a small village about four miles from Bardili, the pre-
venance of the present plates. The territorial division (viṣhaya) Kośira Nandapura, wherein
the grant village was situated, appears to be identical with Nandapura bhōga mentioned in the
Pipardulā plates of the Sarabhapura ruler, Mahāraja Narēndra. The headquarters of this Nand-
apura viṣhaya, which is qualified by the epithet Kośira (probably meaning scrubby from kuśa)
to distinguish it from its other namesakes, may be identified with the site of the two adjoining
villages, Nandapur big and small, in the Bilaspur District, not far from Sakti on the Bengal-Nagpur
Railway. This site is reported to contain some ancient vestiges and herein was discovered a
silver coin of Prasannamātā of the Sarabhapura family some years ago. There is a reference
in l. 11 to a tract named Chhātranātā wherein the donees, it appears, had settled down (Chhātra
nāṭa-sīna-niciṣita). This name is similar to some of the Dravidian names denoting territory,
such as Prunāṭa and Karnāṭa. I am unable to identify this region.

1 This passage may also be interpreted so as to mean that only the first person mentioned among the donees,
viz., Nārāyaṇapāthāyā was a settler in the region called Chhātranāṭā.
2 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.
3 See below, pp. 319-325.
5 I am indebted to Pt. L. P. Pandey for this suggestion.
XVI-I-25
First Plate

1. भ्रमण ॥
2. परम्परा
3. राजवंश
4. सत्ता
5. तात्त
6. पुरुष विविधता
7. यथाकालानुसार
8. करणानुसार

Second Plate; First Side

9. पयलि
10. सत्तानुसार
11. वाटः प्रभाव
12. पाठमा
13. हस्ति
14. विषयानुसार

1. From the original plates.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Read वठ़ा.
4. The dandaśas are superfluous.
5. The word chātra has been usually translated as 'irregular troops'. But etymology would, I think, help us in arriving at a better and more correct meaning of the term. Chātra, according to lexicographers, means 'a rouge, cheat, swindler', etc. This, however, cannot be applied with any propriety to the military or police force, constituting the 'irregular section'. The word chātra is substituted for chātra in some earlier inscriptions in a similar context. For instance, the Rithipura plates of Queen Prabhavati-Gupta has the term abhasta-chhātra-prāśīrga (J.P.A.S.B.N.S., Vol. XX, p. 39, text I. 18). After addressing the bhutas and chhātras among the royal officers, the Channa copper plate record of the same king introduces the phrase a-bhasta-chhātran
6. The word chhātra seems to have been substituted here for the usual expression sakraśnukaṃchātra.
15 वश [श] व्यापार दृष्टि [व्व] भाजन [व् त्र] योधावृष्टि ग्रहणम् [व् त्]

16 दाता [स्] माता पिता राजस्व [पुरुष] वर [च] शासन नामकरणम्

Second Plate; Second Side

17 कृत्तमकरोपमोगर्भ [यं] मुख्य प्रविष्टि ईव तो विबेकः

18 तया एव: समुपि बोधमाधवा विक्रममण्डलिकः भ [ष्ट्र] विदः सुवृ [प्र]

19 तत्वस्त्रय [व्य] मिति [॥] भावनाद अगुटानुसारितम्यके [॥]

20 मिन्ना दिव्य नमस्ति पति हृत हृता मही नृत्यो नरः

21 के नृत्तासात् [संसा: ॥] एतह [इ] परवतया चलाव्य वश्यमायुषचा [हु]

22 न यथोत्तमाभिन [री र्वव] [०२१] ग्रंथ [भू] वर्ण [च*] रक्षापालनयोग्यत्वा गुणतदुर्गमित गर् [॥]


24 यात्रेत्यां प्रथम सुमूर्ख [व्व] वनवी सुवृष्टि [दु] तासु [च] गाय: [च*] वसाहः रंगते

Third Plate

25 न भवनसि लोक [च*] काव्यन गायन गही [च] (चर) दशा ग्र [३]

26 शास [ण] स्वर्ग [मोदि] भूमिव [॥] श्वेतत्वा [र्व] चावुमन्ता व ताम्येव नरके

27 वशन [॥१२१] [व] (व) [हु] मियुगा वर्ष [र] [भ] राजिन्त [॥]

28 स्त्रयु तत्त्वा तथा फला [सं] [॥२१२] स्वप्रव (लात) परवतमाणा [र] च यान [वस] [भ] वसहिद्विति [॥]

29 मही [हि] मतात [त] श्रेष्ठ वातावेयो नुपालनमिति [॥ प्रवाहितानिवर्य र्व]

30 सम्बं (संब-) सं [॥२] कालिकासम्बल दि [्० र ॥२]

The Seal

1 राज [च*] श्रीवर्मनुस्त्रय सुनो [स] सबमुखालिन [॥]

2 शासनं [श्रीवर्मातत्वम् [सं] तम [च] भू [न] [हि] [॥]

1 This passage is faulty in expression and requires reconstruction. The word bhūga occurs in 1. 18. The term ardhānirūdha occurring in 1. 15 indicates that the village was divided into thirteen shares, twelve of which were full and one half. While the names of the recipients of the twelve full shares are mentioned, the name of the thirteenth who was to receive the half share is not specified. The selection was to be made latter, the condition for selection being laid down that his character should be above suspicion.

2 Read वसास्तवकाः.

3 This akṣara is written below the line.

4 Read पायलम् [॥२१२] इति.
No. 47—TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF CHATURANANA PANDITA:
20th year of Krishna III.

(1 Plate)

V. RAGHAVAN, MADRAS

The inscription edited here is well-known and has tempted every writer to refer to it for the interesting account it gives of the romantic career of a distinguished Chola general. A sad interest attaches to this contribution, owing to the unexpected passing away of Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, who, during the study of it for editing, brought it to me for correction and interpretation of the Sanskrit portion. For enabling me to edit it in these pages, I must thank the Government Epigraphist for the permission given by him, and the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for the facility he gave for consulting the impressions and transcripts of this and the related inscriptions.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab built into the floor between the first two pillars in the inner prakāra on the southern side of the entrance to the garbhagriha of the main shrine of Ādhīpirāvāra at Tiruvorriyur near Madras. The lower part of the stone has evidently been cut off and consequently some of the lines towards the close of the inscription have been lost. An examination of it on the spot now shows that, since the time it was copied by the Department in 1912, further obliteration of some letters, especially towards the end, has been caused.

The inscription, which is engraved in an ornamental style, is in two parts, Sanskrit and Tamil, the former being in Grantha characters. In the Sanskrit part, the following orthographical peculiarities may be noticed. The avagraha is omitted (I.6); in two places where the aisarga coalesces with a following s, only one s is written (II.4,8); in some cases, a consonant following a repha is duplicated (II.7,8,9,11). In writing the name of the place, Tiruvorriyur the peculiar Tamil sound r is written in Tamil character (I.11). The marking off of the halves and ends of verses is irregular; the halves are not marked at all, and, except in one case, the ends are shown by a single dāḍa. In one instance, even the third quarter of a verse is so marked off.

In the Tamil part, the chief feature is the writing of Sanskrit words and sounds in the text in Grantha characters, ērī, ērī, bha, bali, dhō and dēvāra. Long medial ē is always written only with the sign of the short medial. Some of the expressions in the Tamil part are literary.

The palaeography of the inscription does not call for any remarks.

The object of the inscription is to record a gift of one hundred gold Nishkas, bearing an interest of three Māsas per Nishka per annum, to the assembly of Narasimhamaṅgala, by Valabha Chaturāṇana for conducting a special service on the day of Dhanishtā, the star of his nativity, to Lord Śiva at Tiruvorriyur.

The inscription is dated in the 20th year of Kannaradēva, the conqueror of Kachchi (Kāśchi) and Tanjore (Tanjore), i.e., the Rāṣṭhrakūṭa king Krishṇa III who came to the throne in A.D. 939. It therefore belongs to the year A.D. 959, which is ten years after the battle of Takkōlam to which our inscription has a vital reference. It is stated here that the subject of the account herein who was the beloved general of Rājāditya could not, unfortunately, be present on the battle field of Takkōlam.

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1 No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164-165.
Our inscription gives in broad outlines the full career of this general of Rājāditya. The first verse of the inscription describes the nativity of the general; and it is therefore unfortunate that parts of the first half of this verse are lost. From what has been left it is clear that the general was called Vaḷabha and he was the son of Rājaśekhara, the chief of Vallabharāṣṭra. This Rājaśekhara, it is also clear, stood in some relation, as a subordinate or general to the lord of Kēraḷa (Kēralāṁiśu māthasya). Vaḷabha became a scholar even as a boy, was valorous and was seized with an enthusiasm to go forth and be of service to the world. It was the time when the Chōḷa king, Parantaka I, had married a Kēraḷa princess and this intimate alliance had led a number of Kēraḷa warriors to seek the Chōḷa country for service under the Chōḷa king and his son. 1 Vaḷabha, as one of these, reached the Chōḷa country and became greatly attached to Rājāditya, who, though the inscription calls him Rājan, was at this time, a Viceroy under his father Parantaka I. Vaḷabha rose to the position of a general under Rājāditya, but when the latter was attacked by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Takkōlam, Vaḷabha was not by his side. He would have desired to lay down his life for his master or with him, but fate willed otherwise, and he was stricken with deep grief for his absence and failure to die with his master which were unworthy of himself, his family and his master. He therefore renounced worldly life and went to the Ganges. Having bathed in the celestial river, he wandered back to the south and reached Tiruvorriyūr which was famous for its religious and spiritual associations. There he entered a cave called after Nīrāṇaṅga, the head of affairs at Tiruvorriyūr. He attained spiritual enlightenment there 2 and emerged as a siddha. Gradually the cave rose to importance and was converted into a regular mātha. Assuming the spiritual name Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita, the ex-general Vaḷabha began to administer this mātha, as also the affairs of the temple. Thus did position and authority, which he had once renounced, come back to him, he succeeded to the important place previously held by Nīrāṇaṅga as the head of affairs at Tiruvorriyūr, and it is as the head of his own mātha, that our general, now Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita, made an endowment which was the occasion for setting up this inscription.

The Tamil part of the inscription which follows mentions the 20th year of (the reign of) Kān-"aradēva, the victor over Kānci and Tānjore, and says that Tiruvorriyūr was in the division called Pulaṟ-kōṭtam; 3 and adds that, for the purpose of the conduct of worship on every Aviṣṭam, his natal constellation, Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita Bhaṭṭāra of the mātha, gave to the Lord an endowment. The actual mention of the gift is lost and the major part of the epigraph in the Tamil portion is taken up by an enumeration of the details of articles and persons required for the service.

It is possible to reconstruct the full civil name of Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita from a close interpretation of the first verse. The verse calls him Vaḷabha and son of the chief of Vallabharāṣṭra; therefore Vaḷabha seems to be only a form of Vallabha, which is the name taken after his Rāṣṭra. His father is called Rājaśekhara which means also, by double entendre, Śiva (the moon-crested god); and Vaḷabha is said to have been born to Rājaśekhara, even as Guha to Rājaśekhara, i.e., Śiva. The completion of the rhetoric here requires that Vaḷabha also had a personal name meaning Guha or Subrahmaṇya, and that was, in all probability, Kūmārā.

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1 See An. Rep. of the A.S.I., 1905-6, p. 181. Venkayya says that several of the Tirmūmnallūr inscriptions mention natives of Malabar among the servants of Rājāditya, and gives in the footnote the names of six such Malabar. See also, S.I.1, Vol. II, p. 380, verse 8; and K.A.N. Sastri: Colas I, pp. 162-3. According to Venkayya (loc. cit. p. 182) Rājāditya’s mother Kōkkalādagajal was the Kēraḷa princess married by Parantaka I (see also As. R. on S.I. I. 1912, p. 56), but according to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri (Colas I, p. 162), it was Anukāya’s mother who was a Kēraḷa princess.

2 That is, in the cave. The word used in the text is pākā which means ‘a depth’, ‘an inaccessible place’ See Vaiḍukatīkā and Apte. It has thus been taken in the sense of cave.

3 The village of Pulai or Polai is about seven miles to the west of Tiruvorriyūr in the Chingleput District.
The suggestion Kumāra is based on the identification, which I am disposed to make, of this general of Rājāditya, with Vellān-Kumāra or Vellān-Kumāran, a Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya who figures in two inscriptions1 of the Śiva temple at the village of Grāmam in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the South Arcot District. The date of one of these corresponds to A.D. 943 and it has been edited by Venkayya.2 From this inscription, we learn that this Kēraḷa general was called Vellān-Kumāran, that he hailed from Puttur or Navāghāra, more fully Nandikkaraippattūr, in Malai-nādu, that he was an eminent Malayāli (Uttamā Kēraḷānum), that he was the grandgeneral of Rājāditya (avichālita-chamūnāyaka and Perumpaṇai-nāyakar) and that he built the Śiva temple at Maṇiligrāma or Tirumuṇḍiyūr on the banks of the Pennār.3 Earlier, in A.D. 935-6, the same Vellān-Kumāra had made a gift of sheep for a lamp in the same temple, as can be seen from the other inscription in the same place,4 and there he is described as the Mūla-bhṛitya of Rājāditya5 which may mean that he was the general of the permanent and personal forces of that prince.

Now, we can see that both Valabha of our inscription and Vellān-Kumāra of the two Grāmam inscriptions are described as very intimate generals of Rājāditya.6 Secondly both are described as natives of Kēraḷa. In our record, he is described as the son of the chief of the Vallabharāṣṭra in Kēraḷa, i.e. Valluvā-nādu in Malainādu; and in the Grāmam inscriptions, he is said to have hailed from the village of Nandikkaraippattūr in Malai-nādu, i.e. Kēraḷa. From an inscription of the 18th year of Rājarāja I,7 at Nandikkara we learn that Nandikkara was taken as belonging to Valluvā-nādu. Thirdly, he is called Valabha in our inscription after his Rāṣṭra and I think, Vellān in the name of Vellān-Kumāran of the Grāmam inscriptions, is only a form of Vallabhan.8 Fourthly, as I have already pointed out, the rhetorical implications of the first Sanskrit verse of our inscription require the assumption of a word meaning Subrahmaṇya or Guha as part of the

1 Nos. 735 and 739 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

मीलियु: पुत्रधरमाक: कविवलविनामुतमः: केरनामपः
राजाविस्तर साशङविवलविलितवूमूनायको माहुरालाटः 1
मौलिकार्यविवेष्यातदर्शनविलितालिमितविवर: मनवराम
माहावें महाप्र: स्वरामरकारोऽव वेलंकुमारः 11

नवास्मितिहृतमिरः: विवास्मिति विलासलोभमितवेपुरुषः 1

निजामित्वा विविधित्वा गुप्तरितिविनुमार इत्यहं नवाप्रहारः 11

4 No. 739 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
5 In the other record at the place (No. 735 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) edited by Mr. V. Venkayya, he is called the Mūla-bhṛitya of the Cholās (kōrās mūla-bhṛityar).—Ed.
6 The expression in our record Prakāṭa-tara-guṇa-sānta-sāṃta-bhāvanā compares with the Avichālita-chamūnāyaka, Mālabhṛitya and Perumpaṇai-nāyakar of the Grāmam inscriptions.
8 Valluvā is a well-known Tamil form of Vallabha; that in Malayalam, Vallabha becomes Vella can be seen from the old list of Sanskrit Malayalam equivalents in personal names published in the journal of the Trancore University Oriental Misc. Library, IV. iii. Oct. '48, p. 45, Mss. Notices and Studies, verse 15.
general’s name; and it may well be Kumāra. Fifthly, and this is only of cumulative value, the Grāmam inscriptions are in a locality over which Rājaditya was Viceroy, and it is natural that his general of the Tiruvoorriyur inscription was also in the same place.1

Unfortunately, the inscriptions afford no clue to know his caste; in one of the Grāmam inscriptions, his native place is called Nāgārakāra; we do not know if we can put too much meaning into the word Agrahāra and suggest that he was a Brāhmaṇa. But the general impression left by a consideration of his life and career is clearly in favour of taking him to be of high caste.

The descriptions of the positions occupied by the general, which have been noted above, show him to have been an intimate guard of the king and a general of his chief forces. The last we hear of him as a Chūla commander in the Tirumunapiṇḍānāsū is in 943 A.D.;2 next, he figures at Tiruvoorriyur as a Mathapati, in the eighteenth year of King Kṛishṇa III, i.e., in A.D. 957.3 From his second record at the latter place, i.e., the present inscription, dated in A.D. 958, we learn that his absence from the scene at Takkōlam led him to renounce worldly life. Where he was between the years 943 and 949, the date of the battle of Takkōlam, what his pre-occupation was and why he could not be by his master’s side on the occasion of the fatal engagement are more than what we can say or suggest at present. But one thing is certain, viz., the alleged treachery of Chaturānana Paṇḍita and his turning a spy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, etc., is, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri says, “a most baseless conjecture.”5 The misunderstanding was inspired not only externally by Fleet’s wrong translation of the passage in the Atakūr inscription but also internally by the wrong import attached to the word Vallabha occurring in the first verse of our inscription. Vallabha refers to the general’s father as the chief of Vallabha Rāṣṭhra i.e., Valluva-nādu, (VVallabh-a-samāhaya-rāṣṭhra-nāthā) in Kerala, and not to the Vallabha Rāṣṭrakūṭa.6

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1 That this identification had also suggested itself to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri may be seen from his remarks “One wonders if this man (Chaturānana Paṇḍita) was the same as the Kercal general of Rājaditya who built the Śiva temple at Grāmam” (Colas, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 496, f.n. 71).

2 In his short account of Chaturānana Paṇḍita (Colas, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 496), Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says that this general ‘came to be closely associated with king Rājaditya as his guru, friend and aminātṛ.’ The expression in the inscription Prabhuṭastu-purva-ananta-animantu-hāvan means really that he became the general (āminātṛ) of king Rājaditya by virtue of his great (purva) and very transparent (prabhuṭastu) attachment (ananta) to the king. Prof. Sastri says also that ‘in spite of their proximity, (italics mine) he did not have the pleasure of dying with his friend’, and in support of this is found his citation in the foot-note samādhih kamarapāsūkhyam. As has been pointed out while drawing attention to the peculiarities of the writing in this inscription, an asvagrāha is omitted here, and the correct word is asvagrāhā—owing to his absence (from the scene).

If the negative a is not to be had there, the sandhi will not be pratī samśravāntāḥ but will be pratī samśravāntīḥ. Further, a locative and not an ablative is needed for the sense ‘in spite of’.

Further our inscription says that the general became a scholar even as a boy; thus, though he became a military figure, he retained his scholarly and spiritual background, the full and eventual manifestation of which found a sufficient cause and occasion in the sad demise of his beloved master. That even as a general in Tirumunapiṇḍānāsū, he was of a spiritual bent can be seen in some of the descriptive attributes and fancies in the Grāmam inscription referring to his construction of the Śiva temple. The first verse describes him as Mānīḥ ... Kalibala-pajñānāḥ—foremost of the victors over the strength of the Kali age, and the second verse says that he erected for Śiva a temple, well established even as his own well-established mind.

Silāsthalaṁ abhiratayē purusadvishah nīkām imām dikṣyam im śupradhikṣātāṁ (ākṣara)

He was thus a supradhikṣā-dhī, or more or less, in the language of the Gītā, sthīta-prajñā.

