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Antiquities of Chamba State - Part I

BY

J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D.,
Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle

PART I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

WITH 40 PLATES AND 30 TEXT-ILLUSTRATIONS

Edited under the authority of the Government of India

CALCUTTA
Superintendent Government Printing, India
1911

Price Rs. 2.2 or 33s.
TO

HIS HIGHNESS

RAJA SIR BHURI SINGH, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
CHIEF OF CHAMBA,

THIS EDITION OF THE EARLY RECORDS
OF HIS HOUSE AND STATE
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE
BY THE AUTHOR.
PREFACE.

When in the spring of 1902 my friend Mr. T. W. Arnold, then Professor of the Government College at Lahore, first drew my attention to Chambā as a possible field of antiquarian research, I little foresaw what a wealth of epigraphical records this petty Hill State would prove to contain. Sir A. Cunningham had visited Chambā in 1839 and devoted to it a few pages in two of his well-known volumes. In these he discussed the inscribed images of Meru-varman and the chief temples of the capital, gave a list of the Rājās and mentioned the existence at Chambā town of four inscriptions, three on copper-plates and one on a stone slab. Here, as elsewhere, the great pioneer of Indian archaeology only demarcated the field, leaving to others its further exploration.

During the years 1902-1908 I have been able to devote part of the summer months to this pleasant task, and in the course of my tours have succeeded in recovering one hundred and thirty inscriptions. This result I attribute mainly to the vigorous support which from the outset my researches received from His Highness, Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Raja of Chambā, to whom, with the consent of the Government of India, this work is dedicated. The discovery of many an unknown inscription is due to the information supplied by the officials acting under his orders; and I may mention here, that His Highness has further shown his interest in the antiquities and past records of his State by founding a local Museum, which was opened on the 14th September, 1908, and has been rightly named after him.

The importance of these inscriptions for local history, it is hardly necessary to emphasize. They do not, it is true, help us to solve any of the great problems of Indian history, but they enable us to write a more detailed and more coherent story of Chambā than of any of the other Himalayan States, excluding Kaśmir and Nepāl.

These records, moreover, throw side-light on the history of neighbouring territories where ancient documents are less numerous and every scrap of information is of value. Even in places where historical documents do exist, their contents can often be supplemented from the Chambā inscriptions. This is particularly the case in Kaśmir—the only country in India of which we possess a written history of the Hindu period. The famous Rājata-raṅgini is replete with information about the 11th and 12th centuries, the same epoch to which the bulk of the Chambā inscriptions belongs. Thus it happens that Kaśhapa’s chronicle imparts life to the stone slabs and metal plates of Chambā, whilst these contemporary documents, in their turn, confirm the trustworthiness of the great chronicler of Kaśmir. Indeed, the excellent annotated edition of the Rājata-raṅgini, both in Sanskrit and English, by Dr. M. A. Stein, C.I.E., has been one of my chief guides in the course of my researches, and it has been no small satisfaction to me to continue in Chambā the work so splendidly inaugurated in Kaśmir by that distinguished scholar.

There is one circumstance which lends to the antiquities of Chambā an interest far exceeding the narrow limits of local history. It is that the past to which they belong, is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads. Whereas in
other and more exposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones, and successive waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past. Chambā, encircled by her snow-clad mountain-barriers, has, century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions, which are only now gradually giving way to the irresistible onslaught of Western civilization.

The antiquarian can hardly refrain from deploring this change which, though beneficial in many respects, so often tends to destroy what is sanctified by the ages. But instead of lamenting the unavoidable changes of time, he will do well in retaining at least a record of the vanishing past.

Chambā is still ruled by a descendant of the noble house whose scions fought in the civil wars of Kāśmīr side by side with Haraśa and Sussala. He still resides in the same “glorious Champa” whence his ancestors issued their copper charters, and where his subjects still hail him with the classical greeting “Jai Deo!” Up to the present day the people of Chambā worship in the temples founded by Śāhīlavarman in the 10th century, and at Brahamor, the ancient capital Brahamapura, the silent brazen idols are still enshrined in their wonderful wood-carved fanes in which Meru-varman piously placed them twelve centuries ago. The Rāṇās—those “barons of the Hills,” whose former importance was first revealed by the eulogies of Baitānā, are still met with in Chambā, often, it is true, reduced to the state of poor peasants, but still clinging to their ancient title and to the ruins of their ancestral castles. The traveller too in the valleys of Chambā is still received after his day’s march by an official whose title and presumably whose duties also have remained unchanged through the lapse of ages, though they have passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

There are among our inscriptions some which are distinguished by no small degree of literary ability such as the eulogies of Sarāha, Dēvī-rī-kōṭhi and Mul-Kihār. But it must be admitted that the great majority do not attain a high standard of scholarship, and we shall not be far wrong in assuming that, whatever erudition they display, was borrowed from the neighbouring seat of Sanskrit learning in Kāśmīr. The skilful poet of the Baitānā eulogy calls himself the son of a judge (promātīr) from that country, and it was perhaps the civil wars of Kallīna’s days which compelled many a pandit to seek refuge with the rulers of the adjoining Hill States.

Though inferior in literary interest, the Chambā inscriptions are highly important from a paleographical point of view; for they form an uninterrupted series of Śāradā records ranging from the time when this script was evolved out of the Western Gupta alphabet down to the Muhammadan period, when it developed into Gurmukhī, Tākari, and other modern writings. In the course of the present work I shall endeavour to show that Śāradā was once extensively used both in the Plains and the Hills of the Punjāb, and that, though this character was remarkably conservative, its forms were by no means so immutable as the best authorities on Indian paleography have supposed. The Chambā records display a slow, but distinct development, and I feel confident that they will supply a reliable base for establishing the approximate date for any document written in this script.
It is true that the chronology of the Chambā epigraphs is attended with very
great difficulty owing to the almost exclusive use of the Lokakila era. I have
discussed the various thorny questions bearing on this subject in a special chapter
of my introduction, but offer my conclusions with great diffidence, except where
they could be checked by so good an authority as the late Professor F. Kielhorn.
His assistance—welcome always both for its own sake as for the kindness with which
it was offered—I wish here gratefully to acknowledge.

Although in several cases I have not succeeded in fixing the precise date of the
inscriptions here edited, it has nearly always been possible to arrive at approximate
dates and to establish the order in which they succeed each other. In this I have
derived great benefit from the Chambā Vaśikāvali or Genealogical Roll which His
Highness has allowed me to edit in the present volume. This roll furnishes us with
a fairly complete list of the rulers of Chambā from about A.D. 700 and its historical
accuracy can be checked by the aid of the inscriptions. There is, therefore, much
reason to assume that the ruling family of Chambā has indeed held sway in the
Rāvi valley for more than twelve centuries and may boast of an antiquity equalled
by few reigning houses in India and none in Europe. 1

A few words must be added on the subject of transliteration. Each system has
its defects and the use of diacritical marks gives transcribed texts per se an
unpleasant look of artificiality and clumsiness. Whereas the advocates of one system
reproach their opponents with the use of such “monstra” as Kṛṣṇa, the latter may
as rightly object to ungainly forms like Līchchhaśī. I have, therefore, chosen to
republish the texts in Nāgari, which is preferred to transcripts in Roman by most
European and all Indian Sanskritists. These texts, thus made accessible to
indigenous scholars, will, it is hoped, stimulate their interest in the history of their
own country.

In the introductory portions, where transliteration was unavoidable, I have
followed the international system adopted by the Oriental Congress and by most
Oriental Societies. At the time when the present work was written, this system
was still followed in publications of the Archeological Survey, though recently it
has been replaced by the Anglo-Indian system. Only in the name Chambā I have
retained the usual spelling; in all other Indian words the e represents the non-aspirated
hard palatal and the eh the aspirate.

In conclusion, I wish to give expression to my sincere gratitude for the mani-
fold assistance received both in the discovery and in the study of the inscriptions
of Chambā. The names of those to whom my thanks are due will be found mentioned
in their proper places. Here I wish first of all to give expression to my gratitude
for the cordial support which this publication has received throughout from Mr. J.
H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director General of Archeology in India. Particularly, I am
indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission, who himself a resi-
dent of Chambā for the last thirty years, has ever been ready to supplement the
evidence of the ancient records by his extensive knowledge of local customs, traditions

1 The oldest reigning houses of Germany can trace their ancestry to the beginning of the 16th century of our era,
such as that of Wittelsbach in Bavaria, that of Rebeant in Hesse, and that of Wettin in Saxony. This does not, how-
ever, mean that from that date they have been the ruling dynasties of these countries.
and history. He has, moreover, rendered me a great service in reading through both the manuscript and the proofs of the present work. For the Tibetan inscriptions included in this work I was able to depend on so good an authority as the Rev. A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission.

I have much pleasure also in recording the great help which has been rendered to me by Pandit Thakur Das of Chambā whose services His Highness has kindly placed at my disposal whenever I visited his State. The Pandit's local knowledge, modesty and love for his native hills made him an ever-interesting and pleasant companion on my tours. He is one of the very few representatives of traditional Sanskrit learning in Chambā; yet the study of the śāstraḥ has by no means closed his eye to the interests of "the World of the living." To the Pandits Daya Ram Sahni and Hiramanda of the Archaeological Department I owe some clever conjectures and useful references. Pandit Daya Ram has also assisted me in the tedious task of correcting the Vanisāvalī and in revising the proofs.

Nor must I omit to mention the name of my photographer, Munshi Ghulam Nabi, who has accompanied me on many a hard march along the mountain roads of Chamba. He has taken all the photographs used to illustrate the present volume and prepared the estampages of the inscriptions here reproduced. The illustrations will testify to the quality of his work. The reproduction was entrusted to Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons, Peckham, London, and carried out with the care for which their establishment is rightly renowned.

The labour, both physical and mental, bestowed on collecting and deciphering these epigraphs, has been great. But "the labour we delight in physics pain." And truly delightful has been the task of revealing the antiquarian treasures hidden in that glorious mountain region which a popular adage so rightly describes as Chambā achambā "Chambā the Charming."

J. PH. VOGEL.

LAHORE;
The 1st April 1910.
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ABBREVIATIONS.

Ind. Ant.  . Indian Antiquity.
Myc.  . Mrčahalastika (See Śūlimka).
INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.—ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

(Plates I and V.)

Only three quarters of a century ago Chambā State was a terra incognita. The traveller, George Forster,1 who, on his journey through the Panjāb Hills by way of Nūrpur, Bāsālji and Jammū in 1783, almost skirted the western boundary of Chambā, refers to it as "the Chambay country a mountainous territory of large extent." This seems to be the first mention of the State by a European. William Moorcroft,2 in describing the course of the Rāvi, is more detailed. But he only reproduces native accounts which had reached him on his march through Kāŋgā in July 1829. Hence his information is confused and inaccurate. He notes that the Rāvi in its upper course is called Raiva. It is curious that he takes the river of Mānímahās and Harsar—i.e., the Buṣhāl—as the principal source. What is now considered the main river, he calls "the Siang from Bhaunso" (i.e. Bārā Bhaunso). He states correctly that the two branches meet at Ulāns; but reverses the relative position of this place and Chambā. For the rest, the situation of Chambā at the junction of the Rāvi and the Sāvā or Sīl is correctly described.

He then makes the Tavi a tributary of the Râvi, and the Uj a tributary of the Tavi, whereas in reality the Tavi (on which Jammu is situated) flows into the Chenab and the Uj into the Râvi. The confusion is probably due to the fact that the Tavi and the Uj take their rise from the same mountain not far from Kund Kaplas. Koth Belota, mentioned by Moorecroft as the place from which the Uj takes its origin, is probably the village Belota on the left bank of the upper Uj.

We have reason to regret that the distinguished traveller did not accept the invitation of the Rani of Chambá who was indisposed and wanted his medical advice. He was apparently deterred by the reports about the difficulty of the road thither, “it being necessary in many places to drag men and baggage by ropes up the scarps of the rock.” Had Moorecroft personally visited Chambá, his account would no doubt have been far more accurate and detailed.

The first European who visited Chambá was Vigne. His itinerary, though entertaining and full of interest, does not possess the scholarly thoroughness of Moorecroft. He is less accurate in the rendering of proper names and indulges in phantastical etymologies. Vigne visited Chambá in February 1839, in the reign of Bâjá Čarbat Singh. He came from Basothi and left again for Nûrpar by the Čuâr Pass. He gives a good account of the capital, but did not visit the interior of the State.

It was only after the annexation of the Panjâb that Chambá became better known to Europeans, especially as the abundance of game attracted many sportsmen. The antiquarian remains of Chambá were first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Chambá for the first time in A.D. 1839. He extended his tour to the Upper Râvi Valley and was the first to describe the ancient capital, Brahmor, and its temples.

Chambá State is situated in the Western Himalaya between north latitude 32° 11' 30" and 33° 13' 6" and east longitude 75° 49' and 77° 3'. The superficial area of the State is 3,216 square miles. This is somewhat more than that of the Grand-duchy of Hesse (2,908) and somewhat less than that of the Principality of Montenegro (c. 3,630). But whereas the population of these two countries amounts to 1,200,175, and 230,000 (or 407.4 and 63.3 per square mile) respectively, that of Chambá is only 127,534 or 40.9 to the square mile. The mountainous nature of the country accounts for the scantiness of the population.

Chambá is traversed by three well-defined snowy ranges which run from south-east to north-west, nearly parallel to one another and at a distance of thirty to forty miles. The outer range is the Dhaulâ Dhâr (Skr. "Dhacala-dhârâ, “the white Crest”), which for 36 miles forms the southern boundary of Chambá territory. Within the State its peaks rise to a height of 15,000' to 18,000'. Its geographical

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1 The Rani in question must have been Rani Sarda, the queen-mother and regent during the minority of Râjâ Čarbat Singh (1808-1844).
4 Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, XIV, p. 120 and *Ladak*, p. 77. He descended the Râvi Valley after having been engaged in a survey of Lahul and in marking the boundaries between Chambá and Kulâ.
5 In the following sketch of the geography of Chambá I have followed the *Chamba Gazetteer*, pp. 1-14.
continuation across the Rāvi is the Chhattar Dhār, in Jammū territory. The second range is the Pīr Pāntsāl Range which runs through Chambā territory for more than 60 miles and divides the State into two sections of unequal size. Its mean elevation cannot be less than 17,000', and the passes range from 14,328' to 18,000', which is about double the height of the Great St. Bernard Pass (8,110'). The Dāgantí Dhār, a branch of this range, runs westwards along the northern boundary of the State. It is connected with the Chhattar Dhār by a short cross range in which are the Chhattar Dhār and Padri Passes. The third range, called the Zaṅgskar Range—a section of the Western Himālaya—closes in the Chambā State along its northern border. Its mean altitude reaches 18,000', and some of its peaks rise to 20,000' which is more than double the height of Monte Corno, the highest peak of the Apennines (9,543').

These three mountain-barriers enclose two regions of a widely different character. That between the Dhaulā Dhār and the Pīr Pāntsāl constitutes the drainage area of the Rāvi; that between the Pīr Pāntsāl and the Zaṅgskar Range comprises the valley of the Candrabhāgā or Chīnā. Besides, the State includes a hill-tract situated between the Dhaulā Dhār and a low range which runs parallel with it to the south, known as the Hāṭhī Dhār or Elephant Range. This area is watered by the Cakki and the Dēhl (map Dārh), tributaries of the Biās, and therefore belongs to the drainage area of that river.

The political division of Chambā is entirely determined by the mountain-system. The State is divided into five provinces or wazārats, of which three belong to the Rāvi valley and one to that of the Candrabhāgā; while the fifth is the outlying territory draining into the Biās. The nucleus of the State is the Brahmor wazārat—also called Gāḍeṛān or the country of the Gaddīs—comprising the valleys of the upper Rāvi and its tributaries, the Buḍhāla and the Tundāhāla. It is named after the ancient capital of Brahmor situated on the left bank of the Buḍhāla. The lower portion of the Rāvi valley, which was the first province added to the original Brahmor State (presumably in the first half of the 10th century), comprises the present capital and may, therefore, conveniently be called the Chambā wazārat. The Brahmor and Chambā wazārats are separated by the Tundāh Range; the Chambā and Curāh wazārats by the Sāhō Range, which comes to an end in the fork at the junction of the Rāvi and Syūhāl (Siūl). The basin of the Syūhāl and its tributaries forms the north-western province, known as Curāh. This name occurs as Caturāha in a copper-plate grant of Rājā Bhoṭa-varman, who ruled in the first half of the 10th century.1

An intermediate form which is still occasionally used is Caurāh. The name is commonly explained as a compound of Sanskrit catur and Persian rāh. It may, however, be doubted whether, in the appellation of a remote valley in the inner Himālaya, we are to assume the occurrence of a Persian word which is strange to the local dialect. It is, moreover, far from clear which four

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roads may be taken as being at the root of the supposed derivation. It seems more probable that the ancient name was pure Sanskrit. The parallel, Bhadravāh from Bhadravakāśa, perhaps justifies us in assuming an original form, *Caturāśā:*

So much is certain that Curāh must have become included in Chambā State at an earlier date than the more remote Pāngi, i.e., before the 12th century. It may be inferred from some of our inscriptions that, in the 11th and 12th centuries, Curāh was alternately ruled by the Rājās of Chambā and by those of the neighbouring hill-state of Balor (Skr. Vallāpurā). Possibly it belonged to the latter State previous to the foundation of Chambā town.

The *wazūrat* of the Candrabhāgā valley comprises Pāngi and Lahul. These are about equal in size and are separated by a lofty spur from the Zāngskar Range, called the Gh Lyons Dhār (map Gardhar), which runs in a south-westerly direction between the Seu and Mayār nālās. Pāngi, the lower portion of the valley, is mentioned in two inscriptions under the name of Pāngati. Epigraphical evidence shows that it belonged to Chambā in the 12th century; but the designation of local officials in a record of the same period seems to indicate that at an earlier date it was ruled by some Tibetan power. The *wazūrat* of Lahul has not yielded a single inscription in which a Rājā of Chambā is mentioned as overlord of the province.

The earliest proof of Chambā suzerainty over part of Lahul is supplied by the name Udaipur by which Mirkula is indicated and which is ascribed to Rājā Udai Singh of Chambā (A.D. 1690-1720). There is reason to assume that at an earlier period it belonged to the Gyalpos of Ladakh who at one time extended their dominion over British Lahul and Kuṭā. Moorcroft notes that four villages, Barkalanak (?) and three others, which he passed on his way from Sisu to Taxdal, paid rent to the State of Ladakh, though acknowledging military fealty to the Rāj of Kuṭā.

The name Lahul has been explained as a derivation of Lho-yul, meaning “South-land.” But Mr. Francottc informs me that this etymology is improbable, because in Tibetan sources Lahul is always indicated by the name of dGaṅ-za. Chambā-Lahul is locally known as Suāl, but in the Gāṅ dialect it is called Re-phags. The whole tract along the Candrabhāgā from Taxdal to Taxdal is called Manchad.

The area between the Dhaulā Dhār and Hāthi Dhār, including a small portion of the Rāvī valley, forms the Bhattī *wazūrat.* Geographically, nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kaṅgrā valley. Under what circumstances it became attached to Chambā State it is impossible to say. So much is certain that it formed part of Chambā in the days of Rājā Samgrāms-varman who granted land in the Hubār (map Ubar) *pargāna* to his *puhārā* in the Śāstra year 22 (A.D. 1446), four years after the death of his father, Bhaṭa-varman.

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1 The word *curāh* occurs as a generic name with the meaning “cross-way, place where four roads meet” in a copper-plate grant (No. X; IV) of Ananda-varman, dated Saka 1403, Śāstra 57, Kārttika 19, ti. 12 (3rd November A.D. 1451).

2 Mr. Francottc has found traditions which point to an earlier occupation of part of Manchad (left bank) by the Chambā Rajas, but they have not yet been confirmed by any epigraphical record. The Rājā of Gāṅ near the junction of the Candrabhāgā and Bhangā are said to have been in possession of a copper-plate granted by a Rājā of Chambā.


4 Gāṅ is the Bhangā valley from Taxdal to Kīlung, comprising three *kāhīs*.

5 The form Bhattīśā with Persian plural ending has lately been introduced in official documents.
ANTiquITIES OF CHAMBĀ STATE.

Sanāgrāma's grandson, Ganēśa-varman, also granted lands in the Hubār parganā in samvat 34 (A.D. 1558) and built in its south-eastern corner a fortlet named after him Ganēś Gaṇgh (marked "Fort" on survey map). The Bhāṭṭī vasārāt is probably named after the Bhāṭṭī caste. It is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chambā army.

The vasārāt of Chambā State are subdivided into parganās, which vary considerably in extent. It is reputed that their original number amounted to eighty-four, but at the present time there are only fifty-two. This is partly due to loss of territory once included in Chambā State, and partly to the amalgamation of different parganās since A.D. 1563. It appears that in the pre-Muhammadan period the State was divided into districts, called maṇḍalas (circle) in the Sanskrit title-deeds of the 10th and 11th centuries. The names of some of these maṇḍalas have been preserved in the present parganās, and as the latter are mostly defined by natural boundaries, we may assume that their area also agrees with that of the ancient districts. In describing the course of the main rivers of Chambā, I shall note the parganās and the places of archaeological interest which they contain.

The Rāvi, the central one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, is essentially the main stream of Chambā. Its ancient name, Iravatī, ("refreshing") is found in Sanskrit literature. The Rāvi became known to Alexander's historians under the name of Hydaspēs, evidently derived from Sanskrit Īrāvatī under the influence of the Greek kudōr. The Rhousēs of Ptolemy presupposes a later Indian form *Rāvī, intermediate between Īrāvatī, and the modern Rāvī.2 Biruni speaks of the Irava. He says that "the river Irava is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul." In his table of Indian rivers he calls it Iravatī. By "the river Kaj" he probably means the Gaj which, however, is in reality a tributary of the Bhās. In Chambā the Rāvi is known by three different names. In the upper valley it is called Rauḍī, in the central portion Rauḍa, and in the lower part it is known by the name Rāvī which it bears in the plains. Thus we meet with the intermediate stages through which the original name has become changed to its modern form. In the Faukāvatī the river is regularly referred to by its Sanskrit name Īravatī. In some of the later copper-plates3 it is called Rayena, but usually it is simply indicated as rei (Skr. uddy) "the river."

The main source of the Rāvī lies outside Chambā territory in the mountain tract known as Barā Bhāṅgas, which once formed part of the principlality, Bhāṅgal, and is now included in the Kāṅgāra district. After entering Chambā, the river flows in a narrow gorge (plate III) through the parganās of Barā Bhāṅgā (map Bara Banso), Treṅtā (map Traita) and Canbhotā (map Chanota). It is said that

1 In the Rāmaṇa (VII, 18; VIII, 68, 12; X, 76) the Rāvī is mentioned under the name of Parupi. Cf. Thomas, The rivers of the Vedas, J.R.A.S. Vol. XV, N. S. p. 73. I do not know whether there is any good reason for identifying the Parupi with the Rāvī. If we may be allowed to regard the Rāmārāṇī as the 19th, the second member of that name might be found in Budhali.
2 McCrindle, Ancient India, pp. 23, 27 and 32. Strabo has the form Hydaspēs.
Dyól (map Dede) used to form a fourth district between Bārā Bhaso and Tehri. The village of that name was until lately in possession of a State kōṭhi such as is found at the headquarters of each pargana. It was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April 1905. Over its entrance there was an inscription of Bāja Udai Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) which has now been placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A. 30). Dyól is mentioned in the Fañšāvali (sl. 49) as the birth-place of Mūsana-varman under the form Deculā, perhaps Sanskrit devālaya meaning “temple.” Near the village a cave is shown, where the happy event is said to have taken place.

The name Trēhū is derived from Sanskrit Trīghāṭaka, by which name the district is referred to in a copper-plate inscription of Soma-varman of the 10th century. The name points to the existence of three passes (Skr. ghāṭa, Hindi ghāṭ). There are in reality three roads leading from this part of the Rāvi valley across the Bhūla Dār into Kāṅgrā. Their names are Alākā-dā-ghāṭ, Surādā-ghāṭ and Sarālā-dā-ghāṭ. The one first mentioned leads to Bhāgo-deva, Harmsalā, the other two to Tāliāmpur. It will be noticed that they are still indicated by the name ghāṭ. The village of Kulait (map Kolait) situated in the Trēhū pargana, 2 ½ miles below Dyól, occurs in the same inscription under the name of Kûlikē-gosṭha. This name indicates that it was a settlement or station (Skr. gosṭha) of Kûli ka, a tribe mentioned in the copper-plate grants together with the Kharas. In Chambā the word gosṭha, derived from Sanskrit gosṭha, is particularly applied to a settlement of shepherds.

A third inscription in the upper Rāvi valley is found on a small partly ruined Śrīvalī (fig. 28) at Ghumsāl near Sūkkar, the ancient head-quarters of the Trēhū pargana. The present head-quarters of the district is Tāri on the right bank of the Rāvi. The kōṭhis of both Sūkkar and Tāri were ruined in the great earthquake.

Near Ukhana (map Hulans) the Rāvi is joined by two fair-sized tributaries, the Budhal (Budhil) and the Tundēn (Tundāhen). The Budhal takes its rise near the Kukī Pass and flows past Brahmor, the ancient capital, which is situated on its left bank. The Tundēn takes its rise from the Kālī-chō Pass and, after flowing through the Tundāhen valley, joins the Rāvi at a point a little lower down than the Budhal. The confluence of the Rāvi and the Budhal, known by the name of Kharānukh (Skr. Sad-nukha) is held sacred as a tirtha. It is described in the Fausāvalī (verse 42) as the scene of the asceticism of the father of Meru-varman, the famous ruler of Brahmor. Whether the word Budha in the same passage really represents the ancient designation of the Budhal, seems doubtful, as it does not account for the / at the end of the modern name.

The valleys of the Budhal and Tundēn constitute the Brahmor pargana which far exceeds the average size of such divisions. It was once ruled by an official called amīn, and is sub-divided into drubhālis, each placed under its own drubhāli or revenue-officer. It is noteworthy that this arrangement exists only in the Brahmor district which points to its having formed a distinct unit.

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1 The Pehla Inscription at the horse-dealers of the Hara-vaibhav 278 (A.D. 882) II. 6 and 11 makes mention of a locality of the name of Taḷīghāṭa, but this must be a different place. Trēhū would indeed be a most unsuitable field of business for a horse-dealer, as there is not a single road practicable for horses. The Pehla inscription is preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 29). Cf. Ep. Ind. Vol. 1. pp. 184 ff.
2 Kāmgar Settlement Report, pp. 11 (App.).
3 Kāhl-chō means “Waterfall of Kāhl.”
Brahmor is mentioned under the name Brahmapura in two inscriptions of the 10th century. From this name, which means either "Town of Brahmā" or "Town of the Brahmans," it is evident that originally it was applied to the ancient capital and in the second place to the principality. Varahamihira mentions Brahmapura among the countries of the north-eastern region along with Kāla, Kāsamba, Abhisa, Darada, Kaluta, Darva, Damara and others. It is very likely that here the ancient principality on the Upper Ravi is meant. In the Mahākāvya-sūrya-purāṇa also the Brahmapurakas are mentioned in the same connection.

Kalhana, in his account of Sussala's campaign against the chiefs of the Cinaḥ and Rāvi valleys, who had supported the pretender Bhikṣācara, praises the king, because he "piously preserved in the enemy's land Brahmapuri and its temples, and thus earned the original merit of these foundations." "It seems possible that here also there is a reference to Brahmor, the ancient capital on the Rāvi, as Jāsata of Chambā was one of the princes who had espoused Bhikṣācara's cause. But the passage is too vague to allow us to speak with certainty.

At present Brahmor is only a village (plate II), but its pristine glory is still attested by four brass idols, three of which bear inscriptions recording their erection by Meru-varman who must have lived about A.D. 700 (plates VII-IX). That of Lakṣāṇa Devī is enshrined in a temple adorned with profuse wood-carvings which are presumably contemporaneous with the image. The two stone temples of

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2 Rāja, VIII, 628; trad. Stein, Vol. II, p. 50. The word brahmapuri is used elsewhere (VIII, 2421 and 25) as a generic name denoting some pious foundation.
Manimahēś and Narsīṅgh (figs. 16 and 17) are probably of a later date. The former must have replaced an older shrine, which is referred to in the inscription on the brazen bull of Meru-varman placed in front of the building. The somewhat smaller śīkharā temple of Narsīṅgh contains the brass image of that deity, erected by a queen, Tribhūbana-rekhā, and endowed by Yugasātara-varman, the son of Sāhilla-varman, presumably in the 10th century. This temple was seriously damaged in the earth-quake of 4th April 1905. Most of the small tiṅga shrines, scattered among the three main temples, collapsed on the same occasion. The State kōṭi ascribed to Rāja Prthvī Siṅgh (A.D. 1641-1664) was partly ruined, but most of the wood-carvings have been placed in the Chambā Museum. (Cat. Nos. F, 1—6).

A copper-plate grant (No. LXI, 1.15) of Rāja Balabhādra, dated Vikrama 1691, Śāstra 10 (A.D. 1634), contains the name Brāhma, but the context does not bear out which locality is indicated.\(^1\)

\(^1\) The passage reads: Brāhma diṅghāti (५) pice hrt śīri-Hāje (दिन्गः).

\(^2\) The two villages Lōc(a)-Jhīktī and Lōc(a)-Uparī (i.e. Lower and Upper Lōc), though situated on the right bank, belong to the Pyuhā pargana.
inscription is found of a feudatory of the same prince. It mentions *Sivapura*, the ancient name of the place.

Travelling along the course of the river as far as Chambā Town, we meet with the following *parganas*—on the right bank Kalāndrā (map Kalandar), Sāmbarā (map Samara) and Pañjilā; on the left bank Basu, Bakān, Mehlā (map Maila), Bharimhā (map Barana), and Kāfī (map Karair). The village of Tur in the Basu *pargana* has yielded no less than four ancient inscriptions. In the 10th century it was the seat of a Rānā who owed allegiance to the Rājā of Chambā. From one of the inscriptions (No. 17) it appears that the ancient name of the place was *Mukuta* which perhaps is the same as the *Mukula-kōla* mentioned in the *Vamānāvali* (verse 78).

Pañjilā occurs in a title-deed of the 11th century (No. 25) as the Pānthila *matatala* and will be referred to subsequently.

Fig. 4. Chambā Town from Manglā.

Chambā Town is picturesquely situated on a plateau above the junction of the Rāvī and the Sāl or Sāhō. It is built round a rectangular green which here, as elsewhere in the Panjab Hills, is indicated by the name *cungāna*.¹ In 1839 Vigne

¹ The Persian word *cungāna* (*zungān*) is the name by which the game of polo was known not only in Persia itself but also in Muhammadan India. It was derived from Pehlevi *zungān* and its proper meaning is a polo-stick, the polo-ground being indicated in Persia by the well-known word *maidān*. We may, however, assume that in the Panjab Hills the word *cungān* was also applied to the green on which the game was played, which would account for the use of the word in the present instance. The word *polo* originates from Balkhān and means a ball. It is very curious that the game has become known in Europe not by its Indo-Persian, but by its Urdu name. I may add that previously, at the time of the Crusades, the game was introduced in Lanead, under the name of *elcune* which is evidently derived from Persian *zungān* through the Middle-Greek *πολόν*.
estimated the number of inhabitants at 4,000 to 5,000. At present it is 6,000. The most conspicuous building is the palace, the oldest portion of which dates back only to the middle of the 18th century.

Immediately north of the palace there is a group of six stone temples, arranged in a row from north to south. Three of these temples are dedicated to Visnu and three to Siva. Northernmost is that of Laksami-Narayana or Laksami-nath, the principal temple of Chambá. It contains an image of white marble, adorned with golden ornaments which were presented by various Rajas of the 17th and 18th centuries. The temple is said to have been founded by Sahilla-varman shortly after the foundation of the town, and the marble of the image is believed to have been brought from the Vindhya by his son Yugakara.1

Of the other five temples of this group I wish only to note those of Candragupt and Trimukh, both linga shrines ascribed to Sahilla-varman, and that of Gauri-Shankar with a brass image attributed to Yugakara.

Near the Caugan Gate we find another Visnu temple known by the name of Hari Rai. It is in possession of a copper-plate granted by Rajj Soma-varman, but issued in the first year of his successor, Asata. From this inscription it appears that this temple was erected in the second half of the 11th century by one Laksmana-varman, who was probably a scion of the ruling house.

Between the palace and the caugan there is a stone temple dedicated to the goddess Campavati. Tradition holds that the town was named after her, but another explanation is that it owed its name to the abundance of champak trees (Michelia champaka). It seems very likely that the name of the goddess is derived from that of the tree, so that this in any case would be the origin of the name of the town.

There is no reason to doubt the tradition that Chambá was founded by Sahilla-varman, as two copper-plate grants, issued by his son and grandson, are dated from Chambá as the seat of government. In these inscriptions the name of the town is spelt Champaká. In the Rajatarangini it is called Campā, from which the modern name is derived.

The foundation of Campā must have taken place in the first half of the 10th century. There is, therefore, no authority for the statement made by Professor Rhys Davids7 that Campā, the capital of Aūga, was named after the town on the Ravi. Campā in Aūga was one of the oldest cities of Madhyadesa and is frequently referred to in Sanskrit literature. In the Book of the Great Decease it is included among the eight great towns of India. Campā on the Ravi is not mentioned before the 10th century and was probably founded about that time. Its earliest mention in literature occurs in the Rajatarangini (VII, 218) in connection with the expeditions of Ananta-deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-1068). It is clear that Campā on the

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2 Endhikst Indiat, p. 35. "The Indian colonists in Cochih China named one of their settlements after this famous old town (i.e. Campā in Aūga). And the Campā in Aūga was again, in its turn, named after the still older Campā in Kashmir."
Rāvi was founded at a time when Campā in Aṅga had ceased to exist, or, at least, had lost its importance.

Fig. 5. Surroundings of Chamba Town.

The copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Āṣāṭa is of special interest for the topography of the districts surrounding the capital. The following are the mandalas mentioned in that document:

1° Pānthila (No. 25, l. 16 and 31), the modern pargāna of Panjila, is situated immediately above Chambā city between the right bank of the Rāvi and the left bank of the Sāl. It contained the villages of Kuloṭi (unidentified); Muṅgala, the modern Mugalā, 2 miles south-east of Chambā; Vāṭa, now Bāṭ, 4 miles south-east of Chambā; and Ghalakāna, now Ghalūn (map Galone), in a valley opening on the left bank of the Sāl, 3 miles east of Chambā. The first mentioned village was, at the time of the grant, held in jāgīr by the Queen-mother, Ranjāhā.