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2 No. 735 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

3 No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.


6 Colas, Vol. I, p. 444. The information in the summary of our inscription given here, “favourite of the Vallabha king” is also wrong; not only wrong but contradictory to what Prof. Sastri had said earlier on p. 180, f.n.
We are told in our inscription that the general, after his return from the Ganges, had his initiation from the cave of Nirañjana-guru, who was the head of affairs at Tiruvorriyur. From an inscription at Tiruvorriyur dated in the 19th year of Vijayaśaṅkapa varman, we learn that a Nirañjana-guru built the Śiva shrine at Tiruvorriyur naming the shrine after himself as Nirañjanēśvara. Nirañjana-guru is here stated as playing a prominent part in the Tiruvorriyur temple. The date of this record is, however, not known, for neither the exact identity nor the date of the Pallava Vijayaśaṅkapa varman is settled. That this Pallava king was connected with the Tiruvorriyur temple is further evident from the name of another deity at Tiruvorriyur, Kaṇpiśavaramūdu śiva, mentioned in inscriptions. Vijayaśaṅkapa's period extended over twenty-six years, and he is taken by some scholars as a contemporary of both Nripaṇaśaṅga and Aparājīta; this may, roughly speaking, place Kaṇpa somewhere round about 875 A.D. Nirañjana-guru, who built the shrine at Tiruvorriyur in his 19th year, cannot be brought to a date later than 900 A.D. Anyway, he could not have been living at the time of the Chōla general's entry into the holy order. The Takkōlam battle was fought in A.D. 949 and the first inscription mentioning this general as head of a maṭha at Tiruvorriyur is dated A.D. 957. Even allowing the shortest time for his journey to the Ganges and return to the south, say two years, we cannot suppose that he could have been at Tiruvorriyur earlier than A.D. 951. Probably he took a longer time to return to Tiruvorriyur; for one who had renounced life and had chosen the path of the passionless, there was no particular hurry and his hitting upon Tiruvorriyur for stay and sādhanā could not have been according to any pre-determined plan. I reconstruct the conditions under which he became a siddha differently from what they have appeared to be for others. The important word in the inscription, gaheva, meaning guhā, should be properly understood. It may be by subsequent semantic shift, the word guhai in the Tamil Dictionary has come to acquire the general meaning 'abode of a recluse'; such an abode may be a monastery, a cave or any secluded place; a cave may be natural, excavated or artificially constructed; but a guhā especially when it is used in Sanskrit does not necessarily mean a maṭha. Now, in the times of Vijayaśaṅkapa varman at Tiruvorriyur named Nirañjana-guru who was an important figure in the temple. His habitation, or more probably the place where he had his sādhanā originally, was a cave or cave-like dwelling which during his time and after became a famous the Nirañjana-guhā. When our general came to Tiruvorriyur, he was an obscure aspirant; he saw a guhā there associated with a great siddha and which he therefore took to be highly efficacious for his own sādhanā also; he entered it, performed sādhanā inside for a considerable time and then emerged one day as a siddha. The guhā then became doubly sacred, with the association of two siddhas, and devotees began to esteem it all the more. The new siddha, who had now assumed the name of Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita, continued to inhabit the same guhā, which by the attention paid by the public gradually grew in importance and was built over into a regular maṭha by the time of the visit of the Mānyakēṣa merchant in A.D. 957. If we interpret

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1 No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2 A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy, 1913, p. 86.
3 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 146.
4 See Culas, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 406, fn. 72. Chaturāṇana Paṇḍita as the name points is a Śaivite recluse; according to the canonical works of the Pāṇḍarata sects, one of the prescribed habitats of a Śaivite recluse is a guhā which is explained as a cave; the mention of a cave is said in some texts to include man-forsaken buildings too, sāmāgaṇa; but nowhere is a sādhanā referred to as resorting to an established maṭha for his sādhanā. See Pāṇḍarata Sūtras, Tri. Skt. Series, CXLIII, p. 116, and Ganakārāka, Gāek. Or. Series, XV, pp. 16-17.
TIRUVORRIYUR INSCRIPTION OF CHATURANANA PANDITA

No. 371 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection too literally Tiruvorriyur-ujjaiyur-koyilil-madamunjaya Chaturanana Panditam—we may suppose that the matha was within the temple.  

If, as has been supposed by some scholars, Chaturanana had received initiation directly at the hands of Nirañjana-guru himself, we may expect the text and the wording of the inscription to have been different. As the wording of the inscription is, it is gahva or guhā that is emphasised and it is from the guhā (gahvād ya āpta-vratāḥ) that Chaturanana is said to have obtained his spiritual re-birth. In spirit, therefore, he was a pupil and successor of Nirañjana, but not in person.

Chaturanana then established a monastery at Tiruvorriyur whose successive heads came to be called Chaturanana Pañḍitas after the founder. The following Chaturanana-Pañḍitas are mentioned at Tiruvorriyur in inscriptions belonging to different periods.

1. Chaturanana-Pañḍita I (Vajabha or Vellâkumāra); of the time of Parântaka I, Rājâditya and Kâñçârādēva.

2. Chaturanana-Pañḍita (of the time of Rājendra Chōla I).  

3. Chaturanana-Pañḍita (of the time of Kulōttunga Chōla).

4. Chaturanana-Pañḍita, (contemporary of Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭa, a Sōma-Siddhāntī; of the time of Rājadhirēja II)

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1 There is at present no trace of the Chaturanana-Pañḍita matha at Tiruvorriyur, either outside or inside the temple. The matha-like hall in the Sannidhi street very near the main gopura of the temple having an image of Dakshināmurti, Sāṅkara-bhairava, etc., is a very recent one, owing its origin to an Advaitic Śaṅkara-sāmānyī, popularly known as Yāgīśvara, who was there some decades ago. This has nothing to do with the Chaturanana matha. There is also a local tradition in the place that to protect the purity of the priest, there used to be a cave passage between the priest’s house on the northern main street to the east of the tank, and the temple, but such a passage, if it was there, must have been different from the Nirañjana-guha.


Therefore, the whole argument of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran in his article that the Nirañjana-guru of Vija-yakampa’s time being the same as the Nirañjana-guru of our inscription, the date of Vijaya-Kamparaman would come to 907-33 A.D. seems to be wrong. It is unnecessary to assume too long a period for the Nirañjana of Kamparama’s inscription and the Chaturanana of Kâñçârâdēva’s inscription to identify the latter with the Chaturanana of Rājendra Chōla’s time. Having proposed this last identification, Mr. Ramachandran differentiates the Chaturananas of the two Rājendra inscriptions, while the more natural assumption is to take these two as the same. It is acceptable to Mr. Ramachandran that the successors of the first Chaturanana-Pañḍita were also called by the same name. See also above, Volume XXIII, p.145, fn. 1.

4 No. 739 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
6 No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
7 No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
9 No. 126 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
11 Nos. 503 of 1896, 371 of 1911 and 266 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
From the description of the Chaturâdana-Pandita in these inscriptions, we understand that though when the first Chaturâdana made an endowment, he entrusted it with the Subbha of Narasimhamangala, the Pandita himself was also in charge of the affairs of the temple at Tiruvariyur. The record of the Manayakheya merchant at this place refers to Mathapati Chaturâdana as bearing the office of Dharma.\(^1\) Niranjanaguru is described in the inscription\(^2\) of Vijayakampaavarman as the lord of Tiruvariyur (Tiruvariyur ujaiya) and in our own inscription as Adigrumapati.\(^3\) In similar terms, the inscription of Rajendra Chola\(^4\) refers to Chaturâdana as one in charge of the temple and the mahâ at Tiruvariyur (Tiruvariyur tirumayananam(m)nañam(am)-ujaiya). It was at Chaturâdana’s instance that Ravi built the Vimana (Chaturâdana-choditena) of the Adhipurisvara shrine.\(^5\) In the time of Kulottunga I, the Pandita is entrusted with the scrutiny of the temple accounts.\(^6\) The Chola king Rajadhiraja II is stated to have attended the temple festival at Tiruvariyur with Chaturâdana by his side,\(^7\) and in another inscription of the same king we find the Pandita ordering the recording of some gift left unrecorded.\(^8\) The position of authority held by Chaturâdana is borne out by the Sanskrit portion of the inscription\(^9\) of Rajadhiraja II in which Chaturâdana who looks into the accounts is expressly called Vârēśu, 

that is, head of the Vârēśu which was an executive committee functioning under the Subbha.\(^10\)

Mr. T. N. Ramachandran says\(^11\) that there was an order of Sannyasis at Tiruvariyur to which both Niranjanaguru and Chaturâdana belonged. This is not likely. There was no succession of Niranjanaguru but only one Niranjanaguru of Kamapavaran’s time. Both Niranjanaguru and Chaturâdana were Saiva gurus and even as their names, which are different from the advaitic apppellations ending in Atman, Ananda, etc., show, they had nothing to do with Advaita. That Saṅkarashārya visited the place and put down the Vāmamṛga obtaining there is known from tradition; what we actually know from the inscriptions is that so late as the time of Rajadhiraja II, one Vāgīsa Bhaṭṭa was there expounding Sūma-Siddhānta, quite in keeping with the Bhairava and Pāpherdana traditions of the place. But this hardly means that other forms of worship and currents of thought did not join to build up the richness of the spiritual associations of Tiruvariyur. The tradition of Saṅkara brought Advaita and the worship of Devi on refined lines;\(^12\) the tradition of Vyākaraṇadāna, revelation of grammar, shows the probability of the spāsanā of Sabdabrahaman retaining some importance at the shrine; and above all, the hymns of the Saiva Nayanārs relating to Tiruvariyur show the growth, at the place, of the path of Bhakti to Śiva.

1. No. 177 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection: विचाराणि चतुरःनाः समंपति यथार्थ युरुपयत
2. No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
8. No. 296 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
11. There is an image of Saṅkarashārya in the Gauḍīvara shrine here.

Besides the *maṭha* of Chaturānana-Paṇḍita, there were others called after Rājendra Chōḷa, Tirujānānasambandha, Nandikāsvaram, Kulottunga-Chōḷa, and Angarāya at Tiruvorriyūr. The *Rājendra-Chōḷa-maṭha* was evidently founded during the king’s time. It was a *maṭha* for the *Māhācāras* and is referred to in inscriptions Nos. 127, 132 and 133 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. It was built by the wife of Prabhākara Bhāṭṭa of Meckalāpurā in Āryadeśa, who became a resident of Tiruvorriyūr. It is clear that this *maṭha* must have been founded after the expedition of the king to the Ganges, for Prabhākara Bhāṭṭa and his wife from Āryadeśa, along with scholars and Śivāchāryas like Sarvāśva Paṇḍita of the Tanjore temple, must have been brought from the north by Rājendra’s generals on their return from the Gaṅgā-vijaya.

The *Nandikāsvaramaṭha*, reference to which is found in an inscription of the third year of Vijayagopāla (c. 1238 A.D.), can be identified at the village even now on the north-western corner outside the temple.

We may now proceed to discuss the details of the gifts mentioned in the inscription.

It says that for the conduct of the worship of Śiva at Tiruvorriyūr, Chaturānana-Paṇḍita entrusted the endowment to the assembly of Narasimhamāṅgalula (*Narasimhamāṅgalula-sabhā=ākālpam=agrāhayat*). The express mention of a different name Narasimhamāṅgala in connection with the *sabhā* shows that the *sabhā* was not exactly at Tiruvorriyūr. In the Tiruvorriyūr inscriptions we find that the administrative affairs at Tiruvorriyūr were carried on by the *sabhā* of the village of Maṇali, otherwise called Sīgā or Sīṁhavishṇuchaturvēdīmaṅgalam. In No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection of the time of Vijayanāṁpa, though not styled as Sīṁhavishṇuchaturvēdīmaṅgalam, Maṇali figures as transacting through its *sabhā* important affairs at Tiruvorriyūr. It is clear from the epigraphs that the administrative *sabhā* for Tiruvorriyūr was not at that place itself, but at Maṇali or Sīṁhavishṇuchaturvēdīmaṅgalam which is only two or three miles from Tiruvorriyūr. It seems therefore very probable that the Narasimhamāṅgala of our record refers only to Maṇali. If this view is correct, Narasimhamāṅgala, which is the name in the earlier record, must be the proper name but which later came to be mentioned also as Sīṁhavishṇuchaturvēdīmaṅgalam. Sīṁhavishṇu and Narasimha are not after all different names and the full name of king Sīṁhavishṇu might have been Narasimhavishṇu. In the introductory portion of the *Aṭantisundarikāthā*, the king is mentioned as Sīṁhavishṇu and in the *Ārga* uttered as a blessing by the Gandharva in which there is a vague but relevant śīśa implied, the name...
Narasimha occurs. The Tamil part of the inscription, if it was intact, might have thrown some light on this problem.1

From this association with the Pallavas, we may take that the Tiruvorriyur temple developed greatly in Pallava times and became a famous centre of Mahāvatasāivam. That the lives of one of the minor Śiva Nāyanār, Kaliya Nāyanār, and of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, one of the Śiva saints of the Pallava period, are associated with this temple would also show that the shrine had become famous in the Pallava times.

Our record says that Chaturānana arranged for a special service for the Śiva at Tiruvorriyur. The deity meant is evidently the primary one in the central shrine, referred to as Ādhupūrīvara which is but a translation of the Tamil name Orriyur-Uḍaiyar. The Tamil name orri and its Sanskrit synonym adhi mean 'mortgage'; what story in the local purāṇa gave this name to the deity is not known.2 Nor is it known if it was the central deity that was renamed Nirañjanaśravatutu-Mahādevar by Nirañjana-guru, for, the shrines and deities at Tiruvorriyur are numerous.3

1 The names Narasimhamangala and Simhavishnuchaturvĕdīmangalam clearly show the association of the Pallavas with the shrine at Tiruvorriyur and with its adjacent village, Maṇali. In the 12th canto of the Tiruvorriyur-Purāṇa, we find an account of a Toṇḍaiṉāṟar of Kāṭēśvara and the story of how he did for the Tiruvorriyur temple. The Tondaimāṉar who was engaged in rounding up the chiefśells of Kūṟumāṇa, Kurunilammattar, who were harassing the people, had to encounter two of their chiefśells, Bāra and Oṇa, in the northern direction, from which they were fighting with the help of Bhaiṣava, the deity of their worship. Unable to stand against these, the Tondaimāṉar sought the help of Vīshnu at Tirupati, which being of no avail against the Bhaiṣa sent by Bhaiṣava, he sought the aid of Śiva at Tiruvorriyur. With the help of the last mentioned, he could destroy the Kurumāṇa and in gratitude, Tondaimāṉar erected a regular temple for the Śiva at Tiruvorriyur with vīnāsa, pekkā t, etc. What follows is interesting: the Tondaimāṉar established 500 śīvalingas and brought from the banks of the Ganges five hundred Brāhmaṇa Mahāvata. For guarding the temple, he set up an image of a Viṣṇu-Pākṣa and in front of it a round stone (vattapāparai in Tamil) having a maṇiśravatsara; and this Kāḷi is evidently the one on the southern side of the central shrine now going by the name of Vattapāparai (a corruption of Vattapāparai). Nāchariyār. The Tondaimāṉar then consecrated here seven Kāḷis and Bhaiṣavas and a figure of Śiva in the form of a teacher of the Mahāvata. The last is evidently the image referred to as Gauḷijāvara or Gauḷijāvara found behind the shrine of Tyāgarāja, to the west, in the southern prākāra. Therefore Gauḷijāvara or Gauḷijāvara, like the Uṣṭāpāthēḻvarā of Tiruchchenkēḻāṅkal, refers perhaps to the bringing of the worship and the followers of Mahāvata from the north. It may be pointed out in this connection that both this Gauḷijāvara image and the image of Bhaiṣava or Kēḻṭṟappāḷa in the northern prākāra appear old and may belong to later Pallava times.2

2 The available Tiruvorriyur-Purāṇa not only does not contain any story to explain this name but says also that Orri in the name refers to the fact that floods subsided at this place. Adhi in the name is taken as Ādi meaning 'primary'. In canto two (Līṅgaḻapati-Sarga) the Purāṇa says that the chief deity at Tiruvorriyur is of the form of a painted plank (chiturpālaka), surrounded by Agni; the deity is hence called Phalakārāṇātha. In a subsequent canto (eight) of the same Purāṇa, the story is told of how the serpent king Vasuki became one with the deity, and from that arose another name of the deity, Pājai-pakka-nātha, the Lord with the serpent’s hood attached to his form. A stray verse of Kamalan also points to the main deity being of the form of Valmika or antill, for he refers to the Kāḷi there as the ‘Goddess by the side of sāg or earth (rāmika), Matpakkānēḻeyar. Such Valmika forms of deity are known in other shrines too like Tiruvār and the painted plank referred to in the Purāṇa means a plank placed in front of the Valmika with some chākra. Instead of giving any detailed articles for the bathing (abhikādēva) of the deity, our inscription simply mentions Tirunepipāchikā or the oil essence of frankincense (śāparīṣhṭaśśalasa) which is the usual substance with which a periodical sprinkling in lieu of abhikādēva is given for Valmika-mūrti. However, if Pājai-pakkānēḻaya is the name of the main deity in the form of a Valmika, there is a real difficulty in explaining the inscription 232 of 1912 of the Mātrās Epigraphical Collection found at the basement of the Gauḷijāvara shrine which refers to Pājai-pakkānēḻaya as a stone-image (jāta-māḻpattirumēḷ). Perhaps latter refers to what is called Ādhilōn which is said to be on the north of the Valmika-mūrti. In a late work (c.1800 A.D.), called Sāveṭṭaḻvarāsa, containing descriptions of temples in Mātrās city and environs, this Gauḷijāvara is referred to as Tryambakēḷa; and the deity of the central shrine is called Vēmikānēḻaya.3

3 We must suppose that what was originally an early Pallava structure was rebuilt by Nirañjana-guru towards the close of the Pallava period, and was again rebuilt by architect Ravi in Rājendrā-Chōḷa’s time. From the numerous and informative inscribed stones in the temple, it would indeed be an interesting work to reconstruct the original plan and subsequent growth and modification of the structure of the Tiruvorriyur temple.
Some of the words in the inscription need explanation. By Nishka (l.11) we have to understand Kaḷañjju and by Māśha (l.12) Maṇjiṇḍi and this interpretation gives us the interest as three Maṇjāṭṭis per Kaḷañjju which was the rate obtaining at Tiruvōrīyur as stated in inscriptions of those times.

Of measures of capacity, the inscription mentions the Kāḍi and Nāḷi with reference to rice, ghee and sugar. The Kāḍi, the Tamil Lexicon suggests, is the Sanskrit Kharī, which is a measure of grain, etc., equal to sixteen Drōnas, a Drōna being equal to one or four Āḍhakas. As eight Āḍhakas now make a measure, the Kāḍi may mean two or eight measures, but in view of the fact that the rice offering mentioned is meant for a round of four services in the day (nāḷu-pōḷdaiṅku), we may take Kāḍi as eight measures. The Nāḷi is mentioned by the Tamil Lexicon as a measure or one-fourth of a measure and here again, the former seems to suit our context.

Next to the rice offering mentioned as Tiruvamīrtu, the inscription mentions another rice-offering called Perumittiruvamīrtu, followed by a mention of ghee and sugar. The editor of the Tamil Lexicon thinks that the addition of Perum adds no significance, but I think Perumittiruvamīrtu (l.16) or the grand rice-offering, for which ghee and sugar also are mentioned, is sweet rice offering called Akkāramētīs, a variety of Šakkarapōṅgal.

The Tīruvēmpīppūchu occurring in the inscription has already been explained as the oil essence of frankincense p. 300 f.n. 2.

Dēvīramāṇī (l.20) are reciters of the Dēvīram hymns. Māṇi is either a student or Brahmacāri (Māṇavaku, Māṇākka), and refers perhaps to the class of temple singers solely devoted to the recital of Dēvīram hymns, at service time.

The expression Puṣai kattuṉa (l.21) may mean the person who arranges the things in order for the service, especially the assistant who brings the offerings from the temple kitchen.

I must now express my thanks to my friends who helped me in editing the inscription and preparing this article : Mr. M. Venkataramaya, Dr. N. Venkataramanaya and Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao and Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar of the Epigraphy Officer, Madras.

TEXT

1 [ xhr]: भोराजलेऽर दि [⍛[ธिर]ह[९]] [⍛[थ[ध]ह]]--- ⏎ ⏎ ⏎
2 नेनुविन के्रजानाम[१] नाव्य वल्लभसमाहययराघुनापालु
3 [र्ता]लो गुणसमस् महभो गुहास:२ | [२] बल्लव बियालठस्तन (स्ता)---
4 स्वयंविलतवाल बाहुवाली विव्यालीमूर्तिवस्तिवीमियव[४] व]-
5 प्रकाशतपधे संतेव [१] राजविवस्य राज: प्रकाशतपधेस्याम--

1 Inscriptions show that recital of these hymns in the temples was known even in later Pallava times and had become a regular feature from the time of Parantaka I. See Colas, II, i, p. 476.
2 After pu the letters are mostly damaged; parts of t, bh and n alone are seen.
3 Inscriptions show that recital of these hymns in the temples was known even in later Pallava times and had become a regular feature from the time of Parantaka I. See Colas, II, i, p. 476.
4 After pu the letters are mostly damaged; parts of t, bh and n alone are seen.
5 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
6 Read राजविवास्य. [The omission of the निःवा here is in accordance with the सांतिक: ब्रवे शारि बा बिलानोऽर वक्ष्यः—Ed.]
TRANSLATION

[Verse 1] Of the chief of the Rāṣṭra, called Vallabha, of the well-known name Rājaśekhara (who was, to the lord of the Kāraṇa, was born Valabha, renowned through his excellences even as god Guha was born of the moon-crested Śiva.

1 One letter is redundant here. Read "pāh.
2 Metre: Śrāgāhāra.
3 Read ॐस्त्रभः.
4 Metre: Śāradāvīrtīṣṭa.
5 'th' non-Sanskritic sound written in Tāmāl.
6 Needless duplication of 9.
7 Read ॐश्चिन्म.
8 Stroke unnecessary.
9 Metre: Śāradāvīrtīṣṭa.
10 Śri written in Grantha.
11 dē " "
12 bha " "
13 Read avīttam.
14 ba written in Grantha.
15 Read amādivikṣa: needless duplication of 9.
16 dāh written in Grantha.
17 needless duplication of 9: read pāvīka:ṣaṃga.
18 This as may be 'ne', meaning paddy, to be given according to the measure to be specified in the further missing portion, to the above mentioned persons.
19 A word असि clear in this part of the verse is left untranslated, as it is not known what other words it has to be taken.
Tiruvorriyur Inscription of Chaturanana Pandita:
20th Year of Krishna III.
[V2.] Himself having acquired in his boyhood all the lore, the valorous (Valabha), with the goddess of fortune established on his broad chest, devoting himself to the welfare of the world, came to the Chola country, obtained the position of a general of king Raja Raja by virtue of his great and very transparent attachment (to that king), (but) could not, owing to his absence (from the scene), obtain the happiness of dying in battle along with the king.

[V3.] Perturbed (in mind) that this act (absence and not dying with the king) was unworthy of his class, his own self, family and master, he became, owing to indifference, bereft of all worldly attachment, bathed in the waters of the Ganges, had his initiation from (in) the cave of Niraunjana-guru, the head of Tiruvariyur (Adhigrāma), and taking upon himself the sacred duty of maintaining that cave, he received back the goddess of fortune who was like one (ever) devoted to him.¹

[V4.] Chaturanana by name² and bearing the burden of maintaining a monastery, he, for the purpose of continuation³ of special worship to god Šiva at Tiruvariyur on the occasion of his natal constellation, the Dhanishtā, made the assembly of Narasimhamanigala receive till eternity a hundred pieces of pure gold with an interest of three māsas per nisha per year.

In the twentieth regnal year of Śri Kaṇṭaradeva who captured Kachchi (Kāchchi) and Tanjai (Tanjore), Chaturanana Pandita Bhatarar of the Matha at Tiruvariyur (situated) in the division called Pularkottam, for the conduct of worship on every Avitām in which (constellation) he was born, (provided for) the Lord . . . .

for one kādi of rice for the (ordinary) rice offering,
for four times (in the day),
for sixteen nālis of rice for the special rice-offering,
for one nāli of ghee,
for one nāli of sugar,
for sixteen plantain fruits,
for curry (vegetables), and asafoetida,
for curd,
forty areca-nuts (and betel leaves),
for Tirumeypūcchu,
for frankincense,
and for fragrant flowers eight kādis,
and at three nālis;
for three Dvāramālis,
for two cooks in the temple kitchen,
for two fuel-assistants,
for one person to assist during the temple service,
for two persons who smear the ground (clean) with cow-dung,
for four . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (and)
for three persons who sweep with broomsticks . . . . . .

¹ Having become head of a matha, position, power and self which he had once renounced, came back to him, as if they were wedded to him.
² Dittha-śrama, name after becoming a siddha.
³ The expression in Sanskrit here is rather unusual — 'mahā-bali-śrama'; there is no other reading possible; śrama or revolving is taken by me as continuation or regular conduct (which is about the best meaning possible in the context). Compare bali nādappadakkku in the Tamil part.
The subjoined inscription\(^1\) is engraved on the south wall of the Chandana-\textit{maṇḍapa} in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District. It is badly damaged; lines seventeen and eighteen containing the donative portion are irretrievably lost. However, it has been possible to rescue the remaining portion by carefully removing the \textit{chunam} that has accumulated through ages, by periodical whitewashing of the temple. Moreover, the inscribed surface shows a tendency to exfoliate, as the granite selected is not of the hard variety. In spite of these defects, the portion now preserved is, as it notices the part taken by the Kākatiya king Paratāparudradēva in the Second war of Pāṇḍya Succession\(^8\) which convulsed the Tamil land in the fourteenth century, bringing in foreign aid in support of the opposing parties.

It may be stated at the outset, that a portion of this inscription, consisting of seven lines, is found in the Jambukēśvara temple at Tiruvā-nilaiyāl,\(^9\) close to Śrīraṅgam.

The language\(^1\) of the present inscription is Telugu, but it is engraved in \textit{Grantha}, a script better known in the locality. The \textit{date} of the record is given as Saka 1239, Pāṅgaḷa, Chaitra, su. 14, Monday, lunar eclipse, which corresponded to A.D. 1317, March 28, Monday.

As stated above, the portion containing the object of the grant is completely lost, but the last two lines indicate that some land or village was given as \textit{sarvamāṇya}, evidently to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The introductory portion of the record states that while Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākatiya Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāya was ruling from Orungalai, Dēvari-Nāyaka, son of Māchaya-Nāyaka fitted out an expedition to the South against Paṇḍha-Pāṇḍya, defeated Vira-Pāṇḍya along with Malayāla Tiruvādi Kulaśēkhara at Tiruvadikuppuṟam, and that he finally installed Sundara-Pāṇḍya at Viradhavaḷa. This victorious event, Dēvari-Nāyaka celebrated by an endowment to the temple at Śrīraṅgam, as also to one at Tiruvā-nilaiyāl.\(^9\)

The Muhammadan historians Wassaf and Amir Khusru point out that Malik-Kāfīr \(^4\) was informed that the two Rais of Ma'har, the eldest named Bīr-Pāṇḍya and the youngest Sundar-Pāṇḍya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions.\(^5\) Our inscription states that the Kākatiya general restored Sundara-Pāṇḍya to power after defeating Vira-Pāṇḍya and the Malayāla Tiruvādi. Further, an inscription from Poonamalle near Conjeevaram, in the Chingleput District, states that a Chēra king conquered Sundara-Pāṇḍya.\(^8\) Evaluating these statements, it may be inferred that there was

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\(^1\) No. 79 of 1938-39 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. During the recent renovation of the temple, a greater portion of this inscription is covered with cement plaster.

\(^2\) For the first war of Pāṇḍya succession when the Chēla and the Singhalese kings espoused the cause of opposing parties, see above, Vol. XXI, pp. 186 ff.

\(^3\) Published in \textit{S. I. I. (Texta), Vol. IV. No. 430. This inscription is only a fragment. It is also engraved in \textit{Grantha} script.}

\(^4\) In this connection it may be pointed out that the Arulēla-Perumal temple inscription of this king (Paratāparudradēva) is in Sanskrit\textit{and} Tamil (above, Vol. VII, pp. 128 ff). An inscription dated in Saka 1172 in which a merchant of Pandalāyani Kollam figures as donor is engraved in Tamil acknowledging the rule of the E. Gāmga king Vira Narasingadēva at Vīśkakapṭi (No. 98 of 1909). There is also another inscription of the king from Gūḍaḷaiyor, the language of which is Telugu, the script being Tamil (No. 619 of 1907).

\(^5\) But the statement made in the \textit{Cambridge History of India}, Vol. III, p. 487 that Sundara-Pāṇḍya was placed on the throne by Malik Kāfīr needs revision.

\(^6\) See n. 3 above.

\(^7\) Elliot and Dowson: \textit{History of India}, Vol. III, p. 88.

\(^8\) No. 34 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
rivalry between the two Pandyas brothers and that Sundara-Pandyas ought the help of the Kakatya king, while Vira-Pandyva resorted to Malayala Tiruvaḍi. The present epigraph therefore is important inasmuch as inscriptive reference to this hostility between the Pandyas brothers has not so far been found. These Pandyas princes are mentioned by the historian Wassaf as the legitimate and illegitimate sons of Kulasëkbara, who by preferring the illegitimate Vira-Pandyva to succeed him drove Sundara-Pandyva to turn a patricide and establish his claim with help from outside. From the date A.D. 1317 of the present record, it may be inferred that Malik Kafur's invasion of the south in 710 H. corresponding to A.D. 1310 was a general campaign for loot, and had no connection with the rivalry for power between the Pandyas princes.

Vira-Pandyva and Sundara-Pandyva mentioned in our inscription may be identified with the Pandyas kings of the names who bore the title Jaṭāvarman and whose dates of accession were A.D. 1296 and 1303 respectively. From Wassaf's statement, their animosity seems to have arisen lately, probably before A.D. 1317, the date of our record. Vira-Pandyva's latest regnal year is 47 (46+1), corresponding to A.D. 1343, while that of Sundara-Pandyva is 17, carrying his reign to A.D. 1319, i.e. 2 years posterior to the date of our record. It will thus be evident that Vira-Pandyva ultimately gained his object as the rule of his rival was short.

We shall take first up for consideration the connection of the Pandyas who were the supreme power in the Tamil land with the Travancore country, known as Malai-nādu or Vēṇaḍ. The Pandyas kings who were in power towards the close of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries were (1) Maṉavarman Kulasëkbara (A.D. 1268-1310), (2) Vikrama-Pandyva (A.D. 1283-1296), (3) Vira-Pandyva (A.D. 1296-1343) and (4) Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pandyva (A.D. 1303-1319).* Māvarman Kulasēkhara seems to have conquered Malai-nādu early in his reign, as some of the records found in the Tirunelveli District give him the titles 'the conqueror of Malai-nādu, Śēnaiveṅga, Kollam-Koṇḍa, etc. A Sanskrit inscription from Tirunaveli mentions that he

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3. According to Muhammadan historians, Ma'bar, i.e. the Pandyas country extended from Kulam (i.e. Quilon) to Nelawar (Nelloru) nearly 300 parasangs along the sea coast and the king was called Dvaravarasignifying 'the lord of the empire' (Elliot and Dowsen: *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 32). Marco Polo who visited the coast of Tirunelveli in A.D. 1292 says that Ma'bar 'is the best of all the Indies and the finest and noblest province in the world.' The Chinese annals contain a description of an embassy which the Pandyas sent to the Mogul emperor, Kublai-Khan in A.D. 1286 (*Trav. Dist. Gaz.*, p. 55).
4. Malai-nādu roughly comprised the present Malabar district, Cochin and the northern portion of Travancore to the exclusion of Vēṇaḍ. Vēṇaḍ is taken to include the present Travancore State with its capital at Kollam (Quilon) and sometimes it is used as a comprehensive name to include the territories ruled by all the branches of the Vaṅgih dynasty. In the *Travancore State Manual*, Part II, p. 286 it is stated that the whole country between the Western Ghats and the sea stretching up to Kollam in the north formed the territory of the Vēṇaḍ kings who were also known by the name 'Kāppakas.'
6. *Pandyva Kingdom,* p. 214. Pandyva connection with the Chera country is indicated even earlier during the reign of Maṉavarman Sundara-Pandyva (acc. A.D. 1216) in a record of his mentioning Chera Pandyadēva "who took the eastern country" from Tirunellevsaival in the Pudukkottai State (No. 236 of 1914 of the Madras Ep. Collection). A verse inscription from Chidambaram (No. 334 of 1913 of the Madras Ep. Collection) in which Sundara-Pandyva is stated to have conquered Vēṇaḍ may be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pandyva 1 (acc. A.D. 1251). A stated to have conquered Vēṇaḍ may be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pandyva 1 (acc. A.D. 1251). A stated to have conquered Vēṇaḍ may be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pandyva 1 (acc. A.D. 1251).
9. No. 128 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in the 8th regnal year.
11. No. 29 of 1927 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. This record is assigned to the king of acc. A.D. 1190 in the *Ep. Rep.* for 1927, para. 41, but it is too early for a Pandyva claiming victory over the Hysalas.
built the high prākāra wall of the local Nelliyyappar temple from the booty obtained from the Kērala, Chōla and Hoysāla kings. The titles Kulaśēkharā, 1 Mārvārman, etc., adopted by the Vēṇāṇ king Ravivarman are taken as indicating his subordinate position to the Pāṇḍya king.

Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was the younger brother 2 of Mārvārman Kulaśēkharā and an inscription from Chidambara refers to his exploits in Vēṇāṇ. 3 In his prāsasti beginning with the words Samastābhuramakavēro, etc., he is called ‘the sun to the dense darkness of the Kērala race’. 4 The Malayālam grammar Līlālakṣās mentions the defeat evidently of this king at the hands of the Kērala ruler Kulaśēkharā Ravivarman who subsequently married the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king. 5 A verse quoted in the same work ascribes to this Pāṇḍya king victories over Muhammadan whose cavalry he defeated and pursued. 6

Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Muhammadan historians, was the son of Mārvārman Kulaśēkharā I whose choice of succession to the Pāṇḍya throne fell on this prince in preference to his natural son Sundara-Pāṇḍya. The order of succession of Pāṇḍya kings in the region surrounding the present village Tiruvēṇidipura 7 in the South Arcot District is given in an inscription as (1) Perumāl Sundara-Pāṇḍya-deva, (2) Perumāl Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-deva, (3) Perumāl Vira-Pāṇḍya-deva and (4) Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya-deva; 8 while at Kāṭṭumānnār-kōyil in the same district, it is given as: (1) Perumāl Sundara-Pāṇḍya-deva, (2) Kulaśēkharā-deva, (3) Vira-Pāṇḍya-deva and (4) Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya-deva (accn. A.D. 1303).

All writers 9 on Pāṇḍya-Kērala relationship of this period suppose that the Vira-Pāṇḍya who is mentioned in the Aruḷaḷa-Perumāl temple inscription 10 as having been defeated and driven into Kōṇkaṇa and thence into the forests by Ravivarman Kulaśēkharā, is identical with the Pāṇḍya king of this name who ascended the throne in A.D. 1296. With this identification as the basis it has been postulated that this Pāṇḍya king was driven out of Kērala and Kōṇkaṇ, that he reappeared and raised a standard of revolt 11 in Kērala against Ravivarman and in favour of his rival Udaya Mārttāṇḍyavarman and that Ravivarman espoused the cause of Sundara-Pāṇḍya as against that of Vira-Pāṇḍya. 12 But according to our interpretation of the present record, Ravivarman came to support Vira-Pāṇḍya against Sundara-Pāṇḍya and as such Vira-Pāṇḍya, the Pāṇḍya king, could not have been an enemy of the Kērala king. Vira-Pāṇḍya who sustained defeat at the hands of Ravivarman must therefore be not the Pāṇḍya king Vira-Pāṇḍya of the name, but must be taken as some other prince whose identity is not evident. 13 Further, we find Ravivarman

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1 No. 350 of 1913 of the Madras Ep. Collection, belonging to Mārvārman Tribhuvanachakravarthin Vira Kērala alias Kulaśēkharā must be ascribed to Ravivarman. See also Ep. Rep. for 1914, para. 24. Mr. N. Lakshmanarayar Rao drew my attention to several die-stuck silver coins, round in shape, of a Vira Kērala found at Vaigalakulam in the Tirunelveli District, which may be assigned to Ravivarman Kulaśēkharā. The legend on the obverse and reverse reads ‘Sri-Vira Kērala-jaya’ and ‘Sri Gāyḍarā-kērala-kēyati’ respectively. [Mr. N. Laksmianarayar Rao assigns them to Vira Kērala of A.D. 1127. See J. N. S. I., Vol. IX, pt. ii, p. 103.—Ed.]
2 No. 462 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
3 No. 363 of 1913.
10 Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.
13 The name Vira-Pāṇḍya occurs in Konig and Ālupā genealogies in the second half of the 13th century and not about 1317 A.D., the date of our record.
assuming the Pāndya title and names like Māravarman, Kulaśēkhara and Vira-Pāṇḍya which would indicate, either (1) that he wanted to consider himself a Pāṇḍya with rights to sovereignty in virtue of his having married a Pāṇḍya princess, or (2) his subordinate position, first under Kulaśēkhara and thereafter under Vira-Pāṇḍya, the then supreme rulers of the Tamil land. The former alternative is perhaps emphasised by Ravivarman’s coronation on the banks of the Vėgavati in the Madura District and by the presence of the emblem of a fish surmounted by an aśkūsa (the elephant goad) found engraved near his inscription in the Perumāl temple at Poonasalle.

From our record we find that Vira-Pāṇḍya was defeated by the Kākatiya general about A.D. 1317 but after the withdrawal of the Kākatiya forces, this Pāṇḍya king must have regained power, for his rule was acknowledged in the very next year, i.e., A.D. 1318 at Vīrīchipuram, not very far from Conjeevaram.

Wassaf is the only authority who states that Sundara-Pāṇḍya took refuge under the protection of Ala-ud-din of Delhi when his half-brother Vira-Pāṇḍya collected an army in the middle of the year 710 H. and marched against him. This statement has rightly been questioned by scholars, as nothing is known about the effects of Muslim help, if any, given in this connection on the relative position of the two royal brothers of the Pāṇḍya country. What we definitely know from the present inscription is that Sundara-Pāṇḍya received help from the Kākatiya ruler who was instrumental in restoring the Pāṇḍya king to power through his general. In gratitude for this help Sundara-Pāṇḍya made an endowment at Vṛiddhāchalam for a service instituted in the local Śiva temple called after the general Muppiḍi-Nāyaka. Sundara-Pāṇḍya’s inscriptions are found from the Tirumveli District in the south right up to Vīrīchipuram (North Aroor) in the north.

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5 No. 177 of 1929-40 of the Madras Ep. Collection, dated in Śaka 1239 and 21st year of Vira-Pāṇḍya with the title Māravarman which is evidently a mistake for Jatāvarman. The details of date given in this record are correct for A.D. 1318, February 5 with the emendation śu. 3 for śu. 13. It may be noted in this connection that in the same village there is also an inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1303 A.D.) which combines Śaka 1227 with the 2nd regnal year (No. 180 of 1939-40).
6 Elliot and Dowson; History of India, Vol. III, p. 54.
8 Wassaf who describes Sundara-Pāṇḍya’s visit to Delhi does not refer to any help rendered by the Sultan. The other Muhammadan writers do not also refer to this incident or to any expedition which the Sultan sent to the Pāṇḍya country after Malik Kafur’s return. [A record of Jatāvarman Śrīvallabha (S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 247 states that Bājarāṇjan Sundara Pāṇḍya invaded the country in alliance with the Muhammadans. Vide Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 89 and n. — Ed.]
9 No. 72 of 1918. While reviewing this record in the Ep. Rep. for 1918, para. 30, it is stated that the elder brother of Sundara-Pāṇḍya made the endowment for the service instituted in the name of Muppiḍi-Nāyaka. This record dated in the 13th+1st year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya would be assignable to 1316-17 A.D. I am inclined to interpret the words ‘our elder brother’ nam-tannagur occurring in this inscription as referring to Muppiḍi-Nāyaka and not to any elder brother of the Pāṇḍya king. It is even suggested in J. O. R., Vol. XII, p. 199, Nāyaka and not to any elder brother of the Pāṇḍya king. It is even suggested in J. O. R., Vol. XII, p. 199, nām-tannagur. Prataparudradvaśa-Mahāraja-Pradhanāgali Muppiḍi-Nāyakkar pērāl nām kattina sandakkam, etc.
10 No. 606 of 1915 from Malayadikurichi, dated in Śaka 1236 and 12th regnal year.
11 No. 189 of 1939-40, dated in Śaka 1227 and 2nd regnal year.
The reason why the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra despatched an expedition to the south is easily guessed from the present inscription.¹ I have shown elsewhere² that about A.D. 1249 Kākatiya sway in the south extended as far as Conjeeveram during the time of Gaṇapati. The presence of the Kākatiya army near Conjeeveram was evidently resented by the Tamil people, as an inscription from Vēppāngulam³ near Conjeeveram mentions the wrongs done by this force. The Kākatiyas soon lost their foothold in the south, as the Pāṇḍyas under Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (accn. A.D. 1251) gained in power and extended their conquest in the north as far as Nellore, where the Pāṇḍya king claims to have anointed himself.⁴ This Sundara-Pāṇḍya further signalised his victory over the Kākatiyas by issuing a new type of coin⁵ depicting a boar on the obverse and the legend “Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṃ” in Tamil on the reverse. When sometime later, another Pāṇḍya king, viz., Sundara-Pāṇḍya (accn. 1303) sought help, Pratāparudra⁶ did not let slip the opportunity to re-establish Kākatiya power in the south. In the expedition sent by Pratāparudra, two generals Muppidi-Nāyaka⁷ and Dēvari-Nāyaka took prominent part in the Tamil country, but it was left to the latter to reinstate Sundara-Pāṇḍya after defeating Vira-Pāṇḍya and Malaiyāla Tiruvadi Kulasēkharā.