2° Tāvasaka (No. 25, l. 17; also No. 15, l. 5) lies below Chambā Town, between the right bank of the Rāvi and the right bank of the Sāl. The name is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausā. The localities belonging to this mandala are Sumangala (No. 15, l. 6, also No. 16, l. 10) the present village of Stūga, (map

1 In a title-deed (No. X11, l. 11) of Sāmpravaṇa-varman, dated Śāstra 32, mention is made of a locality named Kokoṭi.
Sungul) 2 miles above Chambā Town on the right bank of the Sālikā; Bhadravarma, now Bhadrav, 2½ miles below Chambā; and Sarāhula, now Sarol (map Sarol) 2 miles below Chambā. The two latter villages, situated on the right bank of the Rāvi, belong now to the Rājānagar parganā. The other localities of the Tāvasaka mandala, Dhālyaka, Lartuka and Yauadhaka, I am unable to identify. They would seem to indicate cultivated fields rather than villages.

3° Pārakṣanā (No. 25, ll. 18, 21 and 29), as the name indicates, is the district situated on the other side (Skr. pāra) of the Rāvi opposite Chambā town, and is now known as the Sālikā parganā. The ancient designation seems to be lost. The village of Maṅgalā (map Mungla), still known by its original name, is situated on the road to Nūrpur by the Cūḍāri Pass. Dhauilikā, another locality in this mandala, is evidently the name of a piece of land, now known as Dhūli, near Maṅgalā, between the village and the steep bank of the Rāvi.

We have seen that near Chambā the Rāvi receives the Sālikā or Sāhā, which is mentioned in the Varahāvali (śl. 70) under the name of Sālikā. The Sālikā is formed by two streams, the Maland Nāli (to the right) and the Purūli Nāli (to the left). These two streams unite near the village of Sāhā, situated in one of the largest portions of plain country found in the State. It is the head-quarters of a parganā of the same name. One of the most important inscriptions of Chambā (No. 18) has come to light in the hamlet of Sarāhla, on the left bank of the Sālikā opposite Sāhā. It records the foundation of a Śiva temple by a local chief, probably an independent Rāṇā, of the name of Sāyaki. The temple referred to is perhaps the Śivālaya of Sāhā known by the name of Candrasēkh. (Cf. fig. 24).

From Sāhā down to its junction with the Rāvi, the Sālikā winds for some 8 miles along luxuriant rice and maize fields. About half-way along its course it is joined on the right by the Hol stream which waters the valley of the same name. It was formerly a separate parganā, but has now been amalgamated with that of Gudiyā. It seems probable that the Hol-Gudiyāl parganā corresponds with the Bhāttāra mandala mentioned in a copper-plate of Asvāṃ (No. 26). It is said that fifteen villages in that parganā are still indicated by the ancient name. The local goddess is known as Bhāṭṭār Dēvi Sitalā, and the pilgrimage to her shrine is called Bhāṭṭār jatrā. I am told that the inhabitants of these villages combine against other villages in the game of chakri (the same as cauḍī), thus preserving the tradition of their former unity as residents of the same district.*

The parganās of the Chambā or Sadar senārat below Chambā Town are Rājānagar on the right bank and Udaipur on the left bank of the Rāvi and Dhundh (or Dhumdi), Khārotāl and Tryánd in the valley of the Syāhl. The Rājānagar parganā, as mentioned above, corresponds, partly at least, with the ancient Tāvasaka mandala. The village of Rājānagar, which is the head-quarters of the parganā, was named after Rājā Rāj Singh (A.D. 1764-1794). Before his time it was called

* Can kumare, the second member of the compound, be connected with Puḷotkā kumare, * a cliff ? *
Națâ. Udaipur on the opposite bank received its name from Râjâ Udaí Singâh, in whose memory a small stone temple was erected after his murder on this spot in A.D. 1720.

About 14 miles below Chambâ town the Râvi is joined by its largest tributary, the Syâhî (vulgo Seol), which brings down the entire drainage of the Curâh province. This river comes from two fountain-heads. The western or main branch which drains Western Curâh rises from the Paḍri Pass and flows through the districts of Bhândâl (map Baundâl), Kâhâr, Pîkâ-Dyuhr (map Dufr) and Himgar or Himgîr (map Himgîr). The last-mentioned district is referred to by the name of Kîskindha in two of our inscriptions (Nos. 12 and 13). Before the foundation of Chambâ it was the seat of an independent Rânâ. At Mûl-Kîhâr, the ancient head-quarters of the Kîhâr parganâ (now transferred to Digi), there are the remains of the stronghold of another Rânâ. This Rânâ, as appears from an inscription of c. A.D. 1200 (No. 34), owed allegiance to the Râjâs of Chambâ. The eastern branch of the Syâhî rises from the Sâc Pass and flows almost due south receiving the waters of the Sai and Pârmatâ Nâlas on the right, and of the Berâ (map Bairâ), Tîsâ (map Tissa) and Cânju (map Chanju) Nâlas on the left. The Sai, Berâ and Tîsâ valleys constitute three parganâs of the same names. The Barhnotâ valley contains the Barhnotâ and Bagor (map Pagoga) parganâ; the Cânju valley the Jasar (map Jasar) and Lôh-Tîkri districts. The latter comprises the original parganâs of Lôh-Tîkri, Baghâi (or Bhagâi) and Cânju. Eastern Curâh has yielded a remarkable number of fountain-inscriptions, especially the Lôh-Tîkri parganâ. The lower portion of the Syâhî valley, below the junction of the two branches, contains the parganâs of Munjîr (map Manjere), Jînî (map Junî) and Bhalai (map Bhalal). The last-mentioned district was in the 17th century a subject of dispute between Prthvi Singâh and Chattâr Singâh of Chambâ and Sangrâm Pâl of Basôhî.

From its junction with the Syâhî, the Râvi flows westwards till it reaches Jammû territory, where the Sînâ, forming the boundary, falls into it from the north. Here it trends to the south-west and forms for a short distance the boundary between Chambâ and the ancient State of Basôhî, now a district of Jammû-Kâshrî. Its former capital of the same name lies almost opposite the point where the Râvi leaves Chambâ territory.

The wazârât of Bhaṭṭî is often indicated by the name Bâra Bhaṭṭîân which points to its having once consisted of twelve parganâs. The present number of districts of this wazârât is ten. They are the following:—Bâthî or Rampur, Shêpûr (map Sairpur), Nâgâ (map Chune) and Cûnh (map Chune) on the left bank of the Râvi; Hûbar (map Ubâr), Cûrí or Cûrâ (map Châhirî) and Raiûr or Rêpur (map Rapûr) in the Cukti valley; and Tûndî, Syâhtâ (map Shunta) and Bhaṭṭî-Tîkri (map Tikiria) on the Délâ.

On the south side of the Dhañlâ Dâhâr, Chambâ State once possessed the Rîhlu ‘ūlge in which Dhravmsâla is situated, and that of Pâlam mentioned in the Baijnâth

1 This dispute was decided in favour of Prthvi Singâh by a sanad, dated A. H. 1058 (A. D. 1645) which is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. C. 1).
under the name of Pralamba. It appears that at one time Chambā territory included the ancient fort of Pathyār,1 in proximity to which the oldest rock-inscription of the Kāṅgāra valley is found. Kanhīra, the site of another somewhat later rock-inscription, belongs to the Rihlu ʿilāqa. It is said that originally Rihlu and Pālam formed part of Chambā State, but were included in the imperial demesne created by Tēdar Mall after the submission of the Panjāb Hill States to Akbar. When the Mughal power collapsed, Umēl Singh (A.D. 1748-1764) of Chambā reoccupied the lost territory.2 In the reign of his son Rāj Singh the great Samsūr Cand of Kāṅgāra claimed Rihlu as an integral part of his dominions. Rāj Singh crossed the Dhulā Dhār, but was surprised by the Kāṅgāra troops and slain at Nērtī (map Neertee) near Shahpur in A.D. 1794. A temple was erected on the spot, where an annual mēlā takes place on the 7th Hār, the date of his death. The bravery of Rāj Singh is still sung in popular ballads on both sides of the Dhulā Dhār. In A.D. 1821 Rihlu was occupied by Raṇjīt Singh and thus finally lost to Chambā.

The other great river of Chambā is the Cīnāb. In the Ṛgveda it is mentioned under the name of Āśikā2 which underlies the Greek Akesines (with “Antheōng” to the verb αἰκονίαι). Ptolemy calls it Sandobat derived from Candrabhāgā, the name by which the Cīnāb is known in Sanskrit literature and in inscriptions. This name the river has preserved in the Hills. Biruni calls it Candrahū, but gives also the Sanskrit name Candrabhāgā. In the Shahpur district it is known as Cauhām, a name evidently derived from the Sanskrit. The form Cīnāb cannot be explained as an ordinary derivative of Candrabhāgā, but is evidently due to a popular etymology. Moorcroft is undoubtedly correct in assuming that the name Cīnāb (“Water of Cīn”) is based on the belief that the river took its origin in China.

In reality the Candrabhāgā takes its rise from the Barabacha Pass in British Lahul by two heads, the Cand and the Bhūgā. Moorcroft was told that the real names were Candrabhāgā and Sūryabhāgā. The two rivers unite at Tandi and form one river of considerable size which enters Chambā-Lahul at Thorūt (map Tirot). Here are the ruins of two forts on both sides of the Chokhna Nālā. The first village in Chambā territory, called Sīndvī or Brāhmaṇ-kōṭī, is said to have been founded by Brāhmaṇs from Kurukṣetra. Here we meet with the first fountain-stone, carved with three conventional lotus-flowers. Some five miles below Thorūt the river flows past Trīlōkṇāth,3 famous for its Buddhist temple and widely renowned as a place of pilgrimage. On his march through Lahul Moorcroft4 fell in with two half-starved Hindu fakirs, one of whom had come from Chapra and

1 The pagān of Pathyār was bestowed in fāğīr on Rāja Dalī Singh by a sahib issued under the seal of Zalauiyā Īlī, Governor of Lahore, in A.H. 1155 (A.D. 1743). It was confirmed to Rāja Umēl Singh by a sahib issued under the seal of Ahmed Sīth (Durani) in A.H. 1173 (A.D. 1752). Both these documents are preserved in the State Museum (Nos. 3, 6, and 15).
2 Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 95, 97, 101 and 104.
the other from Ujjain.” Both were going on a pilgrimage to Triloknāth. A marble image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is worshipped here both by Buddhists and Hindus under the name of Triloknāth (Skr. Trilokanātha, “Lord of the three worlds”). This has now become the common appellation of the village, its real name being Tundī. It is the seat of a Rājā who holds the greater part of Chambā-Lahul in jāgīr. In 1868 nearly the whole village was swept over the precipice by an avalanche and sixty of the inhabitants lost their lives. The temple remained standing.

Fig. 6. Triloknāth.

At Udaipur (map Oudapur), three miles below Triloknāth, the Candrabhāgā is augmented by the Maiyār (map Miyar) which takes its rise from the Zaṅskar Range. The village possesses a shrine remarkable for its profuse and elaborate wood-carvings. It is dedicated to Kālī, locally known as Markulā Dēvī or the Goddess of Markulā. This is the Lahuli name of the village,1 which was renamed Udaipur by Rājā Udai Śīṅgh of Chambā (A.D. 1690-1720). The State Koṭhā, founded here by the same Rājā, is the only monument of Chambā rule in Lahul.

Below Udaipur the villages are few and far between; and the tract between Tindi, the last place of Lahul, and Saur, the first village in Pāṅgi—a distance of 17 miles—is a desolate region, entirely without inhabitants. At Pūrtī (map Purī) are two fountains of which one was constructed in the reign of Rājā Ugar Śīṅgh in Śāstra-sahīvat I (A.D. 1725). There is also a temple of Mulasan Dēvī with quaint wood-carvings. It bears an inscription of Rājā Prthvi Śīṅgh dated Śāstra-sahīvat

1 The name is pronounced either Markul or Mirkul. In Tibetan it is spelled Mar-ugul.
27 (A.D. 1631). At Sāc (map Sauch) the Candrabhāgā receives the waters of the Śecu (map Saichu) Nālā, and after flowing through a fairly open valley past Kīlār and Dharvās (map Darvas), enters Pādar three miles below the hamlet of Luj. The villages of Sāc, Kīlār and Dharvās are the chief places of the three pargānas of the same names which constitute the Pāngi 'ilāqa. The State Kōṭhi at Sāc has an inscription in Tākari recording the foundation of the building by Rājā Ugar Singh of Chambā in sañceat 1 (A.D. 1723). The only shrine of note in the division is the temple of Cāmupā at Mindhal (map Mindal) opposite Sāc. It is in possession of a copper-plate issued by Rājā Prthvī Singh in Vikrama 1698, Śāstra 17 (A.D. 1641).

Fig. 7. Temple of Cāmupā at Mindhal.

Round Kīlār carved stone stamūs are exceedingly numerous, but only a few of them bear inscriptions. An inscribed fountain-slab (No. 28) of the first year of Rājā Jāsāṭa (A.D. 1105-6) is found at Luj near the Pādar border. At Sālīhī in the Śecu Nālā (fig. 1) there is another stone (No. 33) of large size carved with numerous figures of deities, and provided with an inscription dated in the 27th year of Rājā
ANTICUties OF CHAMBÁ STATE.

Lalitavarman (A.D. 1170). It is evident from this inscription that Sallū was then the seat of a Rāṇa. His descendants still live on the spot. (Cf. fig. 21.)

In Lahul and Pāngi we often meet with upright, plain slabs erected in memory of the dead. They are called dhajā (Skr. dhrajā, "banner, emblem") or puna (Skr. pūpya, "religious merit") and may be seen on plate IV.

Though the main roads now in use are of recent origin, we may assume that the lines of communication, determined by the orographical system and particularly by the position of the passes, have been the same ever since Chambā became inhabited. It is possible that certain roads and passes were at one time more frequented than they are at the present day, and that others have now come into greater prominence; but the documents at our disposal supply but little information on this point. Considering the nature of the country, there can be little doubt that no trade route of any importance ever ran through Chambā territory. Trade between India and Central Asia naturally chose the more open valleys of the Jehlam and the Basā. More especially the trade-route through the Kāngrā and Kułā valleys, Lahul and Ladak, followed by Moorcroft, must have been in use from very remote times. An indirect proof of the existence of this route in the 7th century A.D. is afforded by Huen-Tsang. After describing Jalandhara, he gives an account of Ku-lu-to (Kulā or Kułā), Lo-u-lo (Lahul) and Mo-lo-so (Marpo or Ladak), though apparently he did not visit these countries personally. He had evidently received his information during his stay at Jalandhara from traders who had travelled to Central Asia by this route. It is possible that occasionally, owing to political influences, part of the Central Asian trade deviated from its ordinary course and followed the less accessible valleys of the Rāvi and the Chinā, but under ordinary circumstances it must always have returned to its natural channels.

The roads in Chambā territory, even those through the main river valleys, were indeed up to very recent times of the most primitive description. (Cf. fig. 8). In one of our epigraphs (No. 35) the construction of a road is stated to be the means for acquiring infinite merit. But the ancient rulers of the State have not shown great eagerness thus to provide for their bliss in the next world. They, no doubt, had to consider first of all the exigencies of the present, and at a time when every neighbour was an enemy, the difficulty of the roads constituted the best safeguard for the security of the State.

Of the roads connecting Chambā Town with the plains that by Dalhousie, now in most common use, dates only from the founding of that Sanitarium in A.D. 1851. The Sundhāra and Cwāći or Cwāći roads, on the contrary, are no doubt ancient. The former follows the left bank of the Rāvi by Bāthi, Sundhāra and Phangōtā as far down as Shahpur, from where it crosses the lower hills to Pathān-kot, the total distance from Chambā being about 55 miles. This road provides at the same time a direct communication between Chambā and Basōhlī, once the capital of the former State of that name. Vigne speaks of a second road from Chambā to Basōhlī along the right bank of the Rāvi. From there Jammū can be reached in six marches. The stages are the following:—Mahānpur (12 miles), Bhadu (map Pudosa; 6 miles),

tablet with a Tākārī inscription dated in the reign of Rājā Rāj Siṅgh and in the year 63 (A.D. 1787). Half a mile beyond, the road leaves Chambā territory to enter the Nūpur bhāil, formerly the principality of that name. At Nūpur it joins the main road to Paśṭān-kōṭ, the total distance from Chambā to this place being more than 50 miles. The Cuṛā road is much used and must have been so from early times. The crossing of the Cakki is often perilous after heavy rain. The pass is usually under snow in January and February, and sometimes also in March, but even then the road is seldom closed for more than a day or two at a time.

The main road from Chambā to Brahmo follows the Rāvī valley for about 20 miles as far as Pyuhṛā. This part of the road, however, dates only from 1879. The old road crossed the river immediately above Chambā Town, near the low plain known as Naḷbūrā which was formerly a Muhammadan graveyard and at the present time is used as a parade ground. The bridge, which must have been of the cantilever type commonly found in the hills, is still remembered under the name of ĩduku- or īdgu-rā-sēṅ (Camb. sēṅ, Skr. sēṅu). Tradition holds that it was built by Dāī Baṭlō, the wetnurse of Rājā Prthvī Siṅgh, and named after her husband īduku.1 The existence of a copper-plate dated Vikrama 17(0)2, Śāstra 21, (A.D. 1745), and recording a grant of land by Dhārī Baṭlō Dēci on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge (sōtu-pratiṣṭhā-samaye) confirms the popular tradition. It is probable, however, that long before the days of Dāī Baṭlō there existed a bridge on this spot. Lower down, a temporary bridge connected in former times the two banks of the Rāvī. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Čaṛhat Siṅgh in A.D. 1808. This having collapsed, the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A.D. 1895.

From the īduku-rā-sēṅ the road ascended the plateau of Bharimhā (map Barāla) and, following the hill slope along the left bank of the Rāvī, passed the villages of Meḷī (map Mālā), Baṭāṇ, Basu and Pyuhṛā, each the head-quarters of a pargāṇā of the same name.2 From these places the Dhauḷā Dhār can be crossed by several passes which it is unnecessary to describe. The most important is the Balāṇi Pass (height c. 12,000') which leads from Basu to Shāhpur by way of Tur, mentioned above as the seat of a Rāṇā and the find-place of several inscriptions. Another road, which starts from Basu, crosses the Dhauḷā Dhār by the Kankōṭ Pass (map Bowar Pass, height 11,602'), and reaches Rīhlu in the Rāṅgā District. The place where this road surmounts the range is a narrow gorge known as Prōli-rā-galā (“Gate-neck”). Here an ancient rock-inscription is found which indicates that this road was used about the 5th century of our era. The word galā as well as its diminutives galī and galu denote a narrow passage leading over a spur or mountain-ridge. Its original meaning is “throat, neck” (Skr. gāla). We may compare French-Swiss col, and Cape-Dutch nek. The term used in the Panjāb Hills to designate a mountain pass is jōt, the original meaning of which seems to be “yoke” (Skr. root yuj-). It is interesting to compare the German-Swiss joch and the Italian giogo in the meaning of which we note the same transition.

From Pyuhṛā the new road through the valley reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chbatṛāḍ. The antiquity of this place is attested by the

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1 According to others, the bridge was named Baṭlō-rā-sēṅ after the lady herself.
2 From Meḷī onwards the road is still in existence and has lately been repaired by the Forest Department.
tablet with a Tākārī inscription dated in the reign of Rājā Rāj Singh and in the year 63 (A.D. 1757). Half a mile beyond, the road leaves Chambā territory to enter the Nāpur tābāgīl, formerly the principality of that name. At Nāpur it joins the main road to Pathān-kōt, the total distance from Chambā to this place being not more than 50 miles. The Cuiārī road is much used and must have been so from early times. The crossing of the Cukkī is often perilous after heavy rain. The pass is usually under snow in January and February, and sometimes also in March; but even then the road is seldom closed for more than a day or two at a time.

The main road from Chambā to Brahnoor follows the Rāvi valley for about 20 miles as far as Pyuhrā. This part of the road, however, dates only from 1879. The old road crossed the river immediately above Chambā Town, near the low plain known as Najhöra which was formerly a Muhammadan graveyard and at the present time is used as a parade ground. The bridge, which must have been of the cantilever type commonly found in the hills, is still remembered under the name of Ḍukūr- or Ḍūgū-rā-sēn (Camb. sēn, Skr. setu). Tradition holds that it was built by Dāi Baṭlō, the wetnurse of Rājā Fṛthvī Singh, and named after her husband Ḍukū.¹ The existence of a copper-plate dated Vikrama 17[0]2, Sāstra 21, (A.D. 1745), and recording a grant of land by Bhātrī Baṭlō Dēnī on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge (setu-pratisthā-samaye) confirms the popular tradition. It is probable, however, that long before the days of Dāi Baṭlō there existed a bridge on this spot. Lower down, a temporary bridge connected in former times the two banks of the Rāvi. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Carhat Singh in A.D. 1808. This having collapsed, the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A.D. 1890.

From the Ḍukū-rā-sēn the road ascended the plateau of Bhārāünstha (map Baraīla) and, following the hill slope along the left bank of the Rāvi, passed the villages of Mehlā (map Mallā), Bakūn, Basu and Pyuhrā, each the head-quarters of a pargāna of the same name.² From these places the Dhaulā Dhrār can be crossed by several passes which it is unnecessary to describe. The most important is the Balenī Pass (height c. 12,000) which leads from Basu to Shāhpur by way of Tūr, mentioned above as the seat of a Rānā and the find-place of several inscriptions. Another road, which starts from Basu, crosses the Dhaulā Dhrār by the Kankōt Pass (map Bowar Pass, height 11,602'), and reaches Rīhū in the Kāṅgṛā District. The place where this road surmounts the range is a narrow gorge known as Pṛoṭī-galā ("Gate-neck"). Here an ancient rock-inscription is found which indicates that this road was used about the 9th century of our era. The word gālā as well as its diminutives gali and galūn denote a narrow passage leading over a spur or mountain-ridge. Its original meaning is "throat, neck" (Skr. gāla). We may compare French-Swiss col, and Cape-Dutch akk. The term used in the Panjāb Hills to designate a mountain pass is jōt, the original meaning of which seems to be "yoke" (Skr. root yuj-). It is interesting to compare the German-Swiss joch and the Italian giogo in the meaning of which we note the same transition.

From Pyuhrā the new road through the valley reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chhatrāphī. The antiquity of this place is attested by the

¹ According to others, the bridge was named Baṭlō-rā-sēn after the lady herself.
² From Mehlā onwards the road is still in existence and has lately been repaired by the Fencet Department.
Dēvi temple of Meru-varman, referred to above. From Chatrārāti the road drops into the Cireṇḍā Nālā and ascends the opposite slope to Kōṭhi which was once the seat of a Rāṇa and is, therefore, known as Ranhunī Kōṭhi; the word ranhunī designating a barony ruled by a Rāṇa. From here a branch road crosses the Girjhar Pass (height c. 10,000') to Capbotā and runs up the Rāvi valley through Trēṭā and Bāra Bhaṇḍā to Barā Bhaṅgāl. The Dhaular Dhār is crossed from Ranhunī Kōṭhi by the Ghaj-kā-jot (height 13,225') by which Bhāgsu-Dharmāla can be reached in two or three days. The road is a difficult footpath, which follows the Ghatharā Nālā.

The main road rises from Ranhunī-Kōṭhi to cross the Sāhuḷī-ri-gālā (height c. 9,000') and descends again by Ulānsā (map Hulas). Ulānsā, as well as the adjoining villages of Gurājā and Svāī on the left bank of the Rāvi, are the seats of three Rāṇās, feudatories of the Rajā of Chambā. (Cf. fig. 20). Beyond Ulānsā the Rāvi is crossed by a wooden bridge. Ascending the opposite slope, it reaches Khaṇḍī (map Kani) situated at a height of 6,416' on the end of the spur which forms the watershed between the Rāvi and the Budhā. In the oldest copper-plate grant found in Chambā State (No. 14) mention is made of the Khaṇḍī hospice (Skr. matha), which not only proves the existence of the village as far back as the 16th century, but also shows that even then it was a place on the main road and was visited by travellers. From Khaṇḍī a branch road passes up the right bank of the Rāvi valley by Grima—a village mentioned under the same name in the title-deed just referred to—and joins the road on the left bank not far from Kulait, the ancient Kulkagostha, in Trēṭā. Another branch crosses the Budhāl river and, following the Tundāh Nālā, crosses the Kāli-chō Pass (height 16,402') to Trēṭāṇāth in Chambā-Lahul.

The main road proceeds along the left bank of the Budhāl to Brahamor, the ancient capital. About a mile before reaching this place a rock-inscription in the Tibetan character will be noticed on the road-side. Carved on the same stone are three figures of Ganesa, Śiva, and Dēvi. (Cf. figs. 29 and 30). At the village of Ghosan, on the left bank of the Budhāl beneath Brahamor, some Tibetan rock-inscriptions are found, but these consist only of mystic formulas.

The Budhāl valley is connected with Lahul by two roads. From Brahamor one road crosses the Cōhbā Pass (height 16,729'), which perhaps owes its name to its crevasses (cōhbā) and reaches the Candrabhāgā valley above Trēṭāṇāth. The other and more frequented road follows the left bank of the Budhāl to Harśar (map Harśar, height 6,650'), which possesses a small Śiva temple with an inscribed image which perhaps accounts for the name of the place (Harśa=Śiva). Here a short branch road runs up to the sacred lake of Manimahēs, regarded by popular belief as the main source of the Rāvi. The main road crosses the Budhāl and proceeds up its right bank to Kukti village, and thence over the Kukti Pass (height 17,601') to Yob-rang (map Jhangu) in British Lahul, where the Candrabhāgā is crossed by means of a jhūlā or rope bridge. Another branch road leaves the main road at Kukti village to cross the Manimahēs Range into Baṟā Bhāṅgāl.

Chambā is connected with Brahamor by a second ancient road which runs through the mountains to the north of the Rāvi. After ascending the Sāhu valley for 4 miles, it crosses the stream and surmounts the Jamvār ridge. It then descends and passes

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1. This naṭ forms the boundary between the Prakṛti and Ranhunī Kōṭhi.pargana.
2. Also called Bōg and Bāktā-ke-gurāṭī.
3. For a description of the jhūlā cf. Chamba Gazetteer, p. 14. See also plate III.
the villages of Lilh, Gum and Belj and, after crossing the Tundäh Dhûr and the Tundhn Nálâ, follows the mountain slope on the right bank of the Buñhaj to Brahmar. The only place of antiquarian interest on this road is Gum. It was in the days of Meru-varman (c. A.D. 700) the seat of a chieftain who owed allegiance to the ruler of Brahmar. From an inscription on a liûga found here it appears that the ancient name of the place was Śivapura. The large number of stone liûgas may account for this name. On the river bank beneath Gum there is still a sanctuary of Śiva, known as Tilocan Mahâdev (Skr. Trilokana-mahâdeva “the three-eyed great god”), where an annual meïd takes place on the Durgâstami in the month of Bhâdôn. In the Panuli Nálâ, not far from Gum, are some rock-inscriptions (Nos. 1-4), the oldest epigraphs hitherto discovered in Chambâ State. It is curious that one of them consists of an invocation to Śiva.

Another important road, which connects Chambâ with Bhadravâh and Pângi, starts from the northern end of the town and, after crossing the Sâlâ stream, descends to the right bank of the Râvi. This road is also greatly modernized, but the old path may still be seen, which, roughly paved, zigzags down the steep hill slope. At the point where it

1 Figure 8 shows the modern road along with the ancient path which leads to the burning ghūt (Skr. śmatāna) situated at the junction of the Râvi and Sahâ rivers and which is euphemistically named Svarg-dōtri “the Gate of Heaven.”
descends from the northern end of the plateau on which the town stands, there is a stone platform (cābūtra) with an inscription which records that Sundaradāsa, the son of Viradāsa, the son of Bhagiratha-dāsa, for the love of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, planted a pīpal tree (Skr. aśvattha, Ficus religiosa) here, and had a platform made so that all creatures might make a rest in its shade. The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1717, Śaka 1582, Śāstra 36, Vaiśākha va. di. 13, Wednesday, at the Vernal Equinox, i.e., the 20th March 1659.1 When Cunningham visited Chambā, the pīpal had been replaced by a very large teak tree (Cedrela toona) which, in its turn, has now disappeared. Only recently a new pīpal tree has been planted which, it is hoped, will afford shelter against the heat of the sun to many a traveller. The old road, notwithstanding its steepness, is still preferred by the hill-people to the new one, and Sundar Dās' cābūtra must be a welcome resting-place to weary way-farers.

At a distance of 2 miles from the town the road passes through the ancient garden of Sarol (map Sarola). This village, as we have seen, is mentioned under the name Sarāhula in a title-deed of the 11th century. The garden with its pond is referred to in a charter issued by Rājā Balabhadra in favour of his purohita Īśvara or Īṣūra, and dated Śāstra 75, Vikrama 1656 (A.D. 1599). The tank has lately been renewed. A mile farther on the village of Bhadrāram is passed. Its ancient name was Bhadravarma, as appears from the same title-deed in which Sarāhula is mentioned. In the 11th century both villages belonged to the Tāvasaka district, which evidently consisted of the tract between the right bank of the Rāvi and the right bank of the Sālā, as it included also the village of Sūringal, then called Sūmāṅgala, on the right bank of the Sālā, 2 miles from Chambā. At present Bhadrāram and Sarol belong to the Rājānagar parganā; but it is possible that the ancient name of the district is preserved in that of the village Tausā (map Tosa), situated on the spur between the Rāvi and the Sālā valleys. It would seem, however, that at the time of the inscription Bhadravarma was the head-quarters of the district, as it contained the State granary (koṭhāgāra) in which the revenue in kind was collected and from which 1 kharī of grain was granted annually to a Viṣṇu temple, founded by a certain Pāsāta.

Before reaching Rājānagar, the head-quarters of the modern district of the same name, the road leaves the main valley and ascends a side valley to Pukhrī (map Pukher), perched on the watershed between the Rāvi and the Syāhl. At this point the roads to Bhadravāh and Pāngi bifurcate. The Bhadravāh branch descends through a narrow ravine to the Syāhl which it crosses.2 It then runs up its right bank to Maṅjir (map Manjere). Subsequently it rapidly rises to cross the ridge between the upper and lower reaches of the Syāhl and, regaining the right bank of the river, follows it for a short distance. After having crossed again to the left bank, the road pursues its course to Bhāṇḍāl (map Bhamda, height 5,675') and Langārī (height 6,978'). At a distance of 3½ miles south of the former place, on the ridge which here forms the boundary between Chambā and Basōhli, we notice the ruins of the old fort of Prthvi-jōr (jōr from Persian zār "force") founded by Rājā Prthvi Śingh after whom it is named. From Langārī the road crosses the Pādri Pass, (height c. 10,000')

2 A recently made road runs from the Koṭī bridge over the Syāhl to Sānujī on the ridge above Maṅjir and descending crosses the Syāhl at Pala bridge and runs on to Bhāṇḍāl.
and enters Bhadravāh territory. The distance between the towns of Chamba and Bhadravāh is 64 miles. From Bhadravāh, Islāmābād (the ancient Anantanāga) in the Kaśmir valley can be reached by way of Kaṭavār, the ancient Kaṭauvāta.

The Pāngī road which we left at Pukhri ascends from there to Mūrsund and then continues due north through the main valley of Eastern Curāh, passing the villages of Kalhēl, Tisā, Berā, and Alvās. From Alvās it crosses the Sāc Pass (height 14,325') to Kilār in Pāngī. Two branch roads run up the side valleys to reach the Candrabhāga valley by less frequented passes. One follows the right bank of the Cāṅju Nālā, and passes Loh Tikri and Baghai, from where Tindī in Lahūl can be reached either by the Drātī Pass (height c. 15,000') or by the Maroa or Čāpurā Pass (map Chara Pass; height 14,320'). Both these passes are difficult and very precipitous on the Curāh side. The Drātī ("the Sickle") especially is dreaded on account of its stone avalanches. There is a direct road between Chamba and Cāṅju through the Hol valley.

![Image](image.png)

**Fig. 9. Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi.**

The second side-road runs up the Berā Nālā to Hail and passes Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi, once the seat of a Rājā, the ruins of whose castle are still extant. (Cf. fig. 18). One of the finest Sanskrit inscriptions in Chamba was found here. From Hail the road crosses the Cenā (map Chain) Pass (height 14,296') to Mūrdhul opposite Sae. It is said that this pass was crossed by Prthvī Singh on his return from Kuḷī. It appears to have been more frequented at one time than it is at present. This perhaps explains why the pass leading to Kilār is inappropriately called the Sae Pass.

A third branch leaves the main road a little beyond Tisā and runs by Sai, Bagor and Bahnpōtā to the Dāganī Dhūr which it crosses by the Makan or Barāri Pass (height circa 12,100') to Balēs, a hill-tract included in Bhadravāh. Sai possesses an important fountain inscription (No. 35).
The main road in Lahul and Pangi follows the Candrabhāgā valley throughout and must have done so from the time that a road has existed. Though improved in parts, it is still, taken as a whole, of the most primitive description. In places it is carried from ledge to ledge by means of narrow wooden bridges of a very insecure character, locally known by the name of trāṅgāri.

After entering Chambā territory at Thirōt (map Tirot), it follows the right bank of the river. As far down as the Udaipur plain the valley is fairly open and the road therefore comparatively easy. From Margram (map Margraon; height 8,755') to Salgrām (map Salgraon) it runs for the most part along the face of the cliffs. It crosses over to the left bank at Salgrām and continues on this side as far down as Sāc (map Saudh) in Pāngi. The old road, however, crosses to Saur (map Saur) on the right bank (some 10 miles above Sāc), where a rope-bridge or jhūlā connects the two river banks. From Pōrthī (map Purti, 4 miles below Saur, this road ascends to Rēh (ṛēh = mountain-ridge) and from there drops down to the Sācu Nālā which it crosses to Sāc (height 7,886').

Below Sāc the valley is more open and the road fairly level. For a distance of ½ mile between Sāc and Kilār it is carried along the face of the precipice on crowbars fixed horizontally into the rock. This work was carried out by the Forest Department about A.D. 1870. The old road which is still extant used to lead over the shoulder of the cliff by almost perpendicular wooden steps. A little farther down near the village of Phinru (map Phinru) the path has been partly hewn out of the solid rock. This was probably done in the reign of Rājā Pythvi Sīngh, as appears from a rock-inscription containing the name of that chief and dated Śāstra 18 corresponding to A.D. 1042-3. From Kilār the road continues along the right bank at a fairly high level to Dharvās and Luj and at the Sansāri Nālā it leaves Chambā territory to enter Pādar.

\[1\] In the Lahuli dialect these villages are called Mānū and Sāgū.
Another ancient route connecting Lahul and Pangi leads up the Maiyár Nālā from Markulā (Udaipur) and, after crossing the Ghor Dhār (map Gurdhar) Pass, descends by the Sēcu Nālā (fig. 1) to the Candrabhágā valley which it rejoins at Sāc. This road, notwithstanding the height of the pass, is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhágā. It is practicable for hill-ponies, a circumstance which perhaps accounts for the name of the pass. Starting from Markulā, the stages are Cimrat, Maiyár (map Miyar; height 10,215'), Singhmayh, Bātor (map Bataor; height 11,638'), Sēcu (map Saichu; height 8,412'), and Sāc (map Sauch; height 7,880'). An inscribed fountain-stone found at Sālhi (map Saull) 3 miles below Sēcu has been noticed above. From Sāc, Kila and Dharvās roads lead into Zaugskar.
CHAPTER II.—THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The number of the inscriptions found in Chambā State is not less remarkable than their variety. Whereas in Kaśmīr, Kāngrā and Kujū, states of much greater antiquity and historical importance, only a very limited number of epigraphical records has been found, Chambā has yielded no less than 130 inscriptions, excluding those of the last two and a half centuries. This wealth of inscriptions within an area of only 3,216 square miles, of which the greater part is uninhabitable, is entirely due to its secluded position, and may convey some idea of the amount of historical material which has been lost in other more accessible districts, both in the Hills and the Plains. We know that in the 12th century there existed in Kaśmīr extensive inscriptions on stone and title-deeds on copper, which were consulted by Kalhana while composing his famous Chronicle. "By examining the inscriptions" says that author\(^1\) recording the consecration of temples (prāṣṭhā-bāṣāna) and grants (vastra-bāṣāna) by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions (prāṣasti-pattra) and at written

works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome." There existed, moreover, numerous images of stone and metal, many of which, no doubt, bore dedicatory inscriptions. Kallāna¹ relates how, in the reign of the great Lalitī-ditya, two images were discovered "which (as the letters engraved on the bases showed) had been made by Rama and Laksmana." This record, though legendary, shows that inscribed images were not unknown in Kallāna's days.

In Kāśmir not a single copper-plate has been discovered, and of stone inscriptions only a few insignificant fragments. "Of the first class of documents (pṛatīṣṭhāśānaṇa)," Dr. Stein² remarks, "only a small number of specimens has been found in Kāśmir, and none of them, except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Diddā, now in the Lahore Museum, can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than Kallāna. No inscription of the kind described under 11 and III (caviṣṭāśana and pṛatīṣṭhāśānaṇa) has come to my knowledge in Kāśmir." At Babor the ancient Bābāpur, the capital of a hill state dependent on Kāśmir, I noticed in 1906 an extensive Śāradā inscription inside a ruined temple. It is probably a pṛatīṣṭhā, but it is too much defaced to be deciphered.

Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū, both situated on the ancient trade route between India and Central Asia, have been scarcely more fortunate. It is true that Kāṅgṛā, the ancient Trigarta, has yielded two very ancient rock inscriptions and the important pṛatīṣṭhā of Baijnath, but considering that Chambā possesses no less than fifty epigraphs of the pre-Muhammadan period, those of its powerful neighbour are extremely scanty. On the borders of Kuḷū, one of the most ancient of the Pānjiāb Hill States, an inscription of the Gupta period has come to light. It is the rock inscription of Sālānū in Maṇḍī territory. The other inscriptions found in that district do not date further back than the middle of the 16th century A.D. The oldest copper-plate is that issued by Bahādur Singh which is preserved in Chambā and is dated [Sāstra]-samvat 35 corresponding to A.D. 1569.³ It is not at all improbable that continued research and excavation of ancient sites will bring to light additional material, but we can hardly expect as rich a harvest as, even without resorting to excavation, the Hill State of Chambā has yielded in a few summers' exploration.

The total number of inscriptions collected in Chambā amounts to one hundred and thirty, of which fifty are of the pre-Muhammadan period, and eighty of the Muhammadan period.

From the objects on which they are incised these records may be divided into rock inscriptions, slab inscriptions, image inscriptions and copper-plate inscriptions. Another classification, according to their contents, is that quoted from Kallāna:

² Note at Rājaśī. I, 15.
³ C. R. A. S., 1908-09, pp. 261-263. On p. 266 the date is erroneously stated to be 1569; the spelling Kuḷū is to be abandoned.
vis., records of consecration (Skr. pratiṣṭhā-bāsana), title-deeds (Skr. vastu-bāsana) and eulogies (Skr. prāṣasti-patī). Among these the title-deeds are usually engraved on copper-plates, and the eulogies are mostly cut on stone slabs. Stone is used for inscriptions of the first kind also, except when the consecrated object is an image of metal.

Rock inscriptions are not as numerous in Chambā as the abundance of the material would lead one to expect. But some of the most ancient epigraphs in the State belong to this class; namely, those of Panahi Nālā (Nos. 1-4), Tur (No. 10) and Proi-rā-gaḷā (No. 11). It may be noted that the Kābhārā and Paṭyār rock-inscriptions—the two oldest records of the Kāngā district—were once situated in Chambā territory. But as they date back to a time far anterior to the founding of the Chambā State, I have not thought it necessary to include them in the present volume.  

The rock inscriptions found within the present boundaries of the State are mostly brief records cut on the rock in bold but badly shaped letters, and consequently not always easy to decipher. To this class belong a few Tibetan records found in the neighbourhood of Brahmr and to be noted more fully hereafter (No. 50).

Among the image inscriptions the most important are those of Meru-varman (c. A.D. 700) incised on brass statues at Brahmr and Chitrāptī. Large-sized metal images of so early a date are extremely rare in India, as such objects were the first to attract the destructive zeal of iconoclasts and the cupidity of unscrupulous kings. The numerous idols of gold, silver and other metals set up by the magnificent Lalitaḍītya were destroyed more than two centuries before the Muslims established their rule in the Kaśmir valley. It was king Harṣa “that Turnuṣka,” as Kalhaṇa calls him, who, partly from greed and partly from perverseness, caused those relics of his great predecessor to be overthrown and desecrated, and for this purpose appointed a special official called “prefect for the destruction of gods” (Skr. devotpāṭanāṇaya).  

Only two Brahmanical images escaped—that of Ramāvīmin at Śrīnagar and that of Mārtanda the Sun-god—and two colossal Buddhas, one of which stood at Parihaṇsa-pura. The contemporaneous images of Meru-varman convey to us an idea of the style of those famous statues of Lalitaḍītya on which Kalhaṇa bestows so much praise. Cunningham, who visited Brahmr in 1830, remarks that these images had never been seen by Muhammadans until his servants arrived there. It will, however, be noticed in the course of a more detailed discussion of the inscriptions that two of the Brahmr images have suffered damage at the hands of some foreign, probably non-Muhammadan, invader.

Inscribed metal statuettes of a much later date are those of Śiva at Harṣap and of Markulā Dēvī in Chambā-Lahul. In each case the inscription records the conse-

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1 A title-deed recording a grant to a god or to a Brahman is called agrahāra-bāsana. See beneath inscr. No. 15, l. 21.
oration of the image, and sometimes also of the temple in which it was placed; and therefore belongs to Kalhaṇa's first class of pratīsthā-sāisanas.

We possess but few specimens of inscribed stone images. The oldest is probably the image of Dēvī erected by Rāṇa Bhogatā of Kiśkindha, the modern Himārā (No. 12). Next in date come the Dēvī image of Tur with an almost obliterated inscription (No. 19) and the Viṣṇu statuette of Śāhā of which the epigraph is also partly destroyed (No. 47). The Nārāyanana image of Dēvī-ri-kōṭhi, though itself much defaced, bears a well-preserved inscription. It is the only one of which the date can be approximately fixed. In this class are also to be reckoned the other two Tur inscriptions (Nos. 17 and 18) cut on stone stands which evidently once belonged to idols, and the Gūm inscription (No. 9) cut on a squared stone which must have supported a liṅga.

Inscriptions on stone slabs are either records of consecration or eulogies. Very often the two are combined, as in the Sarahān prakāśī (No. 13) which was primarily intended to record the erection of a Śiva temple, but the greater part of which is devoted to the praise of the founder's spouse, Somaprabhā. It may rightly be called a love-poem carved in stone. Likewise the Dēvī-ri-kōṭhi and Mōl-Kīhār fountain-inscriptions (Nos. 32 and 34) are at the same time prakāśīs, as they contain a flattering account of the pious donors and their relatives. The poet of the former seems actually to designate his composition by that name. These laudatory inscriptions, apart from their historical value, are documents of literary interest, as they are composed throughout in elegant Sanskrit poetry. Among the prakāśīs found in Chambā only that of Sarahān is complete. Outside Chambā, I may mention the two prakāśīs of Baitānā and that of Bhavan in Kāṅgrā, besides the Trilōkānāṭh one in Manḍi Town. These all record the foundation of temples in which they are still preserved. A record of consecration of a peculiar kind is the platform (caṇḍerā) inscription of Chambā City, which states that a pipal tree (Skr. aśvatica) was planted and a platform built by a certain Brāhmaṇ, on Wednesday, the 28th March A.D. 1660.1

A very important sub-division of this class are the large carved fountain-slabs, very numerous in certain parts of Chambā, and apparently peculiar to that State. The only place outside Chambā where I have met with stones of this kind is Sisu on the Candā river in British Lahul. These were first noticed by the traveller Moorecroft on his ill-fated journey to Bukhārā. "Between the first and second village of Sisu," that author2 relates, "we crossed the Sisu river, a narrow torrent rushing down with a force which must wear away the most compact rock. Growing near it was the variety of current which I had observed at Niti. On the summit of the ascent from the water a flat stone, sculptured with figures and flowers, was set up on the right of the path." Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that in other villages of British Lahul also

1 Cf. above, p. 92.
similar slabs are found, but no inscribed specimen has hitherto come to light outside Chamba. On entering Chamba from British Lahul, a specimen may be seen at Brāhmaṇ-kōṭi (map ‘Bamankoti, local name Sindvāri), the first village in State territory. At Triloknāth, the famous Buddhist place of pilgrimage in Chamba-Lahul, there are several of these slabs, but none of them bears an inscription. The best example is found at Oflar, ½ mile east of the caryāna. They are very frequently met with in wazārat Pāngi, especially round Kilār, and are sometimes collected in considerable numbers on one spot (plate IV). Two inscribed stones of particular interest are found in this province, one at Sāhi in the Sečh valley and the other at Luj. The latter place is situated close to the Pādar border. In Pādar itself, however, carved fountain-slabs of this type do not occur; nor, as far as I know, in any other tracts lower down the Candrabhāgī river. In the valleys of the Jēhām, Biās and Satluj such slabs seem to be wholly unknown.

In Curāh, the north-western province of Chamba, watered by the Syāhī river, such stones are exceedingly numerous. Of particular interest are those of Sai, Naghai and Dadvār, all of which are inscribed. The Lōh-Tikri pargāna is richest of all in fountain inscriptions, but unfortunately hardly any of them are complete.

In the Rāvī valley proper, fountain stones are found at many places from Brāhmaṇ down to Keri (map Kairi), but they are of much smaller size than those of Curāh and Pāngi, and do not bear inscriptions. One often finds several erected at one spring, for instance at Chatriśhī and at Brehi in the Bhāgī pargāna. At the latter place there are four slabs, placed side by side, which are locally believed to have
been made for the use of four different castes, the Rāṇās, the Rāthis, the potters and the carpenters. At Tāgi and other villages in the same pargānā isolated stones may be seen (fig. 13). At Laṅgu, 4 miles from the town on the road to Jamvāṭ, no less than nine slabs of various sizes were found at one spring; they have all been placed in the State Museum (Cat. Nos. A. 19-27). In the city itself a broken fountain stone was unearthed in the summer of 1906 and has likewise been deposited in the Museum (Cat. No. A. 18).

Fig. 13. Fountain-stone at Tāgi (pargānā Basu).

The fountain-slabs of the Rāvi valley are usually carved with numerous rows of figures. Among these we find Viśṇu sleeping on the serpent Śeṣa, Laksāmī holding his feet, and the four-faced Brahma seated on a lotus rising from Viśṇu's navel. As the sleep of the Sun-god takes place in the rainy season, the scene is very appropriately chosen. Other common subjects are the nine Grahas (also frequently carved over the entrance of temples) and the ten aumārūs or incarnations of Viśṇu.
The figures in the lower rows, which are shown in the act of worshipping the linga, probably represent the donors of the sculptures.

On the large slabs of Pāngi and Curah also we find commonly the upper portion occupied by rows of figures both of deities and mortals. Among the former Varuna, the god of the waters, in whose honour the stone was erected, takes a prominent place. On the Sālā stone (plate XXXI) we find Śiva in the centre of the upper row, between Varuna, Indra, Gāpēṣa and Kārttikeya, each seated on his particular vahana and marked with an inscription. In the middle of the slab is a representation of Visṇu's sleep—a subject which, as just noted, regularly occurs on the fountain stones of the Rāvi valley. The rest of the Sālā stone is occupied by eight female figures personifying the great rivers of Northern India. The name of each river is inscribed on the water-vessel which the figure holds in one hand.

At Sai also (plate XXXIV) each of the figures is named, but here only the upper row consists of divinities, the lower portion being reserved for human beings. Among the latter we find the person portrayed, for the sake of whose bliss the stone was set up. On the Naghai slab deities are apparently mixed with mortals, but here the figures are not marked with their names. It is possible that one of the figures represents the Rājī Mehlā who is mentioned in the inscription. On the stones, which, judging from their inferior workmanship, belong to a later date, we find Varuna, still occupying his place of honour; but for the rest such stones are carved with clumsy figures of armed horsemen, archers, swordsmen and female water-carriers. Examples of this kind are the Baṭrundī and Nāl stones in the Chambā Museum (Cat. Nos. A. 12 and 17), both of which bear fragmentary inscriptions.

On most fountain slabs we find, besides figures, a fair amount of ornamental carvings. Among these the eight-petalled lotus-rosette is most prominent. On each side of the square hole intended to receive the water-spout there is often a dwarf-pilaster of very curious design. The rows of figures are frequently separated by bands of ornamental scrollwork and the whole of the carvings are usually enclosed within leaf and rope borders.

Among the fountain sculptures of Chambā State, there are several which do not contain any figures but are purely decorative. Usually the surface is divided into square panels each provided with a conventional lotus. I am inclined to think that slabs of this type are the earliest in date, but the inscriptions do not as yet enable us to class them chronologically. Among the three dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva, which belong to the first half of the 11th century, that of Bhakund is a plain slab with no carvings at all, and that of Daityā has no other figure than Varuna, the rest of the carvings being decorative. The third one is that of Naghai, where the greater part of the carving is also decorative, though here we find a row of five figures, Varuna occupying the centre. The fountain slab of Siyā, erected in the year of Āsata's accession (c. A.D. 1070) is carved with decorative bands, and does not bear any figures except the effigy of Varuna and a pair of interlaced birds. On the Luj stone of the first year of Āsata (A.D. 1106), we find a well-nigh equal division of figures and decorative devices. Among the former we notice the horseman who regularly appears on the fountain slabs of a more decadent and presumably later type. That of Loh-Tikri, also of Āsata's reign, has only a lotus-rosette and decorative
borders. On the two specimens of the reign of Lalita-varman—those of Sālhi and Sai, described above, which belong to the second half of the 12th century—the figures are decidedly more prominent. On that of Sālhi even the ornamental borders are absent. It would, therefore, seem that there has been a gradual development from plain stones with simple conventional lotus-flowers to the elaborate slabs crowded with figures. We must, however, assume that the nature of the carvings was largely dependent on the individual taste of the donor and the sculptor, as well as on the former’s means and on the latter’s ability.

It is noteworthy that in general the purely decorative carvings are executed with considerably greater skill than the figures, which are conspicuous chiefly for their clumsy appearance, rigid attitude and want of proportion. For this reason the specimens which bear exclusively decorative carvings are, from an artistic point of view, the most satisfactory.

When the slabs bear inscriptions, these are either incised on the raised rim running horizontally between the rows of figures and decorative bands, or cut on one or two plain rectangular panels placed in the centre or at the two ends of the slab. The latter is mostly the case with those found in the neighbourhood of Loh-Tikri in the Cāṇju valley.

The slabs here described are commonly set up against the steep hill slope, at places where water flows down or gushes forth from the rock. A stone spout, sometimes ornamental substituted, is fixed in a square opening in the centre of the stone, to allow the water to flow through. In some instances we find in front of the large slab a cistern built with three smaller stones, likewise adorned with carvings. This must have been the case at Luj, Sālhi and Naghai where the enclosing stones are still extant and partly in situ.

As to the purpose of these fountain slabs, the inscriptions leave no doubt that their erection was looked upon less as a work of general utility than as a meritorious act, designed to secure future bliss to the founder and his relatives. The person for whose sake the stone was set up, either deceased wife or husband, is often mentioned by name in the inscription. Thus the Naghai stone was erected for the sake of the bliss in the next world of Rāgī Mekhalā, that of Sai for the sake of Rāpantrā Pāhī. In other fountain inscriptions of the Čurāh we know that the donor states that he erected the stone “fearing with the fear of mundane existence” (Skr. samsāra-bhaya-bhīteva). The slab itself is invariably designated as a Varuṇa-deva, i.e., “a god Varuṇa” for the obvious reason that Varuṇa, the patron of the waters, is usually carved on it. This name is no longer remembered. In Lahul stones of this kind are known as namr (probably the same as Pahāyā namr); in Pāmgī they are indicated by the name of namr. In the Rāvi valley they do not seem to have any special appellation, except that of pankhiyar, a name commonly applied to all fountains, whether they are provided with carved slabs or not.

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1 The date of the Sai inscription is uncertain.
Nor does there seem to exist any certain tradition regarding their origin, date and purpose. Sometimes they are connected with the Nāgas. At Kuās above Kilār there are two fine springs known as Barsār Nāg and Nāgāmi. At both, fountain stones have been erected, some of which show traces of inscriptions. Those at Triloknāth in Lehul are locally asserted to have been set up in honour of the Nāga. In epigraphs, however, no mention whatever is made of these demi-gods, so prominent in the popular religion of the Hills. Sometimes these huge stones with their quaint figures and mysterious characters—unintelligible even to the learned Pādā—-are looked upon with superstitious dread, and the villagers are often reluctant to give information regarding their whereabouts, for fear that some evil may spring from it.

It is, therefore, the more gratifying that the stones themselves readily yield us their forgotten history. Most of them belong to a time when Curāh and Pāngi were inhabited by numerous petty chieftains or Rāpās dependent on the Rājā of Chambā. It was they who erected these slabs, on which their names and those of their father and grandfather are usually recorded, together with that of the Rājā to whom they owed allegiance. We may, therefore, assume that at most places where fountain-slabs occur, there once stood the stronghold of a Rāpā. I must add that our inscriptions show a few instances of such stones having been erected by Brahmins; but those are as a rule of a less elaborate type. One, that of Bhakund, bears merely an inscription without any carvings.

The fountain inscriptions are of great importance for local history, as in most cases they are fully dated, both according to the era then in use and in the regnal year of the ruler of the time. Thus the Lujā and Sāhī stones have rendered it
possible to fix the year of accession of two Chambā Rājās of the 12th century. There are, however, two circumstances which considerably detract from their historical value. The inscriptions are, as a rule, composed in very ungrammatical Sanskrit, sometimes intermixed with vernacular terms, which often renders their detailed interpretation doubtful. In some instances (e.g., the Salhi inscription) the particulars of the date appear to be incorrectly noted.

What makes matters worse, is their frequently fragmentary condition. Placed against the hill slope without any shelter or support, these slabs were often thrown down by avalanches, or upset by the pressure of the earth behind them, and subsequently buried under the deposits of the rivulets. The spout-stone fixed in the earth behind caused the slab to break in its fall and in this manner many a stone may have become completely lost. Sometimes it has happened that, owing to long exposure, the inscriptions became defaced or wholly obliterated; and in a few cases such slabs are said to have been willfully smashed for utilitarian purposes. Fragments have been found in walls or steps belonging to dwelling-houses. Mostly, however, it was merely their position which was the cause of their ruin. Thus among the numerous inscribed stones of this kind hardly any specimen has come to light, of which the inscription and carving have remained entirely uninjured.

Fig. 15. Copper-plate of Yagshana.

I have treated the Chambā fountain-inscriptions at some length, on account of their peculiar character. Inscriptions on copper-plates, the last class to be discussed, are known to occur in most parts of India, and indeed must at one time have been in use all over the Indian Continent. The custom of engraving title-deeds of pious donations on copper is referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Pa Hien and must therefore have existed in the 5th century of our era. Nor was this the only use such plates were put to. It is
recorded that after the third Buddhist council the sacred scriptures were engraved on copper-plates and deposited in a stūpa by order of king Kaniśka. This tradition derives some credit from the fact that in some of the stūpas of ancient Takṣaśila—the Taxila of the Greeks—inscribed plates of copper, silver and gold have been discovered.¹

With the exception of those from Takṣaśila, that of Suć Vihar (Bahāwalpur) and the Nirmand title-deed, the Panjāb has yielded no ancient copper-plate inscriptions; though at one time they must have been not less numerous here than in other parts of India. This may be inferred from the large number of such inscriptions found in Chambā State. I have been able in the course of my researches to collect no less than eighty-two copper-plate inscriptions, of which five belong to the pre-Muhammadan and seventy-seven² to the Muhammadan period. I have excluded those posterior to the reign of Rājā Prthvi Singh (A.D. 1641-64). Among the seventy-seven plates of the later period there are forty-two issued by Rājā Balabhadrā, who still lives in local tradition as the paragon of pious munificence. As the custom of issuing such documents was kept up till the end of the last century, and several specimens of each of the later Rājās are known to exist, the total number of copper-plates in Chambā State may be safely estimated at nearly a hundred and fifty. But imposing as this number may appear, the preponderance of plates of the later period only shows, how few in number the earlier plates that have come down to us are, as compared with those which have been lost.

The copper-plate inscriptions which will be edited in the course of this work are, all but one, title-deeds recording donations of land. The only exception is a plate, issued by Rājā Balabhadrā and dated Śastra 75, Vikrama 1656 (A.D. 1599), which records the appointment of the Brāhmaṇ Iśvara as his family-priest. It is in the possession of his descendant, the present purohita. I may note parenthetically that among the documents of later date there is a copper-plate containing a treaty between Rājā Prthvi Singh of Chambā and Rājā Saṁśar Cand Kaṭṭāe, the famous ruler of Kaṅgrā. It is dated from the latter's camp at Nadum in the Vikrama year 1545, Jeth, pra. 25. This plate is kept in the State Museum and numbered B. 36. It is possible that, at an earlier period also, political documents of this kind were engraved on metal, but no other specimens have hitherto been recovered.

As to the common type of copper-plate inscriptions, i.e., those recording donations of land—the donor is usually the ruler of the time or one of his relatives. It is well-known that, according to Hindū law, the king is regarded as the exclusive owner of land. It is curious that among the plates of Prthvi Singh's reign there are two³ issued by his nurse whose name, Dāi Baṭṭā, is still remembered in Chambā. In the title-deeds she is called “Dḥāṭri Baṭṭāla Dēvī” and “Śri-Dḥāṭri Baṭṭāla.” Presumably she granted the land out of the Jāgīr which is usually bestowed on the Rājā's dātī. The dānīs are either Brāhmaṇs or temples. Among the Chambā copper-plate grants there are

² Three of these plates were discovered outside Chambā territory. One belongs to the purohita of the Rāja of Nūpur, the other two to Ḫākin Bṛj Lal of Jelānākhitī in the Kaṅgrā District.
³ The two plates in question are both dated in the Vikrama year 1572, Śastra 21 (A.D. 1615), one in Asāhī, pūrṇa and the other in Mūgaḥ śā. ti. 7.
only three which are bestowed on gods, one—the oldest of all—on Narsingh at Brahmar, the second on three temples in Chambé City, and the third on Càmûndâ Dévî at Mindhal in Pàñjí. It should be noted that the title-deed is actually issued in favour of the deity, whose image the temple contains and that, in case the idol is removed to another building, it retains its grant of land. It goes without saying that most of the benefit falls to the share of the Brahman priests attached to the shrine.

The merit of bestowing gifts on the twice-born has from ancient days been emphasized both in sacred and secular literature; but land was occasionally presented to non-Brahmans who had rendered service to the ruler of the State. There exists a copper-plate at Dantali (map Dante) at the foot of the Drâti Pass which was issued by Ràjà Balabhadrâ to four brothers of the Kakâ caste, one of them non-Brahmans. It is dated Sàstra 94, Vikrama 1675 (A.D. 1618). Sir Lepel Griffin1 also quotes the instance of a copper-plate grant issued in Samvat 1584 (A.D. 1527) by Ràjà Ajbar Sên of Maçñì to a Khatri, Madhusûdân by name, whose three brothers had been slain in a battle fought against the Rànás. We also read in one of our earliest Chambé copper-plate inscriptions (No. 25) of land being enjoyed by Queen Rasî, the wife of Ràjà Sàlavâhâna. But gifts of this kind were only granted for a period depending on the donor’s pleasure and not exceeding the lifetime of the donee. There was consequently no need of recording such gifts on durable metal. The donations to Brahmanas, on the contrary, were made in perpetuity, “to be enjoyed by son and son’s son for as long as the moon and sun shall endure.” Heavenly joy was to be the reward of the pious donor, but terrible punishment awaited him who should confiscate the land thus given. “Who takes the property of a Brahman, given either by himself or by others, for sixty thousands of years will be born as a worm in the dirt.” “He who confiscates what he himself has given will be a blind man for twelve existences, a hog for ten existences, and a leper for twelve existences.” “Mounted on a divine chariot drawn by geese, the giver of land goes to the world of the gods; in a pot full of boiling oil the robber thereof sees the messenger of Death.”

Stanzas of this kind are invariably found at the end of each title-deed. They have, in Chambé at least, had the result—gratifying to the antiquarian—that the donations have been preserved, as well as the copper-plates on which they are recorded. I doubt whether in any other part of India an instance could be quoted of lands, granted nearly a thousand years ago, being still enjoyed by the descendants of the original donees. This is the case with the copper-plate grant of Vidâgî, the grandson of Sàhîla the founder of Chambé, who lived in the 10th century of our era; and I refer to it not merely as a curiosity, but as a matter of special interest for the study of ancient topography. There can, of course, be no doubt whatever that the village of Sûmângâ, mentioned in that plate, is represented by the modern Sûngâl, in the vicinity of which the land is situated.

Grants of land to Brahmanas or temples were, as we have seen, considered meritorious under all circumstances. But the coincidence of certain astronomical phenomena was supposed to enhance

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1 As a generic name the word kakâ means “harsh diet.”
the merit of the gift. Thus we find some of our copper-plate grants dated on the occasion of a solar eclipse or of the hibernal solstice (Skr. \textit{Makara-samkranti}). We find an instance of each in two of the copper-plate grants published in the present volume. Such data are often important in calculating the date of the inscription, at least in case the date is that of the donation and not that at which the plate was issued. There are, however, two instances among the plates published here in which the date of the plate was evidently not that of the donation. In that of Soma-varman (No. 24) we read that the gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The date however is not Amāvāsyā (New Moon) but \textit{sā† tīśā}. In the grant of Soma-varman and Āṣāya (No. 23, l. 27) it is definitely stated that the date of the inscription is that on which the charter was furnished (\textit{peṭakam idam saṃpāditam}). The procedure followed in Chambā until recently was as follows:—A paper \textit{sāmuṇḍ} was issued at once at the time of the donation, and on the copper-plate, prepared subsequently, the original date was retained.

Grants of land were also made on solemn occasions such as the consecration of a temple or other building, or when some happy event had occurred calculated to stimulate the ruler’s generosity. Thus Janārdana, the son of Rājā Balabhadra and his co-regent for several years, made a donation at the birth of his son Pṛthvī Singh, which is dated Vikrama 1676, Śāstra 95 (A.D. 1619-20). It is said that grants used to be made by the Rājās of Chambā at their accession, but our documents do not point to the existence of such a custom. We find, however, that the family priest was sometimes rewarded with a gift of land, after having taken the bones of the deceased Rājā to the Ganges and performed the Śrāddha. An instance of this is afforded by a copper-plate of Rājā Saṅgrāma-varman dated Śāstra 22 (A.D. 1446).1

From the plates existing in Chambā it is evident that the following three dignitaries were the first to benefit by the Rājā’s munificence:—his spiritual preceptor (rājaguru), his family priest (purāhit) and the Court astrologer (jyotiṣī). Their offices were of course hereditary, so that the present incumbents are in possession of a respectable number of copper-plates. It was the Rājaguru who used to be charged with the duty of drawing up the grant and whose name is commonly found at the end. This, at least, was the custom during the Muhammadan period. Thus we find the name of Paṇḍit Surāmaṇḍ on some of the plates of Gaṅḍa-varman, that of his son Ramāpati on those of Pratāp Singh, and that of Ramāpati’s son Laksmanikānt on most of the plates of Balabhadra.

Among the numerous copper-plate grants of Rājā Balabhadra (A.D. 1589-1641) there is one issued in favour of Bıyās, the \textit{guru} of the Rājā of Nūṛpur, for certain services rendered or to be rendered, which are not clearly set forth, but may have had some bearing on the difficulties which at that time existed between Chambā and Nūṛpur. It is dated Vaisākha \textit{puṇa} 13, Śāstra 94 (A.D. 1618). It is curious that this is exactly the year when Śūraj Mall of Nūṛpur, the eldest son and successor of Rājā Bıyās, rebelled against Jahāṅgīr and was obliged to take refuge in Chambā where he died.

\footnote{1 The passage in question runs: \textit{Bāra Ṛāśi Bhūt-varman de ast Bāra Lēgha Gāṇḍa \textit{i purāhita} karī agha, ko vata barhāt śrādha bāra Ṛāśi de hāpya, Śrī Rāśi Saṅgrāma-varman tikā lek, iha purāhita Śrī-Rāśi Saṅgrāma-varman Bāra Lēgha ki śrādha dīte.}
The astrologer of the Rajā of Chambā is in possession of a copper-plate grant issued to one of his ancestors by Amṛṭ Pāl, the chief of the neighbouring State of Basohli in A.D. 1774. It appears that at that time the Basohli Rajā had invaded Chambā. Another instance of a grant made to the guru of a neighbouring chief is afforded by the copper-plate inscription of Bahādur Singh of Kullā, mentioned above, which records a grant of land to Paṇḍit Ramāpati, the guru of the Chambā Rajā. The donation was made on the occasion of the marriage of Bahādur Singh’s three daughters, presumably with the heir-apparent of Chambā.

We have remarked above that the copper-plates of the pre-Muhammadan period are few in number. We possess one of Yuga-kara-varman, the son of Sūhila, and one of Yuga-kara’s son Vīdagdha. These two presumably belong to the 10th century of our era. The remaining three plates of the pre-Muhammadan period date from the second half of the 11th century. One was issued by Soma-varman, the second by Soma-varman and Asaṭa combined, and the third by Asaṭa alone. These five plates are being edited in the present volume, together with a spurious plate which, though ascribed to Vīdagdha, is evidently a forgery of much later date. It would seem, however, that, partly at least, it was copied from a genuine document which has since disappeared.

Of the 12th and 13th centuries not a single copper-plate inscription has come to light, though there is no reason to assume that the rulers of that period were less generous than their predecessors and successors. Of Rajā Vijaya-varman, who must have ruled about A.D. 1200, the Vaiṣṇavaṇaṃ (41. 87) distinctly states that he made grants of villages to Brāhmaṇas. From the beginning of the 14th century there begins a fresh series of copper-plate charters which is continued without interruption down to the present day. There exists a very obvious difference between the pre-Muhammadan copper-plate inscriptions and those of the Muhammadan period. The former are neatly engraved on good-sized copper-plates and are composed throughout in Sanskrit. The plates of the 14th and 15th centuries are very poor documents, both as regards scholarship and technical execution. In the 16th century we notice a marked improvement, perhaps due to the revival of Hindu civilization under the benign rule of Akbar. The charters of this period exhibit greater knowledge on the part of the writer and greater skill on that of the artisan. Nearly all plates of the Muhammadan period, however, are partly in the vernacular; which circumstance, though adding to their linguistic interest, at the same time points to a decline of Sanskrit learning. The vernacular portion, introduced by the formula aṭha bhāṣā, is that part of the document in which the boundaries of the granted land are described. It was, of course, essential that such passages should be intelligible to local officials who did not possess any knowledge of Sanskrit. Besides, the difficulty of finding Sanskrit equivalents to render local topographical terms is manifest from some of the pre-Muhammadan plates, in which the frequent use of sanskritized vernacular words in these passages often renders their interpretation extremely difficult.

In one respect the charters of the later period are superior to the earlier ones. Nearly all of them are very fully dated both in the local and in some other era, and
thus enable us to fix the approximate dates of all the Chambā Rājās from the 14th century onwards. The pre-Muhammadan plates are dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief, so that their date can only be approximately fixed with the aid of other epigraphical or literary documents. This point will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter.

As to the geographical distribution of the copper-plates, it deserves notice that they have been found almost exclusively in the Rāvi valley. In Lahul not a single specimen has come to light; in Pāngi only one is known to exist—that granted by Rājā Prthvī Siṅgh to Cāmundā Devī of Mindhal. In the Curāh division comparatively few copper-plates are found, all belonging to the Muhammadan period. In the Rāvi valley proper, on the contrary, such documents are exceedingly numerous. The pre-Muhammadan plates all belong to this region.

It will be seen that the number of copper-plates in the various parts of Chambā stands in inverse proportion to that of the fountain inscriptions described above. The latter, as we have pointed out, are the records of feudatory chiefs called Rāṅga or Thākur. It is obvious that the Rājā could only grant lands which were under his direct control. Thus the distribution of fountain inscriptions and of copper-plate grants points to the same conclusion. The Rāvi valley was from a very remote period—almost from the foundation of the present State—under the direct rule of the Rājā, whereas Curāh, Pāngi and Lahul remained for a long time in the hands of the Rāṅga. The greater part of Lahul is indeed held by a Thākur up to the present day.