This Malaiyāla Tiruvadi⁸ Kulasēkharā is identical with Ravivarman Saṅgrāmahūra alias Kulasēkharā, the king of the country round the present town of Quilon known as Vēṇaḷ.⁹ He ascended the throne in A.D. 1299 in his 33rd year and was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavati at the age of 46, corresponding to A.D. 1312-1313, after subduing the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōla countries.¹⁰ His exploits are detailed in an inscription from the Aruḷaḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Little Con-

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¹ See also J. O. R., Vol. XII, pp. 202 ff.
² Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 195. Gaṇapati’s inscription is found at Conjeeveram (S. I., Vol. IV, No. 814) and his minister Sāmantha Bhūja (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff.), Kōṅ Kāṭṭāiyan (No. 808 of 1919), and Brahma Śeṭṭi (S. I., Vol. IV, No. 860) figure in the inscriptions at Conjeeveram.
³ S. I., Vol. VIII, No. 2.
⁴ Vide his introduction beginning with the words “Saṃsāvat Jayadēkkhara “, etc., S. I., Vol. V, No. 483.
⁵ See Sir T. Desikacharyar, South Indian Coins; Plate 111, Nos. 58 and 59. On the obverse of this coin is found a boar facing the proper right on a pedestal with the sun and the crescent moon above, while the reverse depicts two carps separated by a sceptre with the legend “Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṃ” in Tamil; see also Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1933. (Allahabad), pp. 42-43.
⁶ In this connection it may be mentioned that there is a stave verse in the Tamil Nāsārtr Charitri attributed to Kamban praising Rudra of Warangal. There is a persistent tradition in the Tamil country stating that Kamban the poet of the Chōla court, went over to the Kākatiya king who accorded him all the honours due to a great poet. The edohum appended by the redactor of this verse explains that this verse was sung by Kamban when he went over to the court of Pratāparudra and when he was following this king as valet (J. A. R. S., Vol. VII, p. 103).
⁷ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 128 ff. Muppidi-Nāyaka’s return from Kāḷiṣṭī is recorded in a fragmentary inscription from Mallām in the Nellore District (No. 324 of 1903). This inscription registers a gift of land as Yēsuddāna to the temple by Muppidi-Nāyaka, on his way back to Orangāl. He is said to have conquered the Pāṇḍya king to have received elephants (from him) as tribute and to have entered Nellore on his way.
⁸ The Vēsippavārum-Varunāraṇi gives a detailed account of the expedition sent to the south. Besides Muppidi-Nāyaka and Dēvari-Nāyaka, Pedla-Rudra (son of Muppidi), Erra-Dēcha and Nalla-Dēcha of the Rēcherī family, Prōlaya Vēma, founder of the Rēddi kingdom of Kōṅdaviḍu, Rudra of the Iduḷḷī family and Bōṇeṇṭāgara alias Gōpāla vardhana who claims to have routed the Pāṇḍya king (No. 325 of 1913) also joined the expedition.
⁹ Tiruvadi is a term applied to saṃyadānas, gods and kings (T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 31).
¹⁰ Dr. Venkataramanayya is inclined to identify Malaiyāla Tiruvadi with Udaya Mārthādēvarvarman (J. O. R., Vol. XII, p. 296), but this is not correct since the latter is not known with the name Kulasēkharā explicitly given in our inscription and also because he is not known for any exploit outside his country. A saṃyadākāra in Malayalam called ‘Uṣṇiḷī sāndēkām’ describes Ravi as Vēṇiḷā-kōṅ (New Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 36). The Travancore State Manuscript, part 11, p. 294, states that “Vēṇaḷ extended at least as far as Quilon in the north, over the whole area between the mountains and the sea”.
¹¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.
jeeveram and more can be gleaned from records found at Shermadri, Kil-Ambur, Sutamalli, Srirangam, Tiruppañli, Tiruvadi, Chidambaram, Valvur and Poonamallee all lying outside his original territory. He is also known as the author of a drama called Pradyumna-bhyudaya which is said to be enacted during the Yatriotesva of Lord Padmanabha at Trivandrum. His greatness as a scholar and as a liberal patron of learning is emphasised by the title 'Dakshinabhoga' given to him in inscriptions.

Two points arising out of the Aruléla-Perumal temple inscription of Ravivarman mentioned above require clarification, viz. (a) his coronation on the banks of the Végarvati in A.D. 1312-13 and (b) his stay at Káñchi in his 4th year. Dr. Kilhorn has identified Végarvati with the river of the name that flows into the Pálir river near Conjeeveram, and the 4th year as corresponding to A.D. 1315-16. On the lead given by this scholar subsequent writers on the subject have taken that Ravivarman was at Káñchi from A.D. 1312-13, the date of his coronation, till A.D. 1315-16, the supposed date of the Aruléla-Perumal temple inscription. The difficulty that confronts us here is that we find Vira Champa at Káñchi and Tiruvallam in A.D. 1314. This Vira Champa may be identified with the chief of the name with the surname Edirilebá-Šambuvaráya figuring as a subordinate of Jatavarman Sundara-Pándya (acc. A.D. 1303) who was restored to power according to our inscription, at Viriñchípuraam, not far from Conjeeveram and Tiruvallam. If Ravivarman was the lord of the region round Conjeeveram about A.D. 1313, Vira Champa could not have been there immediately thereafter without mentioning his overlord. The coronation in A.D. 1313 was not celebrated at Káñchi, but on the banks of the river Végarvati in the Madura District. The Sultanate at Madura had not by this time been established and between A.D. 1310 and 1326, the first and the second Muhammadan invasions of the south, Ravivarman was free in the Tamil land. As suggested above, Ravivarman probably coveted the Pándya sovereignty which he evidently signalised by crowning himself in the heart of the Pándya country. This coronation was celebrated in his 4th regnal year which must correspond to A.D. 1313, according to an inscription from Tiruvadi which equates his 4th regnal year with Saka 1335 and Kali 4414. When therefore Muppúti Náyaka came to Káñchi, his opponent in A.D. 1316 was not Ravivarman.

1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 146.
2 No. 671 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
3 No. 518 of 1916 do. do.
4 No. 463 of 1909 do. do.
6 No. 172 of 1938-39.
7 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 8 ff.
8 No. 350 of 1913. In this and subsequent references like this the nos. relate to the Madras Epigraphical collection.
9 No. 54 of 1908.
10 No. 34 of 1911.
13 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 140.
14 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 70-71. The records are dated in Saka 1236.
15 No. 189 of 1929-30. The date given here is Saka 1227, 2nd year, Mina . . . . . . . Friday, which corresponds to A.D. 1306, Feb. 25, Friday.
16 Pandya Kingdoms: p. 212 n.
18 It has to be noted that Udaya Máértáigavarman, the successor of Ravivarman in Végad, counts his regnal year from A.D. 1313, the year in which Ravivarman was crowned on the banks of the Végarvati (T. A. 89, Vol. IV, p. 89). Udayamáértáig probably never expected Ravivarman back in Végad.
19 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 8. The details of date given in this record are correct for A.D. 1313, Dec. 29, and 1314 Oct. 12, Saturday as its date. From these two records, it may be inferred that Ravivarman calculated his regnal year from A.D. 1306, when probably he was crowned in Végad, i.e., nine years after his accession to the Kérál throne.
The latest regnal year of Ravivarman given in an inscription from Tirunelveli is 7, which according to our calculation would correspond to A.D. 1316-17. Ravivarman seems to have remained in the Tamil country from A.D. 1312 to 1317 without returning to his native country, and by the latter date, we find his successor Udayamarttäpa firmly established in Viṇaj. According to our inscription Ravivarman was defeated at Tiruvadiikunram. After this defeat which may be placed in A.D. 1317 he disappears from history and is not heard of either in the Tamil country or in Keraḷa.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Kākatiya king Prataparudra is the most important. His seat of government was Warangal in the Nizam's Dominions where he ruled from Śaka 1215 to 1248. The Kākatiya power reached the zenith of its glory during his reign. His dominion embraced the entire Andhra country with the exception of Kaṅga, and as shown above, he was able to extend his influence far into the Tamil country. During the Muhammadan invasion, he was taken captive, and according to one version is said to have died on the way by committing suicide, and according to another, to have returned to his country after escape and died thereafter about A.D. 1326.

Next in importance is Dēvari-Nāyaka, the donor. It is stated in the inscription itself that he was the son of Māchaya-Nāyaka who was an important officer in the Kākatiya court. This Māchaya was the king's Gajasāhuṇi and held the titles Śvamdrāharā-gāṇḍa, Imunā-Śikṣānāsīna, Śamayāccakarwānti, Kaliyogavirabhadra, Kirtiavudra, etc. His son Dēvari-Nāyaka was equally famous and was governing the country round Mahādevīcherla (modern Mācherla) in Śaka 1237, just two years prior to the date of our inscription. He had the reputation of being the rescuer of the kingdom of Kāketa (Kākatiya) family. In the prānavi of an inscription from Darṣi in the Nellore District, he is given the titles Chalamartiganda, Śvāmīdrāharagāṇḍa and is praised for his generosity, piety, knowledge of politics and patronage of learned men. He is mentioned finally in Śaka 1241 in an inscription at Durgi in the reign of Prataparudra as making an endowment of land to the temples at Dāravēmula.

1 No. 77 of 1927.
2 There is, however, no evidence for the statement that Ravivarman had gone as far north as Nellore (Cambridge Hist. of Ind., Vol. III, p. 487); Trv. State Mun., p. 104.
3 Trv. Arch., Ser., Vol. IV, pp. 88-90. Ravivarman's death did not take place in A.D. 1313, as suggested in the Trv. State Mun., p. 117, and therefore the year of his death was not the same as that of the accession of his successor (ibid., p. 118).
4 The statement made in the Trv. State Mun., p. 108 about Sangārmaḍhinā that 'no defeat has ever been recorded' must be revised.
5 His name is associated with Kaṅgaṇur in the Kōt-Vembāṉāṟu and Poonamalle in the Chingleput district by surnaming them Ravivengā-Chautuvāṭiyangalam and Chēṇa-Pāṇḍya-Chautuvāṭiyangalam respectively (No. 75 of 1927 and Ep. Rep. for 1911 para. 40).
6 No. 545 of 1909.
7 No. 308 of 1910.
9 No. 558 of 1909.
12 No. 374 of 1909.
13 There is however one inscription from Tirukkaḍaiyūr in the Tanjore District mentioning an unsuccessful attempt made at partitioning the kingdom. This is dated in the 34th regnal year of Māgarman Kulaśēkara and the astronomical details given in it correspond to A.D. 1301, September 10, Sunday. This inscription notices a confusion (kalapura) brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominion to his younger brothers at Tirukkaḍaiyūr. As a consequence the people were in distress and realizing the futility of this course they migrated to other lands. The king thereupon gave way and resumed supreme authority, evidently cancelling the divisions when his people returned to their homes (A. R. No. 46 of 1906). From No. 462 to 1921, it is known that Vēra-Pāṇḍya was one of the younger brothers of Māgarman Kulaśēkara. The confusion or rebellion in and around Tirukkaḍaiyūr about A.D. 1301 is not connected with the rivalry between Vēra-Pāṇḍya and
"Pañcha-Pāṇḍya," referred to in our inscription must be taken to refer to the Pāṇḍya ruler in general and not to any co-regency of five equal rulers. Neither the Pāṇḍya nor other records indicate the division of the kingdom into five separate units, though some later inscriptions by convention refer to the Pāṇḍyas as the 'Five Pāṇḍyas'. This is evidently due to the fact that the Pāṇḍyas are generally known as Pañchavāra and are traditionally connected with the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Mahābhārata. The words pañchavāra aivar, i.e., Five Pāṇḍyas occur first in the prakāriti of Kulottunga-Chōla I* where he is given the credit of destroying the jungle which the "Five Pañchavāra" had entered as refuge. The late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai* advocated the theory of simultaneous rule of the 'Five Pāṇḍyas', but this has been refuted by Robert Sewell* who came to the conclusion that "we must hold the evidence to be overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside". Considering the history of the Pāṇḍyas, the position taken up by Sewell is acceptable.

The identification of Viradhāvālam* where Sundara-Pāṇḍya is said to have been re-instated is a disputed point. The Arab historian Abüfeda who lived about the time of our inscription tells us that the capital of the prince of Mā'bar who was a great importer of horses was called Biyyardāwali; but this was known as Birdhūl to Muhammadan historians of whom Amir Khurru states that it was the capital of Bir-Pāṇḍi while Madura was the residence of his brother Sundara-Pāṇḍi. Scholars have identified this place variously with Jayangondaśūlapuram* in the Trichinopoly Dist., Viruddhāchalam* and Marakāṇam* in the South Arcot District. That Viradhāvālam was an important city is known from a number of inscriptions found in the Pāṇḍya country. An inscription from Alagarkōyil definitely locates this city in Uraiyūr-kūrum, a sub-division of Teṅkārai Rājagambhiravālanūḍu. This city has therefore to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Uraiyūr, a suburb of the present town of Trichinopoly. An inscription from Uyyakkondān-Tirumalai* situated within four miles of Uraiyūr suggests the identification of this town with Viradhāvālam, for it records an endowment of land included in the devandāna of god Viḷumyā-Nāyagār, to two images consecrated in the garden-land attached to the royal palace at Viradhāvālam. The construction of the temple here on a small eminence is peculiar. The central shrine is built within a fortified area over a spacious closed mandopa surrounded by numerous shrines and halls.

The village Tiruvadikūṇḍram where the Chēra king was defeated may be identified with the village of the same name in the Gingee taluk of the South Arcot District.

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1. Rudra of the Indulāri family is said to have defeated the five Pāṇḍyas as also Annapadēva, the Brahman commander of Prataparudra, belonging to the same family (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VII, p. 51 and Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 588-89).
5. Dāla in Tamil is a town or place of residence. Viradhāvālam may be explained as a military camp or a fortified town. An inscription from Pirāmulai (Ramnad Dist.) refers to 64 Ghatikāi-dhāvālam in connection with merchant guilds (S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 442).
8. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 110.
11. No. 319 of 1909: 182 of 1939: 381 of 1940: 258 of 1941: 242 of 1942. No. 348 of 1916 from Tiruvallūvaram (Tirunelveli Dist.) mentions Virakādāvajākkottai, as a hamlet of Rājarāja-Ervirapattaṇam which was probably identical with Tiruvallūvaram itself.
13. No. 381 of 1940. This village was originally known in inscriptions as Nandivanams-mangalam, evidently after the Pallava king of the name and there flourished in this village in the 12th century A.D. a class of architects known as Rathakāras (Ep. Rep. for 1909, p. 90).
TEXT

1 Svasti[|]* |Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśva-
2 ra Kāka[t]iya Pratāparudrā஺- Mahāraja(ju)lu Oruō-
3 gallu niĳarajadhāṅgānu prithivirājam śeyuchu-
4 uḍagānu ą raju nāyaṅkuk-aına svasti [ ] śrimatu Kākata-
5 rāvasthāpānāch[ă]*rya Śvāmīdṛūharagāṇḍa Māchaya-
6 Nāya[n]īgāṛi kodukku(ku) Dēvari-Nāyanīgāṛu dakshi-
7 naṅdēsamu Pañcha-Pāṇḍita mīnda daṇḍu vacchhi āṅgulu
8 [moh]ājīchīna poṭṭilāṭanu Tiruvadikupdrā(r)amu vīra-
9 kahē[trā]nu na Vīra-Pāṇḍinīnī Malaiyāḷa Tiruvadī Kul-
10 sē[kha]runinnī vīrgan-dōḷi ēnuku(gu)lānu sarvaśārijīniguā
11 [ni] Sundara-Pāṇḍini Viradhavāḷāṇā sthāpyamu-
12 sāt ā jaya[muhūrta]muna svasti śrī-Śaṅkavara-
13 mibulu vēyinnī [iru]nu[t]a mūpap[tom]ni-
15 [ch]tur̥aṇiqi Sō[m]a-vāramunnu [Sōna]gra[a]na-
16 puṇyaκāla[mu]nandu ā Rudradēva-[Mahārājulu]
17 & 18 damaged.
19 .. kalīya sahītamū sarvāmāyanū-gānu āchandrāṛkka-
20 sthāyīgānu yīcchirī [ | ā ] maṅgala mahā-śrī śrī śrī aā-

Svasti[|]ś

TRANSLATION

Hail! While the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kākatiya Pratāparudrāṅgā Mahāraja was ruling the earth from his capital (at) Oruōgallu—that king’s chief—Hail!—the glorious Dēvari-Nāyanīgāṛu, son of Māchaya-Nāyanīgāṛu, (entitled) Kūkataraṅgasthāpanāchāryya(ṇa) Śvāmīdṛūharagāṇḍa, (having) undertaken an expedition to the southern territory against Pañcha-Pāṇḍya, faced the army of elephants in battle, routed Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Malaiyāḷa Tiruvadī Kulāśēkhara (on the) battlefield at Tiruvadikupdrām, seized the elephants (and) all the wealth (and) established Sundara-Pāṇḍya at Viradhavāḷām. (On) this victorious occasion—Hail!—the prosperous Śaka year one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine, Pīṅgala . . . . . . . Chaitra, Chaturśādi, Monday, lunar-eclipse, (for) . . . . . . . of that Rudradēva-Mahāraju, (he) gave as sarvaṃāya . . . . . . . . . . . . to last as long as the moon and the sun endure. May it be auspicious! Great prosperity! Hail!

No. 49.—KHANAPUR PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN

V. V. Mirashi, Ambaoti, and Y. R. Gupte, Poona

(I Plate)

These plates were discovered in 1927 in the possession of Mr. Dadasaheb Mane at Khānāpūr, the chief town of the Khānāpūr talukā of the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. They were briefly noticed by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the Bhāratingita Sainīōdhka Maṇḍala

1 Read poṭṭilāṭanu.
2 Read vīrgan-dōḷi.
3 The letters ji and aī seem to have been transposed by mistake. The correct reading would be sarvaṃāya.
The grant appears to have originally consisted of three plates strung together by a ring, but the first plate and the ring together with the seal, if it had any, have long been lost. The second plate which is inscribed on both the sides, is irregularly broken at the top and the bottom with the result that two lines, one at the top and the other at the bottom, are almost completely lost. This plate was too brittle to yield an ink impression. Both the sides of it had, therefore, to be photographed. The third plate which is inscribed only on the inner side was in a good state of preservation. The photographs of the second plate and the ink impression of the third are reproduced here. Judging by the impression of the third plate, the plates appear to have been of the size 10-9" by 5-5". Their weight has not been recorded.

The characters belong to the southern alphabet. They have been boldly, but carelessly, incised, and resemble, in a general way, those of the grants of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas discovered in Mahārāṣṭra, with this difference that some letters like ch, th, m and zh show a notch at the base. The letter b has such notches all round, see, e.g., Kadambatirtha, lines 16-17. The writer may have been a resident of the Andhra country where such characters are seen in the records of the period. As regards individual letters, we may note the rare initial ai in aśiṣvayyṛṇa, lines 3-4, the medial u which is generally shown by a curve turned to the right, see bahubhir-, line 2, and cāturvarṇa, line 4, (but see in bahusvarṇa, lines 2-3), the cursive medial d in kūḍā, line 21, and the bipartite au in sūrvaḥauṣṭama, line 3. Kh appears cursive in Malakhējaka, line 14, and likhitam, line 30; chh is written either horizontally as in Chhandoga, 1, 8, or slantingly as in ākhēttā, lines 26-27, and dānākhē(t)-chṛṣṭyō, line 28; t appears generally unlooped, but its looped form occurs sporadically, as in sēṭām, line 4; d in many cases shows a notch, see daśa, line 3 and dāna, line 6, being then indistinguishable from d, see Pupṇām(r)iḥka, line 2; s has a peculiar cursive form in some places, see sya in sūrvaḥauṣṭama, line 3, and tasya, line 23.

The language is Sanskrit and, except for the benefactive and imprecatory verses at the end, the extant portion is in prose. The record is very carelessly written and contains several mistakes of grammar and orthography. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the only points that call for notice are the use of ri for ri as in -vahrithe, line 2, the reduplication of the consonant after t as in cāturvarṇa, and the use of chh for cchh as in ākhēttā.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman who performed several śrāuta sacrifices such as Pupṇārka, Bahuśvarṇa and eleven others which are not specified. He is said to have assumed the title of Sūrvaḥauṣṭa (Emperor) and resembled the sun in splendour and Indra himself in prosperity. He is eulogised as the mainayā (sēṭu) of the religious duties of the four varṇas and the four āśramas.