The above will suffice to show the great variety of the Chambā inscriptions.

Religious character. All these documents, however, have one main feature in common. They have, almost without exception, a religious purport which is definitely stated in the inscription itself. As to those recording the consecration of temples or images, this is obvious. In the inscription on the brazen bull of Brahmor it is specially stated that the founder, Meru-varman, meant to increase the spiritual fruit of his parents and himself by building a Śiva temple and placing an image of the vehicle of that deity in front. The erection of the statue of Śakti Devī at Chatrāṭhī by the same ruler seems to have been in fulfilment of a pious vow; for we read in the inscription, incised on its pedestal, that it was founded after Meru-varman had conquered his foes in their invincible castles, no doubt with the powerful help of the goddess. A parallel instance of a more recent date of such a votive offering may be quoted from the neighbouring hill tract of Kuḻ. The temple of Hidimbā Devī at Dhnāgri near Manālī, with its quaint wood carvings, was built by Rājā Bahādur Siṅgh in the year A.D. 1553 after his conquest of the valley, in fulfilment of a solemn promise made previously to her—the patron-goddess of Kuḻ. At the end of the Saralūr prāsasti it is naively related that the chief Siṅgyaki dedicated a fane to the moon-crowned Śiva in order to establish a firm friendship between his wife, the beauteous Somaprabhā, and Śiva’s spouse, the Mountain-daughter Durgī.

The fountain of Devi-rī-kōṭhī was built by Balhā, the widow of the local Rājā, for the benefit of her deceased lord. That of Mūl-Kihār seems to have been
constructed by the husband and children of the noble Śūramati to allay the grief caused by her death. The carved fountain-slabs so numerous in Curāh and Pāngi, as we learn from some of their inscriptions, served a similar purpose. Both the Sāhī and Naghai stones were erected by the local baron for the sake of the future bliss of his wife. That of Sāi was set up for the sake of the Rāṇā's son (rūauntrā), Phāhī, whose effigy is carved on the slab.

The donations of land to Brāhmaṇs and temples, recorded on copper-plates, had likewise, as already stated, the character of pious acts calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor. We read in Vīdagdha's copper-plate inscription, that he granted the land “for the sake of spiritual merit and for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence.”

The sacred associations attaching to all our inscriptions have in a large degree contributed to preserve them. Where inscriptions have become destroyed, this has been mostly due to the forces of nature. I have met with only a few cases in which inscribed stones had been wantonly destroyed or appropriated for building purposes. The destruction of the Mūl-Kihār and Batrāni inscriptions is said to have happened at the time of the invasion of Amṛt Pāl of Basāhī.

On the other hand, the essentially religious nature of the epigraphs shows at once their limitations as historical records. Practically none of the inscriptions recovered in Chamba—except perhaps the Projīrā-gajā rock-inscription—are intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. In some of the copper-plates, it is true, mention is made of the wars waged by Sāhilla, but this is only incidental. It is merely an episode in the eulogy devoted to the great ancestor of the generous donor of the grant. The historically important points—the names of Sāhilla's allies and adversaries, the time and place of the battles fought by him—are omitted. Instead, we have long strings of words which do credit to the author's knowledge of Indian rhetoric, but fail to contribute to our knowledge of Indian history.
CHAPTER III.—THE CHARACTER.

There can be little doubt that in the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, the inhabitants of the Ravi valley employed both the Brahmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters. The use of these two scripts in the neighbouring Bīs valley during that period is proved by the Pathyār and Kanhārā rock-inscriptions found in the north-east corner of the Kangra district not far from the Chamba border. Both are foundation inscriptions of the most primitive kind, consisting of a noun indicating the object founded—in one case a tank (pukarini), in the other either a convent or a garden (ārāma)—and the name of the founder in the genitive case. These two words are given both in Brahmī and in Kharoṣṭhī, but in each case a third word, apparently a caste-name, is added to one of the two legends—at Pathyār to the Kharoṣṭhī and at Kanhārā to the Brahmī. Both these rock inscriptions were at one time situated within Chamba territory. The Pathyār inscription I discovered in 1901 near the fort of the same name, which during part of the 15th century was garrisoned by Chamba troops. That of Kanhārā is found in the Ribhu śilāga which formed part of Chamba territory until A.D. 1821, when it was seized by Ranjit Singh. As, however, both these inscriptions date back to a period far anterior to the foundation of the State, I have thought it unnecessary to include them in the present volume.

Within the present limits of the Chamba State, the earliest epigraphs hitherto discovered are the Panali Nālā rock inscriptions (Nos. 1-4). Next in date are the four image inscriptions of Meru-varman (Nos. 5-8) and the slab inscription of his feudatory, Sāmanta Asāqha, (No. 9) which are written in the ornamental nail-head type which succeeded the Gupta character and was used all over Northern India. It is the same script which we find on the base of the Vajra-varāhī image of Caṭī (map Chari) in the Kangra district, and in those of Pīṭhāvan. Numerous instances could be quoted from other parts of India. Cunningham assigns the Caṭī image inscription to the 7th or 8th century, but the use of the tripartite ga makes me think that it is earlier.

The Tur rock-inscriptions (No. 10) are in the same character. The Proli-śāga rock inscription of Rājā Mṛtyunjaya (No. 11), and the Swālm image inscription of Rajānaka Bhogāṇa (No. 12), form a transition from the acute-angled type to the Sāradā.

All remaining epigraphs (Nos. 13-50) edited in the present volume, except No. 50, are written in the Sāradā character. The term “Sāradā”—I may at once note—is now-a-days unknown in Chamba and the character itself is no longer used. Notwithstanding frequent inquiries, I have not succeeded in tracing a single ancient Sāradā
manuscript in Chambā. The pāṇḍits read and write Nāgari, whilst the popular alphabet is the Hill Tākri or Tākri which will be discussed in the course of this chapter. Among the Chambā pāṇḍits I have met only one who can read the later Śāradā (or Devāṣera, as he himself calls it) used in the title-deeds of the Muhammadan period.

"The name Śāradākṣarāṇi," Bühler remarks, "means either letters sacred to Śāradā, i.e. Sarasvati, or it may be taken as the letters which are Sarasvati, i.e. (visible) speech. Śāradā is considered one of the tutelary deities of the country (Kaśmir) which is frequently named after her Śūradā-deśā or Śūradā-māñjullā. In India, too, in writing in general is called Sarasvatī or Sarasvatimukha, "the face of the goddess of speech." It would seem, therefore, that the term Śāradā used by the pāṇḍits of Kaśmir, originated in that country. It is not improbable that there the script denoted by that name was also first elaborated.

Bühler observes that the Śāradā script appears from about A.D. 800 in Kaśmir and in the north-eastern Panjāb (Kāṅgrā and Chambā). "The oldest known Śāradā inscriptions," he says, "are the two Białnāth Prāṣastis from Kāṅgrāma (Kāṅgrā) dated A.D. 804. Not much later are the coins of the Varman dynasty of Kaśmir, where the Śūradā forms are likewise fully developed. And it is not improbable that the Bakhshali Manuscript, found in the Yūsufzai district, belongs to the same or even a somewhat earlier period." I may point out that the true date of the Białnāth prāṣasti is not Śāka 726 (A.D. 804), as Bühler, at the instance of Cunningham, assumed, but Śāka 1126 (A.D. 1204). Regarding the date of this inscription the late Professor Kielhorn remarked: "In my opinion, the most important question to be answered in connection with that date is, whether the first figure of the Śāka year in the date of the second prāṣasti is 7 or not. Sir A. Cunningham and Professor Bühler say that it is; and if they are right, the lankika year 80 of the date of the first prāṣasti should, according to what we know at present of the Saptarṣi era, no doubt, correspond to Śāka 726 expired. But the first of the bright half of Jyaistha did not fall on a Sunday, the day of the week given in the date, in Śāka 726 expired, nor in fact in any of the eight years from Śāka 732 to 729 expired. If, on the other hand, we were not restricted by the date of the second prāṣasti to any particular century of the Śāka era, I would say that the lankika year 80 of the first prāṣasti must correspond to Śāka 1126 expired, because, of all the expired 26th years of the centuries of the Šākas of the Śākā era, from Śāka 626 to Śāka 1426, only the year 1126 yields the desired Sunday (the 2nd May, A.D. 1204). And I should not be prevented by anything in the contents of the inscription and the language of the author, or in the alphabet employed, from assigning the inscription to so late a period." I may add that, independently of Professor Kielhorn's researches, a close examination of the inscription has led me to the conclusion that the date noted

2 I should prefer to render it as "the mouth of Sarasvati," i.e., that through which Sarvsvati reveals herself. Compare the expression gurumukhā, i.e., the script through which the guru speaks.
3 Ind. Pol. p. 150 (Bengali p. 178).
in the second prakšasti is not 726 but 112[6], the last figure being effaced. The Baijnáth inscriptions, therefore, far from being the earliest Sáradá records, belong to a comparatively late period, as will be fully borne out in the subsequent discussion of their palaeographical characteristics.

Among other Sáradá inscriptions found in the Káŋgrá valley, there is none which can be dated with certainty, except the eulogy of the goddess JvalámuKhí in the famous temple of Vajreśvari or Mātā Devi at Bhavan, the suburb of Káŋgrá town. It is dated in the reign of Rajá Samsára-Candra I of Káŋgrá and of his overlord Muhammad Sayyid, Emperor of Delhi (A.D. 1433-46). It should be noted that only the first two lines and part of the third line, containing the mangala and the first stanza, are in Sáradá, whereas the rest of the inscription is written in Nágarí. This shows that in the 15th century both characters were used side by side in the Káŋgrá District. The same is proved, for the end of the 13th century, by a Nágarí inscription on a stone pedestal which must have belonged to a stone statue of the Jina Mahávira, and is now placed in the back niche of the temple of Baijnáth. It is dated [Vikrama-] Samvat 1296, Phalguna ba. ti. 5, Sunday, which corresponds to the 15th January, A.D. 1240.

It is very curious to find the Sáradá and Nágarí alphabets used simultaneously in Káŋgrá, just as at a much earlier period was the case with Bráhmí and Kharoshthí.

In the Kujá subdivision we have found no inscriptions anterior to the reign of Bahádur Singh who lived in the middle of the 16th century. In the neighbouring Hill State of Mandi there is a Sáradá inscription dated Śaka-samvat 1442, Kaliyuga 4622 (A.D. 1520) in the temple of Śiva Triloknáth in Puráṇi Maṇḍí. Still later are the Maṇḍí Sati pillars, the oldest of samvat 13 (A.D. 1637), which have been described by Cunningham. These inscriptions, though of a comparatively late date, prove that the Sáradá character was once used in the whole Kujá valley.

In the Satluj valley no Sáradá inscriptions have come to my notice, but considering the close connection of Kujá and Mandi with Sukhát and Kalubh, it is very probable that at one time Sáradá was used there also. It is of interest to note that a fragmentary prakśasti, discovered in 1906 in the Sirmur State and now preserved in the Lahore Museum, is written not in Sáradá, but in an early type of Nágarí. We may, therefore, assume that the Sáradá character is not found east of the Satluj valley.

There can be little doubt that in the Ráví valley Sáradá was exclusively used. But it is curious that in the Chambá copper-plate grants of the Muhammadan period the Rají's seal is engraved in Nágarí, whereas the charter itself is invariably written in the late form of Sáradá, locally called Deváséśa. The earliest document, written throughout in

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Nāgari, which I have seen in Chambā is a copper-plate grant of Rājā Rāj Śīṅgh dated Śastra 52, Vikrama 1833, Śaka 1698, Śrāvaṇa 8, tis 8, Tuesday, corresponding to A.D. 1776. The contemporaneous charters of the Bāsoli Rājās Amṛt Pāl (Vikrama 1831, Śaka 1696 = A.D. 1774) and Bījai Pāl (Vikrama 1846, Śaka 1711 = A.D. 1789) are also written in Nāgari.

In the Cīnāb valley a few Śarāḍā inscriptions have come to light. One I noticed in a ruined temple on the ancient site of Babor, the ancient Bābhāpur, 17 miles east of Jammū, and another on a stone liṅga at Kaśṭavār, the ancient Kaśṭhavā. Unfortunately both these inscriptions are almost completely defaced.

The oldest Śarāḍā inscriptions in Kaśmir, as Bühler remarks, are the legends on the coins of the Varman dynasty. Stone inscriptions are rare. The earliest specimen is the fragment of the reign of Queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003), dated in the 68th year of the Saptarśi era corresponding to A.D. 992-3. It was recovered by Dr. Leitner from the wall of a house at Śrīnagar and presented to the Lahore Museum (Cat. No. I, 10). All other Śarāḍā inscriptions in Kaśmir which can be dated, belong to the Muḥammadan period. A few have been found in Ladak also.1

Thus we see that the Śarāḍā character was once extensively, and probably exclusively, used in the hill area watered by the five great rivers of the Panjāb. But further west also Śarāḍā inscriptions have come to light. The Bakhshalai manuscript2 quoted by Bühler would not perhaps in itself afford conclusive proof of its use in the Peshāvar district. But the neighbouring district of Hazārā, the ancient Uraś, and the adjoining hill tracts of Swāt and Buner, the ancient Udyaṇa, have yielded Śarāḍā inscriptions which are now preserved in the Lahore Museum. One inscription in that Museum (No. 153) is said to originate from Jalālābād in Afghanistan. The Peshāvar Museum also contains two Śarāḍā inscriptions of which the exact find-spot is unknown, but which in all probability belong to the Peshāvar or one of the neighbouring districts. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the Śarāḍā character was used in the ancient Gandhāra during the reign of the Shāhi dynasty and in the period immediately preceding the Muḥammadan conquest. An inscription from Ghagai north-east of Badwain in Swāt, now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 1, 94), is dated saṅvat 9 in the reign of Hammim. By this name, in reality the sanskritized form of Arabic āмир, Ṣaḥḥūn of Ghaznī is usually designated, but it is also used to denote his successors. In the present case it seems to indicate his son Muḥammad, as the year A.D. 1083, to which Śastra-saṅvat 9 would correspond, would fall in his reign (A.D. 1031-1041).

There are indications that at one time Śarāḍā was used in the plains of the Panjāb also. A few years ago a fragmentary inscription in that character was discovered in Sabz Ping. It is now deposited in the Lahore Museum. A fact of much interest which only

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lately has been recognised is that the Pālam well inscription, in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Cat. No. B 3) is partly written in Śāradā. The concluding portion (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) are in the vernacular—ancient Bāgri, as Dr. Grierson is inclined to assume—and for this passage Śāradā is used, whereas all the rest of the inscription which is composed in Sanskrit is written in Nāgari. The vernacular portion was evidently added for the benefit of the common folk unacquainted with Sanskrit. This circumstance seems to indicate that at the time when this inscription was carved, Śāradā was the popular script used in and around Delhi, whereas Nāgari was used by the learned. The Pālam inscription is dated in the reign of Balban, Vikrama-saṅvat 1337, Śrāvana bo. ti. 13, Wednesday, which, according to Professor Kielhorn, corresponds either to 26th June 1280 or 13th August 1281.

It will be noticed that, considering the extent of the area over which Śāradā was once used, the epigraphical records in that character are by no means abundant. Moreover, a large percentage of these Śāradā inscriptions are more or less fragmentary or obliterated. Up to the year 1900, not a single specimen had been reproduced in facsimile,¹ not even the Bājñāth prāśasti which have been known since 1875. Besides, there existed, as I have pointed out above, a misconception with regard to the date of these important inscriptions which has only recently been removed. Owing to these circumstances, it has been impossible up to the present to give a detailed history of the Śāradā script, though valuable suggestions have been made by Bühler, Hoernle, and other epigraphists.

The splendid series of epigraphical records, which of late years have come to light in Chambā, will enable us to trace the history of the Śāradā and its derivatives with greater confidence than the scanty material hitherto available would allow. With regard to its origin, we follow Bühler and Hoernle who describe it as a descendant of the western Gupta alphabet. We are now in a position to add that the Śāradā is not a direct descendant of the Gupta, but that an intermediate form is found in the earlier Chambā inscriptions Nos. 5-12 of the present volume. The character of these epigraphs does not essentially differ from that of Madhyadēśa which intervened between the Gupta and Nāgari. On account of its curls, it used to be designated by the name of kutila for which term Bühler proposes to substitute that of “acute-angled” (spitzwinkelig).

It follows from the above that we cannot accept Hoernle’s thesis that “the elaboration of the so-called Śāradā alphabet may be placed about 500 A.D.”² Bühler rightly points out that the Śāradā as an epigraphical script dates from the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, though as a literary alphabet it may be considerably older. The earliest dateable documents in which the Śāradā appears are the coins of the Utpala (or Varman) dynasty of Kašmir which start from the middle of the 9th century. In the inscriptions of Meru-varman which probably date from the beginning of the 8th century we find the acute-angled type then in use all over Northern India.

¹ Recently a Śāradā inscription from Arigān in Kašmir has been published with a facsimile by Dr. Sten Konow, Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 200 ff. It belongs to the reign of Rānadeva of Kašmir and is dated Laṅkika-saṅvat 75, corresponding to A.D. 1197.
It must have taken not less than a century before this script developed into the Śāradā from which it differs so materially. The earliest Śāradā inscription of Chambā I consider to be the Sarāhan praśastī (No. 13) which exhibits some singularly archaic forms. Unfortunately it is not dated, but I feel inclined to assign it to the 9th century. The earliest Śāradā inscriptions of Chambā, which can be approximately dated, are the copper-plate grants of Yugākara and Vidagdha, the immediate successors of Śāhilla, who may be safely placed in the 10th century. For the 11th and 12th centuries we possess a series of fully dated records in which we can follow the development of the Śāradā up to the beginning of the 13th century, the date of the Bāijnāth praśastī.

With these the history of the Śāradā proper comes practically to an end. It is true that Bühler applies the term Śāradā also to the script used in the mangala and first verse of the Jvāhmukhi eulogy of Kāṅgrā-city, which, as noticed above, dates from about A.D. 1440. The script, however, of this and similar later records differs so considerably from that of the pre-Muhammadan documents that it seems desirable to denote it by a special name. In Chambā I found it designated as deviśesha, and, though the term does not seem to be known elsewhere, I have adopted it in the present work for the sake of convenience. By this name then I propose to indicate the script which was used in Chambā and the neighbouring Hill tracts from c. A.D. 1300 till c. A.D. 1700. The 13th century forms a blank which separates the two paleographical periods.

We have seen that in the course of the 18th century the Nāgari was adopted in Chambā for epigraphical records. In Kāṁśīr the common use of Devanāgari cannot be traced back beyond the second quarter of the 10th century. In the Kāṅgā district we find it already introduced several centuries before. The Śāradā, however, or rather its descendant, the Deviśesha, continues as the popular script of the Panjāb Hills under the name of Tākari. Bühler refers to it as "a modern cursive variety of the Śāradā, the so-called Tākari or Tākari of the Dōgrās in Jammū and the neighbourhood, which of late has been imported also into Kāśmīr." In reality, the Tākari is used all over the Panjāb Hills, except perhaps in the Simla district. There are a great number of varieties, each Hill State or tract having its own peculiar Tākari. That of Jammū is called Dōgrā. The Tākari is in general very difficult to read and, if occasionally used for inscriptions, almost undefeatable. It will, no doubt, be the despair of future epigraphists. It is a curious circumstance that in general the oldest inscriptions are the easiest to decipher.

As regards the origin of the term Tākari or Tākri, two etymologies may be suggested. It may be connected with jaukā which would point to its having been in the first instance a commercial alphabet. A parallel is furnished by the word

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Mahājanı (from mahājen, "a banker"). Another possibility is to connect it with tākur (Sanskrit tākṣura) in which case it may originally have been the character used by the Rājput landholders. The latter derivation would, however, presuppose the dissipation of the initial consonant. Dissipation, as Dr. Grierson informs me, is very frequent in the dialects further west towards the Indus hills and also in Rājasthān which is closely connected with Pahāri. But it does not seem to occur in the case of the aspirated hard cerebral. In this connection, I wish to note that the name Tākari also denotes the commercial short-hand used by the banjās of certain districts of the Panjab. I am not prepared to say what its relationship is to the Tākari of the Hills, and whether it is derived from Sāradā. There can be little doubt that Gurumukhi—the alphabet in which the vernacular of the Panjab is now-a-days written—is a descendant of the ancient Sāradā. Some aksarās like ka, ja, ya, na, ya, lā, va, and ha show a peculiar development, but on the whole the ancient forms have been well preserved. The sign for the cerebral sibilant is used to denote the aspirated hard guttural. The remaining gutturals (except ka), the cerebrals (except ya), the dentals (except na), and the labials (except ha) are very similar to the corresponding Sāradā letters. This confirms the conclusion arrived at above that the Sāradā character was once used not only in the Hills, but also in the Plains of the Panjab.1

Previous writers have laid great stress on the extremely conservative character of the Sāradā alphabet. Cunningham2 refers to it as the "Gupta character" which, he asserts, has been always in use in the hills between the Jamnā and the Indus. "In fact," he continues, "the Baniyās of the hills still keep their accounts in Gupta character, and when I placed a copy of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta before a Baniya, he read off at once Mahārājādhirāja-Sṛi-Candragupta."

Professor Kielhorn,3 in editing the copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaḷa (No. 25 of the present volume), remarked "that it would have been impossible to determine the age of that inscription even approximately from the characters in which it is written." Dr. Hoernle also formulated the thesis that the Sāradā characters are no guide as to age and declared that "any undated manuscript or inscription written in the Sāradā alphabet must be placed after 500 A.D., but may be placed almost at any time after that epoch."

Notwithstanding their great authority in palaeographical matters, I cannot concur with the opinion of the writers just quoted. It is, I believe, based on insufficient evidence owing to the scantiness of the material. Regarding the conservative nature of the Sāradā, there can be no difference of opinion, but it cannot be maintained that in the course of many centuries, it has not undergone any modifications. It is possible that the Sāradā used in manuscripts by the Kāśmir pāṇḍitts has remained unchanged, from the time it ceased to be a popular alphabet. But the series of inscriptions found in Chambā shows a slow but distinct development in.

the shapes of certain mātrākās and ligatures and in the expression of the medial vowels. This I wish to demonstrate in detail in the following pages. The difference between the Sāradā proper and the Devāsa of the Muhammadan period is so marked, that it will be noticed at a glance. But I believe that a close examination of the character will also enable us to fix the approximate date of any undated Sāradā record of the pre-Muhammadan period, provided it is extensive enough to lend itself to a detailed study.

"A general characteristic," Bühler says, "of the Sāradā of all periods is found in the stiff, thick strokes, which give the characters an uncouth appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kusana period." This remark holds good of the later Sāradā inscriptions as exemplified by the Baijuāth praśastis which formed the main basis for Bühler's observations, but does not in the same degree apply to the earlier inscriptions. The Sāradā, it is true, is far less ornamental than the acute-angled script of Meruvarman's inscriptions, which preceded it. But the character of the Sārāha praśasti (No. 13) and that of Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15) cannot be said to be any more uncouth than that of an ordinary Gupta or Nāgari inscription. Much depends on the ability of the engraver, and in general it may be stated that the earlier documents are better executed than the later ones. This observation may be of some help in determining the age of an inscription, but does not, of course, in itself afford a sufficient criterion. We have only to compare the Sāhī fountain inscription (No. 34), with its squat, thick-set letters, and that of Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī (No. 32) in which the Sāradā attains a remarkable degree of elegance. Yet these two inscriptions belong to the reign of the same Rājā and are separated by a period of only ten years. The probable explanation is that Rāmā Nāg Pāl of Dēvī Kōṭhī had the means to employ an abler artisan than his neighbour Rāmā Lūdaṇ Pāl of Sālī.

The graceful appearance of the Dēvī-rī-kōṭhī inscription is largely due to the use of slim strokes with distinct nailheads or wedges at the top. Such nailheads, it will be seen, occur in other Sāradā inscriptions also, especially in connection with the aksaras ka, la, da, na, la, ra.

We find them in the Baijuāth praśasti and in general in all carefully executed stone inscriptions, such as that of Mūl Kīhār (No. 35). But in the Sārāha praśasti the nailheads are replaced by small horizontal strokes and the same is the case with the copper-plate grants. Here it is evidently due to the nature of the material. This may be inferred from Yugākara's grant (No. 14), in which we notice a very unusual fashion of finishing the vertical strokes at the top by means of two short lines forming a right angle turned upwards. It looks as if the engraver had attempted to imitate the wedges of the stone inscriptions. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period nailheads are not found; this constitutes at once a point of difference between the earlier and the later character.

I now proceed to discuss the development of the Sāradā characters in detail, taking successively, at the instance of Bühler, the radical signs or mātrākās, the medial vowels, and the ligatures.
A. The radical signs or mātrikās.

The initial ā and ā retain throughout in Śāradā the shape which they have in the acute-angled alphabet. The head of these letters remains open. The lower portion of the left half consists of a curve open towards the left which already occurs in the inscriptions of the Kuśāna period. This curve is also preserved in the Devanāgarī of the Bombay Presidency, whereas elsewhere it has become replaced by two slanting strokes.\(^1\) At the foot of the vertical to the left there is a wedge which on the copper-plates assumes the appearance of a serif (Cf. No. 14, ll. 1, 14 and 18.)

The long ā is invariably differentiated from the short ā by the addition of a second curve, open to the left, which is attached to the foot of the vertical (Cf. No. 13, l. 19). This curve is already regularly found in the acute-angled script. In the inscriptions of Mehu-varman we twice find the curve (Nos. 6 and 8) and twice a downward stroke to the right of the top (No. 5), such as has become current in Devanāgarī. In the Čāndāla and Śākti inscriptions (Nos. 5 and 8) the ā has a somewhat uncommon shape. In Devāśa initial ā and ā preserve essentially the same shape as in Śāradā, but the top is closed by means of a top-stroke as in Devanāgarī, and the wedge at the foot of the vertical sometimes becomes a triangular loop. (Cf. No. 16, ll. 6 and 8 and Kula grant, ll. 7 and 13).

The initial i has preserved in Śāradā the shape peculiar to the acute-angled script, which is derived from the ancient Brāhmī by substituting a curve for the lowermost of the three dots. According to Bühler, it is first found in the Indore copper-plate of Skandagupta of A.D. 465.\(^2\) In the Śāradā inscriptions it has remained unchanged and is still found in exactly the same form on the Chambā copper-plates of the Muhammadan period. Instances will be found in No. 13, ll. 3 and 7; No. 28, ll. 3 and 4; No. 29, l. 11; No. 30, l. 2; No. 33, l. 3.

Of initial i only very few instances occur in our inscriptions. In the Sarāhān prakāti (No. 13, l. 1) it has exactly the same appearance as in the Bower MS. (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 6, 1) namely, the upper and lower dots of the ancient sign, which consisted of four dots, have been converted into a vertical stroke with a wedge on each end. This shape, however, does not seem to have been preserved in Śāradā. In the Bajjānāth inscriptions (II, l. 7, Ind. Pal. pl. V, 4, 1) we find the vertical stroke considerably shortened and the two dots placed over it. At what time this form became introduced, it is impossible to say, as I do not know of any instance of this letter in the intervening period.

Initial u retains in Śāradā its shape of the Gupta period. For instances I refer to No. 13, l. 17; No. 14, l. 10; No. 15, l. 13 (twice), 15 and 26; No. 24, ll. 16 (twice) and 20. In the Bakshahāli MS. we find the upward stroke lengthened up to the level of the top-stroke, and this is also sometimes the case in the Chambā inscriptions. Initial u retains the same shape in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (cf. No. 16, l. 11). The upward stroke differentiates the u from i. In the later inscriptions the two akṣaras are often hard to distinguish.

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\(^1\) Cf. Bühler, Ind. Pal., p. 53 (9).
\(^2\) Gupta Insocr., pp. 88 ff.; plate IX-B.
Initial ā has the same appearance as u but is provided with a downward curve attached to the middle of the letter on the right side. It occurs in No. 13, l. 17 and No. 24, l. 23.

Initial e appears in its ancient triangular shape, but a wedge attached to the left end of the top stroke constitutes an innovation. We notice two varieties: 1st, the triangle is equiangular (almost equilateral), its base forming the top-stroke, 2nd, the triangle is rectangular, the rectangle being formed by the top-stroke and the vertical. The equiangular or equilateral form which is the more archaic is generally found in the older Chambā inscriptions [No. 13, ll. 1 and 15; No. 15, ll. 15 and 24; No. 24, ll. 20 and 21; No. 25, l. 20 (twice)]. The other later form occurs in No. 14, l. 7; No. 15, l. 8; No. 26, l. 17, and in Bājnāth (I, 10, 18, II 5, but cf. I, 7). An uncommon squarish variety is that found in No. 26, l. 12.

No instance of initial ei is known from Sāradā inscriptions. In manuscripts it presents the appearance of initial e with superscribed e stroke (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 12, VII).

Initial o occurs exclusively in the sacred syllable om which, however, is mostly expressed by a symbol, derived from an earlier form of that letter (cf. Ind. Pal. pl. IV, 6, XVIII). This symbol is regularly found in Meru-varman’s inscriptions (Nos. 5–8) and also in that of Sāmanita Aśūdha (No. 9), where it is provided with a long tail. For other instances see No. 13, l. 1; No. 15, l. 1; No. 25, l. 1; No. 26, l. 1; No. 28, l. 1; No. 29, l. 1. It will be seen that the original aksara is often partly or wholly inverted. The syllable om is rendered by initial o with annicāra in No. 14, l. 1; No. 24, l. 1; No. 33, l. 1. The aksara has the appearance of initial u with a wedge or serif in front. It would seem that in the Bājnāth inscriptions initial o is expressed by the sign for initial u with a curve attached to the right, very similar to that found in initial ā (cf. Ind. Pal. pl. V, 9, I). I suspect, however, that this additional curve is in reality a separate stroke used as a sign of punctuation. It will be noticed that in the Sāradā of the Kaśmir MSS. initial o has no such curve. Here we find the prsthāmatra developed into a vertical which closes the sign u in front (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 13, IX; cf. also Kūl grant, l. 1).

Initial om is expressed in the same manner, but a wedge is added to the right of the top of the letter. (Ibidem 14, IX). It does not occur in inscriptions.

The ka (except in ku, kr and as upper or central member of ligatures) retains the shape which it has assumed in the acute-angled script where the left end of the cross-bar is connected with the foot of the vertical. The loop thus formed is in general more rounded in the older inscriptions (also in the Bakhshali MS. See Ind. Pal. VI, 15, VIII) and more angular in the later ones. In the inscriptions of the Mahāmatra period the curve on the right side is sometimes connected with the vertical, thus forming a second loop (cf. Kūl grant, passim). This development gives the letter an appearance similar to that of cha from which it is often difficult to distinguish. The double-looped ka is also found in the Sāradā MSS. of Kaśmir (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 15, I). It has led to a further modification in the modern Tākari, where the ka resembles the cursive capital C of the Roman alphabet. The Gurmukhi ka seems to be derived direct from the Sāradā form with single loop.
The kha may be best described as an ancient dha with a vertical to the left attached to it by means of a top-stroke (No. 13, l. 14, 18, 19). Here also the later form is in general more angular than the older one. In inscriptions of the 12th century (Nos. 31 and 33) we find, moreover, a peculiar development of the above noted vertical which follows, as it were, the outline of the supposed dha and becomes crooked. This, however, is only an ephemeral form, as it is not found in the contemporaneous Sāhī inscription (No. 33, l. 3 likhitam) nor in the Baijnāth prāśasti. In the Devūṣeṣa also the vertical is straight (No. 16, likhitam in top margin and Kālī grant, l. 20).

In the grant of Vīṣṇugūḍha (No. 14) the letter gu is occasionally distinguished by a serif at the top of the vertical and a wedge at the foot of the second stroke. But for the rest, gu retains the same shape all through the series of Śāradā inscriptions. It is identical with the Nāgari letter.

The letter gha also remains unchanged. Cf. No. 31, l. 28; No. 35 Ghaghuka.

The āksara ṣa is only found in combination with other gutturals. It has retained its shape of the Gupta period, but is characterised by a wedge at the right end of the top-stroke. Such a protuberance is also found in the alphabet immediately preceding the Nāgari. Bühler sees in it the origin of the dot of the Nāgari ṣa.

Bühler mentions "the quadrangular ca" as one of the characteristic letters of the Śāradā. It should, however, be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions, such as the Sarāhna prāśasti (No. 13) and the Chambā copper-plates, the shape of this letter is still rounded with a pointed projection to the left, exactly as in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. This form is also found in the Bakhshali MS. In the epigraphs of the 12th century (e.g., Nos. 31 and 33) it assumes a more angular form and is very similar to the ca except for a knob which has replaced the projection of the older type. The quadrangular ca, peculiar to the Kashmir MSS., is not found in our inscriptions. In Devūṣeṣa and Tākāri we find ca provided with a cursive loop.

The cha appears in its ancient shape of the Gupta period which it keeps both in Śāradā and in Nāgari. In later inscriptions, as noted above, it is often difficult to distinguish this letter from the ka with double loop.

The ja, which in Nāgari has undergone some considerable modifications, appears in the Śāradā in exactly the same form as in the acute-angled alphabet, which differs but slightly from that found in the earliest Brāhmī. In no other letter perhaps is the conservative nature of the Śāradā better illustrated. The Śāradā ja differs from that of the Gupta period in its more angular appearance and in a wedge attached to the right end of the top-stroke. This wedge, which may easily be confused with the a mark, disappears in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. The peculiar forms of ja will be discussed beneath.

The āksara jho is very rare. In our inscriptions it is only met with in the ligature jʃi (No. 13, l. 11 rasajhitam), which agrees closely with the āksara jʃa in the Bower MS. (Ind. Pat. pl. VI, 29, II).

The palatal nasal also occurs only in combination with other letters. I may

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1 I may note that single ṣa occurs in a grant of Prithvi Singh (l. 8 Pahāli for Pahājī) to the temple of Čamagadh Devī at Mīndīhal.
note ṣāṇa (No. 30, ll. 13, 15), ṣē (No. 13, l. 20), ṣēha (No. 32, l. 20), uṣja (No. 13, ll. 6, 7, 8, 20), and for the Muhammadan period uṣja (No. 16, l. 8). It still betrays its descent from the ancient Brahmi ṇa, but has developed a top-stroke with a wedge similar to that of je, but attached to the other (left) end. Its shape is exactly the same as that found in the Bower MS. In the later Kashmir MSS, the wedge has become a vertical stroke just as in the case of initial o noted above.