The plates register the grant, by this Mādhavavarman, of the village Rēṭṭuraka together with three śrīthas or fording places, viz., Vaṅkatārtha, Tambaṭirtha (or Stambhatirtha) and Kadambatirtha, and three rājikās, or hamlets, viz., Bālāvāṭiko, Kōlikāvāṭiko and Vaṭṭariko. Rēṭṭuraka, the
donated village, was situated to the south-east of the river Krisna vėnā in a territorial division (bhōga) whose name is lost. It was bounded on the north-east by Machhadaryā, Dēvabhīryā and Sēṇavaryā, on the south-east by the village Kālikā and on the west by Malakhēṭaka. The grant was made on the occasion of Mahāvaiśākhī or the full-moon day of Vaisākha. No year of any era, not even a regnal year, is mentioned in connection with it. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas, viz., Bōlasvāmin of the Sālakāyana gōtra and Kēśavasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. Bōlasvāmin is described as a very pious Brāhmaṇa engaged in the six duties laid down for the members of his caste and intent on the performance of religious rites of the Sanātanadharma enjoined in the Sūtras and Sūtrasthī. This is the earliest epigraphical mention of the term Sanātanadharma which is so commonly used in these days. The charter was written by Śripāla who is described as a devout Kāyastha. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Kāyastha caste.\(^1\)

Though the present plates were discovered twenty-two years ago, no satisfactory attempt has yet been made to identify this Madhavavarman. The first plate which probably contained the name and description of the family and some of the immediate ancestors of the king has been lost. This makes the task of his identification very difficult. The description in the extant portion of the grant, however, affords a clue. It shows that this Madhavavarman was a very pious king who performed, inter alia, Puṇḍarika, Bahusuvrana and eleven other sacrifices whose names have, inadvertently been omitted.\(^2\) He is also said to have attained the position of Śravabhāuma. The characters of the present grant show that this Madhavavarman flourished in the sixth century A.D. The only king in this period to whom this description could be appropriately applied was Madhavavarman I of the Vijnākuṇḍin dynasty who flourished from about A.D. 510 to A.D. 560.\(^3\) From the description of this king in his own grants and in those of his descendants, we learn that he was a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed a thousand Agniṣṭōmas, eleven Āśvamedhas as well as several other śrauta sacrifices such as Bahusuvrana, Puṇḍarika, Purushamādha, Vājapeya, Śoḍaṣā, Rājasūya, Prājapatya, Prādhirāja and others and attained svārāja.\(^4\) A comparison of this description with that in the present plates would show that the sacrifices Puṇḍarika and Bahusuvrana are common to both the lists. Again, the eleven sacrifices which are

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\(^1\) According to D. R. Bhandarkar, the Sanjān grant of Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 871) and the Gurmha grant of Jayādityadēva (A.D. 870) are the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste. [There is no indication in the present record that the term Kāyastha here stands for the caste of that name. Dr. D. C. Sircar draws attention to the five Damodarpur copper charters, four of which mention, among other officials, a Prataha-Kāyastha; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 130, 133, 139 and 142. The earliest of these records refers itself to the reign of Kūmāragupta and is dated in the Gupta year 127 (=A.D. 440-7). I may add that the writer of the Gunaghār plate, of the Gupta year 188 (=A.D. 507-8), is one Kāyastha Naradatta, attached to the office of the external affairs (sāndhivigrah-ādhikaraṇa); I.H.Q., Vol. VI, p. 55. Here the term most probably denotes 'writer'. —Ed.]

\(^2\) [See below p. 315, n 10.—Ed.]

\(^3\) Mirashi first conjectured that he might have been of the Early Kāśṭhakā dynasty of Mānapura. ABOI, Vol. XXVI, p. 46. He had then no access to the text of the record. Subsequent study of the text suggested to him the identification stated here.

\(^4\) Both the Ipur and Pulimbūra plates of Madhavavarman I mention his performance of a thousand Agniṣṭōmas and eleven Āśvamedhas; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 336, and JAHS, Vol. VI, p. 20. These sacrifices are also mentioned in the grants of his grandsons Madhavavarman II and Indravarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338, and Vol. XII, p. 134. Finally, the Chikkallu plates of his great-grandson Viśvarādhenvarman II give a long list of the sacrifices performed by Madhavavarman I, viz., eleven Āśvamedhas, a thousand Agniṣṭōmas, Bahusuvrana, Puṇḍarika, Purashamādha, Vājapeya, Rājasūya and others; ibid., Vol. IV, p. 196.
not specified in the present grant, were in all probability *Aśvamēdhas.* The conclusion is therefore irresistible that these two Mādhavavarmanas were identical. The present grant was thus made by the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn Emperor Mādhavavarman I.

This Mādhavavarman was a very powerful king. He married a Vākṣṭāka princess who was probably a daughter or some near relative of the last known Vākṣṭāka Emperor Harīśeṇa (circa A.D. 475-500). The eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāra-charita,* which probably contains a reflex of the events in the last period of the Vākṣṭāka rule, shows that the Vākṣṭāka Empire crumbled soon after the death of Harīśeṇa owing to the imbecility of his successor and the treacherous defection of his feudatories. Mādhavavarman I who rose to power about this time took advantage of the opportunity that had thus presented itself and extended his dominion far and wide. He performed no less than eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and thus attained a position of unquestioned supremacy in the Deccan. He is known to have overrun Daksina Kōsala or Chattisgarh and occupied for a time the capital (Śrīpura) of Trivara or Tivaṛādaeva of the Sōmavānī dynasty. That he had annexed Mahārāṣṭra also can be conjectured from the description in the *Īpur* plates of his grandson Mādhavavarman II as the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. Trikūṭa is the well known name of the hill which borders the Nasik District on the west. Malaya is the equally well known name of the southern portion of the Western Ghats. In the absence of corroborative evidence this description of Mādhavavarman II was believed to be an empty boast. Prof. Hultsch, for instance, remarked while editing the *Īpur* plates that both Trikūṭa and Malaya were at a safe distance from the dominions of Mādhavavarman II although he claims to have ruled over them. The discovery of the present plates which, as shown below, record the grant of a village in the Sātārā District, proves that Mahārāṣṭra was included in the empire of Mādhavavarman I. It

1. The number *ekādaśa* (eleven) in line 3 of the present plates can not be connected with *Bhuṣaṇapura,* for, firstly, *ekādaśa* is an adjective, not a noun like *saḥāra,* and must therefore precede, not follow, *Bhuṣaṇapura.;* secondly, *Bhuṣaṇapura* which is identical with *Bhuṣaṇрайya* (also called *Daṇḍā) is a minor *ādraka* (one-day) sacrifice. See *Āśvaṇey-aśvabhāṣa, XXII, 8, 26. There is no special point in mentioning that Mādhavavarman I performed eleven *Bhuṣaṇapuras.* On the other hand, we get several references to the performance of eleven *Aśvamēdhas* by the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn king Mādhavavarman I as shown above. [See below p. 316, n. 8—Ed.]


5. Both his *Īpur* and Pulinhāra plates refer to his dainiuse with young ladies in the city of Trivara. For the identification of Trivara, see Mirashi’s article on the Thakurjīyā plates of Mahā-Pravaraṇa, above, the identification of Trivara, see Mirashi’s article on the three ancient dynasties of Mahākōsala in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.


7. The recently discovered plates of Bhogāsakti found at Anjaneri near Nasik mention *Puruṣa-Trikūṭa-viśaya* (Eastern Trikūṭa District) in connection with certain taxes levied in favour of a temple situated in the Nasik District. This shows that Trikūṭa was the name of a hill which bordered the Nasik District on the west. See above, Vol. XXV, p. 232.


10. One of the reasons for Mādhavavarman’s conquest of Kuntala or Southern Mahārāṣṭra may have been the treacherous defection of the *Kuntalaputi* when his liege lord, the Vākṣṭāka Emperor who was probably a brother-in-law of Mādhavavarman I, was attacked by the king of Vanavāśi. See *ABORI,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 21 f. Again, the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn king Mādhavavarman I was probably allied matrimonially with the king of Daksina Kōsala or Chattisgarh, if the description in the *Daśakumāra-charita* is historically true. Cf. Kōnālendra Kusumādakvanasi-saga mātā jīiū, said with reference to the boy prince of Vidarba. (Daśakumāra-charita, R. S. Series, p. 139). The ruling dynasty of Daksina Kōsala was about this time overthrown by an ancestor of Tivaṛādaeva. See *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f. The authors of this article, after having identified the Mādhavavarman I of the present plate with the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn Mādhavavarman I, have obviously been driven to the necessity of assigning such a charter to the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn Mādhavavarman I, have obviously been driven to the necessity of assigning such a charter to the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīns. The identification, to say the least is not very convincing.—Ed. Mādhavavarman I performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas,* which shows that he had a large empire.

11. Even if the reading *Skōdha* is accepted, the identification of this Mādhavavarman with the Vaiṣṇuṇḍājīn Mādhavavarman I does not fail to the ground. (Y. R. G.)
probably continued to be under the rule of the Vishnuvardins during the reign of his grandson Mādhavavarman II. As suggested elsewhere, the extensive empire of Mādhavavarman I appears to have been divided after his death. The western portion including Mahārāṣṭra and Karnātaka was ruled by his grandson Mādhavavarman II, while the eastern portion comprising Kōsa, Kaliṅga and Andhra was governed by his other grandson Indravarman.

Mādhavavarman II or his descendants do not seem to have held Mahārāṣṭra for a long time; for we find that the Rāṣṭṭrakūta of Kuntala who had laid low for a time soon raised their heads and turned out the Vishnuvardins. No other record of the Vishnuvardin dynasty has been found in Mahārāṣṭra, nor are any references to their supremacy discovered in any records of the later members of that family. On the other hand, we know that in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Southern Mahārāṣṭra was ruled by Gōvinda who subsequently became an ally of Pulakeśin. That he probably belonged to the Rāṣṭṭrakūta dynasty has been shown elsewhere.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Rāṣṭṭuraka is Reṣāre in the Karhād taluka in the Sātāra District. There are two villages of this name situated on the opposite banks of the Kriśṇā. The village mentioned here is probably Reṣāre Budrukh (Larger Reṣāre), which lies to the south-east of the river Kriśṇāvēṇa or Kriśṇā as stated in the present grant. Machhadaryā is now called Rajmāchī and lies 4 miles to the east of Reṣāre Budrukh. Sāṇavārya is probably Shegōli, a station on the Miraj-Poona line of the M. S. M. Railway. Kōlikā which lay to the south-east is represented by modern Kolā, about 3 miles south-east of Reṣāre Budrukh. Some of the hambets situated in the vicinity of Rāṣṭṭuraka can also be identified. Bēlavāṭīka is Belvāde and Kōlikāvāṭīka Kōlavaḍe, both situated at a distance of 3 miles to the west. Vatṭarikā is Vēṭhār about 2 miles to the north-west, and Mallakāṭṭaka is Mallkheṭ about the same distance to the south-west. Of the tīrthas or fording-places, only Tambatīrtha can now be identified. It is probably Remhe on the right bank of the Kriśna about 3 miles south of Reṣāre Budrukh. Kadambatīrtha may be Khubi on the left bank of the river, almost opposite Tambā. Vaṅka-tīrtha can not now be traced.

TEXT

Second Plate; First Side

1 .......................... "[P]" [स्थित] ........................................

2 वार[ि] मेस(मो) बहुविभाज्य (ता) वशि(भ) च स्तारवा [भ] पदक(के)(के) पुष्पकिर(वी) कबुलुः-

3 वण(म)काव्यावलिनः साहित्तीयसंसार(सत) मासकपत्र संसार-
KHAMAPUR PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN

4 यथाय स्वयमिन्द्रस्य चातुर्वर्णेण्यावस्थमयममकर्मिन्यः [स्त्री] ममहे-
5 राजास्थ्री मध्यवर्गस्य मतिहत्या पारममभया भ्राह्मणः-
6 ग्रामसारम् य[अ] नवकुमारिनाग्रमवापणवान्न्द्रियापहुः
7 अविस्तरम् तितिविशिष्टनात्मयमक|मम] निरताय ध्रुवविपि (प्र) हिः(स्री) संस्कृतशास्त्रकायन:-
8 [तमो] चच्छ (चतु) स्वयमबौत्स्वामिन्यः] ता (भा) रुखाजस्मोग्नीध्रुविके (श) हुः रः] मल[ता] तिते
9 केशवव्यासकेन च चमु (चु) व्यों
10 ...[वल्ल] चन्द्रदीप भाग....कर्तवय: भा. .............

Second Plate; Second Side

11 ...दानप्रमृति स[र्वम्].
12 भोमः योजनादिलिणित: पूव्वस्त्रेण मद्ध[व] द्वारादेव:-
13 भिष्म्य शेषकाल्य: पूव्वम्[त] वशीष्यः नामे कोलिकानामप्राप्त: पतिवर्मे-
14 न मलंकेटकानामप्राप्त: हेलेनुः मध्ये पदुकेः हुःतुः पय्व्वम् (शा) दशवः-
15 [गा] पानसित्वये वार्वतिकामि: सहिं स्वित्वये[श] क्षणबेह्वा युवः
16 वशिस्तः रेतक्रम्य नाम धानम्: बंकिती(ती) वर्तन तत्त्वावृव्वते (प्र) तुर्थः-
17 तरियोऽटेलवालिका कोलिकाभाविकका वज्ररिका सर्वावर्गस्युद्दंस्ताभिव्वि-

1 Read चातुर्वर्णेण—See Vārttika on Paññjini V, I, 124.
2 This अ has an extra prong.
3 Read प्रतिपप—[Better प्रतिपह्रय—Ed.]
4 This letter looks like हिंच्छ which may be corrected into स्मृ—Ed.]
5 ध्रुवविपि like ध्रुवविपि in 1, 8, seems to convey the donor's proficiency in two Vādas.
6 This and three expressions further on in lines 9 and 10 are unintelligible to us.
7 This akāśa is written above the line. [The reading is कस्यपात: भा—Ed.]
8 The name of the bhōga or territorial division is lost.
9 Read एतेषां.
10 Read हेलेनु—.
11 Read सि ड्व्वये भ।.
21 वायुते पां(प) रामृभि(ृदि:) तत: धर्मकोशशुभि(शि:) बिरुद्धव(च्छ:) यदा: परिधायति । बहुः-

22 निवर्ष्युथा भूक्ता राजनः [1*] सरारविभि: [1**] मध्यवस्था यदा भु(भू)मिति-

23 स्वत्व तस्य तवा फलस(समः) [1111*] स्वर्तं परवता [10] वा यो हरेद वसुम्यरां (राम्) [1*] वरद्-

24 कल्यणस(का)ण विद्धायां जाते किके(कुके)म: [1121*] स्वर्तं परवतां वा यो

25 भु(भू)मिति परिरस(रस) तितु: [1*] विरुद्धकल्यणस(का)ण विद्धायोके प्रमो-

26 [ृति: [1111*] वरद वसुसहारण व्यग्य तितु(कदन) तितु भु(भू)मिति: [1*] भा-

27 देश(है)ता वानरम्यता वा ताम्यत मरके बसेत(त) [1111] पूर्ववर्धां हिरजमयो वन्ना-

28 प्रक्ष्यु(यु) पिठिदिर [1*] महामहिसतं शुष्क्य वालाक्षेयोनूपालन (नमः) [11111*] तस्मा-

29 तस्वरप्रायलेन गु(कु) वसुम्यरां वसुम्यरां (राम्) [1*] कितृपिष्ट पालयदाजा पातिक(की) स्वा-

30 न(स) पालय(स) [1111*] काययलेन फ्रि(भो) पालने लिखितमिति सत्यप्रकाशसंस्थितेन अह(दा)निभेति [1*] [2]

1 Read राजनि:
2 The metre of this and the next five verses: Anuṣṭabh.
3 Read प्रमेयस्ते
4 Read चानुमता
5 Read महामहिसतं शुष्क्य
6 Read चुड़यो—
7 [The reading is कितृपिष्ट.—Ed.] Read कितृपिष्ट
8 This figure indicates the end of the record.
Lodhiā is a small village in the Sāriā Pargana of the Saranghār State, now a sub-division in the newly formed Raigarh District of the Central Provinces, 15 miles east of the town of Saranghār. The village of Thakurīdā in the same sub-division, where a copper charter of king Maha-Pravararāja of the Sāralahapura family was unearthed in 1932, is about 15 miles to the west from Lodhiā on the other side of the hills, dividing the Sāriā Pargana from the Saranghār Pargana. About six miles to the north-east lies the big village of Sāriā with its adjoining little village named Pujārīpālā, where there stand a number of ruined brick-temples and sculptured stone door-jambs, the former resembling, in style and architecture, the famous Lakshman temple at Sirpur (old Sālipūra) on the Mahānadi in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, which was erected by queen Vāsātā, the mother of king Mahā-Sīvagūptā Bālārjuna, the donor of the present charter. These ruined temples and carved pillars do suggest the existence of some famous town, now lost for ever, about 600 A.D. in the vicinity of Lodhiā. Within this village itself some Śivaliṅgas of polished stone, sculptured stone pillars, beautifully carved images and statues have been found and are preserved by the headman there. Two of the images represent Vishnu reclining on the serpent, and Nyasima tearing the demon Hiranyakasipu. There is a heap of ruins about a furlong from Lodhiā, which discloses the fact that in olden days some fine structure stood there. Old tanks, wells and remains of what is called 'fort' with a moat within the village boundary all bear witness to its antiquity. The village of Bār or Bāyar, where a number of punch-marked silver coins were found about the year 1921, and which are deposited in the treasury at Saranghār, is within three miles from Lodhiā.

The present plates were discovered at a depth of about two feet from the surface of the earth on July 11th, 1942, by one Dolo Ganda in the back-yard of his house in the course of digging earth while repairing the parapet wall of the yard (kōlā, to use the local term). They were produced before the headman of the village, Babu Vījaya Shankar, who is a member of the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society of Bālpur, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces, and is interested in historical finds. The plates were then forwarded to the Police Station at Baramkela to which the village of Lodhiā is attached and were duly despatched to the office of the then Ruling Chief of Saranghār State.

As soon as I came to know of this find, I addressed the enlightened Raja Bahadur Jawaher Singh Sahib, C.I.E., through whose kindness the set of plates complete with the seal, reached my hands on July 23rd, 1942.

I edit the charter from the original with the permission of the late Raja Bahadur in whose possession the plates then were and to whom our Society is grateful for kindly sending them to us for decipherment.

The charter consists of three copper plates, of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The writing on them is in a fair state of preservation.

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1 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XI, p. 185.
3 They are now deposited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi.
The weight of the three plates with the uncut ring is 255 tolas. They resemble the Mallâr plates of Mahâ-Śivagupta in shape and size. The rims of the plates, like those of the Mallâr plates, are not raised. The surface of the seal which is deeply counter-sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a triśūla in front. Close to the triśūla to the proper left side is seen one figure, which we may take for a horn (śrīṇga) or a trumpet. To the right side is found the figure of a kamaṇḍalu or water-jar having some object on it which is not distinct. Below this comes the legend in two lines, which is separated from the device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves.

The record consists of 32 lines, there being eight lines on each inscribed face. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Their average size is 0.2" in height. The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Mallâr plates of the same king and on the Baloda and Râjim plates of Tivâradâva, the grand-uncle of the donor of the present plates. The peculiarities worth noticing here are: (1) The frequent use of medial ñ instead of subscript r; especially in the word śrī it is very conspicuous (lines 4, 13). (2) There is absolutely no difference between the signs of medial ñ and s. Perhaps the same sign is used for both and we have to read it according to the context. See, e.g., saurya in line 3, paurṣya in lines 10 and 32, gauravâlî in line 28.

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the customary benedictory and precatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The first sentence is almost identical in wording with that found in the Mallâr plates.

Like the Mallâr plates, this charter also does not contain the name of the place of issue, but unlike them, it gives the date in the regnal year of the king in clear words and figures, which is 57.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahâ-Śivaguptarâjadâva, son of the illustrious Harshâdâva, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a devout worshipper of Mahâëvara (Śiva). They record the donation of the village Vaidyapâ德拉ka in the bhâga or sub-division of OŚi.

The donation was made for the offerings to and worship, with music, dancing and feeding, of god Śiva Isâñâëvara enshrined in the temple at Pattana Khadirapadra-tala, and for the repairs and maintenance of that structure. It was made on the full-moon day of Kârttika.

This Mahâ-Śivaguptarâja, son of king Harshagupta, also called Harshâdâva as the texts of the present plates and the Mallâr plates have, is described as Bâlârjuna in the Lakshman temple inscription belonging to his mother Vâsaṭâ who was the daughter of king Sûryavarman of the Varman dynasty of Magadha. This Sûryavarman was the son of the Maukharî king Isânavarman and had at least a son named Bhâskaravarman, at whose request, his nephew (sister’s son) king Mahâ-Śivaguptarâjadâva, had donated a village called Kailâsapura to a Bhikshu-Saṅghâ. The Harshâ stone inscription which gives the genealogy of the Maukharî kings, has the date 611.
(Málava Saññvat) for king Śūryavarman. Apparently king Śūryavarman was living in the year 611 (Málava Saññvat) which is equal to A.D. 555. He is stated to have attained a position of pride by bestowing his daughter, Vāsaṭā, on Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva’s father Harṣagupta whom the Lakshman temple inscription describes as Prāk-paramēcēvara, ‘the Lord of the eastern region’. Evidently Harṣagupta ruled over the country known as Kōśala or Prāk-Kōśala, ¹ which probably comprised Dakshina Kōśala, East Kōśala with Tōsala, Utakala and Oṣāra, extending its limit up to the eastern sea-shore.² His uncle Mahā-Śiva-Tivararāja had his capital at Siripura (now Sirpur) from which place his Baloda and Rājim plates were issued. He is described as prāpta-sakala-Kōsalā-dāhipatyaḥ in the Baloda plates, the seal of which mentions him as Kōsalā-dāhipati. Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēva must have succeeded his father or uncle and was, therefore, the supreme lord of Kōśala, apparently Mahā-Kōśala or Dakshina-Kōśala.

In what part of India king Śūryavarman was reigning, and whether his son Bhāskaravarman succeeded him or not, cannot be definitely ascertained now for want of evidence. This much is, no doubt, clear that Śūryavarman’s father was ruling over a kingdom within which was included the Bārābanki District in Oudh, where the Harāhā stone inscription of king Śūryavarman was found. The Āśragarha ⁴ seal of the Maukharī king Śarvavarman might establish their connection with a part of the Central Provinces bordering on Málava, i.e., the Nirmā District, where the seal was found.

The present plates disclose the fact that, although king Mahā-Śivaguptarāja was a devout worshipper of Śiva (Parama-māhēvara), he did patronise Buddhism and was a symbol of religious toleration, being averse to no other sects. As we know from the Māllār plates, he donated a village to ‘the community of venerable (Buddhist) monks’, residing in the small monastery (Vihārīkā) situated in Taranāmāsaka.

In his time, his mother Vāsaṭā constructed a superb temple of Hari (Vishṇu) at Sirpur, the capital town, and donated a number of villages to Vedic Brahmins engaged in the worship of the deity. This temple still stands at Sirpur.

In the present plates, he makes a donation of a village to a temple of Śiva named Isānāśvara, probably consecrated by one of his forefathers, to wit, Isānadēva of the Kharod stone inscription.⁵ The donation was made in response to the request of a certain Śaiva ascetic, a disciple of Pramāṇḥāchārya whose preceptor hailed from the Paṇḍhayajña tapēśvina in the Dvaitavana forest.

The box-headed script as well as the Kūṭila type of the Nāgari characters were simultaneously in use during the reign of Mahā-Śivaguptarāja as both his Māllār plates and the Lodhiś plates, together with Lakshman temple inscription (in the Kūṭila script) belonging to his mother Vāsaṭā, show. It may be noted here that the Harāhā stone inscription of king Śūryavarman,² father of Vāsaṭā, is also in the Kūṭila variety of the Nāgari script. Up till now not a single stone inscription

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¹ Close to Vidarbha was Prāk-Kōśala as stated in the Mahābhārata and the Hariśvanśa.
² Vījyān Pārvānbuddhi-śāla-pālīh pālīh samādāya na Kōsalēndrīt sivatīravā -sākṣata-vaśira-dhāmā dhām-adhipāh khaṇḍapātir-ya āvīt | Bihari inscription. Hiralal: Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar, 2nd ed. p. 24. In the present Balasore District (Orissa), there is a place called Pāḷīh, about 8 miles from the sea-shore. It had an old temple with damaged inscriptions on the door-jams, now deposited at Cuttack in the Ravenshaw College Museum. I have tried to identify this Pāḷīh with the Pāḷ of the Bihari inscription, in a paper published in the Hindi journal Suddh of Lucknow, for May 1928.
³ Cf., Vol. III, pp. 219 ff. Āśragarha is a hill-fort formerly belonging to Scindia in the north-east of Burhanpur in the Nimar District.
⁴ Hiralal’s Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar, 2nd ed., p 123.
⁵ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.
in the box-headed characters has been discovered in Chhattisgarh (old Mahā-Kōsala), although during my visit to Śripura (Sirpur) I noticed more than half a dozen stone inscriptions, on pillars, plinth and pavement of the Gaṅdēṣvara temple there. Almost all of them mention Mahā Śivagupta and are decidedly of the same period. All are in the Kuṭila script, not one of them is incised in the box-headed characters.

In a damaged temple at Pujāripāli near Sariā, probably of the time of Mahā Śivagupta, there is a small inscription on a stone slab in the Kuṭila script of the 7th century A.D.

What I mean to say is that there is a total absence of the use of box-headed characters for records *incised on stone slabs* at Sirpur and Mallār, as also at Pujāripāli about 5 miles from Lodhiā. As stated before, not a single stone inscription in Mahā-Kōsala is found to be incised in box-headed characters.

The Rājim and Balodā plates of Mahā-Śiva-Trivarāja (with Śripura as his capital), the Mallār plates, and our present Lodhiā plates of Mahā-Śivaguptarāja, the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, which were issued from Śripura, and the other six sets of copper-plates issued from Śarabhapura by Mahā-Sudēvarāja and his paternal uncle Mahā-Jayarāja, are all incised in the box-headed characters and have been discovered from time to time in the Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts, which are within the Mahā-Kōsala kingdom of old.

Our Mahākōsala Historical Society of Bālpur was able to discover two silver coins of king Prasannamātra, bearing his name in beautiful box-headed script on them, from somewhere in the Bilaspur District.

Was it that the box-headed script was exclusively meant for copper plates and silver coins or metals like these, during the reign of Mahā-Śiva-Trivarāja and of his grand nephew Mahā Śivaguptarāja Bālārjuna and of the Śarabhapura kings, Mahā-Pravararāja, Mahā-Sudēvarāja and their uncle Mahā-Jayarāja, whose capital town Śarabhapura is now untraceable and has not yet been identified?

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, Dvaitavana in the term Dvaitavana-śrimat-paṅcha-yajña-tapōvana,1 attracts our attention most. It is a very familiar and favourite name in the Mahābhārata. During the exile of the Pāṇḍavas, when they dwelt in that forest, it is stated to have been flooded with Brāhmaṇas. This Dvaitavana was considered by all as a *Free Land* over which there was no sway of any monarch. It was an abode of *penance-groves*2 and the Paṅchayajña *tapōvana* was one of them. The place was so called because there was a lake called Dvaita, within its boundary. Dvaitavana, says the Mahābhārata, was close to a desert (Maru-bhūmi) and the river Sarasvatī flowed through it. It was not far from the Himālayas, lying between Taṅgaṇa on the north-east and Kurukshetra and Hastināpura on the south-east. It was from Dvaitavana that the Pāṇḍavas started on a pilgrimage as described in the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

The name of the bhūga or sub-division, wherein the donated village Vaidyapadraka was situated, is given as Oši. To which particular place the bhūga refers, it is difficult to ascertain at present. Next comes Vaidyapadra. This is indeed the present day Baidpāli village in the Borasambhar Zaminārī under Gāsilāt Police Station in the Bargār tahsil of the Sambalpur District, Orissa. The place Paṭtana Khadirapadra-tala is no other than Khadiapadra which is mentioned in the Sonepur plates of Mahā-Bhagav Gupta (II) Janamājaya.3 The present Khairpāli village, about 2 miles from the Ang or Ong river in the Borasambhar Zaminārī, formerly in the

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1 Such tapōvanas were attached to different vansas or forest regions, and we find mention of one Chandra-dvipa-tapōvana referred to by Bhavabhūti in the Uttararāmācharita (Act IV).

2 Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 249, 251 (text line 18). My attention to this was kindly drawn by Dr. K. Ch Chhabra, to whom my thanks are due.
LODHIA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA; YEAR 57

Chhattisgarh Division and now in Orissa, is the old Khadirapada. This Khairpali is about 10 miles from Baidpali. About a mile from Baidpali there is a village called Jogimath where there are remains of an old temple which has already collapsed.¹

Unlike the Mallār plates of Mahā-Sivagupta, the Lodhiā plates are dated, the year being the 57th regnal year of the king. The grant was made on the full-moon day of the month of Karttika. The donor's reign must have been a long one extending over half a century and by the time of this grant he would have been over 70 years of age. We have no clue to find out the exact equivalent of the given date in the Christian era or in any of the Indian eras.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 ऋ[३]*] स्वात्मियःपिशाचिसाहित्यांविषेषाःप्रववेशात्तांति महानवःविवि-  

2 नवमुस्त्यसत्यमिवलिङ्गायमग्निकिलिङ्गायमूलादमार्गी: प्रकृत-  

3 तरको (शी) चाराधामप्रभासवस्मितवितमहापुत्र: कालिकेय इव कृति (लिं):  

4 वासनो राज: भ्री (शी) हर्वेयश्व शु (श्री) मु: सीमबद्धा (श्री) सम्बन्धः[६] परम-  

5 महेश्वरो म (श्री) तामिकुपाराधास्या: श्री (श्री) म (म) हरित[११] वयुपतरावेशः[६] कुमाली  

6 [शो] रेण्नेनो (श्री) यज्ञान्वेयभवः के: प्रारम्भ[६] सम्भु (श्री) यम मधानिनिवासिकुटिकिब-  

7 ना यज्ञालथायस्य: समाहृतान्तिकालप्रस्मृतिनरसाधनावेयोजिनः[६]  

8 सम्भु (श्री) राजपुरस्य[६] समानस्य सिया (श्री) विष्णुस्मांत: साधुस्मां शतस्मांत:  

*Second Plate: First side*

9 भ्री स्वरितिनिविधान: सरीपिधिनान: सख्य (श्री) कर्दानसेवेत: सख्य (श्री) [श्री] विनीव-  

10 जित (विं): सवाराराय: प्रतिविद्धचापाराधेषा: प्रत्यां कालिको (श्री) ज्ञानाम-  

¹ Khadirapradaka and Vaidyapradaka have however been identified with the villages Khairpadar and Bejipadar respectively in the Kalamandi State by Mr. K. N. Mahaputra. (Jour. of Kel. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, p. 171.)

² From the original plates and inked stampages.
³ Expressed by a symbol.
⁴ This letter looks like δi in the impression. The original shows it to be correctly δi. The dot seen within the medial i sign in the impression, making it into I, is due to a natural depression on the plate.
⁵ After the letter ta there are two superfluous dots after the fashion of the visarga sign.
⁶ After the letter sa also there is a superfluous visarga sign.
⁷ The medial i signs in ७i and १i of viṣayātu, each show faint traces of a dot within, which is superfluous.
⁸ The lower dot of the visarga is mixed up with the extreme end of the subscript r of the following letter, pra.
⁹ Again there is a superfluous visarga sign after the letter rā.
¹⁰ The downward stroke to the right of ड is missing here as in राजस of l. 13. It is clearly seen in जी of जी of l. 3 and am-अम्बगुप्त, l. 10.
¹¹ The ॐ of श्रेष्ठa shows a superfluous cross-bar, due to a flaw in the plate.
¹² This dasa is not necessary.
¹³ Here sandhi has not been observed.
Second Plate: First Side.

11 स्या पत्र-निष्ठर्युपत्रनमितित्वेः श्रीमोक्षांगिन्दरभुद्दराकाय ।
12 ली(विल)वहनविवृतवन्यावास्विकविकंद्रितसंह दक्षांते वे देवसनी ।
13 राज्य (श्री) महादेवेवय तपोवनविमतिमात्र (क्ष) पत्र-गौरिविरिण: भगवानिश (क्षी-)
14 प्रस्थायायित्वेः (श्री) शूलकामगचनवणावरणयानमा मातामित्राः
15 र (रा) तमनादु पुष्पाभिक्षु (बु) द्वे समाक (का) लोपभोगपार्थचारः ताराकायकस्य पयः। *
16 तु (पु) बह (प्रव) क्षा तम्भ (घ्र) शास्त्रेन प्रतिपद्विदतो यतोत्तमे समुचितभोगभागाविकः

Second Plate: Second Side

17 सुमुप्तनसतो भवातः मुलं प्रतिवस्तुः \ II नाबदनक भूमिपालार्थुनिवि (वि-)
18 श्येदवानिधीयसे भूमिपवि विव लातिय परसित हि हुवा मार्हि
19 नुक्तये नरके मुलामा [1*] एतद (ढु) वे परिकत्वथ चलाकबलकित (कपी) मायस-\n20 बाकुत्त युज्यतामभि (श्री) ध्वनि [मः]* । [1*] जा (श्री) वर्णालं बरकः सुभावः
21 नारुमस्ति (तो) [1*] को (ता) मुक्तमुचुक्ष्य नरकः प्रतिपद्विदः \ II ध्व (श्री) समिती(गी-)
22 लास्वा (लास्वा) व शतीकाकुनवा दरतिरः। ग्रामेनावर (सत्य) प्रव[मः] मुख्या मूम्बा (घ्र-)
23 वादव (ध्री) मुख (खुष्य) मुखाव गावःळ* वत्साष्ट्रयस्तेन अविली लोकः न काण्डनि गाँवि-\n24 लिय वहातः \ \वह्य विनित (कित व) व सहलाणि स्वागि मोदित मु (मू) मिव: [1*]
25 (पा) स्वाता वा- वा

Third Plate

25 मुन्ता च क्रमानुस्तो नरके वसेतु \ वह्य विनित (घ्र्य) मुखा वसार राज्य| [1*] सागरावि-\n26 र्या परस्या (समी) तस्य लग्नात वर्ण (वर्ण) । [1*] भवसाला (लाः) परस्तापां (सा) वा-\n
\* This daṇḍa is not necessary.
\* The amṣṭāra meant to be over rtha is slightly misplaced, being nearer to the next letter, devi.
\* The downward stroke to the right of न is missing here as in rājya of I. 4.
\* Better read chaunda-tārak-ārka-samakal-śpakhig ārtham.
\* The a sign of la has not come out in the impression.
\* The impression does not show the dot of the i sign in dhī. The original does have it, though very shallow.
\* Instead of nyātāḥ read nyātānumāḥ.
\* Instead of "gurut-paśa" read "gōt-tāvah-paśa"
\* The a sign of la as well as of ra has not come out in the impression.
\* The impression shows it to be bhū. The dot is not to be seen in the original.
Seal - From a Photograph
No. 51—TWO PLATES OF DEVANANDADEVA

(D 1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

There are impressions of two copper-plate grants of king Devanandadeva in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The original plates were secured on loan a few years back by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, for examination. I edit the records from impressions for the Epigraphia Indica with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. Chhabra.

I.—JURERPUR PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA

The copper plate under discussion belonged to one Pathani Mahaputra, an inhabitant of the village of Jurerpur within the jurisdiction of the Cuttack Police Station in the Angul sub-division of the Cuttack District, Orissa. The plate seems to have been secured from the owner by Mr. Radhamohan Garaiak of Angul who showed it to Mr. G. S. Das, Secretary of the Orissa Provincial Museum at Cuttack (recently transferred to Bhubaneswar). On receiving information about the inscription from Mr. Das, Dr. Chhabra secured the plate on loan for examination about the end of the year 1945 with the help of the Revenue Commissioner and Collector of Cuttack. 2

This is a single copper plate measuring about 9½" long by 7" broad. There is a circular projection, 2" in diameter, at the centre of the left end, forming the seal which resembles that attached to other records of the family discussed below. On the seal, which has its rim slightly raised all

1 There is a superfluous visarga sign after ekta.

2 The original plate is now in the Orissa Provincial Museum. Later I received it on loan for examination from Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of that Museum. I thank Mr. Panigrahi for his kindness.
round, are found in relief the figures of the sun (or star) at the top with a crescent below on the left and a conch on the right; below these is a couchant bull, facing proper right, under which there is the legend śrī-Devānandadevaasya. The legend is found underlined by two parallel straight lines. At the bottom of the seal there is an expanded lotus. The plate weighs 109½ tolas. It contains writing on both sides. The letters are deep-cut and the inscription is in a good state of preservation. There are 18 lines of writing on the obverse and 17 lines on the reverse.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and closely resemble those employed in the Baripada Museum plate of Devānandadeva and also the Tamlūl plate of Dhrūvānandadeva which is now usually believed to be dated in year 293 of the Harsha era corresponding to A. D. 899. The confusion between subscript s and ṣ is present also in the present record.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. There are eight verses about the beginning and the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. The eight introductory verses are all found also in the Baripada Museum and Tamlūl inscriptions, in both of which, however, we have an additional verse. The carelessness exhibited by the engraver of the inscription under discussion suggests that the verse in question has been inadvertently omitted in the present record. In orthographical peculiarities also this inscription resembles closely the above two records, the only difference being that there are more mistakes and omissions of akṣaras and passages in the present inscription.

The inscription is not dated; but as already indicated above, it may be assigned to a date about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of Jayapura by king Devānandadeva of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava family of Orissa. In the introductory portion in verse the king seems to be called Viḷāṣatūga who is described as the son of Devānanda (I), grandson of Śivānanda, great-grandson of Parāṇanda and great-great-grandson of Jayānanda after whom apparently the capital city of this line of rulers was named Jayapura. In the formal part of the record king Devānandadeva (II)-Vilāṣatūga is described as a devout worshipper of Mahaśvara (Śiva) and as parama-bhāṭārakasa-madhajgata-paichamahāśabda-mahaśamānadihipati. Mahāśamānadihipati is known to have been the title of feudatories of the foremost rank under an imperial ruler of the post-Gupta period. The king further claims to have acquired the five great sounds from his Parama-bhāṭāraka, i.e., overlord, whose name is, however, specified neither in this record nor in the Baripada Museum plate. It is wellknown that when a feudatory became very powerful, then only he issued a charter without specific reference to his overlord. In passages like the one under notice, the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a Parama-bhāṭāraka) may be intentional. But it is difficult to determine the overlord of the Nanda kings. The discovery of the records of this family in the Dhenkanal and Narsingpur States as well as in Angul in the Cuttack District shows that their territories must have partially covered the above regions. Their capital Jayapura has been identified by Mr. E. C. Pargradi with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal State. It may possibly be suggested that it was the later Bhana-Karas of Tosali who were the nominal suzerains of the Nandas of Orissa. Although

1 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74-82.
2 JBO, Vol. XV, pp. 87-100.
5 Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77.
little is known about the latter’s rule at the close of the ninth century, there is no doubt that the era used in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva is the same as that employed in the records of the Bhauma-Karas. The use of single plates for their charters and the design of their seal also appear to connect the Nanda kings with the family of the Bhauma-Karas. The family seems to have originally owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter’s decline.

Whether the Nanda or Nandodhavha chiefs of Orissa actually claimed descent from the mighty Nandas of ancient Pātaliputra cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There may have been a confusion, as Mr. Panigrahi suggests, between nanda and ananda (the name-ending of the rulers of this family) just as in the case of the Bhaumas of Orissa, who had the name-ending kara and akara and later styled their family as Kara. But this theory can hardly explain the name Nandodhavha also applied to the Nanda family. Unless it is believed that Nandodhavha was a name coined arbitrarily after Sailodhavha, it is probably to be suggested that the Nandodhavhas claimed descent from a certain person or family called Nanda. Considering the facts that the rule of the ancient Nandas in Orissa is actually suggested by the Hāthigumpha inscription and that the claim of descent from the ancient Nanda family is not unknown in Indian epigraphy, I do not consider it impossible that the Nandodhavhas of Orissa claimed descent from the Nandas of Pātaliputra. Whether their claim was genuine or fabricated is of course a different matter. It is also difficult to determine what relation these Nandas may have had with king Nanda-Prabhaṉjavarm of the Chiecaole grant.

An interesting passage in the description of king Vilasatunga-Dhavanandadeva II found in this record as well as in the Baripada Museum plate is sitadhātumaya-gūḍhā-sikharikṣita-lohitā-lōchana-ambara-dhava. This is also applied to king Dhruvānanda in the Talmul plate. It shows that the banner of the Nanda kings was a piece of cloth with the emblem of lōhita-lōchana having an alligator (gūḍhā) above, which was made of sitadhātu. The expression lōhita-lōchana may indicate a species of snakes; but it is possible to interpret it as “two eyes made of copper”. The expression sitadhātu usually means ‘chalk’; but it can be so interpreted as to suggest that the alligator on the banner of the Nanda kings was made of silver.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by king Vilasatunga-Dhavananda II in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. The name of the village is given as Palāmūṇa. It was situated in the vishaya of Kahāśriṇga within the manḍala of Airāvaṭṭa. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Kuladevapāla Bhṛṭṭa son of Dēvapāla and grandson of Samarakāla Bhṛṭṭa. He is said to have belonged to the Uluka gōtra and the Paryārśi pravara. The word paryārśi seems to be a mistake for paśch-ārśeṇa, referring to the five pravāras attached to the gōtra. It should, however, be pointed out that the Gōtra-pravara-nibandhakudamba recognizes only three pravāras for the Uluka gōtra (viz., Udala, Dēvārśṭa and Viśvāmitra). The donee or rather his family is further said to have originally hailed from Rādhā and was living at a place whose name ended with the word pura. This place may have been situated in the dominions of the Nandas; but Rādhā was the name both of a country and of its capital at the present Burdwan District of West Bengal. So the donee was a Rājhiya Brāhmaṇa settled in Orissa.

1 The 1 symbol in the date of the Talmul plate may actually indicate 100 instead of 200 as in the Orissa Museum Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī to be edited by me in this journal.
3 Successors of the Śālavahānas, pp. 216, 226.
4 Ibid., p. 77 and u.
5 Bombay ed., p. 114.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Jayapura and Râjghâ has already been discussed. Jayapura is said to have resembled Ujjayini (modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State), the capital of king Vikramâdiyâ of Indian tradition and folklore. The Airâvatâ-mândala is also known from the other records of the family as well as from the Balâjhari inscription of Mahâbhâgavagupta Uddyâtâkâśârin.1 Airâvatâ, after which the mânâlā was named, has been identified with modern Râjgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack District. In the description of Jayânanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty of Orissa, that king is said to have been svâ-vikram-âkrânta-samastâ-Gûndrama. Jayânanda thus claimed to have subdued or overrun "the whole of Gûndrama". Gûndrama is also known from several other records from Orissa in all of which it is either found in conjunction with the word sakâla or with the word ashtâdâsa.