The appearance of the two hard cerebral s in Sărada does not present anything remarkably different. Both letters have practically preserved the ancient forms of the Brahmi, except that ḫa has developed a top-stroke. This top-stroke—it should be noted—is not yet found in the earlier Sărada inscriptions of Chambā (Cf. No. 13, l. 2, Bhogato; No. 15, l. 9, cāṭa-bhaja). But it appears in the copper-plates of the 11th century (No. 24, l. 2; No. 25, l. 8). It will be seen that here too, as in the case of ḫa, a wedge is attached to the right end of the top-stroke. This wedge occurs already in the earliest Sărada inscriptions. It is also found in the Sărada of Kaśmir.

Among the Sărada letters which exhibit a peculiar development, Bühler mentions the ḫa “which shows in the middle a loop instead of an acute angle, and a wedge at the end.” The loop, however, is not apparent in the examples to which he refers. Possibly it occurs in the Sărada of Kaśmir. We find a looped ḫa in the Nandi inscription of Meru-varman (No. 7, maḍolapa), but I have not met it in the Sărada inscriptions of Chambā (Cf. No. 14, l. 6, maḍolata; No. 15, l. 9, daṇḍika-smaraṇośika; No. 24, l. 16, maḍolasa; No. 31, l. 13, kaṅḍa, daṇḍa-casgda; No. 33, l. 3, kruḍa). It will be seen that in Vīdagdha’s grant (No. 15) the wedge at the foot of the letter presents the appearance of a miniature quadrangle.

The aksara ḫa has in Sărada practically the same shape as in the Kuśāna and Gupta inscriptions (Cf. No. 24, l. 14, pravha). The ligature ḫa occurs in the proper name, Varhādā, found in the three copper-plate grants of the 12th century (No. 24, l. 19; No. 25, ll. 12, 16; No. 26, l. 5). The aksarās ḫa and ḫa are very similar in appearance and are sometimes difficult to distinguish (Cf. Phahl in No. 35).

The cerebral nasal of the Sărada shows a very peculiar development. Bühler remarks that in the acute-angled script the suppression of the original base stroke occurs in ligatures from the 7th century and in the uncombined sign from the 8th century. This is well illustrated by the inscriptions of Meru-varman (Cf. uṣa in maḍolapa No. 7 with single u in puṭtreṣa, varmaṇa, Guggeva No. 5), and confirms my conclusion with regard to the approximate date of these epigraphs. The transition between the two forms of u will be clearly seen by comparing the uṣa of puṣya in No. 5 with that in No. 8. In the earlier Sărada inscriptions we still find the single uṣa occasionally provided with a remnant of a base-stroke (No. 13 passim, but note puṣya, l. 3; No. 21, Varuna, l. 1, but Phālgunī, l. 2). Already in the early copper-plates we find the peculiar Sărada u, which resembles a tasaddud with a small upward stroke to the right. This is also the type found in the Bakhshali MS. (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 29, VIII). In defaced inscriptions the trace left by uṣa is

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1 Mitra, when editing the Pillan well inscription (J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIII, pp. 104 et.) was curiously led astray by the Sărada ḫa.
always easily recognisable. In the later Śāradā inscriptions the aṅgara undergoes a further development. It is provided with a long tail attached to the left side and slanting down to the right. This tailed a is not yet found on the copper-plates of Soma-varaman and Āśa, but appears first in the Lōh-Tikri inscription of Jāsa’s reign (No. 29). The epigraphs of the time of Lalita-varaman (Nos. 30-33) have the older form, but the tailed a is regularly used in the Māl-Kīhār inscription (No. 34) and also in the Bajñāth prāśasti (Cf. Ind. Pal. pl. V, 24, 1). We may infer that the tail has developed in the course of the 12th century. In the Devāṣeṣa we find the forms with and without the tail used promiscuously (No. 16 passim).

The dental te, according to Bühler, being derived from a looped form, has lost its left half, while the right has been converted into a curve. Looped forms are occasionally met in the Chambā inscriptions (No. 13, l. 1, satā and No. 21); they may easily be confused with bha in badly carved inscriptions. The ordinary form without the loop remains unchanged all through the Śāradā and has been preserved in the modern alphabets.

The tha appears in the Śāradā inscriptions in two distinct forms. The older one, which is very similar to that of the Gupta period has the shape of a crescent, the convex side turned to the left (No. 13; less pronounced in No. 15). The later form, which is lozenge-shaped, occurs in inscriptions of the 12th century (No. 31, l. 16) and in the Bajñāth prāśasti (Ind. Pal. pl. V, 26, 1). In Śāradā, as in the older script, the tha is similar to ṛḥ except for its top-stroke.

The Śāradā ḫe has the same form as in the Gupta character. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period it develops a loop (No. 16) which is already noticeable in the Bhakung fountain inscription (No. 21 devo). This loop is very pronounced in the modern Ṭakari of Chambā.

The aṅgara ḥā shows the same two varieties as tha from which it is only distinguished by the absence of a cross-bar. In the earlier Śāradā inscriptions it is still crescent-shaped. In the Sārāhan prāśasti for instance, single ḥā has precisely the same appearance as in the Aṣoka inscriptions. In ḫā, however, it develops a top-stroke. This crescent-shaped ḥā is also found in the grant of Vidagdua (No. 15). Gradually the top-stroke is adopted for the single letter also which then becomes almost identical with ṭa. This form is found in the inscriptions of the 11th century. In the 12th century the letter is flattened below also, so that it assumes the aspect of a Devanāgarī pa (Cf. No. 31, l. 2 and Ind. Pal. pl. V, 28, 1). The extreme of this process has been reached in the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35), where the original crescent has become a square. This form, however, is not found anywhere else. The later alphabets have preserved the type of the 11th century with its flat top and rounded base.

The dental nasal appears in a very extraordinary form in the Nandi inscription of Avasu-varaman (No. 7), the loop being attached to the top-strokes so that the letter is hardly to be distinguished from m. This form, as far as I know, is not found anywhere else. A looped m is still used in the Bhakung inscription (No. 21), but in the ordinary Śāradā the loop has been replaced by a slightly slanting stroke to the proper right of the vertical. In the later inscriptions (No. 34 and Bajñāṭh) the letter slants to the right.
In the older Śāradā inscriptions ṣa has the same shape as in the Gupta period.

Later it becomes more angular, but on the whole it preserves its ancient form. It is distinguished from ṣa by the absence of a cross-bar, from nā by the absence of a loop, and from ca by the absence of a top-stroke and loop. In Ṭākari and Gurmukhi ṣa has preserved the same shape which it has in Śāradā.

The aksara ṣa differs from its Maurya ancestor only in that it has a top-stroke, and its curve is sometimes developed into a loop. It may easily be confused with ṝha which is slightly more angular. Instances of ṝha will be found in No. 7 (phalā); No. 13, 1 8 (dvirepha); No. 15 (phalam); No. 21 (Phalguṇi); No. 35 (Phāhī); No. 34, 1, 3 (phala), 1, 6 (caiphalya). In Gurmukhī and Ṭākari the letter differs but little from the Śāradā, its shape being similar to that of Devanāgarī ṝha.

Bühler remarks that, as ca was very generally pronounced ṣa, the ancient sign for ṣa was lost in Northern India. It was replaced by ca in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. The Devanāgarī has developed a new character for ṣa, but in Śāradā only one sign is used for both.¹ The only inscription in which, as far as I can see, a distinction is made between ṣa and ca, is the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi prakāśī (No. 31). There we find that ṣa (l. 6, ḍaṭāh) and ca (l. 16) have a rounded shape, whereas ca (passim) is angular. But I must add that Ṣa in bhū (l. 15) is decidedly angular. It will be seen subsequently that in some inscriptions we notice a difference between ṣa and ca in ligatures. In my transcripts I have throughout employed the latter character required by the case.

The aksara bhū appears in Śāradā in two forms, either with an inverted wedge or with an open triangle. The wedged form which is the older of the two is, in general, used in the stone inscriptions, and that with the triangle in copper-plates. In both cases the letter differs but slightly from ṣa with which it may be easily confused. As in less carefully executed inscriptions the triangle becomes more open and less defined, the bhū becomes very similar to ṣa (Cf. No. 28). In the Devāśāna and the modern alphabets the triangle has become a triangular loop, but for the rest the letter has remained the same.

In the inscriptions of Mera-varman ma has the cursive loop which is also found in the Nāgari letter and, according to Bühler, appears from the 8th century. In the Śāradā such a loop is only met with in exceptional cases (No. 21, nāma). Usually it has either a slight projection of the horizontal to the left (Nos. 13, 15, 24, 25, 26, also Ind. Pal. pl. V, 34, 1) or a knob (No. 31). It will be seen that in the latter case the horizontal slants downward and is attached to the foot of the vertical. Here the ma has become identical with ca except for the absence of a top-stroke. It is curious that in the Devāśāna ma appears again with a loop (No. 16). This loop is rounded like that of ca, whereas sa and ṣa have triangular loops. As the shape of the loop and the top-stroke are the only means of distinguishing those letters, there is ample room for confusion. In Ṭākari the ma has undergone a considerable modification, as here the horizontal has become connected with the top of the vertical, so that the letter has assumed the appearance of Roman s. The same

¹ Kielhorn (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, p. 8) notes that in the copper-plate grant of Soma-varman and Asa (No. 25) ṣa is everywhere noted by the sign for ca.
change has taken place in \( sa \) (used for \( sa \) which is similar to \( ma \), but has retained its top-stroke.

In \( S\)arada the bipartite \( ya \) is used exclusively. It differs from the corresponding Nagari letter by the absence of a top-stroke. The curve is also more pronounced, especially in the more ornamental inscriptions (Nos. 31, 34). At Bajianath it resembles \( pa \). In the Muhammadan period the letter develops a top-stroke (No. 16), which is preserved in Gurumukhi and Takkari.

In the inscriptions of Meru-varman we find the frilled \( ra \) which is still used in modern Nagari. The \( S\)arada has retained the older wedged type of the Gupta period. On the copper-plates, except that of Vidagdha, we usually find, instead of a wedge, a slight upward stroke to the left which gives the \( aksara \) an appearance very similar to \( ma \). In Vidagdha's copper-plate grant (No. 15) the wedge is occasionally replaced by a small triangle. This triangle is more pronounced in some of the fountain \( sa\) inscriptions and is regularly found in the epigraphs of the Muhammadan period. It has assumed the shape of a rounded loop in the modern alphabets derived from the \( S\)arada. I may note here that a looped \( r \) is used in the word \( Navasishhasya \) in the grant of Yugakara (No. 14, l. 12), from which I infer that this word has been engraved at a time much posterior to the issuing of the plate. The other \( aksaras \) also differ from those used in the inscription.

In the older \( S\)arada inscriptions \( la \) appears sometimes in a very archaic form (No. 15, l. 19, io). In general we can distinguish two types. In the earlier \( S\)arada inscriptions \( la \) has a curve attached to the vertical by means of a small horizontal line, which represents the original base-stroke. This type was still prevalent in the beginning of the 12th century (Qf. No. 28). In the inscriptions of the reign of Lalita-varman we find the horizontal line replaced by a second curve (Nos. 31 and 34). In the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35) we find both forms used. The Bajianath \( prasasti \) have throughout the latter form with double curve. In the modern scripts of the Panjab this letter has undergone a peculiar modification, in that the vertical has become suppressed and the double curve is attached direct to the top stroke. A transitional form may be seen in the spurious grant of Vidagdha (No. 16).

The \( aksara \) \( ca \), as noted above, is used in \( S\)arada to denote \( ba \) also. It has retained its shape of the later Gupta epoch and remained unchanged till the Muhammadan period. In the Deviari-kothi and Sai inscriptions it appears in an angular form which, however, is only ephemeral. In the two inscriptions just mentioned the \( ca \) resembles both \( ca \) and \( pa \), but in the other \( S\)arada inscriptions, where it occurs in its more common form, it bears a close resemblance to \( dha \). In Devasesa it is similar to the \( ca \) of Nagari (Qf. No. 16), but in the modern alphabets, owing to the loss of the vertical, it appears in an altogether different aspect.

The \( S\)arada \( aksara \) \( sa \) differs essentially from the corresponding letter in the acute-angled script, as exemplified in the ornamental inscriptions of Meru-varman. It is, however, interesting to note that in the \( S\)akti image inscription (No. 8) a much simpler type of \( sa \) is found, consisting of a looped square attached to a vertical. This is the shape in.
which the śa appears in the Śāradā, a form similar to that of the Gupta period. In
the stone inscriptions the loop is usually replaced by a wedge, but in case the inscrip-
tion is carved in bold letters, we find a distinct triangular loop (No. 21). In the
copper-plate grant of Vidagdha (No. 15) also such a loop will be noticed. In the
other copper-plates the two lines cross each other, but the triangle is left open on
one side. This explains how the śa is occasionally interchanged with ga in copper-
plate inscriptions. In the epigraphs of the Muhammadan period the śa is regularly
provided with the triangular loop. In Tākārī the śa has undergone the same change
as me described above. It is distinguished from the latter by a top-stroke. It
should be noted that in the modern alphabets the sign with the top-stroke, which in
Śāradā denotes the palatal sibilant, is used as the symbol for the dental sibilant, the
palatal having become amalgamated with the dental in pronunciation.

Both in the image inscriptions of Meru-varman and in the later Śāradā records,
śa has retained the shape of the western Gupta character. A variety occurs in the
Gurm stone inscription (No. 9) (and, less pronounced, in the Sarāhi prakāsa), where
the upper portion of the vertical above the cross-bar has been suppressed. This
peculiarity leads to an exceptional shape of the ligature ḍha also. It has already
been noticed that the Śāradā śa is similar to bhā, except for the absence of a top-
stroke. From ga it is distinguished by its cross-bar. In the Gurmukhi and Tākārī
alphabets the ṛkṣara has preserved its ancient shape, but it is used to denote the
aspirated hard guttural, into which the Sanskrit cerebral sibilant has become
changed. This explains why we sometimes find the ṛkṣara kha replaced by the
ṛkṣara sa in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period.1 It is very curious that in
the present case of a phonetic change (lautwandel), as well as in those of va < ba
and śa < sa mentioned above, the ṛkṣara denoting the sound which has become
changed, has survived, whereas that expressing the sound into which it became
merged, has been lost.

The dental sibilant occurs in Meru-varman’s inscriptions both with a triangular
loop and with an open triangular wedge similar to that of bhā. The wedged form
is also found in the copper-plate grant of Vidagdha (No. 15), but in the other
copper-plates we have the same cross shape as we have noticed in the ṛkṣara śa.
In the Devāśeṣa it has a triangular loop and is distinguished from the śa by the
absence of a top-stroke. In the modern scripts, as just noted, it has been replaced
by the symbol for śa.

The ṛkṣara ha preserves in Śāradā its shape of the later Gupta period.

Spirants.

During the Muhammadan period the lower curve is
lengthened and turned farther backward. This leads to
the modern forms of the Panjāb alphabets in which the upper curve has been
straightened out and the lower one turned to the left.

The visarga and mausūrā do not present any particular features in Śāradā.
The only point worth noticing is that, in several Chambā inscriptions composed in

1 Thus we find the name Qubā dīn rendered as वुबास्तन in the Patan wall inscription (r. 4). Cf. Delhi
Museum Cat., p. 23, and the personal name Kabeśa as कैवेश in the Sarāhi wall inscription (r. 13) ; ibidem p. 29.
Hence also the 4h in Ogyenlabat (Upanigad) of Aniquilf de Ferren.
corrupt Sanskrit, the real meaning of the *sisarga* is misunderstood and it is regularly used as a sign of punctuation to separate words and sentences (Cf. Nos. 28 and 33).

It is one of the most notable characteristics of the Śāradā that we find the *jihēmanīya* and *upadhmanīya* used with great regularity (Cf. however No. 24, l. 18). I may note that in the Chambā inscriptions of the Muhammadan period those two characters are no longer used. The *jihēmanīya* occurs in the Laksāna image inscription of Meru-varman (No. 5) in a shape very similar to that of the *sa* of Nāgari. It has the same rounded form in the Chambā inscriptions (No. 13, l. 6; No. 14, ll. 6, 14; No. 15, l. 5; No. 24, l. 20; No. 25, l. 13; No. 26, l. 7). This form occurs also in the Bakshshalai MS. (Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 277) and is identical with the *jihēmanīya* of the Pehun *praśasti* of c. A.D. 900 (Ind. Pal. pl. V, 47, III.) In the Baijnāth *praśasti*, on the contrary, we find a distinctly angular form, very similar to the *sa* as found in those same inscriptions (Ind. Pal. pl. V, 47, 1; but cf. Baijnāth I, 4). We have already had occasion to notice the preference given to angular forms in the *praśasti* of Baijnāth.

The *upadhmanīya* has in the older Śāradā inscriptions the shape of the figure 8 laid sideways. (No. 13, l. 2; No. 15, l. 28). It closely resembles the corresponding symbol of early Gupta inscriptions (Ind. Pal. pl. IV, 46, III), and occurs in exactly the same form in the Pehun *praśasti* (Ind. Pal. pl. V, 48, III). But in the Chambā epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries we find a very different type, which can be best described as a Śāradā *ya* with a horizontal line beneath. (No. 25, l. 3; No. 26, l. 1; No. 31, ll. 2, 17; No. 34, l. 16). It is also found in the Baijnāth *praśasti* (Ind. Pal. pl. V, 48, 1). It is interesting that both these later forms of *jihēmanīya* and *upadhmanīya* show a close relationship with the corresponding signs found in the Lakkhamudal inscription of c. A.D. 600 (Ind. Pal. pl. IV, 46, XV and XVI). In the spurious plate of Vīdagdha (No. 16) which was apparently copied from a genuine record the *upadhmanīya* has been replaced by *ya*.

Bühler observes, that the *virāma* first appears in Gupta inscriptions of the 5th century as a horizontal stroke above the small final

**Virāma.**

(Ind. Pal. pl. IV, 43, VII). In the earlier acute-angled epigraphs the *virāma* is still frequently placed over the vowelless consonant, and receives a tail which is drawn downwards to the right of the mātyēk. But more commonly it stands beneath the consonant. The Śāradā has preserved the more ancient tailed form. It is found in the Bakshshalai MS. (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 51, VIII) as a long-drawn slanting stroke run through the right end of the top-stroke. In the Chambā inscriptions it has the same appearance, but is considerably shorter. It should be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions the *akṣara* in which the *virāma* is combined, often appear in a modified form. The *t* becomes a mere curve (No. 13, ll. 6, 13, 18; No. 24, l. 24; No. 26, ll. 11, 17, 20) sometimes doubled (No. 13, l. 8). The *m* is expressed by a dot, either open or closed, to which the *virāma* is attached (No. 13, ll. 2, 5, 12, 15, 16, 20; No. 15, ll. 11, 21, 22, 24, 26; No. 24, l. 24; No. 26, ll. 10, 20, but in l. 21 the full letter is used). In No. 26, l. 12, there is an instance of *t* with *virāma*. It resembles the Śāradā numeral "six." In the Bakshshalai MS. final *t* is expressed by the full *akṣara* with the long-drawn
The medial ā is, as in the earlier acute-angled inscriptions, expressed in Śāradā by a wedge or, in the case of documents on metal, by a serif attached to the top of the consonant on the right side. In the earlier inscriptions we have to note a peculiar manner of attaching this vowel-sign to certain consonants distinguished by a double top. In the Śāradā prāṣasti (No. 13) we find that the ā sign in pā, yā, sā and sū (not mā), either single or combined with a subscribed consonant, is attached by means of a horizontal top-stroke not to the top of the vertical, but to the other left-hand top-end. The vertical is slightly shortened above, so as to remain free from this top-stroke. The same applies to the combination of those four consonants with o and au: in the case of o, of course, not if the superscribed sign is used.

In the oldest copper-plate (No. 14) this peculiarity does not occur. In Vidagdha's copper-plate (No. 15), on the contrary, the long top-stroke is found in pā, yā, sā and sū (also in ligatures and if combined with o and au), but occasionally we find in pā (II. 7, 10, 21 and 24) and in sū (II. 25 and 26) the vowel-sign attached directly to the top of the vertical. In the Tur inscription of Vidagdha's first year (No. 17) we notice the same vacillation in sū, but pā has throughout the long top-stroke. The aksaras yā and sā do not occur in this inscription. In the later documents the wedge or serif indicating ā is invariably attached to the top of the vertical. This is already the case in the fragmentary inscription of Queen Diddā. We may, therefore, assume that the practice just noted dropped out of use about A.D. 1000. It seems indeed to have been an ephemeral and perhaps local peculiarity, of which, as far as I know, no instances are found either in earlier or later inscriptions. In the inscriptions of Meru-varman, in any case, the ā sign is always attached to the top of the vertical. The only exception is sā in Asūñha (Gum inscription No. 9, l. 3), but here it is evidently due to the peculiar modification of the madhyā which has lost the upper portion of its main vertical.

Special notice may be drawn to the aksaras uā, tā, and uā in which the long ā is expressed by a small hook or semi-circle with its concave side turned downwards. It is curious that in the Gupta inscriptions we find the vowel-sign of tā represented by a mark similar in shape but turned the opposite way. The uā, notwithstanding the considerable modifications of the madhyā itself, retains its hook-shaped ā all through the Śāradā. It is only in the Muhammadan period that the hook develops into a tail continued beneath the consonant. This will be seen on the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No. 16) edited in this volume. In the Baijnāth prāṣasti (II, 10) we find the ā in uā expressed by a loop.

The Śāradā jā has preserved a very archaic type, as the vowel-mark consists of a prolongation of the central stroke, as found in the oldest Brāhmī. It is turned upwards so as to form nearly a straight angle with the stroke to which it is attached, in the same manner as in the Gupta and acute-angled alphabets. The form with ā
differs, moreover, from the single consonant, in that it drops the top-stroke and wedge peculiar to the māṭṭhā. From about A.D. 1200 a change takes place, first noticeable in the Bājñāth prāṣasti, where the ā of jā is represented by a hook sometimes similar to that found in wā, tā and uā, but more commonly prolonged downward so as to touch the central. In one case (II, 12) again we find the vowel-mark represented by a little triangle hanging down from the top-stroke. In the Muhammadan period the equalizing tendency leads to the jā being rendered by the māṭṭhā provided with the ordinary vowel-mark. On the copper-plates of this period this has assumed the shape of a little semi-circular stroke, turned upwards and attached to the top-stroke or to the top of the vertical. Instances will be seen on the spurious plate of Vīdācālī (No. 16). The uā, as already noted, forms an exception, as here the ā is expressed by a tail attached to the right of the māṭṭhā and continued below.

In general medial i and i are rendered by a curve drawn down respectively to the left and right of the māṭṭhā. In some documents, however, the vowel-mark is occasionally placed over the consonant in the ancient fashion of the Kusāna and Gupta periods. Examples are found in the Sārāhān prāṣasti (No. 18, l. 1, sāvīrāḥ, etc.), in the Bāpōtā fountain inscription of the reign of Soma-varman (No. 23), and in the copper-plate inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries, in which medial i and i are often hardly distinguishable from medial e. (No. 26, l. 10, pratiṇātita and l. 21, ākṣāla.) We may assume that about A.D. 1200 the superscribed medial i and i dropped out of use. In the Laj inscription of A.D. 1105-6 the superscribed i is still found in ṭhāpitaḥ (No. 28, l. 2, 3 and 4). The latest example is afforded by the Sāi fountain inscription (No. 39).

Medial u is expressed in two ways—1st, by a wedge which on copper-plates assumes the shape of a short stroke or hook, attached to the lower end of the vertical stroke on the left side, or, in the case of wu, ānu, phu, yu (only in ligatures), and bu, connected with the bottom of the consonant by means of a short vertical line; 2nd, by a curve which is in reality the sign for initial u. In the older inscriptions the former practice is by far the more common. It is regularly found in cu (No. 25, l. 23), chu (No. 25, l. 12), tu (No. 15, l. 10; No. 31, l. 2), cu (in śatu No. 18, l. 8), thu (No. 13, l. 3, in ṭhu; No. 25, l. 21), du, dhu (No. 13, l. 17), nu (No. 13, l. 9), pu, phu (No. 34, l. 13, in śphu; No. 18, l. 5; No. 24, l. 9), bu (No. 13, l. 11), mu (No. 13, l. 5), yu (No. 13, l. 9, in śyu; No. 13, l. 2), tu (No. 24, l. 5), vu (7), ṭu (in ṭsatu No. 13, l. 12) su (No. 13, l. 6) and bu (No. 13, l. 9). The curved u is peculiar to the akṣaras ku, gu, ṭu (in śdu No. 13, l. 10), tu, bhun and āu. It should be noticed that in the older inscriptions either of the two methods is applied to a certain set of consonants.

Already in the epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries the curved u is now and then substituted for the wedged one, e.g., in cu (No. 33, l. 2), ṭsatu (No. 33, l. 3) and ṭhu (No. 24, l. 26).

This tendency becomes still more apparent in the Mūl-Kihār inscription (No. 34) where the curve is used in jlu (l. 10), mu (l. 18), tu (l. 12) and bu (l. 9). But side by side with those forms we find cu (ll. 12 and 16) and tu (l. 19, also in plu l. 18) with the wedged vowel-sign. In the Bājñāth prāṣasti the use of the
curved medial u has become further extended. It is very often found in dhv (I, l. 27, but cf. I, l. 30), dv (I, l. 21, but cf. II, ll. 10, 12 and nünd u, l. 10), nu (I, ll. 19, 31; but cf. II, l. 5), pu (I, ll. 11, 13, 24, 25, but cf. I, l. 15; II, l. 4), bu (I, l. 22, but cf. II, l. 12), nu (I, ll. 5, 6, 15, 23, 31), but cf. I, l. 6; II, ll. 5, 6), yu (I, ll. 6, 7, 10, also in rnu I, l. 19 and ngu I, l. 23; ll. 24 and 29; but cf. II, ll. 4, 8, 9, bhv (II, l. 5 and ngu II, l. 9), su (I, ll. 7, 27, 30, also in ssw I, l. 24; but cf. I, l. 27; II, 12 and swn II, 6), and throughout in bu. Besides, the curved u is, as in the older Śaradā inscriptions, exclusively used in ku, gu, tu, bhv and ū. It occurs also in dhv (I, l. 31) which is wanting in the older inscriptions and in vu (I, 8) for which, as we saw, in Chăm also the curved sign is occasionally used.

The history of medial ū in Śaradā runs parallel to that of medial u, but as the long vowel sign is less frequent than the short one, the development cannot be traced so clearly. The Śaradā has two methods of rendering medial ū—1st, a curved or wavy, flag-like line, sometimes slightly slanting, attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left, or connected with the letter by means of a short vertical stroke; 2nd by the subscribed sign for initial ū. In the older inscriptions the wavy line is by far the more common. It is found in chū (No. 25, l. 15), dū (No. 14, l. 19; No. 15, l. 17), dhū (No. 31, l. 19), pū (No. 13, l. 4; No. 14, l. 7; No. 15, l. 12), mū (No. 13, l. 2; No. 14, l. 3), yū (No. 15, l. 16), lū (No. 24, l. 5), sū (No. 24, l. 9), sū (No. 13, l. 4, and in tsū No. 14, l. 17) and hū (No. 24, l. 5). The curved ū, on the contrary, appears only in kū (No. 24, l. 7) and bhū (No. 13, l. 13; No. 14, l. 2, also in bhū, No. 13, l. 9). In the Mūl-Kīhār inscription (No. 34), however, we find it used in sū (ll. 4, 11) and sū (l. 10) and in the Bājnāth praśasti it occurs in dhū (I, l. 5, but cf. II, l. 12), pū (II, ll. 9, 24; II, 5, 26), bhū (II, ll. 5, 26), mū (I, ll. 5, 25, 22; but cf. rmū II, l. 4) and sū (I, l. 29). It is the same tendency to substitute the younger form for the older one, which we observe both in medial u and ū.

The groups ru and rū deserve special notice. In the Sarāhā inscription (No. 14, ll. 6, 3, 15) we find them rendered by the mātrikā with the subscribed initial vowel-mark. It is very curious that we find exactly the same sign for ru in the early Gupta inscriptions of Allahabad and Kahaum which—it should be noted—both exhibit the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and also in that of Amāśavarnaman of A.D. 635 which proves its occurrence in Nepal. In the Śaradā, however, the aksara ru becomes very soon modified. Already in the earliest Chăm copperplates we find it expressed by the mātrikā with a flag attached to the right, about the middle of the vertical. This is the common form found in all Śaradā inscriptions. (Cf. No. 16, l. 9; No. 24, l. 12; No. 26, ll. 3, 16; No. 32, l. 20). In Vidagdha's grant (No. 15, ll. 2, 3, 4) we find the flag attached to the top-stroke. In the Devaśa the flag becomes more prominent. (Cf. No 16, l. 9 and Kula grant, l. 10 Puvara). Here the ru resembles the Śaradā ka. The aksara rū, on the contrary, retains the form which we find in the Sarāhā inscription, though the vertical becomes considerably shortened, so that it is hardly to be distinguished from initial ū. We find it in the Bakhshalai MS, as well as in the Mūl-Kīhār inscription (No. 34, ll. 10, 14) and in the Bājnāth praśasti (I, l. 21).

The vowel is rendered by a slanting stroke to the proper left (as in ru) in the following ligatures which are found in the Bājnāth praśasti: śru (I, l. 15), dru
(I, l. 24), dhūm (II, l. 12), tānu (II, l. 13), and nhū. The Māl-Kihr inscription (No. 34) has analogous forms in sāren (l. 17) and kru (l. 20). Of the group bhū we find an instance in the Sarāhā praśasti (l. 9); and bhū is found in No. 24, l. 2 and No. 25, l. 3.

I may observe in this connection that in ku and kr—as well as in ligatures (except as lower member)—the ka has preserved its ancient type without a loop. (Cf. kr No. 13, passim; nku No. 13, l. 11; kru No. 32, l. 8, 16, 17; ühe No. 13, l. 5, 9; he No. 13, l. 13). This peculiarity, which is common to the acute-angled script and to the Śāradā, is still found in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (Cf. No. 16 and Kufi grant).

As regards medial r, Bühler mentions its angular shape as one of the peculiar developments of the Śāradā. I must, however, point out that this shape is only found in the later inscriptions. In the Sarāhā praśasti we find sometimes (kr l. 6), a curve very similar to that indicating medial r in the Gupta and Nāgarī alphabets. The only difference is that it is more closed. In other cases (hr = hr l. 15 and pr l. 20) it is slightly more angular. In the grant of Yūgākara (No. 14) we find a pronounced angular form in vr (l. 2), but in all other instances the r is either rounded (kr l. 9, hr l. 13) or squarish (kr l. 11, 16, 17 and 18). In the charter of Vīdagdha (No. 15) r occurs no less than 14 times, but in each case it is expressed by a curved loop very similar to subscribed gu. In the copper-plates of the 11th century r still retains its rounded shape, but it is more open (Cf. No. 24, ll. 2, 12 and 17 kr, and l. 18 pr; No. 26, l. 3 and 10 kr, and l. 14 pr and er). Only in No. 26, l. 3 do we find a slightly angular form. In the 12th century a distinct angular r occurs all through the Dēvi-kūḷī praśasti (No. 31, ll. 8, 16, 17 kr, l. 10 er). It is very curious that in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we find the rounded r again. The angular form, therefore, far from being a characteristic of the Sāradā, is only an ephemeral phenomenon, apparently limited to the 12th century.

Medial e is expressed either by a praśastārā, i.e., a wedge attached to the top of the consonant on the left, or by a stroke over it. In the older inscriptions this stroke closely resembles the Devanāgarī sign for medial e, but later it becomes straight and horizontal.

In the Sarāhā praśasti the praśastārā is the more common. It is combined with the māyakāś ka, ca, ta, da, ḍha, na, ma, ra, ca, and sa (in sāye) and also in ligatures in which these consonants take the first place. The superscribed vowel-mark is found in ge (and gme), ṭe (in ṭo), ye, and le, whilst in je and se either of the two occurs. Of the 54 cases in which medial e occurs in this inscription the praśastārā is used 38 and the superscribed sign 16 times, the proportion being nearly 70% to 30%.

In the copper-plates of Yūgākara and Vīdagdha (Nos. 14 and 15), on the contrary, the wedged e is of much less frequent occurrence than the superscribed one. In the former plate the proportion is about 20% to 74%, in the latter 22% to 78%. The two marks are used indiscriminately in combination with the same consonants. The superscribed e is either horizontal or slanting.

1 Ind. Pal. p. 57 (English p. 57).
It is very curious that in the copper-plates of the 12th century the balance changes again in favour of the ancient **pratihārāṇa**. In that of Somavarman (No. 24) this sign is still in the minority, the proportion being 39% to 61%, but in those of Somavarman-Asata (No. 25) and Asata (No. 26) it has gained the predominance over its rival. The proportion is 57% and 43% in the one, and 77% and 23% in the other inscription. This revival of the **pratihārāṇa** may have been due merely to an archaic inclination on the part of the authors of those grants. In the inscriptions of the 12th century the **pratihārāṇa** drops almost entirely out of use. In the Śai inscription it is not used, in the Dēvi-rā-kōthi inscriptions only once (No. 32 -deva). In the Māṭ-Kīhār inscription (No. 34) the superscribed vowel-mark is used exclusively. This is also the case with all inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. It should, however, be noticed that the two marks are still used side by side in the Baijānath **prākṣasti**, but, as Bühler remarks, the ancient **pratihārāṇa** is used only occasionally, whereas the medial _e_ is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke.

Apparently the **pratihārāṇa** was still in use in Kaśmir in the first half of the 15th century, at least in legal documents. This is expressly stated in the chronicle of Jomara, who lived in the reign of Sultan Zaim-u-l-‘ābidin and died A.D. 1459-60. The chronicler relates that his grandfather Lāularāja in the year of his death sold one **prastha** of land. After his death the purchasers “doctored,” the deed of sale (Skr. vikrāya-pataśaka), so as to make it appear that not one but ten **prasthas** had been sold to them. The words bhūprasthāna-e-kāvā vikrāta they made into bhūprasthā-daśakā vikrāta. “In order to express the _e_ following a consonant,” the author explains, “the clerks used formerly to write a stroke behind the consonants. But as in the course of time the script (tipā) became changed, the writers of to-day write the stroke expressing _e_ over the consonant.” The impostors could, therefore, easily change the ancient vowel sign of _me_ into _da_. The _me_ they converted into _sa_ (not _sa_). The wise sultan, however, discovered the fraud by immersing the birch bark document in water, by which the fresh additions disappeared. In this manner, the chronicler concludes—

"The king got glory, I the land;”
The forger punishment severe,
The subjects of the king delight,
And roundabout the wicked fear.”