Mr. Panigrahi suggests that ashtâdâsa-Gûndrama is the same as Oriya aṭhara gaḍjhî, a name applied by people collectively to all the feudatory states of Orissa. The visâhâya of Kahâśrîngâ and the village of Palâmâna cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT

Overse

1 (Siddham)svâstv-sa-kalita-kalâ-lakmu-sa(s)a-pravâv-s-a-vakâ-sâsâ-tâ(î) vijit-âsâhâ-Ôjjaya-puning maṇipani-â.

2 râj-JayapurâVabhuh(Babhû)va Nandôdhava-va[nî]śa-sambhava[h*] svâ-vikram-âkrânta-samastâ-Gûndramô dhar-âdhipô dharmmadha ârî

3 mā.Ja(â-Ja)yâ(mâ)a[ndâ] iti prâvîra[h][[î][*]] Yasminâ(n) râjani di(di)nam-akshara-yugâ[n*] dëh-iti [n-âiva] śrutâni n-âtanâkâ[h*] kusîti[h*] kû(ku)tô

4 na cha mûrâ-hâ dvanâ(havâh) na châ-sâ(i)î-nâ[rî]gânā śârvâyâm-avâ(hâ)â sahâya-vikalââ-âalaṅkâra-jaṅkâriṇih kshî(kshî)va

5 yâpajâni[10] yadivanâ(r-vâ)râtâ Dilîpâ nûripe[11][2][*]11 Kanaka-ruchirakântih prôna(mna)ta[h*] pu(pû)rîta(tâ)śa sphurita-

6 vînâla-ratnah[12] sûra-durlangha(âghya)-mu(mû)rîti[h*] | vu(bu)dha-jânô(na)-nuta-pâdô Mêra(râ)vat-tasya sâkhâtî(t) piyata-

7 namatayôbhuh-chhê-Pârândâ-nâmâ[13][11][*]14 Tasya-âpi châ-sâit-sâ-âsâdha-pakshô vasaj-janââ khala moidsâ cha [1]*-ha-

1 JôBôS, Vol. XVII, p. 17, text 1.33. The record is sometimes also styled the Narsingpur inscription after the name of the State in which the village of Balîjarî, its actual findspot, is situated.

2 From the impressions and photographs preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. The text has also been checked with the help of the original plate kindly supplied by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, sometime after the paper was completed.

3 Expressed by a symbol usually interpreted as Oâs.

4 Read-Ôjjinyasinâ-para-guâ-nîkâ.

5 It is better to have a daṇḍâ here.

6 Read Gûndramô.

7 Read dharmaharâk uddhîmân.

8 Metro Upa[jî].

9 Read vikâl-âh-â.

10 Read gîtâ-ma[n]i varâ.

11 Metro Sârdâlavîrtîîta.

12 The daṇḍâ is superfluous.

13 Read priyatama-tanâgâ-hûch-chhê-Pârândâ-nâmâ.

14 Metro Mâ[î].

15 Read esa[n]-janâ(nâ).
TWO PLATES OF DEVANANDADEVA

8. [usū] yathā hansa-yamāna-kīrttana-nāmā Śivānanda iti prasiddhi(ddhāh) [[14]*] Tasya-
ābhu(bhūḥ) t-tanayas-trīṇikri.-
9. ta-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvakō vālēgānikaiv-ānvay-a(y-ā)mva(mba)ra-gatō yō-bhūtta(t)
prīyaḥ prāpi-
10. nām [tāruṇṭ(ṇy) tāruṇṭ-vi(vi)lochana-pū(du)tair-āp[i(ta*[ṛ]rū(ṛu) p-āmritō Dēvānanda iti
prasi-
11. ddhim-agamad-yaḥ svair-ggaṇaṁ(t-ni)rmmaḷai[h*] [15]*] Durvivār-āri-karinda(udra-
kumbha-dalanē spha(sphū)jarat-kara[h*]
12. kēsari śva(sa)javān-mānavati(tī)-mukhāvja(bja)-ja-yajakīt-tivrāḥ[ṛh*]ku-māli sadā | tasmād-ēva
Vi(Vi)lā-
13. satuṅga-ṛṇ[pa*]tibhū(r-bhū)tas-satāṁ-argra(grā)pīya(r-yā)asy-ēabhai(chēhāiḥ) sa(sa)rad-
inda(nu)-dhama-havala[u*] nitya[nī]* yasō varddhatē[[16]*]tana
14. ndīrā-dhva(d-dhva)ja-dīśī prēṭta(attu)gā-hattīvali subhṛā chāru-sudhā-vikāra-rachanais-
chand-rātapa-spa-
15. rōdhinī [[*] dūrād-hāti dhīśaḥ pathaṅga-gatavati(tī) lōkaya saṁchārinah(ṁ-nō) nī(nī)hār-
ōtakara-bhūdha-
16. rād-iva śanair-mma[ndā]*kīni śyandati(tē) [[17]*] Sa śri-Nandakul-ānvu(mbu)-jākara-
raṁiv sad-va[ṁştirā]-śa-dī(dī)pī nīpa-
17. ś-chaṇḍ-ārāti-vadhuh(dhū)-mukhāvja(bja)-sāsi(sa)bhrīḥ-rakta(kt-ā)rutā-dīgh(ṛgh-ā)kṣā\na-
[h*] kamvōhannapōḍupōḍha* pulakiku-
18. rvvana-ja(n-jena[u*] chēśhītai[ḥ*] satyā-tyāga-kulābhimāna-vinayaḥ yasy-āṅgajā[ḥ*]
sad-guṇāḥ | [[18]*] Dīpya-pra(t-pra)tāpān-

Reverse

10. la-plusht-ārāti-mūttās-chaturamabhōdadi-paryanta-bhrānta-sat-kitta* yathēchita-sthān-
āvasthāpita-varṇa-chatu-
20. shtayaḥ pūrit-āśēhā-prapuyi(yi)-jana-manoratha[ḥ*] sajjana-jan-ānanda-dāyi rakt-ānv-
(mba)ra-pramandji(poij)i-ta-

1. Read hasūtṛ yathā hasa-asamā-śkritir-amānām.
3. Read bāl-aiṇāḥka.
4. Metro Śāradāśkritāja.
5. Read hasy-śchehāiḥ sūla-ma*. Before this the Baripada Museum and Talmul plates have another verse
   reading: Nakshatr-avati-hara-damakaviḥ nīgat maḥā-mandicī jyotā-chandana-lēpan-śīdha-vā cndr-āndhākār-
   āmbara hasy-śchehās-sudhā-grīthē-tidhāvālī dig-digśchākaraṇāvā yasya rājasa eva-kāmā: vam sajas cndr-ānand
   paśuyati
7. The Baripada Museum and Talmul plates have padā which is preferable.
8. The meaning of the passage cannot be determined. There are no doubt some errors here. The Talmul
   plate has karmokāma na yugd-udgāpa. [The correct reading must be kaṁ mānaṁ na yugd upōtkulokā-urvās
   janāna cēśhītāḥ, meaning 'by his deeds sending people into thrills of joy, whom may he not fascinate'.—Ed.]
9. Metro: Śāradāśkritāja
10. Read mūrtiḥ-chatur-ambhēḥ.
21 kaladhauta-jollikā-chāmara-pralamvī(mbh)ita-pra(prānta-krōja-dōsa-vin yasta-mayūra-chandī-
(nīrīkā)-nikara.-si.

22 ta-cēhhatr-āvabhāsamāna[h*] sitadhātumaya-gōdhā-sīkharī(ri)kīta-lōhita-lōchan-āmva(mba)-
ra-dhvaja[h*] parama-

23 māheśvare-mātāpitrī-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigatapaṃchmahāsavda(bā)-
mahā-

24 sāmantādhipati-ārī-Devānandādeva[h*] kuśali Airavatta-ma[na*]la-samvanda-Kahā-
śrīṅgahavīja(shalaya(yē)

25 bhavishyad-yathākāl-ādhva(dhyā)siṃin rājanakān jara-putrāna Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purūgān
sāmanta-nivā-

26 [si*]-janapadānapadān-adhikāriṇā(nō)-nyānś-eha chāṭṭā(ta)-bhaṭṭa(ta)-vallava4-jāti(ti)-
yān rāja-pād-ōpa-

27 [jiśv*]na[h*] sarvān yathāharm-mānayati vō(h)dhya kuśalayati-āngāt-syaya(t) vihitam-astu

28 [bhavatā*]m-ētad-vishaya-pratīva(ba)ddha-Palāmānagāṃ-ōdaya5 chatu-simā-paryanta[h*]
Rādhā-vinirgata-

29 . . . pura2-vāstavya Uluka-gōtra-parārisi-pravaravira-Samarapāla-bhaṭṭa-sū(su)ta-Devapāla-

30 [su(su)]ta-Kuladevāpālabhaṭṭa(śāya) mātā-pitrōr-ātmā[na*]la-cha-
punya(nya)-yasō(sō)-
bhi(bhi)vriddhaya(yē) tāṃvra(mra)-sā(sā)sanē-

31 na pradattō-Śāmbhīr-yatas-tāmvra(mra)āsana-darsanād-āsmat-kāry ānuśīh-dā-yaṭkāla-
phū*

32 nimōdhūyamānāḥ kēn-āpi paripanēh na bhavāvya[m*] Mā-bhū(bhū)d-aphalā-
sa(śa)ṇkā va[h*] para-dā[tt-ō*]ti

33 pārthivā[(h*)] sva-śānā phalam-ānanta(nā)m* para-dattānupālana(nō)| Va(Ba)hubhir-
vvasudhā dattā rāja(bhi)h[ ] Sa-

34 gar-ādibhi|yasya yasya ta(ya) dā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam10-āntyā11 para-datt-
ānupālana(nō) |

35 va(ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā(tā) rāja(bhi) Sagar-āda(di)bhi[h *] yasya yasya yadā
bhū(bhūmīs)-tasya [tasya*] tadā phala[m*]|
II. — NARSINGPUR PLATE OF DEVĀNANDADĒVA

In July 1943, a person named Arta Sahu got the copper plate under discussion from a streamlet called Chitra flowing by Narsingpur, the headquarters of the Narsingpur State in Orissa. Without disclosing the fact of this discovery, he stealthily sold the plate to a goldsmith. There being dissension regarding the payment of its price, the matter was brought to the notice of the Narsingpur Darbar which then secured the plate. It was found that the goldsmith had cut off a small portion of it apparently for the examination of the metal. With the help of the Political Agent of Orissa States at Sambalpur, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra arranged to get the plate for examination and registration in November, 1944.

This is a single plate, having writing on both the sides. There are 12 lines of writing on the obverse and 13 lines on the reverse. The plate measures about \(7\frac{1}{4}\)" by \(3\frac{3}{8}\)" and has a circular projection from the middle of its left end, forming the seal about \(2\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. On this seal, which resembles the seal of the Jururpur plate described above, are found the emblems of the crescent and sun (or star), a crouching bull facing proper right and another symbol looking like an elephant goad but apparently representing a conch. Below these emblems is engraved in early Nāgari characters the legend Śri-Devānandadēva. Below the legend are two parallel straight lines. At the bottom of the seal is an expanded lotus. The plate weighs 66 tobas. The lost portion at the bottom right cut off by the goldsmith measures about \(\frac{3}{4}\)" by \(5\frac{1}{4}\)". This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the last line of the inscription on the obverse and that of the first line on the reverse.

The characters resemble those of the Baripada Museum and Jururpur inscriptions of Devānandadēva and the Talmul inscription of Dhruvānanda, although there are many cases of careless engraving. The language of the record is incorrect Sanskrit; but in this respect, as will be shown below, the present inscription cannot be compared with any other record of the family. It has certain orthographical features in common with the other inscriptions, although in a number of cases letters have been engraved without any idea of forming by them any word bearing sense. This is because the record under discussion is not a regular and complete charter. It appears to be a hopelessly defective copy of some portions of two regular charters.

Before analysing the contents of the present inscription, I may offer a tentative suggestion regarding the circumstances leading to the preparation of such a peculiar document. It seems that two genuine charters of king Devānandadēva in the possession of a family became very much damaged possibly as a result of having been burnt in fire. The seal of one of the plates appears to have been totally lost and the writing on both the plates became in most places unreadable. Owing to difficulties in getting a reissue of the charters, the family enjoying the lands granted probably managed to forge the present document. The seal of one of the original charters being saved was attached to a new copper plate prepared for the purpose of engraving the records afresh. The engraver, however, meant to incise only the letters that could be read by him on the damaged originals, but he did it in a consecutive manner without thinking whether the letters engraved would form correct words and offer any sense at all. The most interesting thing in the present record is that it contains portions of several verses in the Śārdūlavikrīḍā metre and that those stanzas appear to be different from those found in the known charters of the family. The beginning of the record also differs from that of the other records.

The record begins with the symbol for śiddham followed by the word seasti just as other records of the Nanda family of Orissa. Then comes a passage (II.1-2) which, although defective, seems to be an adjective, qualifying the place from which the original charter was issued. From other records of the family, it is known to have been Jayapura, the capital of the Nanda kings. Next 6A
follows the passage viprāśāsin veda-śattra-dvāra-jaṇita (II.2-3) which appears to be an incomplete adjectival phrase, qualifying the same city, the concluding part of it having been omitted. Then the reigning monarch willing to make a grant of land is abruptly introduced as paramabhājāya-raśaka-
Nanda-mahārāja-rāyaka-Sri-Dēvānandadeva kuśali, although the usual epithets of this king and the metrical description of himself and his ancestors found in other records are absent. It seems that a big section of the original charter, possibly containing a number of verses, has been omitted here. Reference is next made to the officers and others relating to the Kuruḍāśīṅgaya viśaya attached to the Erāvaṭṭa maṇḍala which is no other than the Arāvaṭṭa known from other records of the family. But without even completing the list of officials and furnishing a verb to the sentence, the engraver then offers us, strangely enough, portions of some verses. It is not improbable that these verses belong to the introduction of a second charter of the same king. In lines 7-8 there appears to be the concluding part of the first verse in which a king has been described as sad-vikrāmē Śūdrakā. It is possible to suggest that this ruler was no other than Jayānanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty of Orissa. The second verse begins in line 8 with the passage tasmād-dva Vilāsatuṅga-nara and shows that this stanza dealt with king Vilāsatuṅga, who was the son of the king described in the first verse. From the inscriptions of the family we know that Jayānanda was succeeded by his son Parānanda who was followed by his son Śivānanda. As this Śivānanda is actually mentioned in a following verse, it is possible to suggest that it is the father Parānanda who has been called Vilāsatuṅga in the record under discussion, although other inscriptions of the family apply the bīrada Vilāsatuṅga only to the grandsons of Śivānanda. The verse describing Vilāsatuṅga (possibly the same as Parānanda), which could not be engraved in its entirety and bears many mistakes in the engraved portions, seems to end with the charaṣṭa: kṣimāpya-ānata-mulai-ratra-nikara-pradāyit-tāghri-dvayaḥ in lines 10-11. In line 15 the last charaṣṭa of verse 4 of the original record, marked as such, which describes Śivānanda, runs: ātṛn bhūnur-ivā-parah prakāśitah Śrimān Śivānandakā. The next verse, which is marked as verse 5 of the original record (line 18), begins with the words vānustasya and apparently deals with Śivānanda's son Dēvānanda. Lines 18-19 bear only a small part of a verse, marked as the sixth. In the name of Dēvānanda is actually mentioned. The following verse is represented only by the first four syllables of the first charaṣṭa at the end of line 19. In line 20 the reigning monarch is again introduced, without any of the royal titles, simply as śri-Dēvānandadeva kuśali. There is little doubt that a large number of words of the original document has been omitted between line 19 and line 20 of the present record. Reference is next made (lines 20-21) to the village called Dīlośāra-grāma situated in the Kalēdā khāṣṭa which formed a part of the Erāvaṭṭa maṇḍala. This seems to have been the village granted by the king. Lines 21-23 refer to a person who belonged to the Dālhya gōtra and was the grandson of Śikara and the great grandson of Viṭhu. This may have been the donee of the grant. His own name and that of his father cannot be satisfactorily determined; but the word śri-śakta in line 23 may actually stand for Trilōka which may be suggested to have been the original donee's name. Next follow portions of the customary list of officers. It has to be pointed out that the list of officers should have come earlier. Possibly two lines of the original have been transposed here. This list is followed abruptly by the expression chatur-simā-parṣa no doubt standing for chatuk-simā-parṣaṇaḥ usually qualifying the word grāmāḥ in indicating the gift village. The charter ends here.

Considering the nature of the document, it is not possible to say definitely whether the king named Dēvānanda mentioned in line 4 as well as in line 20, apparently as the issuer of a charter, was Śivānanda's son Dēvānanda (I) or Śivānanda's grandson Vilāsatuṅga Dēvānanda (II). The

1 Cf. paramaḥaśūraka-panadhigampaniḥmanahā-jabha-mahāśāmanoṁdāsaṅghīneśvānā found in other records of the family.
facts, however, that we have two other charters of Vilāsatūṅga Dēvānanda (II) and that no record of any of his ancestors has yet come to light make the case of this king more likely.

TEXT

Obverse

1 [Siddhaśa]svi(sva)sti [kari] Prōtta(ttu)ṅga-mādyata(b)-kari(r)-karaṭa-taṭa-praśra(ara)va-dānato-yā-

2 sāṣa[r]a-prāya-mārjja(riji)ta-prasaramaya-vaśa-prāpta-tushti(ṃ)čcharāta(t)2 vipra-

3 [ū(ṃ)] vēda-sāhstra(stra)-dhvani-janita4 paramabhaṭṭārarka(rka)-Nanda-mahārāja-

4 naka-śri-Dēvānandadevah 2 kusuśa(ja)li āravaṭṭa-manḍala-

5 bhāmachandra-karaṭāringaya7-visa(ha)ya-bhāvivayathākāla8 bhabhavi.

6 nō ṛjajakāṭā -ṛjaputra-pu(pru)ṛōgū[n*] sāmamantā11 nivāpni(s)ja-

7 napaḍān-adhi(ṭhi)kari(ri)ṇah14 sa-karaṇaḥ(ṛ)an12 pūti vapraṇa

8 [sad-vikramē Śūdra]kaḥ13 Tasmād-ēva Vilāsatūṅga-nāra-

9 yōyē köpyatōkaḥ 11 Shāhīta-mādyata7 vūjayavūkū-

10 mṛipi nahalana 11dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayah1 1kshā(khām)ṇa[pāla(l)-ā]-

11 ti(ta)-maulī(i)-ratna-nil(ni)kara-pradyat-ā(dyōtīt-ā)ṛghiri-dravyah12 yā thōtō kṛita

12 karala-nil(nj)kara[yi]31

1 From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

2 Expressed by the symbol usually interpreted as Ōm.

3 Although defective, the whole passage seems to have been originally used as an epithet of Jayapurāṇa, Jayapurāṇa being the capital of the king.

4 This likewise seems to be an incomplete epithet of Jayapurāṇa although the remaining akeśaras of the epithet as well as the name of the city have been omitted.

5 The danda is superfluous.

6 Read sambadhā.

7 The ga at the end of the name may be superfluous.

8 Read bhāvshyad-yathākāla.

9 Read bhārīnā.

10 Read rājānaka.

11 Read sāmamantā.

12 The dandas are superfluous.

13 The dandas are superfluous. From this place the engraver abruptly begins a verse in the Śārdūlaśirvidā metre; but he has omitted some syllables, while some have been carelessly substituted by other akeśaras. It should be noticed that the description of the king and his ancestors should properly have preceded that of the grant partially quoted in lines 3-7.

14 The following seven syllables appear to have been the ending part of the first verse of the original.

15 The dandas probably indicate the end of the first verse. Only the first eleven syllables of the following verse appear to be true to the original.

16 The dandas marking probably the end of a charana of the verse are superfluous.

17 It is tempting to suggest the emendation sātika-mādyat; but that does not suit the beginning of a Śārdūlaśirvidā foot.

18 The following ten syllables appear to be true to the original.

19 The dandas are probably unnecessary.

20 Here the verse seems to end.

21 Owing to a portion of the plate being cut off, only the upper part of about fourteen akeśaras are noticed after this.
13 nṛtyanitā purvavaravapu
14 gāmbhirya lamvāṣyāpi susudutva viśēṣha-ṣa(s)tvā-nilaksha
15 śūvā(r)ō jā(bhā)nū(n)ur-(i)r-v-āparah || prakaṭitaḥ || śrīmā-Si(mān-Chhp)ivānanda-
16 ka(4) Su(sū)mus-tra(-ta)sya - sa(śa)tru-nil(ū)kra(k)ra(as)-tējō vīyanih|ṣa|ṣa (sa)daḷa-
17 kshē(ksha)pi-lakṣitaḥ || kshita(t)bhujām-agrēṇa(sa)raḥ || śu(su)ndaraḥ || ja-
18 tasaparitō vi(v)īnīta-nēpuṇīdra || Drī. Dēvāṇa* jndā-urīpō
19 suddhamati vānyāta-vānīnāmaṁha(ga)|a|ḥ || sarva-prāpa-
20 śrī-Dēvānandavānandadēvaḥ || kūsa(s)a)li Erāvaṭṭa-
21 maṅḍala-Kalēda-khaḍja-Dōlōshāgrāma-Vi
22 ṭhu-suta-Sihara-ṣu(su)ka-ṇata-suta-Dālabhya-13 gōtri-14 pāmṛyā
23 rishāya-[pra]varah || ṭṛṇiṇā15-pāṇchapala || vibhyathā-18
24 kalē-bhābhavi[nō] ra(rā)japutra-purogān(gān) sāṃanta-nivāśi-
25 janapadān-adhi(dhi)kāri(ri)gah || chatura-simā-parja19

1 About 14 or 15 letters are lost after this.
2 The dandaas are superfluous.
3 The dandaas are superfluous.
4 Here ends the fourth verse of the original charter. It is in the Śāradāvākṣikīṭīsa metre, but only the last foot can be satisfactorily made out. Although these verses appear to be different from those found in the other grants of the family, it has to be noticed that even in those records Śivānanda’s description occupies verse 4, while verses 1-3 describe his grandfather Jayānanda and father Parānanda.
5 The ṭ sign is not found in its proper place and is attached to the subscript i.
6 The dandaas are superfluous. Here ends the first foot of a verse in the Śāradāvākṣikīṭīsa metre; but this foot cannot be satisfactorily made out.
7 The dandaas are superfluous.
8 Possibly only one danda is necessary.
9 This marks the end of the fifth verse of the original charter; but a large number of the syllables of its second half have been omitted.
10 This marks the end of the 6th verse of the original charter; but a large number of syllables has been omitted.
11 Read Dēvānandavāla.
12 The dandaas are superfluous.
13 Read Dālabhya-gōtrīya.
14 Probably we have to suggest trīśākha-pravaraṇas the Dālabhya-gōtra has three pravaras, viz., Augirasa (or Mānīlāṭi), Ambarsa and Yuvandēva (Gōtrapanavarabandhakalambha, Bombay, p. 114).
15 If the name of the donor is expected here we may probably suggest Trīśākha in place of Trīśākhapā.
16 Read bhavishya-gāthā-kālā-bhāvānā.
17 The dandaas are superfluous. Many words have been left out here.
18 The danda is superfluous. Read chutah-simā-purvaṇīḥ; but the rest of the charter has been left out.
NOTE ON THE SALEM PLATES OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA

G. S. GAI, OOTACUMUND

After my article on this inscription was sent to the press, I noticed the Rāṣṭrakūṭa names Śivarāja and his son Gōvindarāja mentioned in the Narwan plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, a study of which would throw welcome light on the pedigree of Kañčhiyabhā given in the Salem plates of Ganga Śripurusha. In the Narwan grant which bears the date Śaka 664, i.e., A.D. 742, the king is stated to have made, while his victorious camp was in Adityavāda, a gift of the village Naravāna at the request of Gōvindarāja, son of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śivarāja. Adityavāda is identified with modern Aitavadi in the Satara District and Naravana with the village of the same name in the Guhāgar Petha of the Ratnagiri District. So the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvindarāja seems to have held a feudatory position under Vikramāditya II in portions of Satara and Ratnagiri Districts of the Bombay Presidency. Possibly Gōvindarāja's father Śivarāja also held the same position in the same area under the same king or his father and predecessor Vījayaśrī.

Now the following genealogy is supplied by the Salem plates:

```
Nannappa
  Śivarāja
    Gōvindarāja
    md. Vinayavatī, dau. of king Vikramāditya

Kañčhiyabhā (A.D. 771) md. Duggamāra, son of Śripurusha.
  Indarāja
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We find that in both the Salem and Narwan records the names of Śivarāja and Gōvindarāja occur in identical forms and bear the same relationship, viz., father and son. The date of Gōvindarāja in the Narwan plates, corresponding to A.D. 742, would place his father Śivarāja in c. A.D. 725. These dates would very well agree with the period of Gōvindarāja and his father Śivarāja of the Salem plates as Gōvindarāja's daughter Kañčhiyabhā was alive in A.D. 771, when the Salem plates were issued. And Śivarāja's father Nannappa has been assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Further, as noted above, the Narwan grant indicates that Gōvindarāja was holding a subordinate position under Vikramāditya II. The Salem plates inform us that Gōvindarāja's queen Vinayavati was the daughter of a well-known king Vikramāditya who in all probability is identical with this very Chālukya king Vikramāditya II. A consideration of these facts lead us to identify Śivarāja and his son Gōvindarāja mentioned in the Salem plates with their namesakes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family referred to in the Narwan plates. Thus we

1 Above, p. 145.
2 Above, p. 139, text line 57.
3 Above, p. 147 and note.
get four generations of these Rāṣṭrakūta princes from Nannappa to Indarāja who seem to have ruled in Northern Karnatak in a feudatory capacity under the imperial Chālukyas.

The Salem record states that Gōvindarāja's daughter Kaṇchchiyabbā was the wife of Duggamāra, son of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. It is quite possible that this matrimonial relationship between the Western Gaṅgas and this Rāṣṭrakūta family was brought about through the influence of the Chālukyas; for, according to our identification, Kaṇchchiyabbā was the granddaughter of Vikramāditya II through his daughter Vinayavati, married to Gōvindarāja.

Dr. Altekar has shown that it is not possible to connect Gōvindarāja and his father Śivarāja of the Narwan plates either with the ancestors of Dantidurga of the main Rāṣṭrakūta line or with the predecessors of Karka II of the Antroli-Chharoli record.¹ I have pointed out the difficulties in identifying Śivarāja's father Nannappa of the Salem plates with his namesake mentioned in the Tiwarkhed, Multai and Daulatabad plates.² Prof. Miraśī has tried to show the existence of a ruling family called Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. in the area known as Southern Maratha country, with Satara District as headquarters.³ He has also suggested that following the defeat of Gōvinda, supposed to be a prince of the Rāṣṭrakūta family, at the hands of Pulakēśī II on the north of the Bhimarathi, as stated in the Aihole prakāṣṭi,⁴ the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to have moved to Berar where they founded a principality with Achalapura as their capital.⁵ Yet we are not in a position to establish any connection between any of these rulers and the family of Nannappa of the Salem record. It may, however, be possible to assume that this Nannappa might have been a grandson of Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates,⁶ though they would be separated from each other by about 70 years. But there is one difficulty in the supposition. Nannarāja of the Tiwarkhed plates belonged to Achalapura in Berar whereas the Nannappa and his descendants were supposed to be ruling in Northern Karnatak, in portions of Satara and Ratnagiri Districts. In such case, we will have to assume that one of these Rāṣṭrakūtas migrated again to their earlier home in Northern Karnatak. Another possibility is that Nannappa and his line of the Salem plates belonged to an altogether different branch of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. And Gōvindarāja and his son Indarāja of this family, instead of joining hands with Dantidurga and his uncle Kṛishṇa I in overthrowing the Chālukyas, perhaps actually opposed them on behalf of the Chālukyas with whom they were matrimonially connected. In this encounter, the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha might have also lent his support on the side of the Chālukyas and their Rāṣṭrakūta allies, since he was interested in them. Probably to avenge this act of Śrīpurusha the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛishṇa I invaded Gaṅgavādi and encamped at Maṇḍe in the Mysore State, from where he issued his Talegaon plates in A.D. 768.⁷ In this connection we may note that the Salem plates of A.D. 771 announce the death of Indarāja, son of Gōvindarāja, which seems to have taken place only a few years prior to the date of that record. We must, however, say that these are only suggestions about the probable course of events and, of course, they are to be confirmed or modified in the light of future discoveries.

¹ *The Rāṣṭrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 15.
² Above, p. 147 and note.
³ *Ainola, Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.,* Vol. XXV, pp. 39-46; Dr. Altekar, however, does not subscribe to this view; *ibid.,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 149-55.
⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 5.
⁵ *ABORI, Vol. XXV, p. 47.
⁶ Prof. Miraśī's latest view is that the Tiwarkhed plates are spurious while the Multai record is genuine; (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.,* Vol. XXV, pp. 138-43). I have already shown that Nannappa and Nannarāja of the Salem and Multai records respectively would be contemporaries (above, p. 147 note).

MGIPC—81—XVI.1-25—12-9-31—450.
No. 53—PETTASARA GRANT OF NETTABHANJA

(1 Plate)

C. C. DAS GUPTA, CALCUTTA

This set of copper plates was recently acquired for the Orissa Museum at Bhubanesvar by its Curator. I edit it with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India who supplied me with an excellent set of impressions.¹

The set consists of three copper plates, each measuring 7.7" × 4.5". The plates are strung together on a ring with a seal which is worn out. Together with the ring, they weigh 138 tolas, the ring alone weighing 22 tolas. The first and third plates are engraved on one side only, the second on both sides. The inscription consists of 35 lines, the first plate containing 8 lines and the other three inscribed sides of the plates 9 lines each.

The characters used in this inscription belong to the East Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century A.C. The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse and prose. As regards palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription closely resembles other Orissan records of the period in question.

Nettabhāṇaṇja mentioned in this inscription is the same as Netribhāṇaṇja noted in three Ganjam grants² on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in all these four inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of all these records are of the same nature. Thirdly, all were issued from Vaiṇjyavaka. Fourthly, the officers named in this inscription as serving Nettabhāṇaṇja are found mentioned only in the inscriptions of Netribhāṇaṇja as serving that ruler. For example, the officers Kakkāka, Durgadēva and Vēchēkika mentioned in this inscription are also known from other inscriptions of Netribhāṇaṇja.³ Lastly, the ruler Nettabhāṇaṇja of this record and Netribhāṇaṇja of the other inscriptions have the common secondary name Kalyāṇakalaśa.⁴ These inscriptions together offer the following genealogical table:

| Šilābhaṇaṇja |
| Satrubhaṇaṇja |
| Ṛaṇabhaṇaṇja |
| ———
| Netribhaṇaṇja |

There is another ruler with almost the same name, i.e., Nettabhāṇaṇja⁵; but there is no doubt that he is an altogether different monarch though belonging to the same dynasty.⁶ There are also two other rulers named Nettabhāṇaṇja I and Nettabhāṇaṇja II who belonged to an altogether different dynasty as their genealogy is entirely different.⁷

¹ [This inscription was published with plates by Pandit Satyanarayan Rajaguru in the Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I, No. 4 (March 1947), pp. 283 ff., under the title "The Khatribhāṇaṇja Copper-plate Grant of Nettabhāṇaṇjadeva alias Kalyāṇakalāśa (Samvat 59)." According to him, the plates were discovered by the villagers of Khatribhāṇaṇja in the Ghumur Subdivision of the Ganjam District, Orissa, while digging the earth for the construction of a school building and he received them for examination in October 1946 through Mr. Banchanidhi Patnaik of Gobar and Mr. Nabakisor Das of Cuttack.—D.C.S.]
² Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1497-99. [The correct reading of the name in all the three cases is Nettabhāṇaṇja—
³ D.C.S.]
⁴ Ibid., Nos. 1497-98.
⁵ Ibid., Nos. 1497-99.
⁶ Ibid., No. 1502.
⁷ This point was discussed by me in ABOFI, Vol. XII, p. 240.
⁸ Bhandarkar, List, No. 2907.
There are three letters in line 35 on the third plate between the words chaturḍaśi and śu-di which are not very easy to explain. But, as there is mention of the month (Mārgaśīrṣa) and the year, there is no doubt that these three letters indicate numerical figures, although the position of the numerals is rather unusual as it should have been placed after the word saṅkutasara. In support of this suggestion we may say that two Bhaṣaja inscriptions of king Raṇabhaṇja contain dates in an era, viz., Saṅivat 288\(^1\) and Saṅivat 293\(^1\). The present grant seems to be the third Bhaṣaja record which contains a similar date. The first of the three letter-symbols may represent 200. The symbol used here is very similar to the sign given in Bühler’s Tafel IX, 200, IX. The numeral 200 expressed in the two other inscriptions mentioned above is the letter ṭū which is different from the sign used in this inscription to indicate the same number. This sign for 200 is derived from another symbol noticed in Bühler’s Tafel IX, 200, IX. The second of the three signs resembles the numeral 70 as given in Bühler’s Tafel IX, 70, VI. If we consider the curvilinear stroke before śu as a mark of punctuation, the third sign may be read as 9 as it closely resembles the form of that numeral noticed in Bühler’s Tafel, IX, 9, XVII. The year of the date may thus be read as 279. If we refer the year 279 of the inscription under study to the Harsha era, we get 279+606, i.e., 885 A.C. as the date of the grant.\(^3\)

The object of this inscription is to record the gift, by Nṛṭṭabhaṇja, of the village of Pṛṭṭasara in Māṇḍīḍā-vishaya on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa for the benefit of his parents and himself to Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇavarudra, son of Kṛṣṇamarudra and grandson of Dāmodararudra.

The places mentioned in this inscription are Māṇḍīḍā-vishaya and Pṛṭṭasara-grāma. These two place-names are not mentioned in any other inscription of the Bhaṣja rāulers of Orissa. It is not possible to identify them. However, for the first time, we find here the name of another vishaya within the territories of the Bhaṣja rāulers of Ḫiṅjali-maṇḍala.\(^4\)

TEXT

[Metres: V. 1 Mulusi; v. 2 Sārāda-viśṛṣṭi; v. 3 Ārya; v. 4 Vasāntailaka; vvs. 5-8 Anushṭubh; v. 9 Pushpitāgrā.]

First Plate

1 Ōṃ svasti [\(^1\)*] Jayatu kusuma-vā(ḥ)a-prāṇa vikshē(kaḥ)bha-dakṣham sva-kīrṣa
2 parivēṣhē(ḥ-au)rjitya-jirṇu-čadu-lēkha[m [\(^1\)*] triti]-bhuvaṇa-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāsava [\(^1\)*]-pradi-
3 pari kanaka-nikṣha-gaiga(gau)nāṃ chāru-nētra[m\(^1\)*] Harasya[\(^1\)*] Śaśah-āhūr-iva ye phanāḥ pra-
4 viralasanunudbhāsav-āṇḍu-śvīṣha pralēy-āchala-āṇḍa-kōṭaya iva tvāga-
5 nti yē-tsya-annatāḥ [\(^1\)*] nṛṣṭ-āīopa-vighatā[tti][ti]ṭa iva bhujā rājanti ye Śambha-
6 vās-tē sarvā-āgha-vighatina[h*] sura-sa(sa)rīt-tōy-ōrnmayaḥ pāntu vah [\(^1\)*] Vijaya-Va-

\(^1\) Bhandarkar, Lāṣt, No. 1487.
\(^3\) The existence of a date in an era in the present record is extremely doubtful. See below, p. 340, notes 3-Ed.
\(^4\) The point has been discussed by me in ABORI, Vol. XII, pp. 231-45.
7. 7jułvakāt [1*] Asti jaya-sīr-nilayaḥ prakaṭa-guṇa-grasta-sarva-ripu-garvva[h [1*]
8. sīr-Kalyāṇakalaśa-nāmā rājā nirdhūjaṭa-kalī-kaluṣa(sha)ḥ [1* 3*] Bhaṅj-āma-

Second Plate; First Side

9. 1a-kula-tīlakaḥ sīr Śilābhaṅjadēvasya prapaṇṭraḥ sīr Śatrubhaṅjadēvasya naptā sīr-
Raṇabhaṅjadēvasya sa(sū)nuh paramanāḥēvārō mā-
11. tā-piṭḍ-pādāṇudhyāna-rataḥ sīr Nṛttaṃabhaṅjadēvah kuśali [1*] Māṇḍiḍḍa- vishayē rāja-
rājanaṅka-rājaputtraḥ(tṛṭān) vishayapati-dāṇḍapāṇikān
13. yathākāl-śādhyāśīnā vyavahārīnī Vṛū(ṛ)haṣaṇā(ḥ)na Karaṇa-purōgadhna(ḥ)na ni-
14. vāsī-jaṇapadāṁś-cā yathārhaḥ[ṇ]* māṇayati vō(bō)dhayati samādīṣati cā sa-
15. rvvataḥ śīvam-asākam-atya(nya)t viditam-atst bhavatāṁ(tām) ētad-vishaya-samva(mba)-
dhā-
16. Pṛttaṃasara-grāmaḥ chatu[h[*]śimā-parichehhinō(ṃnō)-smābhīḥ mātā-pitṛtrō-ātmanah
17. puny-ābhivyiddhayē Vājāṇa-chaṇāṇyā[1 Kāṇva-āśkhāya Bhāradvāja-

Second Plate; Second Side

18. sya(sa)gōṭrīya A(ā)ṅgirasa-pravarāya [1* vārhihaspatyavat[3*] Bhaṭṭa-Dāmōda-
19. rarudra-naptā(ptri)-Bhaṭṭa-Kṣemarudra-suta-Bhaṭṭa-Kēṣavardṛṇa(ḍrāyā) pratipāditāḥ
dhārā-
20. salī-purussardṛṇa vīdhīnā pratipāditāḥ ā-chandārka-tārā(ṛ)aṁ yāvaṁtā[4*] a-chā-
21. ta-bhaṭṭa-pravēśena sarva-vā(bā)dha-paraḥrīgā(ṇa) akaraṇvēna [1*] tēna bhūńjadbhī[ḥ[*] dha-
22. rma-gauravāt na kēnachid-vyāghanīyaḥ [1*] Aṃṣat-kula-kramam-a-
23. dārām-udā(ha[ha]*)rabdhrī-anē(nya)†-cā dānām-idam-abhyamanōdaniya[h(yam)] (yam) ] Lakṣmy-
āś-ta-
24. ḍit-salīva-vu(bu)dvu(bu)da-chaṅchhalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ parayaśaḥ-paripāla-
25. naḥ-cha [1*] uktaḥ-cā dharmma-śāstrē || Va(Ba)hūḥ(hiḥr)e-vvasudhā dattā rājabhīḥ Sagur-a-
26. dibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhū(hūṃ)ms-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [5*] Mā bhūḍ-sapha-

Third Plate

27. 1a-sūṅkā vat(vaḥ) para-datta-ṛti pārthiviḥ [1*] sva-danāt phalam-ananatyam para-datt-ā-
28. nupālanam(ṇē) [1*] Sva-dattām para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) vasundharāṁ(rām l) 
sva-vīṣṭhāyēṁ kri-
29. mir-bhūtvā pṛtṛbihīḥ sa(sa)ha pachayatē || [7*] Shasṭhiṁ varsha-sahasra(arā)pi avargē mōdīati

1 Read Vājāṇaṇa-charasya.n
2 The danda is superfluous.
3 Read Bārhaspatya. [Better read Bārhaspatya-anupravaraṇa; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 277. note 9.-
D.C.S.]
4 Read gāvat which is, however, redundant. The word pratipāditāḥ has been unnecessarily duplicated,
30 bhu(bhū)midāḥ [*] ākśhōptā ch-āhūmantā cha tāṇy-deva narakaṁ vrajīt [|| 8*] Iti kamāla-
dal-ā-
31 mvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam-anuchintya manushya=jīvitaṁ=cha sakalam-ida-
32 m=udāñhitadbhi(ñ=cha) vu(bu)dhvā na hi purushaṁ parakīrttayō vilōpyah(pyaṁ || 9) svayam-
ādi-
33 shtō rājāṁ dūtakō-tra śri-Rājakaţakadēva[ḥ*] likhitāṁ=cha sāndhivigrahit-
34 ga Kakkākēna || Utkirṇaṁ ch-ākṣhaśāli-Durgadēvēna || Lāńchhitam vulgu-
35 lāṁ Vāchchhikāyānī śaṁvatçharaś Mārgaśira-chaturdāśi(śyāṁ) 200 70 9śu-di [||*]

¹ Read Vāchchhikēna.
² Read saṁvatçhara. [What has been read as tekkura was deciphered by Pandit Rajaguru as 59. The correct reading of the two signs may be 10 2, i.e., year 12 of Nêṭtabhaţja’s reign.—D.C.S.]
³ [The three akharas were read as saṅgutya by Pandit Rajaguru; but they look like saṅkutya. The reading intended seems to be saṅkrāntyāṁ.—D.C.S.]
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By M. Venkataramaya

[The figures refer to pages; s. after a figure refers to footnotes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are used: au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; Chron. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; dist. = district; dn. = division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epitaph; f. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; hist. = historical; k. = king; l. = locality; lit. = literary; lin. = linear measure or land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office or officer; pr. = prince; pro. = province; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s. = same as; sur. = surname; Tam. = Tamil; temp. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; to. = town; tr. = taluq; vi. = village; W. = Western; w.k. = work.]

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<tr>
<td>Yuvrajā, off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarājadēva, Kalachuri k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarājadēva I, do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvarājadēva I, do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
$3f + x^2 + 288$

Palmier = 16
Pepi = 386
Toli = 402

both sides = 24
one side = 21