This episode is of great interest not only as an instance of Zaim-u-l-‘ābidin’s sagacity, but also as a proof that up to the 15th century the vowel-mark _e_ was indicated in Kaśmir practically in the same manner as in the days of Aśoka.

In the older Śāradā inscriptions—the Sarāhan **praśasti** and the copper-plates of the 10th and 11th centuries—the medial _ai_ is throughout rendered by a combination of the two signs used to express medial _e_, in other words by a **pratihārāṇa** combined with a superscribed stroke. This is also found in the inscription of Queen Diddā

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1 Laskiše 32 according to Śivarṣa (1, 6).
2 Jenaś's Rājatarangini (Bombay Sarakrit Series No. LIV, 1899), Vr. 1026-37, J. C. Dutt in his translation Kings of Kashmir, Vol. III, p. 80, has entirely misunderstood this passage.
(l. 6 taś), where the superscribed stroke is slightly shifted backward owing to want of room. It should be noted that in the earliest inscriptions, as in the case of medial e, the superscribed stroke is slanting and often rests with its right end on the top of the consonant. In the copper-plates of the 11th century the line has become horizontal.

In the added portion of the grant of Soma-varman and Āśāta (No. 25, l. 29 tara) we find the first instance of the double superscribed stroke, which gradually becomes the only way of expressing medial ai. We may assume the change to have occurred about A.D. 1100. Both in the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi and Mūl-Khār inscriptions the double stroke is used exclusively. In the Bāljanath preśasti we find again both methods, but the two horizontal lines are the more common. It seems indeed that the prathānātāra is only used if there is not sufficient room above the consonant for a double stroke. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period the medial e is invariably expressed by the two horizontal lines.

In the Sarāhān preśasti medial o is expressed in not less than three different ways. First of all we find the ancient method of two wedges attached to both sides of the top of the letter. In one case (is l. 7) we find the left-hand wedge attached to the top-stroke but to the curve of the letter proper. The second method consists of a wedge to the proper left combined with a superscribed e stroke. Lastly we meet with that peculiar superscribed flourish which is first found in the Kusana inscriptions. Of these three methods the one first-mentioned is the most common in the Sarāhān inscription. Out of the 33 cases in which medial o occurs in this record it is 19 times expressed in the first, 4 times in the second and 10 times in the third manner. The proportion is therefore 58%, 12%, and 30%.

In the early copper-plates the proportion suddenly changes in favour of the second method. It is universally used in Yugākara's grant (No. 14), except in two doubtful cases (ygro l. 1 and nro l. 15) in which, respectively, the two wedges and the flourish seem to occur. In Vidagdha's plate (No. 15), on the contrary, the superscribed o sign is used in 42 out of the 53 cases, whilst the combination of the a wedge and the superscribed e stroke is found 10 times and the two wedges only once (to l. 29).

On the copper-plates of the 11th century we find medial o still expressed in the three ways mentioned above. In that of Soma-varman (No. 24) the figures are 4, 13 and 7 out of a total of 24 or 17%, 54% and 29%. In the grant of Soma-varman and Āśāta (No. 25) we have 2, 4 and 14 or 10%, 20% and 70% and in that of Āśāta (No. 26) 6, 13 and 22 or 14%, 32% and 54%. Notwithstanding frequent vacillations it will be seen that gradually the superscribed flourish becomes the typical expression of medial o, whereas the double wedge is but exceptionally used.

The inscriptions of the 12th century exhibit clearly the progress of this equalizing process. In the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi preśasti (No. 31) medial o is expressed throughout by the superscribed mark, except only once (st o l. 7) where we find the second method used, evidently because the akṣara ṭṛi immediately above did not

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1 In the plate of Soma-varman (No. 24, l. 10) we find a sign with apparently two strokes over it, but presumably one is meant for an anusāra in and we have to read it uṇa and not uṇa.
leave sufficient room for the other sign. This is of interest as showing that the older methods, or at least one of them, were still known to the writer. He deliberately prefers the superscribed flourish, which is both more distinct and more ornamental than the older signs. It will also be noticed that the flourish has considerably changed in shape. It bears a close resemblance to the mad used in Arabic and Persian to indicate long alf. Bühler compares it to the Greek circumflex.

In the Mûl-Kîhâr inscription (No. 34) we find the superscribed flourish used throughout; it has here the same shape as in the Dëvi-ri-kôthi prakrasti. We may, therefore, assume that in the second half of the 13th century this sign became universally adopted. It is curious, however, that in the Baijnâth prakâstis a few cases still occur where medial o is expressed by e, either superscribed or prathumâtrâ, plus a. But in the great majority of cases we find the flourish of the Dëvi-ri-kôthi and Mûl-Kîhâr inscriptions. This remains the typical mark for medial o in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (see No. 16 passim and Kûlû grant), in the literatry Sàradâ of Kaâmar, and in the modern Tàkârâ.

In the Sârahàn prakrasti we find medial au expressed three times (kaù l. 11, gau l. 17, and taw l. 17) by the double wedge and the superscribed slanting e stroke. In the same inscription medial au is rendered ten times by the superscribed o plus the a stroke. Once (gau l. 7) the wedge has been erroneously placed on the left side of the consonant. Both methods are applied to the same letters (Cf. gau, l. 1 and 17).

We may assume that the first-mentioned method dropped out of use at a very early date, perhaps about the middle of the 10th century, as it is not met with in any other Sàradâ inscription. Thus with the one exception noted, medial au is expressed throughout by a combination of the superscribed flourish and the a mark. It remains only to be noted that the flourish undergoes here the same modification as has been pointed out in the case of medial o.

C. Ligatures.

Regarding the ligatures in Sàradâ it may be observed that in general the constituent elements can still be easily recognised, and have preserved their original forms better than in the corresponding Nâgâri characters. In this respect also the Sàradâ shows itself more conservative. The second consonant is always placed below the first one. Here I wish to draw attention only to those ligatures which are remarkable for their peculiar development.

The aksara ka preserves, as the upper or central member of ligatures (as in ku and kr), its ancient form without a loop (Cf. kkrâ No. 13, l. 3; kya No. 13, l. 6; ksa No. 13, l. 7-8, 9, 16; krah No. 13, l. 10; kta No. 13, l. 14; cf. also Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 40, VIII and IX). This is still the case in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. (Cf. kâ in No. 16, l. 9; kru and ksa in Kûlû grant l. 1.) In Nâgâri we find the unlooped ka only in the ligatures kta (ktrâ) and ksa, in the latter in a considerably modified form. As the lower member of a ligature ka appears in its looped shape, e.g. in tka (No. 13, l. 6); nka (No. 13, l. 10 and 19); rka (No. 13, l. 7) and ska (No. 15, l. 15).

Subscribed ka appears in Sàradâ in the same form as in the acute-angled alphabet. It differs considerably from the mîtrâ and resembles most closely the
The Śāradā lingual ु (Cf. No. 15, ll. 11, 22; No. 32, l. 9,  sat̄ā, also Ind. Pal. pl. V, 50, IX). For the Devāṣeṣa cf. Kuḷā grant l. 11 ṛāṇā.

The akṣara ṭa as the second letter of ligatures retains its normal form in the Sarahan prāṣasti (No. 13, l. 5 ṇa, ll. 5, 12 ṭi). But in all later inscriptions it assumes a shape closely resembling that of the medial ॐ of Nāgarī. This subscribed ṭa consists of a curve nearly semi-circular and open to the right (evidently the original mātrkā), and a tail attached to the foot of the upper consonant and slanting down to the right. On copper-plates these two elements can usually still be distinguished (Cf. No. 15, l. 7 ṭiṭra; No. 15, l. 21, ṣṭan; No. 15, ll. 1, 10, 13, 18 ṭiṭa). The ligature ṭa forms an exception, as here the second ṭa is usually expressed by a single curve (No. 16, l. 5; No. 24, ll. 18, 19, 20, 23; No. 20, ll. 4, 5, 6, 11). It is curious that in Vidāgḍha’s grant the second ṭa in ṭa is rendered in the same manner as in other ligatures (No. 15, ll. 1, 5). The same peculiarity is found in the Kuḷā grant (ll. 3, 9 and 11), though separated from the other by nearly six centuries. In the last-quoted instance (ḥaṭṭa) we have a looped form which elsewhere in this inscription is used for subscribed ṭa (l. 11, ṛṣṭhā).

Subscribed ṭha appears in the older Śāradā inscriptions in a shape closely resembling the sa (Cf. No. 15, l. 10 ṭṭhā), but usually a tail is added to the right of the foot of the vertical (Cf. No. 15, l. 10 ṭṭhā, l. 24 ṭṭhe; No. 17, l. 6; No. 19, l. 3 ṭṭhī). In the copper-plate grants of the 11th century we find a form practically identical with that of subscribed ṭa mentioned above. The only difference is that the tail is somewhat shorter (Cf. No. 24, l. 8 ṭṭhī and l. 20 ṭṭhā). In the Kuḷā grant, as just noted, we find a looped form (l. 11 ṭṭhā, l. 14 ṭṭhī).

Of special interest are in Śāradā those ligatures of which ṭha is the second letter. In the earlier inscriptions we find ṭha expressed by a spiral or inward curve drawn from left to right. (Cf. No. 13, l. 16 ṭṭhā, l. 7 ṭṭha; No. 15, l. 6 ṭṭhā, ll. 13, 18 ṭṭhī, l. 17 ṭṭhyā; No. 18 ṭṭhā.) We find this form still used in the copper-plate grants of the 11th century (No. 25, l. 13 ṭṭhā, l. 16 ṭṭhī; No. 20, l. 16 ṭṭhī, l. 17 ṭṭhyā, l. 18 ṭṭha, N.B. ṭṭhā No. 20, l. 8.) But, side by side with this form, we find another in which the curve is turned outward to the left, so that the subscribed ṭha assumes the appearance of a capital Roman S. (Cf. No. 24, l. 13 ṭṭha; No. 26, l. 7 ṭṭhā, l. 11 ṭṭhī). In the 12th century we find only the latter form, but as an innovation a stroke is attached to the foot of the mātrkā and sloping down to the right. (Cf. No. 31, l. 16 ṭṭha, l. 18 ṭṭhi, l. 22 ṭṭhī, l. 24 ṭṭhā.) It will be seen that here the subscribed ṭha has the appearance of medial ु in the older inscriptions. This type is preserved during the Muhammadan period (No. 16, l. 8 ṭṭhī; Kuḷā grant ll. 9, 10 prastha). Here I wish to draw special attention to the peculiar form of ṭha (No. 13, ll. 8, 9, 10; No. 15, ll. 19, 27, 28; No. 28, l. 3 ṭṭhe; No. 31, l. 16 ṭṭha, l. 18 ṭṭhi; Kuḷā grant l. 13 ṭṭha). It will be seen that in the later examples the ṭa has been reduced to a wedge from which the subscribed ṭha hangs down. It is remarkable that this form of ṭha occurs already in the Bakhshali MS. (Ind. Pal. pl. VI, 50, VIII), where the tail is considerably lengthened and the akṣara closely resembles ṭa.

In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we meet with a curious cursive form of ṭha as second member of ligatures. It is rendered by a loop with a
horizontal stroke to the right attached at the foot of the mātyāḥ (Cf. No. 16, l. 5 gdha and Kuṭā grant l. 11 ṅdha and l. 13 ṅhā). It is hardly distinguishable from subscribed tha as found in the same inscriptions (Kuṭā grant l. 11 ṅṭāh). For the old form of ṅṭāh cf. No. 18, l. 15.

Bühler remarks that in the acute-angled alphabet the subscript ya is made ornamental and drawn far to the left. Since the 7th century the right hand upstroke of ya is lengthened as far as the upper line of the whole sign (Ind. Pal. p. 56). The peculiarity described is well illustrated in the inscriptions of Meruvāran (Nos. 5-7) where the subscribed ya, like medial i, is made rectangular. In vya (No. 5, l. 2) we find the serif indicating a attached to the end of the upstroke. The Gum inscription (No. 9) shows a transition to the Saradā, in which subscribed ya is expressed by a curve extended to the left, but with hardly any upstroke. (No. 14, l. 3 vya; No. 15, l. 2 vya). This, of course, is not a secondary development from the acute-angled type, but is in reality the old form of the later Kuśāṇa and Gupta periods. The subscript ya with long upstroke was apparently only the result of a temporary fashion and was in all probability exclusively used in highly ornamental inscriptions. It deserves notice that in the Śakti image inscription (No. 8) the simpler form is used. In the Baijnāṭh prāsastis the subscribed ya is more open and less elongated than in the earlier inscriptions, so that its shape approaches that of a semi-circle open to the right. But in the later inscriptions the type differs but little from that found in the Saradā.

It is one of the peculiar features of the Saradā to which Bühler has drawn attention that the ra, as a first part of ligatures, is inserted into the left side of the second letter, just as in the Apsārā inscription and on Hāra’s copper-plates. It is usually slightly shortened (Cf. No. 13, ll. 7, 8 rka; rti passim; rtu l. 9; ṅha l. 1, 3; ṅra l. 14; ṅhā l. 8, 10, 17; ṅhra l. 17; Ṛṇa ll. 4, 16; No. 15, l. 14 ṅha, l. 13 ṅham; No. 24, l. 23 ṅha; No. 26, l. 6 ṅha). It will be noticed that in the Saradā inscription rta differs but little from kha and that ṅha is very similar to rna, which has a slight horizontal stroke over the lower letter. In Vīdagraha’s grant (No. 15) the form of rna deserves special notice. In the Devaśāya inscriptions also we find such ligatures expressed in exactly the same manner, though here the ra has a distinct triangle at its foot (Cf. No. 16, l. 4 rti, l. 5 Ṛṇa, l. 8 Ṛṇa).

The ligatures rya, rtha, ṅha and ṅya deserve special notice, as here the ra has not preserved its distinctive shape quite as well as in combination with other consonants. The ligature rna changes with the single ṅa (Cf. No. 13, l. 5; No. 15, ll. 19, 26; No. 24, ll. 8, 13; No. 26, l. 15 and No. 31, l. 18). In the Devi-rī-kothī prāsastis (No. 31) all that remains of ra is a wedge from which the ya (without its upstroke) is suspended. This is also the case in the Baijnāṭh prāsastis (Cf. Ind. Pal. pl. V, 45, 1). It is remarkable that in the spurious plate of Vīdagraha (No. 16, l. 4 rna) the two elements of the ligature are again much more distinct. The ligatures rtha and ṅhā have already been referred to above.

Regarding the ligature rya in the acute-angled alphabet Bühler observes that until the 9th century it is often expressed by a full ra with a subscribed ya. In the Saradā we find a slightly different type—a short vertical to which the curve of the ya is attached in one continuous stroke. In the Baijnāṭh prāsastis.
this subscribed ya assumes the same semi-circular shape as the single māṭkā, and the vertical disappears almost entirely (Cf. Bāijnāth I, 8 vīrya also Ind. Pal. pl. V, 46, 1). During the Muhammadan period this form of rya develops a tail to the right which gives it an appearance closely resembling that of the Nāgarī do (Cf. No. 16, ll. 8, 9 and Kuṭā grant 1, 12 vīrya).

In ligatures in which ra is the second or third member we find that letter expressed in Śāradā in exactly the same manner as in the acute-angled script, namely, by an upstroke attached to the foot of the māṭkā on the left side. (Cf. No. 13, l. 1 pra, l. 2 sri; l. 16 dra, etc.). This subscribed ra is sometimes difficult to distinguish from medial a (Cf. No. 13, l. 4 pā). This is perhaps the reason why afterwards the rendering of it was changed. In inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we usually find post-consonantic ra expressed not by a stroke drawn up to the left, but by one sloping down to the right. Often it is attached to the foot of the māṭkā by means of a cursive loop (Cf. No. 16, ll. 2, 3, nāra; ll. 2, 7 bra; l. 4 dra, sra; l. 6 grā, tra; l. 7 pra). It is interesting to note that in Śvē (No. 16, l. 3) the ancient method is followed, evidently because the form of that word had become fixed by usage. In the Kuṭā grant of Bahādur Siṅgh the upstroke is used except in trī (ll. 4, 6, 7, 8), trī (l. 6, 14), and dra (l. 17). The ligatures bhū (No. 13, l. 9) and bhru (No. 24, l. 2 and No. 25, l. 3) have already been noticed. The ligature ḍhra occurs in the Kuṭā grant of A.D. 1559 (l. 12 Dārwa) in a form which does not essentially differ from that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Saṁudra-gupta (Ind. Pal. pl. IV, 43, 11).

It has been remarked above that in Śāradā one aksara is used indiscriminately to denote ba and ra. It should, however, be remarked, that in the Dēvi-rī-kōṭhī prabhaktī (No. 31) we find a distinction made between ba and ra in ligatures, the former being rounded and the latter angular in shape. Cf. mba (ll. 5, 8), mbī (l. 9), mbu (ll. 13, 17), mbe (l. 16) with tva (ll. 6, 13, 14), deva (ll. 12, 13), deī (ll. 8, 15), bhāva, (l. 16), neī (l. 11), rva (l. 16), seva (ll. 13, 16). — But in mba (l. 16) the ba has a decidedly angular shape.

Finally I wish to draw attention to the following ligatures: kṣā (No. 13, l. 7), guya (No. 24, l. 8), ghōka (No. 15, l. 12), gune (No. 13, l. 18), sā (No. 15, l. 4), ocū (No. 14, l. 2, 8), ocū (No. 24, l. 9), jīva (No. 13, l. 12), jīva (No. 13, l. 11), jō (No. 15, l. 24), nha (No. 17, l. 3), nye (No. 14, l. 3); No. 15, l. 1; No. 24, l. 2; No. 25, l. 3; No. 26, l. 2), trīva (No. 14, l. 2), tīka (No. 13, l. 16), ghōka (No. 13, l. 4), nūka (No. 26, l. 17), nūka (No. 15, l. 17), nūra (No. 13, l. 8), No. 15, l. 10; No. 16, l. 2, 3), pīva (No. 15, l. 9), hīka (No. 13, l. 15), pū (No. 13, l. 5), mpra (No. 15, l. 4, 8), ṭī (No. 24, l. 14), ṭāvī (No. 13, l. 19), ṭa (No. 15, l. 15), sīra (No. 15, l. 7), sīra (No. 13, l. 3; No. 16, l. 3; No. 33, l. 3), sīra (No. 13, l. 4), sīr (No. 24, l. 13), sīhā (No. 24, l. 9); No. 25, l. 9), sīhu (No. 13, l. 5); No. 24, l. 9; No. 25, l. 9), sōtā (No. 15, l. 19), seva (No. 26, l. 20), hme (No. 20, l. 2).

1 In the inscriptions of Mera-varman the post-consonantic ra appears often as a highly ornamental flourish in the ligature sri. Cf. No. 9, l. 2.
CHAPTER IV.—CHRONOLOGY.

The most difficult problem connected with the Chamba epigraphs is that of fixing their chronology. The earliest inscriptions (Nos. 1-13) do not bear any date and we have to rely entirely on palæographical evidence. The first dated inscription is the Brahman copper-plate granth of Yugakara-varman (No. 14) of samvat 10 Vaisakha va. ti. 10. But the year is evidently reckoned from the Raja’s accession, the exact time of which we have no means of ascertaining. The same is the case with the other four copper-plates of the pre-Muhammadan period. From the wording of Vidagdha’s grant (No. 15) it is evident that the year refers to the period of his reign. It runs pravardhaminah(vi)-kalpana-vijaya-rājya-avastasamvat 4 Māgha sv. ti. pratipada(ī). We read further on in the inscription that the grant was made on the occasion of the hibernal solstice (Uttarāyana-svākrāntīyāni). One of the Tur inscriptions (No. 17) is dated in the first year of Vidagdha’s reign Māgha sv. ti. dvādaśyōm Bhamavārē.

It is only in the 11th century that we meet with inscriptions dated according to a recognized era. This era is the Lokakāla or “Popular era,” also called Saptarṣi-kāla or “Era of the seven Seers” which is used by Kalhana in the Rājamāla. In the Chamba inscriptions the years of this era are usually designated as Śāstra or Śāstrīya-samvat-svarṇa. Sometimes we find simply Śrī-samvat or svānt-śrī. The term Śāstra-samvat would seem to convey a meaning opposed to that of Loka-kāla, namely, the year according to the Śāstras or, in other words, that used by the learned.1 Up to the present day, however, this era is the popular reckoning used all through the Panjāb Hills, and for this reason it is now-a-days called the Pahari samvat. Another modern name is Kacchi samvat which evidently refers to the practice of omitting the figure or figures which indicate the century. This circumstance renders this era highly unsatisfactory for chronological purposes, as will be amply borne out by the inscriptions of Chamba State.

The Saptarṣi reckoning is based on the assumption that the constellation of the Seven Seers (Ursa major) moves through one lunar mansion (Skr. nakṣatra) in 100 years, and makes one revolution in 2700 years.2 The cycle preceding the one which is now current is reckoned to begin with Caitra sv. ti. 1 of Kali 27 current. Cunningham asserts that the Saptarṣi era must have been known to the astronomer Vṛddha-garga who, according to Kern, lived in the first century B.C., and that probably it was used in the days of Alexander.3 From Biruni it appears that in his time the Loka-kāla was also used in Multān, and Dr. Fleet concludes that its use in that part of the country commenced only with Śaka-samvat 848 expired, or A.D. 926-7 current.4

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1 Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, p. 13, gives also the modern equivalent Seṭ vihki kāl and Hift Rikhsāshn, the latter being a Pārsianized form of the name.
4 Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, p. 15.
Antiquities of Chamba State.

It has been surmised that a series of dates, mostly found on Mathurā sculptures, and belonging to the reigns of the Kusāṇa kings, Kaniska, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, refer to the Saptarṣi era, as in nearly all of them the figure of the year remains below 100. But most authorities agree that more probably they refer to an era founded by Kanishka, the starting point of which is still a matter of dispute.

In his note on the Saptarṣi era Professor Kiernan points out that, disregarding the hundreds, we must add 25 to the year of a date in that era to find the corresponding expired year within one of the centuries of the Kaliyuga; 46, to find similarly the corresponding expired Śaka year; 81, to find the corresponding expired northern Vikrama year; and 24-5, to find the corresponding year of one of the centuries of our own era.

This is well illustrated by the cahātra inscription in Chamba town which is dated Vikrama-saṃvat 1717, Śaka-saṃvat 1582, Śastra-saṃvat 36, Vaishāka va. di. 13, Wednesday, Mesa-saṃkranti, corresponding to the 38th March A.D. 1660.

From an examination of various dates, mostly found in MSS., Professor Kiernan has arrived at the conclusion that since Saptarṣi 4300 (A.D. 1224) the Saptarṣi year has always, like the Śaka year, commenced in the month Čaitra, and that within about the last four hundred years the scheme of the lunar months has been invariably the pūrṇimānta system. The earliest date, however, which Professor Kiernan examined, and which falls in A.D. 1224, worked out properly only with the amānta scheme.

It is much to be regretted that in the Chamba inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period, we never find the Vikrama or Śaka era used side by side with that of the Seven Seers, so that they form no firm basis for further conclusions regarding the peculiarities of that era before A.D. 1200. Only in one instance (No. 35) do we find the date expressed both in the Śastra year and in the Kali-yuga, but unfortunately the two do not agree and we must assume that one of them is wrongly noted.

As regards those inscriptions which are dated in the Śastra era alone, there is, of course, first of all the uncertainty as to the century to which they refer. As stated above, the practice is to omit the hundreds and, as soon as the reckoning reaches 100, to start a fresh hundred from 1. In some of the inscriptions we find, in addition to the Śastra date, the regnal year of the ruling chief. In such cases the century can usually be established with the aid of the external evidence afforded by the Rājatarangini, and by the Chamba Vaiṣāvali to be discussed in the next chapter. The former mentions a few of the Chamba Rājās and the latter document is fairly reliable for the period A.D. 1000-1200. Both supply only approximate dates, but suffice in most cases to establish the century in which a certain Rājā ruled. If, therefore, a document is dated both in the Śastra era and in a regnal year, it is possible to fix its date, provided the date is correctly noted. Five of the inscriptions in the present volume are dated in the reign of Rājās who apparently belonged to the neighbouring Hill State of Bālor, the Vallāpura of the Rājata-
raṃgini. Here we have to resort to the Varṇāvali of the Balaūriā Rājās which is, unfortunately, even more corrupt and confused than that of Chambā. The document in question will be fully discussed in an Appendix to this volume.

The problem becomes more intricate if the inscription contains only one date. In some cases it is not clear whether the year is a regnal one or refers to the Śāstra era. A regnal year supplies in most cases only an approximate date, as the year of accession of only a few of the Chambā rulers can be fixed. If the day of the week is mentioned, an attempt can be made to fix the exact date or alternative dates within a certain period.

In case the inscription is only dated according to the Śāstra era, we have to rely entirely on internal evidence. It will often be possible to find the century in instances in which the day of the week is mentioned. But I need hardly say that the results thus obtained are doubtful, considering that so little is yet known regarding the exact use of the Śāstra era in the pre-Muhammadan period. Another question is, how far the documents themselves can be trusted. The fountain inscriptions which supply our chief chronological data are almost invariably so full of orthographical and grammatical errors that there is much reason to doubt their accuracy in astronomical matters. In fact, in two cases—the Sālhi and Sāi inscriptions—it can be proved that the dates are wrongly noted. It is singularly unfortunate that in inscriptions like the prasastis of Dēvī-x-kōṭhi (No. 32) and Mūl Kīhār (No. 34), where more reliable information might be expected, the portions containing the date are damaged or destroyed.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the conclusions, more or less certain, which can be deduced from the chronological data of our documents.

Three fountain-inscriptions, at Ṛadvār (No. 20), Bhakūnd (No. 21) and Nāghni (No. 22), all of them villages belonging to the Curāh wacarāt, are dated in the reign of a Rājā Trailokyadeva. His name is not found in the Chambā Varṇāvali but occurs twice in that of the Balaūriā Rājās. In one place he stands as the immediate predecessor of Kalaśa-pālā and in the other he is separated from the latter by two reigns. We may assume that he reigned a short time before Kalaśa-pālā who can be identified with Kalaśa of Valāpura, a contemporary of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) and Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) of Kaśmīr. The date of Trailokyadeva would, therefore, fall in the first half of the 11th century. In two of the three inscriptions mentioned above the date is partly lost. In the third—that of Ṛadvār—the last portion of the Rājā’s name is missing; but from the remaining part (Śrīmat-Trailo-) it can be restored with certainty. It was in all probability followed by the year of his reign. The preceding saṃvat 17 must therefore refer to the Śāstra era. In the second line we find the full date saṃvat[†] 17 Jyeṣṭha vu. ti. 12 Byhaspati-vāra Bevati-vasatvat. The Śāstra year 17 must correspond to the year 41 of some century of the Christian era. On the strength of paleographical evidence we may safely assume that the Ṛadvār

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1 In the copy which I obtained at Bundi the name is split in one place वैश्वीर (२. ३. वैश्वीर राज) and in another वैश्वीर (२०).

inscription is not earlier than A.D. 941 and not later than A.D. 1241. We are, therefore, limited to the four years A.D. 941, 1041, 1141 and 1241. Supposing the month to be āparaśa, we should obtain the following equivalent dates for Jyeṣṭha ra. ti. 12: Monday, 26th April 941, Thursday, 30th April 1041, Monday, 5th May 1141, and Thursday, 9th May 1241. In case the month were amānta, the dates would be the following: Tuesday, 25th May 941, Friday, 29th May 1041, Tuesday, 3rd June 1141, and Friday, 7th June 1241.

It will be seen that in two cases the day of the week is Thursday, as required by the inscription; but only Thursday, 30th April 1041, fully agrees, as on that date the nakṣatra was Revati, whereas on Thursday, 9th May 1241, it was Asvini. This conclusion is confirmed by palaeographical evidence and tallies with the data supplied by the Vamśavali and the Rājatarangini.

The Bhāking inscription (No. 21) is dated in the Śāstra year 4 and in the reign of Trailokyadeva, but the regnal year as well as month and tiṣṭi are lost. This epigraph can, therefore, not be used to check the conclusions drawn from the previous one. All we can say is that the year corresponding to Śāstra 4 must be A.D. 1028-9. It follows that Trailokyadeva's reign falls in the second quarter of the 11th century.

This result will enable us to fix the approximate date of Ananta's campaign against Balor. It is stated in the Rājatarangini that on the occasion of this expedition Ananta was successfully opposed by Tikka's son, Kāliśa the lord of Vallāpura. It is clear that Ananta's campaign cannot have taken place before A.D. 1041, as at that time Trailokyadeva still ruled in Vallāpura. In case Kāliśa succeeded his father Tikka—whom apparently the Vamśavali mentions under the name of Tūṅga as Kāliśa's successor—we should still have to account for the latter's reign, and we may, therefore, assume that Kāliśa's accession probably did not take place before A.D. 1050. We know from the Rājatarangini that he was still alive in the winter of 1067-8. As Ananta abdicated in A.D. 1063, it follows that his expedition against Vallāpura happened in the concluding period of his reign, probably between A.D. 1050 and 1060. The approximate date of that event may, therefore, be taken to be A.D. 1055.

Immediately before, the chronicle mentions that Ananta "uprooted" Sāla, the ruler of Campā, and placed a new ruler on the throne. We may perhaps assume that Ananta's campaign against Vallāpura and that against Campā were in reality one and the same; and that on his return from the latter place by way of Balor his worn-out troops were attacked by the ruler of this Hill-State. In any case, it is probable that the dethronement of Sāla, or Sālavāhana, as he is called in our inscriptions, took place about the same time.

Sālavāhana was succeeded by his son, Soma-varman, of whom we possess three inscriptions. The fountain inscription of Bāhoṭā (No. 23) would have enabled us to fix the date of his accession, had it been entire. For it is, or rather was, dated both in the Śāstra era and in Soma-varman's reign. Unfortunately both the years are destroyed, and all that remains of the date is Aśvini nakṣatra.

The Kulait copper-plate grant of Soma-varman (No. 24) is dated in the 7th year of his reign. The donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (l. 28
sūrya-grahana-nimīte), but this cannot have been on the date of the inscription which is not Amāvasyā, but Bhā[dropada] śu. ti. 3.

The other copper-plate grant of Soma-varman (No. 25) was evidently made towards the end of his reign, as the charter is dated in the first year of Āṣata, his brother and successor. The full date of the inscription is: rājya śrīmad-Āṣata-deviye samvatsare prathome Vaiśākha-sīla-trī (trī)yāyāmi Śukrovāra. An addition to the original charter is dated Somnat 11 Bhādrapada śu. ti. 12. The day of the week is lost with a corner of the plate, but the initial śu is partly preserved. It has no superscribed vowel-mark, but may have had the sign for medial a, as the lower portion of the aksara is missing. The day of the week is, therefore, most probably Śār undertaken “Sunday.”

We have seen above that Soma-varman succeeded his father about A.D. 1055. He reigned at least seven years, as is proved by the Kubit copper-plate. It is, therefore, improbable that the year of Āṣata’s accession should lie farther back than A.D. 1060. Within the period from A.D. 1060 to 1088 (the year in which Āṣata visited Śringagar as Rājā of Chambā) Vaiśākha śu. ti. 3 fell three times on Friday. The corresponding dates are the following: 31st March 1066, 16th April 1070, and 25th March 1080. Unfortunately the second date of the inscription, assuming the day to be Sunday, does not tally with any of the three dates just-mentioned.

The title-deed issued by Āṣata in the fifth year of his reign is of no use for chronological purposes, as the day of the week is omitted. But we possess another inscription dated in the year of Āṣata’s accession, in which full particulars are given. It is the Siyā fountain inscription (No. 27), dated as follows: Śrī-Āṣata-deva-rājya samvat 1 Māgha śu. ti. 13 Čandraś圭 Āśra[ā]-naksatra. It may be considered as certain that the year mentioned in this date does not refer to the Śāstra era, but is a regnal year, as Āṣata cannot have reigned either in A.D. 1025 or in A.D. 1125. The year of his accession, as stated above, probably lies between A.D. 1060 and 1088. Within this period Māgha śu. ti. 13 fell three times on Monday. The equivalent Christian dates are, 13th January 1074, 10th January 1077, and 26th January 1081. On the two first-mentioned dates the naksatra was Āśra, so that either of the two could be the date of the Siyā inscription. Unfortunately the result thus obtained disagrees with that derived from the copper-plate grant previously discussed. In one of the two inscriptions the date appears to have been wrongly noted. All we can say at present is that Āṣata probably succeeded his brother Soma-varman between A.D. 1070 and 1080.

A discussion of the date of Āṣata’s successor Jāsaṭa leads to more satisfactory results. Here the data are contained in two fountain inscriptions: that of Luj (No. 28) and that of Lōh-Tikri (No. 29). The Luj inscription is dated saṃ. 81 Śrī-mahārājā-Jāṣaṭa-prathama-carṣa (read Śrī-mahārājā-Jāṣaṭa-prathama-carṣa). The Śāstra year 81 corresponds to the year 5-6 of some century of the Christian era. It is clear that this century can only have been the 12th and that the full Śāstra date is consequently 4181 corresponding to A.D. 1105-6. The month, as stated in the inscription (l. 4), was Pōka (read Paśa), but the number of the titī is omitted.
In the year given the first day of Pausa, according to the Pūrṇimānta system, would correspond to Wednesday, 14th November 1105. According to the Amānta system it would be Wednesday, 28th November 1105. The date of the Lūj inscription lies therefore within the months November and December 1105; and Jāsaṭa's accession must have taken place between November 1104 and December 1105.

The Lōh-Tikri inscription (No. 29) enables us to check the conclusion arrived at. It is dated samvat 9 . . . . . . Ṛṇaḥ dvaṭa-pājya Jyeṣṭha va. ti. dvādaśāyāṁ Sūryadīne Revatiyāṁ naksatram. Here the year cannot be referred to the Śastra era, as Jāsaṭa cannot have reigned either in A.D. 1033 or in A.D. 1133. In A.D. 1122 we find Udaya-varman mentioned as Rāja of Chambā in the Rāj-taraṅgini (VIII 1083), and Jāsaṭa's reign must, therefore, have previously come to an end. It follows that the year 9 of the Lōh-Tikri inscription can only be a regnal year. As Jāsaṭa's accession took place between November 1104 and December 1105, the present date must lie between November 1112 and December 1114.

Within that period Jyeṣṭha va. ti. 12, if Pūrṇimānta, may correspond either to Wednesday, 14th May A.D. 1113, or to Sunday, 3rd May 1114. In case the Amānta system is followed, the alternative equivalent dates will be Thursday, 12th June A.D. 1113, and Tuesday, 2nd June A.D. 1114. It will be seen that the day of the week only agrees for Sunday, 3rd May 1114, on which date, moreover, the naksatra was Revati, as required by the inscription, Professor Kielhorn, who concurred in my conclusions, informed me that "the 12th titti of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Jyeṣṭha ended on that day about 22 hours, and the naksatra was Revati for 15 hours 40 minutes after mean sunrise."

As the 3rd May 1106 as well as November-December 1105 fell within Jāsaṭa's first regnal year, it follows that his accession must have taken place between 4th May and the end of December A.D. 1105.

The next ruler of Chambā, of whom epigraphical records exist, is Lalita-varman. The Devi-ri-kōthi prakāśi (No. 32) is dated in the 17th year of his reign, but the Śastra date is lost. The Sālhi fountain inscription (No. 33) is dated as follows: śrīmāl-Lalita-varman-deva-ējaya-pājya samvat 27 Śaṭrīya-samvat 46 Śrā[vanā]*.ś. ti. 13 Raviṁda Mūla-naksatram. It is evident from the Pāṃśaṅali that Lalita-varman must have ruled in the 12th century. The data supplied by the Sālhi inscription ought, therefore, to enable us to fix the year of his accession. Unfortunately there is reason to doubt the correctness of the notation.

The following is a note by the late Professor Kielhorn, in which this date has been fully discussed:

"In my opinion the Śaṭrīya-samvat probably is 48. But as the second figure is doubtful, I have examined the date for each of the ten Śaṭrīya years from 40 to 49 in the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D., i.e. for the years A.D. 1064-73, 1164-73 and 1264-73 and 1364-73. In none of these forty years is there a Sunday, on which the 13th titti of the bright half of Śrāvana ended, and on which the naksatra at the same time was Mūla. The titti ended on a Sunday:

- Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1066; naksatra Śrāvana.
- Sunday, the 2nd August A.D. 1164; Uttarāśādha.
- Sunday, the 5th August A.D. 1267; Uttarāśādha.

There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that the date, if it does fall between A.D. 1060 and 1400, is incorrect."

Date of Lalita-varman of Chambā.
"If the tithi were the 12th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, the date, for Śāstriya-rāśiṇi 46, would correspond to Sunday, the 26th July A.D. 1170, but even on this day the nakṣatra was Pūrvaśāda, not Mula."

"If the month of the date were Āśāda, not Śrāvaṇa, the date for the year 46 would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 26th June A.D. 1170, when the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 17 m.; while the nakṣatra was Mula, by the equal space system for 18 h. 8 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise."

"That the Sunday and the Mula-nakṣatra have been correctly quoted seems to me pretty certain, because the combination of the two is a very auspicious occurrence, being called avartalyoga."

It follows from the above that Lalita-varman's accession probably took place in A.D. 1143 or 1144, and that the date of the DeVī-ri-kōṭhi praṇāsta of his 17th year must be A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161.

The DeVī-ri-kōṭhi fountain bears another inscription (No. 31) which consists only of the following date: Śrīmad-Raṇa-pāla-deva-raja-vajra-rājya-varta-māne varṇa 2 Āśvas ca. ti. 8 Bhuḍādasme(ne).

It is not evident whether the date refers to the reign of Raṇa-pāl or to the Śāstra era. In the latter case the corresponding Christian year would be A.D. 1220-7. As the inscription cannot be earlier than the fountain enclosure, the date cannot be A.D. 1126-7. Nor is it likely for palaeographical reasons that it would be as late as A.D. 1326-7. If, therefore, the year is a Śāstra year, the corresponding date would be either Tuesday, 15th September, or Thursday, 16th October, A.D. 1226, according to the amanta and pūrṇimanta system respectively. But in neither of the two cases do we obtain the required day of the week.

Assuming the year to be a regnal one, there exists the likelihood of the inscription being contemporaneous with the fountain enclosure which was built in A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161. For these three years we get the following dates corresponding to Āśva ca. ti. 8: Monday, 7th September (purṇimāta) and Tuesday, 8th October (amanta) A.D. 1159; Friday, 27th August (purṇimānta) and Sunday, 26th September (amanta) A.D. 1160; and Thursday, 14th September (purṇimānta) and Saturday, 15th October (amanta) A.D. 1161. It will be seen that none of these six dates falls on Wednesday, the day mentioned in the inscription. If, however, we disregard the intercalary month Āśāda in the last-mentioned year, in other words, if we take Bhuḍārapada ca. ti. 8 (purṇimānta), we should obtain Wednesday, the 18th August 1161.

Another question to be noted in this connection is: Who was Raṇa-pāl in whose reign the inscription is dated? He bears the titles assigned to a ruling chief, but his name does not occur in the Vaṁśāvali of the Chambā Rājā. The cognomen pāla raises the presumption that he was a ruler of the neighbouring State of Baler. In the genealogical list of the Balauriā Rājās we find the names Raṇa-malla, Rājā Raṇāl and Aruna-malla which I believe to be all corruptions of Raṇa-pāla. It still remains to explain how the name of this Raṇa-pāla can occur on a fountain built by a feudatory of Lalita-varman of Chambā and, as stated in the praṇāsta, in the latter's reign.

The most plausible explanation seems to me that the Balauriā Rājā conquered Curāh and had his name carved on the fountain of DeVī-ri-kōṭhi, in token of his victory over his Chambā rival. If so, it must have happened after A.D. 1170, as Lalita-varman was in that year still the acknowledged ruler of Pāṇgi. Our chronological
data are unfortunately too vague to allow us to arrive at more certain conclusions.

Another chronological puzzle is furnished by the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35). The date runs thus: \( \text{śātrīye sāhvāt I} \)

\[ \text{Caitra ca. ti. dasamāṃ Kalī gūtān vardāṣṭān ā4270} \]

\[ \text{khanumā (?)} \]

\[ 427[7]\text{[°]}30 \text{ubham Kali-pramāṇāṃ ā48200} \]

\[ \ldots \text{ērīma[ā]-Ajayapāla-deva-rājya sohvat} \ldots \]

The date is expressed in three different ways; in the Śāstra era, in the Kali-yuga and in the regnal year of Ajayapāla. The use of the Kali-yuga is of special interest, as it is hardly ever resorted to in epigraphical records. Not only is the actual year (i.e. the number of years elapsed) given as 4270, but also the number of the remaining years of the period, namely, 427,730 (the second 7 has been left out by mistake in the inscription, or may we assume that the mark above is a kind of tashālid ?), the two figures together yielding 432,000 as the total number of years of which the “Era of Śiva” consists. Kali 4270 corresponds to A.D. 1165-69, or in the case of expired years A.D. 1169-70. The expression \( \text{Kalī-gūtān vardāṣṭān ā4270} \) probably stands for \( \text{Kalī-gūtān-vardāṣṭān ā4270} \); in any case the use of the word \( \text{gūtā} \) indicates that expired years are meant. It is interesting, that the same method of noting the remaining years of the Kali-yuga is still followed in calendars used in Kāśmīr.

The date Caitra ca. ti. 10 of Kali ā4270, the year being expired, would correspond to A.D. 1170, March 14, Saturday. There is, however, reason to doubt the correctness of the date. The Śāstra year corresponding to the Kali year ā4270 would be ā4245 (current) but—strange to say—the inscription shows only traces of one figure which can hardly be anything but the numeral 1. This discrepancy is difficult to explain. The way in which the Kali date is noted, shows that there can have been no mistake on the part of the stone-mason, though he certainly left out a figure in the second number indicating the remaining years of the Kali-yuga. May we assume that the author of the inscription, who evidently was not a man of great culture, noted a wrong year of the Kali-yuga, or are we to believe that he did not even know the year of the popular Śāstra era? The former alternative seems the more plausible.

Assuming then that the Śāstra year 1 is correct, we should have to choose between ā4201 (corresponding to Kali ā4227) and ā4301 (corresponding to Kali ā4327). On account of the character I do not think it possible that the inscription belongs either to the 11th or to the 14th century. It will be noticed that both the numbers ā4227 and ā4327 have three figures in common with ā4270, the Kali year mentioned in the inscription. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that the latter has been erroneously substituted for one or other of the two former. The corresponding Christian

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1 Fleet, \textit{Gupta Insers}, Introd., p. 69 footnote. To the instances quoted by Dr. Fleet I may add the stone inscription in the temple of Triloknath (Śiva) at Manjī, the capital of the Hill State of the same name, dated Śaka 1442, Kali-yuga 4629 (A.D. 1520) and the Khumā (Kāśmīr) stone inscription dated Kali ā4530, Śāstra sāhvāt 4 (A.D. 1429) in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abīdīn.


3 Unfortunately the Śāstra year is also doubtful. It will be noticed that after the partly destroyed symbol which I read “one” there is an open space, perhaps meant for a second figure.
dates would be Tuesday, 31st March 1125, or Friday, 4th April 1225. On account of the script, I consider the latter date the more probable of the two.

In the second line we find a third date, expressed in the regnal year of a ruler of the name of Ajaya-pāla. But after the word saṃvatsar there is a blank, the figure of the year having been omitted. Ajaya-pāla bears the full titles of a ruling chief, but his name does not occur in the genealogical roll of the Rājās of Chambā. The surname -pāla of itself indicates that he did not belong to the house of Māṇḍapa. We know, however, that the chiefs of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Skr. Vāḷīpura) were distinguished by that surname. Their influence over Curāh has already been proved by the inscriptions of Trailokyadeva. It is therefore not unreasonable to hope that in the present case also their Vaṃśavali will help us to solve the problem.

The genealogical list of the Balaurīas contains the name Ajaya-pāla as fifth descendant of Kalāśa-pāla and as son and successor of Aruṇa-malla. In another place in the Vaṃśavali we find the same name in the Hindi form Aje Pāl, as son of Rājā Raṇul. I have pointed out above that Aruṇa-malla and Rājā Raṇul are both probably corruptions of Rāṇa-pāla, so that in all probability Ajaya-pāla was the son and successor of Rana-pāla whose name occurs in one of the Dēvi-ri-kāthī inscriptions (No. 31). If this conclusion is correct, it would afford fresh proof that at the end of the 12th and in the beginning of the 13th century the Balaurīa Rājās held temporary sway over Curāh. I may add that the omission of the figure of the regnal year to a certain extent supports my conjecture. The man who composed the inscription would have had no difficulty in ascertaining the year of accession of a local ruler. But the circumstance that the exact duration of Ajaya-pāla’s reign was evidently unknown to the people of Sai, points to the fact that he was an alien prince, whose capital was situated at a considerable distance. The author of the inscription evidently failed to obtain the desired information and the year of Ajaya-pāla’s accession has remained a blank up to the present day.

If then we may assume that the Ajaya-pāla of the Sai inscription was a Rājā of Balor, we have proof of the Kalidate being wrongly noted. For in the years A.D. 1160 and 1170 we find Lalita-varman of Chambā as acknowledged liege-lord of two Rāṇās in Curāh and in Pāṅgi. It is, therefore, highly improbable that in A.D. 1170 a Rāṇā of Sai should have been the vassal of the ruler of Balor.

It is to be hoped that fresh epigraphical discoveries in Chambā will add to our chronological material. At present the conclusions arrived at are to a large degree uncertain. Before leaving the subject, I wish to note one point. In the Daṇḍvar and Lōh-Tikri inscriptions, which have yielded more satisfactory results than any of the other epigraphs discussed, the dates work out well according to the pūrṇimānta system. This renders it probable that this system was followed in connection with the Śāstra era, not only in the Muhammadan period but also in the 11th and 12th centuries.
CHAPTER V.—THE CHAMBA VAMŚĀVALĪ.

From ancient times it has been the custom among the royal and noble families of India to keep a careful record of their pedigree. Kalhana mentions several “Lists of Kings” which he had consulted when composing his Rājatarāṅgiṇī. “Eleven works of former scholars,” he says, “containing the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected.” Kalhana’s book itself is, as the name “River of Kings” indicates, in reality an amplified Vamśāvali of the rulers of Kaśmir. Inserted in laudatory inscriptions are often found the pedigrees of donors which, no doubt, had been taken from authentic genealogies. This is definitely stated in the Pālam well inscription of the reign of Balbān preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Catalogue No. B. 3).

After the poet has enumerated both the paternal and maternal pedigrees of the founder of the well, a Ṭhākur of the name of Udhar, he proceeds to say (verse 19): “In the composition known as ‘the Genealogy’ (Vamśāvalī) both pedigrees have already been fully described, here in this Eulogy (Prasasti) the names have only been reproduced to call them to memory.” Among the Chambā epigraphs we have an instance of a Vamśāvalī in the Mūl-Kīhār fountain inscription (No. 84).

William Moorcroft was the first to draw the attention of students of Indian history to the existence of such documents in the Panjāb Hills. While staying with the famous Kaṭoce Rāja Samśār Chand of Kaṅgrā, he notes the following: “Samsār Chand deduces his descent from Mahadeo, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of this document, and some Kashmir Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse, and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family.” It is a well-known fact that Moorcroft never returned to take possession of his copy of the Kaṭoce Vamśāvalī which his noble host had ordered to be prepared for him.

Cunningham fully recognised the historical importance of the Vamśāvalīs. In speaking of that of the Kaṭocees, he remarks: “Their genealogy from the time of the founder Susarma Chandra appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief than any one of the long strings of names shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana.” The correctness of this remark with regard to other Vamśāvalīs also is borne out by the fact that they contain names known from epigraphical or literary sources. In his account of the Panjāb Hill States he published lists of the Rājas of Kaṅgrā, Nūrpur, Māṇjī, Chambā and Rājaūrī. A list of the Rājas of Kujū, evidently drawn from a Vamśāvali, had been previously edited by Captain Harcourt.1

The Chambā Vamśāvalī contains, besides the names of the Rājās already published by Cunningham, an account of the more prominent among them. Its value as a historical document has been fully proved by the study of the inscriptions, which, on the one hand, has confirmed its credibility and, on the other, derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. I have, therefore, thought it fit to edit here, with the permission of His Highness the Rājā of Chambā, the Vamśāvalī both in original and in English translation. In my subsequent historical notes, I shall often have occasion to refer to this document which, together with the inscriptions and the Kāśmir Chronicle, forms our chief source of information for Chambā history.

The present edition of the Vamśāvalī is based on only one manuscript of recent date. Notwithstanding repeated enquiries, I have not succeeded in recovering any other copy in Sanskrit. There existed—so I am told—an authentic copy which was preserved by the Rājaguru, but was accidentally destroyed by fire. An Urdu version of this document is still extant, and forms the basis of the history of Chambā published in the State Gazetteer by Dr. J. Hutchison. From a comparison of the two it appears that the lost State Vamśāvalī cannot have materially differed from the copy here edited, though perhaps it was somewhat fuller in detail and composed in less corrupt Sanskrit. That it was a document of any literary pretensions might rightly be doubted. Besides the Sanskrit manuscript, there exist a certain number of "hansauls" in the vernacular. Though these are clearly translations from the Sanskrit, they may sometimes be consulted with advantage as a help in elucidating obscure passages. They are, however, to be used with due caution, as their compilers themselves have often failed to understand the original.

The Sanskrit Vamśāvalī is metrical throughout and consists of 120 stanzas in the Anuvahā (Śloka) metre commonly used in epic compositions. It may be divided into a mythical and a historical portion, but it should be understood that the former presumably contains historical and the latter certainly legendary elements. The mythical portion which is comprised in the first 34 stanzas is based on the Purāṇas. It contains 112 names of kings which agree very closely with those found in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (Skandha 9, Adhyāya 1-12). Often there is verbal agreement, so that we may assume that this book formed the source for the Puranic portion of the Vamśāvalī. It is nothing but a string of names; only sparingly, a few details are inserted regarding the most prominent personages in the list.

The progenitor of the Solar Race is Nārāyana who is followed by Brahmā, Marici, Kaśyapa, Vivasvant, Maanu, and so on. The thirty-fourth of the list is Campa, the mythical founder of the town of Campa, namely, that on the Ganges; and the forty-fourth Bhagiratha the hero of the well-known myth of the descent of that river from heaven. In verse 20 we find Rama the heros eponymos of the
Rāmāyana, and in the next verse king Nala, the husband of the faithful Dama-
yanti. The eighty-first of the list is Maru the reviver of the Solar Race, who is said
to have settled in the village of Kalāpa. In the Śākya, Śuddhoda and Lāṅgala,
mentioned in verse 33, we recognise Śākyamuni the Buddha, his father (here his
son?) Śuddhodana and his son (here his grandson) Rāhula. With Sumitra, the
118th from Nārāyaṇa the Solar Race is said to have become extinct.

Here, from verse 35, begins the second part which relates to the history of
Chambā. The compiler has not shown much skill in connecting the Puranic
portion with his own composition. He has simply gone back to Maru mentioned
twenty-six generations before as the reviver of the Solar Race and promotes him
to the rank of progenitor of the Chambā Rājās. We shall not follow his narrative
here, but only consider its value as a historical document.

The Vamśāvali, in its present shape, is undoubtedly a modern composition. It
Composition and historical value. breaks off abruptly in the midst of the Nūrpur war
and can, therefore, not have been compiled before A.D.
1642. Possibly it belongs to a still later date, as the concluding portion seems to
be missing. It was evidently written at a time when the knowledge of Sanskrit
was very scanty. The 11th or 12th century would have produced something better.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the compiler used documents of
a much earlier date. Otherwise it would be inexplicable that the names of Rājās,
who lived many centuries before, are placed in the right order of succession. Clearly
these names could not have been preserved by merely verbal tradition. There is,
however, no evidence of any portions of older records having been embodied in the
Vamśāvali. The language is throughout ungrammatical and the mode of expres-
sion clumsy. Already in verse 86 we find mention made of the Mughals (San-
skritized as Mugalā!) in the reign of Vijaya-varman, who cannot have ruled later
than the 15th century. It seems, therefore, that the biographical particulars
contained in the Vamśāvali are mainly derived from oral tradition. This explains
why the Narasimha temple at Brahmar is wrongly ascribed to Meru-varman (verse
49), and why we are told that the inscription on the brazen bull of Śiva contains
an edict (Skr. śāsana) of that ruler (verse 47). The compiler merely repeats
traditions which are still current at Brahmar. Yet most of such traditions are un-
doubtedly based on history and sometimes receive corroboration from authentic
records. The account of the restoration of the Chambā shrines by Pratāp Sīṅgh
(verses 98-103)—leaving aside the personal interference of Viṣṇu—is fully con-
firmed by a copper-plate issued by that prince on the occasion of the consecration
of the Laksuṇa-Nārāyana temple.

Of the great majority of Rājās the Vamśāvali mentions nothing but their
names; of a few a comparatively long account is given in which often trite
details are treated at a length out of proportion to the limited size of the chronicle.
It can hardly be a matter of doubt that the anonymous writer was a Brāhmaṅ.
His history is largely a historia sacra and he dwells with evident delight on mira-
culous events and pious acts, such as the foundation of sanctuaries and donations
to the twice-born. The efficacy of asceticism (tāpas) is also duly exemplified.
We may further surmise that the author was a native of Chambä, and perhaps held some distinguished position at the Rājā’s court. This explains his partiality to his native land and its rulers. We know from contemporaneous Muhammadan historians that the part taken by Prthvi Singh of Chambä in the reduction of Jagat Singh, the warlike Rājā of Nurpur, was humbler than the Chambä chroni-
clor would fain make us believe. We are, therefore, all the more justified in not too readily accepting his statement of the great victories won by Vijaya-varman over the Kīras and Kaśmīras—not to speak of the “Mudgalas”—of which the Kaśmīr chronicles know nothing. May we ascribe to the same propensity—
either of the compiler or more probably of some earlier annalist—that we miss in his list the name of Salavāhana, who, as we know from Kalhana, was “uprooted” by Anantadeva of Kaśmīr?

Whatever the shortcomings of the composer of our Vamśāvali may be, it would be unfair not to recognise that, thanks to his efforts, a considerable number of ancient legends and traditions, partly based on history, have been pre-
served which otherwise might have become lost. The chief value, however, of the document for the present work lies in its core—the list of Chambā Rājās. In connection with what has been said above regarding the unsatisfactory methods of dating the inscriptions, it will be evident that a reliable list of the rulers men-
tioned therein must be of real help in deciding chronological questions. The trust-
worthiness of the list can, on the other hand, be tested by the epigraphical records, and this has been done with the following results.

Among the eighteen Rājās from Maru to Sāhilla, who are said to have ruled at Brahmar, only Meru-varman is definitely proved by his inscriptions to be a historical person. Ādi-varman, Deva-varman and Mūṣāna-varman are also historical, at least if we may identify them with the Āditya-varman, Divākara- (or Deva-)
varman and Mūṣāna of the inscriptions. But in any case, these eighteen names, if historical, are not placed in the right order, for we do not find the names of Meru-
varman’s father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the same succession in which they occur in two of his inscriptions. The name of Maru, as we have seen, has been arbitrarily taken from the Purāṇa. He is, therefore, as little en-
titled to the rank of founder of the Cambýāl clan as Kalapa-gráma (wherever that place may be) is to be regarded as their ancestral home. In Meru-varman’s inscrip-
tions the historical progenitor of his race is mentioned under the name of Mūṣāna.

From Sāhilla onwards the names can in general be proved to be historical and are, moreover, placed in the correct order, but occasionally names appear to have been left out, transposed or interpolated. We may, therefore, assume that from the time that the town of Chambā became the seat of government a genealogical roll was kept which, though not without undergoing some modifications, has been pre-
served in the present Vamśāvali. From A.D. 1380 onwards the correctness of the list is attested by an uninterrupted series of epigraphical records.

From what has been remarked above, it will be clear that the Vamśāvali cannot possess any real value for the ancient geography of Chambā. We find indeed place-names—either written in their modern form, such as Pāṇgī (spelled Pāṇi v. 58), Hoi(a) (v. 109),
ANTiquITIES OF CHAMBÀ STATE.

**Bhalehà (v. 119), Sukhat(a) (v. 56), and Kalanor(a) (v. 120); or wrongly Sanskritised, e.g. Kola (v. 114 and 115) instead of Kulāta and Gurjvarāstra (v. 91) for Gurjara-rāstra (Gujrāt). The only names given in their correct Sanskrit form are Cumpa (v. 69, etc.), Iravati (v. 70, etc.) and Kaśmir. For Kaṅgrā we find once the correct ancient name Trigarta (v. 98), but elsewhere the Rāj of that district is indicated as Nāgarakotikā (v. 104), an adjective derived from the name Nāgar-kāś. It need hardly be demonstrated that the form Varmapura, adopted by Cunningham as the ancient name of Brahmar, apparently on no other authority than the Varnśāvali, is purely imaginary. The document itself affords convincing proof to that effect, for it asserts (verse 87) that “Varmapura” (alleged to have been named after the Varman dynasty) was founded by Maru, although it is not till four generations after him (verse 33) that the first Varman, named Aṭi-varman, appears on the scene. But all discussion on this point is superfluous, as we now possess two early inscriptions which prove the ancient name of Brahmar to have been Brahmapura.

There is hardly more reason for accepting the forms Budha-savit (v. 4), Devolā (v. 49), Śālikā (v. 50) and Čaṭi (v. 105) as the genuine ancient names of the Budhāl river, the village Dyōl, the śālā stream and the village of Čaṭi in Kaṅgrā. It is curious to meet with a place-name Mukta-kota (v. 78) which occurs also in an inscription (No. 17) under the form Mākuta, but there is no proof that in both cases the same place is meant.

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**TEXT.**

चाँ चौमुरघ्नमस: ।
विश्वामुखशयावालामाघिरायकठामभावामानास्वामयः प्रभावः।
तं जात्तकायं नागायार्य यायनथं पृथुत्तमः।

**First Part.**

खण्डर्यंशिवमशावालामाघिरायकठामभावामानास्वामयः।

\[\text{MS. — भावमरघ्नम,}\]

\[\text{MS. भावमरघ्नम भावमरघ्नम भावमरघ्नम कृतिः.}\]
विदिशापी निकुञ्जधर जागानोपाध्य च नवमति।
युक्तां वर्ष तनयो मार्माता कुषिकंदनानां॥ ५॥
जाति: सचारंसख्यं पर्यायं सख्य शास्ति।
पुष्पक्षिपास्य पुष्पक्षिपिरौम्मति।भमराः॥ ६॥
वनसस्य शहरुकुमारः महुः स्वस्तस्थापनः।
निबन्धनम् स्वस्तस्थाय संवेदनर्गकः॥ ७॥
वैसाहिको विदिशापति शाश्वस्थाय।
जाति: श्रीति: मूलं शु:///भूतस्य स्वयं निम्नरूपः।
वनसस्य श्राकं श्राकं सवित्राय स्वयं निम्नरूपः॥ १२॥
साधक : बलाचारोऽध्वंसः श्राकं श्राकं शास्ति।
साधक: मुन्यां मद्याधिष्ठात शास्त्रकम्॥ १३॥
बायोऽध्वंसः क्रिया कारणं सवित्राय स्वयं निम्नरूपः।
भूमिर्यथ: चतुर्तस्य नामः: श्रुतीर्द्विस्तरः॥ १४॥
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1. MS. संजैक।
2. MS. नारायण।
3. MS. प्रभाकर।
4. MS. शिबकान्त।
5. MS. राजेंद्र।
6. MS. श्रीमद्।
7. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
8. MS. नारायण।
9. MS. नारायण।
10. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
11. MS. श्रीमद्।
12. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
13. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
14. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
15. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
16. MS. श्रीमद्दत्त।
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¹ MS. पति: perhaps पदिः।
² Perhaps काकारा:।
³ MS. विद्या।
⁴ MS. हस्त:।
anted to bring to your attention that...

In the second paragraph, it is mentioned...

The author also notes...

Furthermore, it is stated...

In conclusion, the document highlights...

References:

1. MS. वाने.
2. MS. भभण.
3. MS. वाने.
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10. MS. वाने.
11. MS. वाने.
12. MS. वाने.
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१ MS. चिनीः।
२ MS. भृष्टीः।
३ Perhaps मृदुः काल is to be read,
४ MS. दक्षिणीः।
५ MS. चिनीः।
६ These words are unintelligible.
७ This passage I am unable to restore.
८ MS. चिनीः।
९ MS. राजा सैस्वेतः।
१० ती स्पष्टैः उल्लम्बने मा श्रावणे।
११ MS. निघामस्वरूपे रोकित।
१२ MS. ब्राह्मणम्।
१३ MS. ती।
१४ MS. भाषानीयाः।
१५ MS. दृष्टिपादीः।
१६ MS. चिनीः।
१७ MS. ती।
वैशेषक्षण संततश्च मातिन्यास्तु च यास्तु।
भोजयम्य तस्य चर्च: महामायास्तदायम्य। ॥ ८२ ॥
चानवान्याः राजायेव श्रवणां पवित्रस्तां ॥ ८३ ॥
विवाह वाजाय्याः भोजनाय समाप्तिः ॥ ८६ ॥
तविषया कौतुकाय तद्वा कोक्सेन रूपाम् ॥ ८७ ॥
चक्राधिकृतं इत्याभासात्मादिति न ॥ ८८ ॥
तन तथा प्रार्थनेऽर्थान्यस्तवर्णनः ॥ ८९ ॥
सूपरोड़न (१) सुखा पाबोवापते महाबिपु द ॥ ९० ॥
दृश्यतः (२) प्रार्थिव वाकू पौते जल नमः ॥ ९१ ॥
जनायां (३) निमानी करी कथानी विशेषते ॥ ९२ ॥
राज्य जने । सम्ज पाद्यभिमिता । भ्रणिपते ॥ ९३ ॥
गृहस्वरमृत ससूनुकश्च युजः प्रताध्यानं ॥ ९४ ॥
प्रताध्यायाकाष्टमीदृश्यतर्युक्तपहलः । कशीः ॥ ९५ ॥
सचिनारायणः सामायात्रावकः ॥ ९६ ॥
तविषयचित्ता तीव्रात्मकः रे निर्धारितः ॥ ९७ ॥
समस्तालाल्पविचारः ॥ प्रार्थिवोद्र विना ॥ ९८ ॥
श्रवणायास श्रवणे राजेन खेत्रेन यथा । यथा ॥ ९९ ॥
साधितं संयमगम । सातीवाहः वर्षिभवम् ॥ १०० ॥
राज्यार्थं न ते ज्ञातं सर्वं समाप्तिः स्वयं ॥ १०१ ॥
वृक्षाक्षायार । राजासी दृष्टद्वयाश्रितो भुजि ॥ १०२ ॥
वाम न सम्प्रेरित्वमस्यस्यामश्रितिन्नन्म ॥ १०३ ॥
सिद्धि वीरिणि श्रोता यामायाप्रभुमादि कर्षका: ॥ १०४ ॥
समाक्षारिन सदिश ब्रह्महु: खः समाधवः ॥ १०५ ॥
"देवालयं रूपं सर्वं हृदयान्ति । सहानुबाहनात्र ॥ १०६ ॥
राज्यमवरस्मुपे जितो भागायसाधिकः: ॥ १०७ ॥
चन्द्रितं सम्प्रेरित राजासी प्रकाशक्यत्वः: ॥ १०८ ॥
चतुर्दशाध्यायमानवकी पार्थुम गीतम् ॥ १०९ ॥
इति च न गलरावादद सर्वं मूढ़क्ष्य भूदरो: ॥ ११० ॥
साम्यप्रेमतोः सतावांश्च सोचरः ॥ १११ ॥
जयसंघीत संहत व्यासालिप्यम्यपूर्वें प्रसंग्मतः ॥ ११२ ॥
प्रतापादिशुचन्दुम: भूसरावतन्त्रे पर्षाटिः ॥ ११३ ॥
कल्पिष्ठस्मृतिस्थल्व विन्रानानः गुणप्रमुन्त: ॥ ११४ ॥
गुणेण रसस्मृतादिकृतुमन्त्रायामाचिनः: ॥ ११५ ॥

¹ MS. सतारोः.
² MS. निमानी सर्वं.
³ MS. निमानी चापायाः.
⁴ MS. ब्रह्महुः धारकः राजसी दृष्टद्वयाश्रितो भुजि.
⁵ MS. सर्वं रूपं हृदयान्ति । सहानुबाहनात्र.
⁶ MS. मूढ़क्ष्य भूदरोः.
⁷ MS. निमानी हृदयान्ति.
⁸ MS. निमानी वामायान्ति.
⁹ In the MS. the second half of verse 107 and the first half of verse 108 have been transposed.
TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Illustrious Guru.

While bowing before Nārāyaṇa who by the qualities of Illusion has created the Universe [which had been] absorbing at the end of the Kalpa (may He protect it!) to obtain [our] wishes, this string of the Solar Race has been wound round His neck.

The Self-existent (Brahmā) was born from the navel-lotus of Nārāyaṇa, Marici from his (Brahmā's) mind, and [from Marici] Kaśyapa the patriarch. From him (Kaśyapa) by Aditi was born Vivasvat; the son of Vivasvat was Manu, the god of the funeral oblation (śrāddha-dena). From the nose of Manu, while sneezing, sprang his son Ikṣvāku, his (Ikṣvāku's) son was Vikukṣi, and Vikukṣi had a son called Puruṣājaya, also known by the names of Indrāvāha and Kakutstha.
From him (Purañjaya) [sprang] Anenas; his (Anenas') son was Pṛthu; Pṛthu's son was Viśvagandhi; from him (Viśvagandhi) [sprang] Candra; and Yuvanāśva was the son of Candra. His son was Śābasta and his (Śābasta's) son was known as Bṛhadāśva. His (Bṛhadāśva's) son was Kuvalayāśvaka, also named Dhandhumara; Dṛṇāśva was his (Kuvalayāśvaka's) son and his (Dṛṇāśva's) son was known as Haryaśva-Nikumbha. Bariṇāśva was the son of Nikumbha, and Kṛṣṇāva-Senañjīt was his (Bariṇāśva's) son. Yuvanāśva was his (Kṛṣṇāva's) son, and by the piercing of the womb [of his mother] was born [his son] Māndhātar the Emperor, also called Trasaddasyu. His (Māndhātar's) son was Purukutsa; his (Purukutsa's) son was Trasaddasyu (II); from him (Trasaddasyu) was born (verse 10) Anaranya; his (Anaranya's) son was Haryaśva (II), and from him (Haryaśva) [sprang] Aruṇa. From him (Aruṇa) was born Nibandhana; [from Nibandhana] Satyavruta-Trisānikula. Trisānikula's son was Hariśandra; from him (Hariśandra) was born the king Rohita through a sacrifice to Varuṇa; and his (Rohita's) son was Harita.1 His (Harita's) son was Campa who founded the town of Cāmpa. Sudeva was his (Cāmpa's) son, his (Sudeva's) son was Viśaya, and his (Viśaya's) son Bharuka. His (Bharuka's) son was called Viśka, and his (Viśka's) Bāhuka. Sāgara, the universal monarch (cakravartin), was his (Bāhuka's) son, Asmañjāsa was the son of Sāgara; his (Asmañjāsa's) son was Amāumant, his (Amāumant's) Dīlīpa, his (Dīlīpa's) Bhagiratha. From Bhagiratha [sprang] Śruta, from him (Śruta) Nābha; and Sindhudvipa from him (Nābha). His (Sindhudvipa's) son was Ayutāya, his (Ayutāya's) Rūtaparna, his (Rūtaparna's) Sarvakāma; his (Sarvakāma's) Sudāsa, and his (Sudāsa's) Sarvasaha, also named Kalmuṣapāda. The son of Sudāsa's son was known as Āśmaka. His (Āśmaka's) son, Mūlaka, by name, was guarded by women and therefore called Nārikavaca ("Women-armoured"), the progenitor of the warrior caste. Daśaratha was the son of Mūlaka, Āśmaka's son. From him (Daśaratha) [sprang] Aśīvīda, from him (Aśīvīda) was born Viśvasaha, and from him (Viśvasaha) Khajavāga the universal monarch (cakravartin) who in a moment attained spiritual wisdom. From Khajavāga [sprang] Dirghahābu, from him (Dirghahābu) Raghu, [and] from Raghu Aja. From him (Aja) [sprang] king Daśaratha (II) from whom came forth Hari (Viṣṇu) (verse 20) in his four-fold incarnation as Rāmacandra and his brothers. His (Rāma's) son was Kuśa, his (Kuśa's) Atithi, [and] the son of Atithi was Niśadha. The son of Niśadha was king Nala, his (Nala's) son was Punḍarīka. Kṣemadhanvan was his (Punḍarīka's) son and from him (Kṣema- dhanvan) again was born Devānaka. [Devānaka's son was] Pāriyātra, from him (Pāriyātra) [sprang] Bala [and] from Bala, Sthala. From him (Sthala) sprang Vajranābha, the ruler of the earth, who was born from a beam of the Sun. Svagupa was born from him (Vajranābha), from him (Svagupa) Vīḍhṛtī and from him (Vīḍhṛtī) Hiranyunābha, the best of royal sages, who first became the disciple of Jaimini and from whom the teacher of the Yoga, Yājñavalkya, the sage of Kosala, attained doubt-dispelling spiritual wisdom, which caused the great Yoga

1 Here three names which are found in the Bhagavata-purāṇa (9, 6, 12) have been omitted, namely, Amāumant, Yuvanāśva and Harita.
to rise. His (Hiranyanátha's) son was named Pusya, from him (Pusya) [was born] Dhruvasamdhí, whose son was Ágni-varna, the king. From him (Ágni-varna) was formerly born the quick Maru, the king accomplished in Yoga, who in the Age of Sin (Kalí-yuga) revived the Solar Race which had become extinct. After he (Maru) had reigned at the village of Kalápa, a son Prasádruta was born to him. Sandhi was his (Prasádruta's) son, Ámara-sa, his (Sandhi's), and Sahasvánt his (Ámara-sa's). His (Sahasvánt's) was Viśvasáhyá whose son was Brhadbhána who was killed by Áhnmanvya in the contest and the great battle of the Bharatas. His son was Urukriya, from him (Urukriya) was his (Urukriya's) son. [From him was born] Prati-ríya, from him (Prati-ríya) Bhánu-Diváka the army-head. (Verse 30.) From him (Bhánu) Sahadeva the hero, then Bhadaśáva-Bhánumant. Pratikáśva was his (Bhánumant's) son, and Supratika was his (Pratikáśva's) son. From him (Supratika) was born Marudeva, his (Marudeva's) [son was] Sunakṣatára and his (Sunakṣatára's) Puṣkara. From him (Puṣkara) [was born] the king Antaríśã, great in asceticism, the destroyer of his enemies. Bhadbhána was his (Antaríśã's) son, from him (Bhadbhána) [sprang] Barhi and his (Barhi's) son was Kṛtañjáya. Raññajáya was his (Kṛtañjáya's) son, and Sajáya was his (Raññajáya's) son. From him (Sajáya) [sprang] Súkya, Suddhoda was his (Súkya's) [son] and Liṅgála was his (Suddhoda's) son. From him (Liṅgála) [sprang] Prasénaka, from him (Prasénaka) Kṣudraka, and his (Kṣudraka's) son was Rañakasa. His (Rañakasa's) son was Suvástya, and Sumitra was his (Suvástya's) son. Sumitra was childless, so that the race of the Sun was nearly extinct.

After many years had elapsed, king Maru, accomplished in Yoga, married a king's daughter and betog by her excellent sons. Having settled one of them at Kalápa, he left for the sake of his own growth with the two others [who were] householders, and settled one there on the slope of the Himálaya. Then having reached Kaśmir with the eldest son, he founded there Varmapura for the sake of his son Jaya-stambha and anointed him there as king. He himself stayed there practising asceticism—he was the teacher of the Yoga. The son of Jaya-stambha was Jala-stambha, and his (Jala-stambha's) son Mahá-stambha. His (Mahá-stambha's) son was Ádi-varman, and Deva-varman was his (Ádi-varman's) son. (Verse 40) Mandára was his (Deva-varman's) son, Kántára his (Mandára's) and Pragalbháka his (Kántára's). The son of Pragalbháka was Jaya-varman. When he (Jaya-varman), a master of the Yoga, practised difficult asceticism at Varmapura at the confluence of the Iravati and Budha streams, to please Śíva, then numberless lingas appeared all over the place. The king, seeing his son a leader adorned with all royal virtues and being himself intent on the practice of Yoga, anointed his son Meru-varman for the sake of the growth of the State and, devoting himself to Yoga, he went from that same spot to the presence of Śíva. Meru-varman was the tenth from Jaya-stambha settled in
the town (?). . . . . . . for an abode of the god of the gods. He caused also an image of the Man-lion to be erected by his eminent guru who was an inhabitant of Kashmir and he set himself up a Suryaṃśa. [Images of] the Blessed Kāli (Bhadракāli), of Gaṇḍhipa (Gaṇḍa) and of the bull (Nandī), and beneath the latter he wrote his royal commandments. Suvarpa-varman was his (Meru-varman’s) son and Lakṣmī-varman was his (Suvarpa-varman’s) son. In his reign there occurred a pestilence, and the people were afflicted with sickness. At the same time came the Kiras and slew the king in the front of the battle. The queen who was pregnant was rescued by the ministers together with the family-priest; and at Devalā, having stopped out [of her litter], she bore a son. *(Verse 60)* Leaving him in a cave, she proceeded to go, but the family-priest, seeing her, asked, “How, my daughter, art thou in this state? When hast thou born a child? Where hath our lord been laid?” And when she gave answer: “He is inside [the cave],” the family-priest took him and showed him to the minister, but not in public. Then they brought her to a country ruled by Parabhoga and there they tarried many years in the house of his guru with the child. Once she had gone to thresh paddy seeds. The guru of the king, seeing in the dust the footprints of the child marked with signs [of royalty], asked her, “Who art thou? Whence hast thou come? And why?” When he asked thus, the queen did not speak, but having questioned her attendants, he learnt to what house the boy belonged; and knowing that, as he bore the marks of a king, he was the son of a noble father, he took him to the town of Sukheta and presented him to his king who, when he learnt her misfortune, duly honoured her with a dwelling-place, with honours and gifts and daily reverence. When king Mūṣaṇa-varman had become of age, king Prabhoga gave him his own daughter in marriage, according to the prescribed rules, with the village of Pāṅgi and great wealth, and gave him also a large army. Then that Mūṣaṇa-varman came hastily, *(verse 60)* slew all Kirakas and settled as ruler in his own kingdom. The king also called his mother, and the ruler [of Sukheta] sent her with her daughter-in-law, honoured with a dowry and presents. Mūṣaṇa-varman, pleased with his queen, had by her a son Harsha. From him (Harsha) [was born] Sārvarman, and from him (Sāra-varman) [a son] named Sena. The son of Sainya-varman was king Sujana and his (Sujana’s) son was king Sahilā-varman. He, engaged in severe austerity with his lawful wife on the southern slope of the Himalaya, attained his object and became accomplished in Yoga. Then there appeared wizards, eighty-four in number, to give him a boon. The king in his weariness did not express his wish, but they uttered the Rājā’s desire at once “May I have sons!”

Ye must stay here, till my return,” quoth the king; and they, on hearing it, consented saying, “So be it.” The Jōgi Carpatī went with the king. Together

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1 The first half of verse 49 is unintelligible.

2 The vernacular Baswałli has एक चम्पू माता का चम्पू भुज किव किव बनाआ माना माना. Evidently the text refers to the Śaivaṃkha Ṭhāya at Embhore. Cf. Chakrda Gogtekar, p. 71.

3 Verse 60 is unintelligible, but the corresponding passage in the vernacular Baswałli says that the queen and ministers uttered the Rājā’s wish to the Siddhas, who thereupon granted him ten sons.
with Yugaśāara and his nine other excellent sons the king defeated the Kṣatriyas in battle and founded on the bank of the Irāvati the town of Campā, which was before adorned with campaka trees and guarded by the goddess (verse 70) Campavati, having slain the Buffalo and others. On this same spot there were also various liṅgas, at the confluence of the Śālikā [with the Irāvati], and at the confluence of the Kunāla and at the confluence of the Śālikā with the Sārasvati. Having brought these [to the town] with the consent of Carpaṭi, the king, named Śāhīla, the master of his senses, established Gupta and Candraśvara, Kūrmeśvara and other temples.

Having finally established a sanctuary of Carpaṭa also, he sent nine of his sons [with the words:] "Bring me a large stone from the Vindhya." They went and brought with them a large and white stone, but the guru said: "This stone is not suitable for [an image of] Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa. Inside it is a frog." When the king had examined it and it was so, he set up other images of Śaṅkara, Devī and Gaṇapati, all in the same temple and sent his sons again. As it was destined to happen, on the way his sons, when they were bringing the stone, were slain in battle by numerous robbers. When the king heard this, he sent Yugaśāara the archer to slay them, and he (Yugaśāara) slew the enemies from Mukuta-kota as far as...

(Verse 80.) Then, after he had caused an image of Lakṣmi's Lord to be made and set up reverently, he installed Yugaśāara [as his successor] in the town of Campā and went with Carpaṭi to devote himself to asceticism. The eighty-four wizards were also [with him]... the king also went to rest (i.e. died).²

Yugaśāara’s son was Doḍhīha, his (Doḍhīha’s) son was Vidagdha. Vicitra-varman was his (Vidagdha’s) son and Doḥira-varman was his (Vicitra-varman’s) son. Asaṭa was his (Doḥira-varman’s) son, his (Asaṭa’s) two sons were Jasaṭa and Doḥilika. As Jasaṭa was childless, Doḥila-varman became king. Ajīta was his (Doḥila-varman’s) son; his (Ajīta’s) Daitīyāri. Prthvi-varman [was the son] of Daitīyāri. Udaya was his (Prthvi-varman’s) son. His (Udaya’s) son was Lalita, whose [son was] king Vijaya. He, hastening from (?) the south, slew the Kāśmīras, Kiraś and Mudgalas (i.e. Mughals), took the land and at once gratified [his] people. In order to attain heaven, he gave his royal command and granted to Brahmans the villages of Rāgavaṭa, and so on, with secedorn and rent (?).³ He was pious and generous and he subdued the Kāśmīras.

Rāja-varman was the son of Vijaya-varman; from him (Rāja-varman) was born Sām-varman; his (Sām-varman’s) son was king Kirti-varman. Ajīta and

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1 It is not clear whether this refers to the king or to the goddess. In the first case it could mean that, on the occasion of the foundation of Campā, a buffalo and other animals were sacrificed by the king. In the second case it would refer to the slaying of the Buffalo-demon (Mañjāsura) by the goddess. Indeed the image of Campavati represents the Devī in the act of piercing Mānjava.
2 Most of verse 73 is obscure.
3 The first part of verse 82 is evidently corrupt.
4 The expression धीरसचिब्यां हृदः occurs in the Kolki grant I. 10. A. R. A. S. for 1803-04, p. 208, but the meaning is uncertain.
Madana were the two sons of Kirti-varman. Ajita was without issue [and] Madana the excellent prince (verse 90)

and his son was Jimūṭa (?). Vairi-varman was his (Jimūṭa's) son and Māṇikya was his (Vairi-varman's) son. Bhoṭa-varman was his (Māṇikya's) son, his (Bhoṭa-varman's) son was named Saṅgṛāma. Ananda-varman became king. When he married the daughter of the ruler of Trigarta and had entered the kitchen to take his food, that king, out of curiosity, together with his attendants had placed the cups and other vessels in such a manner that he could not reach them with his hand. There and then, stretching forth his hand, Ananda-varman ate the soup (?) and, stretching forth his arm, drank water from a large drinking-vessel also placed far away. When the Rāja (of Trigarta) prostrated himself with his people before the king (Ananda-varman), they beheld two licking serpents issuing from his nostrils (?)

Gaṇeṣa-varman was his (Ananda's) son. His (Gaṇeṣa-varman's) son, full of dignity, was Pratāpa-simha-varman who equalled Yudhiṣṭhira in this Age of Sin. When he had begun work on the temples of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and other deities, he felt great anxiety how to procure the money and consulted with his ministers [saying]: "How will my purpose succeed without vexing my subjects?" (Verse 100). When at night he was lying on his couch, the Lord of Śrī (Nārāyaṇa) appeared to him in a dream and, awakening him, spoke to the prince: "King, have no anxiety, it hath all been provided by me." On hearing this, the king rose and spoke, falling on the ground like a staff: "How could not the All-Sustainer (Nārāyaṇa) cut short the distress of the distressed?" The following day there came some peasants from the village of Hol and, laying before the assembly some pieces of copper, they reported the discovery of a mine. Then he restored all the temples.

The State was increased by war: the king of Nagar-kōṭ (Kāṅgrā), Candra by name, was defeated and took to flight, as his forces were defeated from the land of Caṭī as far as the gate [of Kāṅgrā town ?], and elephants, horses and all other booty was taken and much land of vessels and princes. He (Pratāpa-simha-varman) slew his (Candra's) brother, named Jayaṭsimha, who was honoured by the king for his virtues.

The son of Pratāpa-simha was king Virubhānu. Balībhadra was his (Virubhaṇu's) son. He was a Balīkaraṇa in virtues. The son of Balībhadra was known as Janārdana. In virtues he was not inferior to Arjuna, the left-handed archer, in righteousness, archery, heroism, statesmanship and piety. For twelve

Verse 91 is obscure. The vernacular Bhasha contains the following names: Madana Varmā, Madhva Varmā, Nāgari (or Nārī) Varmā, Aṣṭri Varmā and Vērī Varmā.

The correct form of the name of this Rāja, as found in his numerous copper-plate grants, is Balībhadra. Bali and Kauṣa are two myrtle kings, renowned for their generosity. Paṇijakhaṭṭa writes in the 4th Rājaśastāvari (verse 675):

शाखरसंवतं कबिलेश्वरं महिषयसि। यान्त्र साम्गितं देव परशुरामीव देविकं।
मार्धं सप्तनमदिः पुरुषदिवं वरण। भक्ति योगस्य तदुपासय सर्वः परमेश्वर्य।

"Never has there been nor will there be a man generous like Akha, who bestowed gifts on the learned, even if they were his enemies. Kauṣa wins fame by giving gold, Bali by giving land, but the king (Akha) by giving everything."

In the Bombay edition (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LIV) p. 360, the 2nd and 3rd padae of the second verse have been left out.
years there was war between the king and king Jagatsimha\(^1\) the chief-councillor of the lord of the Yavanas. Though he (Jagatsimha) was defeated several times and fled, the treacherous [wretch] deceitfully [killed Janardana], though accompanied by his heroic brother Viśvambhara, victorious and dignified like a god, and at his father’s command accompanied also by his younger brother Sabala-simha. Then Balabhada’s land was burnt, his wealth carried off, and by means of the lord of the Yavanas he was even robbed of his kingdom.

Janardana’s son Pṛthvi-simha was yet a child; he left the country and went to the mountains of Maṇḍi, Kola, and so on. When after the lapse of many years a great change had taken place and Fate had become favourable, Pṛthvi-simha made an alliance with some feudatory chiefs and came with them from the Kola mountains. Having crossed much snow through the favour of the mountain-gods he expelled from the fortress the soldiers of the murderer of his father who were staying in his country, and everywhere slew them all in battle successfully. After overtaking the soldiers of the enemy which stayed at the town of Campa . . . . . . and having killed the others which had invaded the country: the land was red with blood. After he had rendered the prince named Saṅgrāma\(^2\) dependent on his will and given him Bhalehi, he (Pṛthvi-simha), eager to slay the murderer of his father, when, after having made an alliance with the lord of the Yavanas Māṇyabhaṭa (\(^3\)) and sought refuge in the town of Kalânīrā.

\(^1\) Jagat Siṅgh Bāhānī of Nāgar who stood in great favour with the Imperial Court. The term Yavana, originally meaning Ionian, i.e., Greek, is here used to designate the Moslems.

Chapter VI.—Ancient History.

A.—The Rājās of Chambā.

In the absence of epigraphical or literary evidence, we may assume that the territory now known as Chambā State once formed part—nominally at least—of the great empires of the Mauryas, the Kuśānas and the Guptas, which successively rose and fell in Northern India. The names of Aśoka and of the three Kuśāna princes, Huska, Juśka, and Kaniśka occur in Kalhana's Chronicle among the early rulers of Kaśmīr, and it is not unlikely that they and Mihirakula the Hun, whose sway extended over Kaśmīr and Gandhāra, reckoned the Rāvi valley among their dominions. Nor does it seem improbable that in the 7th and 8th centuries, the suzerainty of Kaśmīr under the powerful rulers of the Kārkota dynasty, was acknowledged by the chiefs then established in the upper valley of the Rāvi. The statement of the Raṅgarāngini that the great Ṭalātādītya reckoned the king of Jālandhara, i.e. Kāṛgha among his feudatories seems, according to Dr. Stein, to be based on historical fact. The inference is therefore unavoidable that to the north of the Dhauli Dhar also, the supremacy of Kaśmīr was acknowledged. It is, however, worthy of note that none of the epigraphical records of the chiefs of

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2 The name would follow from Ptolemy who speaks of Kaśmīrā 'ίνα τὸ καὶ τὸν Βιδάσιν καὶ τὴν Σαντόλαν καὶ τὸν Ραήγαν, πρώτος 'Kaspira (i.e. Kaśmīr) at the sources of the Bidaspa (Jhelum), the Sandol (Chenb) and the Raisi (Ravi).
Chambā bears any evidence of their having recognised Kaśmir as the paramount power. We must, therefore, assume that, if such a relationship existed, it was neither stringent nor permanent.

About A.D. 700, at the very time when the political influence of Kaśmir had reached its zenith, we find in the upper Rāvī valley a Rājpūt chief of the Solar race, Meru-varman by name, who not only assumed the proud title of “king of kings” (rājādhirāja, inscr. No. 6), but actually must have been the liege-lord of feudatory chiefs. The name of one of them at least is preserved in the Gum inscription (No. 9), which at the same time proves that Meru-varman’s rule extended down the Rāvī valley at least ten miles below its junction with the Buḍhal. His capital was Brahmora, where the temples and inscribed brass images erected by him still testify both to his piety and power. The temple of Chaṭrārī, which also contains an inscribed idol dedicated by him, proves that on the left bank of the Rāvī his dominions included this village. The inscription (No. 8) on this image distinctly states that the Rājā conquered his “enemies in their invincible castles,” from which it would seem that he forebode extended the territory held by his ancestors. The Chaṭrārī inscription mentions the name of Meru-varman’s father Deva-varman. Those of Brahmora (Nos. 5 and 6) call him Divākara-varman and contain, moreover, the names of Meru-varman’s grandfather Bala-varman and of his great-grandfather Aditya-varman. It has been remarked above that Deva-varman’s name occurs also in the Vamśāvali (Sl. 39) which calls him the son of Adi-varman, perhaps the Aditya-varman of the inscription, in reality his grandfather. The Vamśāvali has four names between Deva-varman and Meru-varman, which must have been interpolated.

In two of the Brahmora inscriptions Meru-varman calls himself a scion of the Solar race and a descendant of the house (yatri) of Mūśāna or Moṣṭika. The latter form is perhaps meant for a rdhī derivative (correct Mauṣṭika) of the former. In the Gum inscription we meet again with the name in the slightly modified form of Moṣṭika. I feel inclined to identify the Mūśāna of the inscription with the Mūșāna who figures in the Vamśāvali as the great-grandson of Meru-varman, and whose adventures are related at considerable length in that document (Sl. 49-61). In popular legend his name has become converted into Mūṣa Brahmā or Mushi Brahmā (“Mouse Brahmā”), which has given rise to the story that after his birth he was guarded by mice. It is significant that this tradition which is known to every inhabitant of Chambā, is not found in the Vamśāvali. In the copper-plate grants Mūșāna is very often mentioned as the progenitor of the Chambā Rājās.1 First of all Vidagdha calls himself a scion of the house of Moṣṭika and of the Solar race. It is curious that here again we meet with the form with o in the first syllable, which we have already noticed in the Moṣṭika of the Lakaṇḍa image inscription. In the two grants of Soma-varman (Nos. 24 and 25) we find Sāhilla praised as “the great Jewel embellishing the house of Paṇḍuṇa” (Paṇḍuṇa-cauṇā-dhāṇuṇa-mahāmuni) and in his grant

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1 In the following charters of the Mahanandika period Mūṣāna is mentioned: Śrīnātha-varman (XIII, 1, 8), Anandha-varman (IX, 5), Gajāsa-varman (XXI, 1, 5), Balākshetra (XLI, 1, 7, XXIV, 1, 2, LL 1, 8). All these rulers call themselves Mauṣṭika-dhāṇuṇa-narī, “the Jewel adhering the house of Mauṣṭika.”
(No. 26) Āśata calls himself "the only ornament of the house of Pānasya" (Pānasya-kulāśa-tilaka). I presume that the form Pānasya, which is found on these three plates, is merely due to a clerical error and is to be read Mānuṣaṇa, which can be explained as a vyākhyā derivative of the name Mānuṣaṇa. It should be remembered that in Śāradā the letters pa and ma bear a close resemblance to one another and can easily be interchanged. I feel the more inclined to adopt this interpretation as the term Pānasya is grammatically incorrect. If read Pānasya, it would be a regular vyākhyā derivative from Pāsan, but even then it would be an uncommon expression by which to designate the Śūnya-varṇa.

If my assumption regarding the identity of Mānuṣaṇa and Mānuṣaṇa is correct, it follows that the latter’s name in the Vamāvallī is entirely out of place. None of the other rules mentioned in that document as Meru-varṇa’s successors are proved by any epigraphical records to be historical. On the other hand, we have in the Proli-rā-gaḷa rock inscription (No. 11) the name of Mānuṣaṇa-varṇa, which is not found in the Vamāvallī. The cognomen varṇa makes it probable that the bearer of that name was a scion of the house of Mānuṣaṇa, who may have ruled some two centuries after Meru-varṇa.

When from the 10th century inscriptions again become numerous, we find that a great change has taken place. The copper-plate grants which now make their appearance are all dated from the town of Chambā as the seat of government. The territory of their princely donors extended over the lower Rāvī valley, and thus the original Brahmar principlality had developed into the Chambā State. The author of this important change, according to the Vamāvallī, was Sāhilla-varṇa whose name is associated with many a popular legend. The statement that Sāhilla was the founder of Chambā town there is no reason to doubt, as the charters of his son Yuyakara and of his grandson Vidāgdhā (Nos. 14 and 15) were issued from that place. We possess no record contemporaneous with Sāhilla himself, but in two copper-plates of the 11th century (Nos. 24 and 25) we find a passage devoted to his praise which, within its gaudy garb of eastern verbosity, contains some interesting facts of his reign. The circumstance that Soma-varṇa and Āśata, the donors of these grants, who probably lived a century after Sāhilla, looked back to him as their most distinguished ancestor, supports the tradition that he was the real founder not only of the town but also of the present State of Chambā.

The substance of the long passage referred to is that he was in alliance with the Rajas of Trigarta (Kāṅgāra) and Kulita (Kūlī) and repulsed the combined attack of the Saumatiyas and the Kīra troops of the Rajas of Durgara (Dugār). The Saumatiyas are undoubtedly the people of Sumaṭa (map Sambarta), a tract in the former Hill State of Basāḥi, or Bolor, which is frequently mentioned in the Rājatarāungini under the name of Bālpura. Evidently at the time of our inscription

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1 In my preliminary article on inscriptions in Chambā State I read Pānasya (from Pāsan).
2 Sāhilla is not mentioned in the later copper-plate inscriptions except in one of Pratap Singh who calls himself śrīnāt-Sāhilla-devaṇaśā nāmāde kule tilaka-bhītā.
3 It is evidently the Samar Thung (sic) of Vigne, Travels, Vol. I. p. 178.
Sumartā was a principality which afterwards became absorbed into the Balor State, or it may have been the ancient name of that State itself.

The Kiras, with whom the Saumatiikas had combined, are known from other sources as a tribe settled in the neighbourhood of Kasimir. Sometimes they are identified with the Kasimiris. In the present case they seem to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the chief of Durgara, the modern Dagar, and were sent by him to the assistance of Sumartā against Chambā. The whole episode reminds us of what happened some eight centuries afterwards, when a Rājā of Jammu sent an army under the chief of Basohli to invade Chambā, which was repulsed with the help of the Sikhs. Anyhow, the contest referred to was evidently one of those petty wars which used to be the favourite occupation of the hill Rājpūts. Sāhilla, while extending his dominions down the Ravi valley, was bound to come into collision with the rulers of Vallāpurā or Sumata, as apparently their State was then called. The Saumatiikas would naturally apply for help to their neighbours the Durgaras or Dōgrās, and the chief of Chambā secured the support of the rulers of Kānkā and Kujā. With the latter he was related by blood, but it may be rightly doubted whether Sāhilla exercised any suzerainty over Kujā, as would appear from the inscription. If we are to believe his eulogist, the Chambā chief was victorious, which fact may have been largely due to his alliance with his more powerful neighbours of the Bīsā valley.

In one of the two copper-plates (No. 25) which contain the eulogy of Sāhilla, mention is made of another victory, in this instance won over the Turukus. This term, originally applied to the Turks, is indiscriminately used to designate any kind of foreign invaders. It is, therefore, impossible to decide who Sāhilla’s opponents were. I feel inclined to assume that they were mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring hill chiefs.

Sāhilla’s pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra on the occasion of an eclipse is quite in keeping with prevailing custom. It would seem that his pilgrimage and royal gift of “a multitude of elephants’ to the Sun-god Bhāskara had the special object of obtaining a son and heir, and it is interesting to note that Sāhilla’s austerities described in the Vamsāvahā had the same purpose in view. Here, however, a holy man of the name of Carpaṭi figures as the agent of divine favour. He accompanied, so the chronicle says, the chief on his conquest of the lower Ravi valley and took a leading part in the founding of the new capital. As the group of temples near the Chambā palace contains a sanctuary dedicated to the memory of Carpaṭ Nāth, there is some reason to assume that Sāhilla’s spiritual adviser is not merely a fictitious personage.  

1 The Kiras are mentioned Rājā, VIII, 2787; transl. Sinh. Vol. II p. 217, and Bhāskara-śiva XIV 89. Apparently the name occurs in “Kunjara,” the modern Basohli in Kangra. In the Vahāvāli (d. 48) mention is made of a Kirā invasion in the reign of Lāqzę̆-varman. The Kiras are also mentioned among other non-Aryan tribes in the Kānikāhā inscription of Yāsava- varman Camāli (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 194) and also in the Sheera-gāh and Kanabāl inscriptions.

2 Carpaṭ Nāth is one of the puruṣa of the sect of the Nāgha. Cf. J. C. O’Han, Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India, (London, 1905) p. 166.
The chief temple of this group dedicated to Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa is ascribed to Sāhilla. There is no reason to disbelieve tradition which is unanimous on this point, though there is no epigraphical document to support it.

The Vaiṣṇavīvalī dwells at some length on the difficulties experienced in obtaining from the Vindhyā Mountains a block of white marble for the image. Sāhilla deputed nine of his sons¹ for the purpose, but the stone they brought back was found to contain a frog, and though unsuitable for the proposed image of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, it was considered good enough to be made into a līga. When the nine sons were sent out again they were still less successful, for they were killed in a fight with robbers (Skr. dasgu). Then Yugasāra, apparently the only surviving son, went on the same errand, slew the enemies from Mukuta-kotā as far as the snowy mountains (?) and returned with the precious block of white marble. The mention of Mukuta-kotā is curious, as one of our inscriptions (No. 17) speaks of a locality Makuta—apparently the ancient name of Tur. This place lies on the road to the Baleni Pass, a much frequented route into Kāṅgrā. If we may identify Mukuta-kotā with this Makuta, it would follow that Yugasāra marched into Kāṅgrā, and it is questionable whether he went much farther to obtain his piece of marble. It is a curious coincidence that, according to a tradition existing in Kāṅgrā, the famous idol of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa came originally from that place.

The consecration of the idol of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa had a special significance in the historia sacra of Chamba, as it was raised to the rank of the chief deity and thus Viṣṇuism became virtually the State religion of Chamba. This did not prevent the dedication of shrines to Śiva alongside the Viṣṇu temple—nor did it in any way affect the worship of Devis and Nāgas in other parts of the State.

Yugasāra- (or Yugasāra-) varman,² the son and successor of Sāhilla, is known to us from a copper-plate inscription (No. 14) issued in the tenth year of his reign. No particulars are mentioned regarding him except that his mother’s name was Nennā-Devi. In the Vaiṣṇavīvalī he is said to have assisted his father in reducing the Kṣatriyas and founding the town of Chamba. The term kṣatriya probably denotes here the petty Rājpūt chieftains, called Rāpās, who held the lower Rāvi valley previous to the consolidation of the State by Sāhilla. Yugasāra, as we saw, also succeeded in obtaining the block of marble for the Nārāyaṇa image. About his own reign, however, nothing is recorded. Tradition ascribes to him the founding of the temple of Gauri-Śāṅkara at Chamba. This well agrees with the site of that temple in the same group with that of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa founded by Sāhilla, and also with the Śivaite colouring of Yugasāra’s copper-plate grant. It opens with a stanza in honour of Śiva, the Soul of the Universe. This is the more remarkable, as the grant was issued to Narasimha the

¹ In Vign’s account of the legend the ten sons of Sāhilla have become sixteen. Cf. his Travels, Vol. I. p. 168.
² In his own charter (No. 14) he is called “Yugasāra-varman,” in that of his son (No. 15) “Yugasāra-varman,” and in the Vaiṣṇavīvalī “Yugasāra.” I presume that the second one is the correct form. The meaning of the name would be “dispenser of cows (bull, of cows).” The name does not occur anywhere else. Cf. Sujamahāra Rājat. VIII 312.
Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. The temple of this deity which is still extant at Brahman, and which the Varāśavali erroneously attributes to Meru-varman, is stated in Yugākara's copper-plate to have been founded by Tribhuvana-rekha Devī, who may have been a queen either of Sāhili or of Yugākara himself. The latter seems the more probable assumption.

Yugākara's son and successor was Vidagdha, of whose reign we possess two epigraphical records. One is a copper-plate grant (No. 15) issued by Vidagdha himself in the fourth year of his reign to a Brahman, Nandu by name, who came from Kuruksetra. As Vidagdha's reign probably falls about the time of the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni, we may assume that the grantee was a refugee. Possibly he had been the local purohitā of the Rājās of Chambā, who as we have seen were in the habit of performing pilgrimages to Kuruksetra. From the wording of the inscription, however, it is not clear whether the donee himself or his grandfather had left the

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1 As the word Narasimhārāja has evidently been added, it is not impossible that the grant was originally made to another deity. But the name may have been simply modernized at the time when the character of the plate was no longer understood.
hermitage of holy Kurukṣetra" for Chambā. His descendants enjoy the grant up to the present day.

The inscription, apart from the usual laudatory epithets, does not contain any facts regarding the royal donor, except that he was the son of Yugaṅkara and Queen Bhogamati. Vidagdha evidently shared the Śivaite propensities of his father; for he is called here "the supreme worshipper of Maheśvara."

The other document (No. 17) of Vidagdha's reign, dated in his first year, is an inscription of a feudatory chief, Thakkiña by name, who was settled at Tur in the Basu pargana and owed allegiance to the Chambā Rājā. It is of interest as showing that at this period the Rāvi valley was still partly occupied by Rānás. Evidently Sāhīla's conquest of the lower valley did not result in their extinction. From being independent chieftains they simply became his vassals. In this and other inscriptions the vassalage of the Rānás is evident from the circumstance of their dating their inscriptions in the regnal year of their liege-lord.

Another inscription from Tur (No. 18) mentions the name of Dōdaka as that of Vidagdha's successor. He is undoubtedly identical with the Dōdaka of the Vamsāvali (Sl. 82), though in that document the Rājā of this name figures as the father and predecessor of Vidagdha. After Vidagdha, we find the names Victria-varman and Dhaitya-varman, which do not occur in any inscription. On the other hand, we possess three fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20-22) dated in the reign of a Trailokya-deva who must have lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. In one inscription—that of Naghī (No. 22)—he assumes the royal titles usually borne by independent rulers. I have shown above that there is much reason to assume that this Trailokya was a ruler of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Skṛ. Vallāpura). He preceded Kalaśa-(pāla), who is mentioned in the Rāja-taraṅgini (VII, 220) as an antagonist of Ananta of Kaśmīr.

From the middle of the 11th century Chambā history becomes more coherent and detailed, as now the local records are supplemented by numerous references in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. The first mention of Chambā in the Rājatarangini is to the effect that Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr uprooted Sālā the ruler of Campa and placed another prince on the throne. The fact that Ananta vanquished Sālā is also mentioned in the Vīkramāṅkadeva-carita of Bilhaṇa, who was a contemporary of Ananta-deva.1 The name of Sālā is not found in the Vamsāvali, owing perhaps to the shortness of his reign or to its ignominious end. But in the three copper-plate inscriptions of the 11th century, edited in the present Volume, we meet with the name of Sālavāhana who, as first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, must be identical with the Sālā of the Rājatarangini.2

Those three grants were issued by his sons and immediate successors, Soma-varman and Asaṭa. The former, whose name is likewise omitted in the Vamsāvali, must have been the prince raised to the throne by Ananta-deva of Kaśmīr. The exact time of this event

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2 Ins., XVII (1895) pp. 8 f. Sālā is an abbreviation (Bhimavat) of Śālavāhana. Cunningham has confused Sāhīla with Sālavāhana. He first identified the former with the Sālā of the Rājatarangini (A. S. R. XIV, 115), and also with the Sālavāhana of the copper-plates (A. S. R. XXII, 125), and again in his Ancient Geography (p. 141) he makes Sālā the founder of the town of Chambā, i.e., Sāhīla. His reference to Ferishta must be due to an oversight.
cannot be fixed, but we have pointed out that most probably it took place between the years A.D. 1050 and 1060.\footnote{\textit{Ancient Geography}, p. 141, places the invasion of Campā by Ananta between A.D. 1028 and 1031, which is decidedly too early. Ananta’s succession took place in A.D. 1026, but he was then a minor, as is distinctly stated by Kalhana. \textit{Rājat. VII}, 134-135, transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 278.} No events are known of Soma-varman’s reign. He was succeeded by his brother Āsaṭa presumably between A.D. 1070 and 1080.

It stands to reason that Ananta’s expedition against Chambā and Balor had for its object to assert the old claims of Kaśmīr suzerainty over the principalities of the Rāvī valley. In this he seems to have succeeded, for we meet with the names of Āsaṭa of Chambā and the Rājā of Balor among those of the eight Hill Chiefs who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of 1087-88, in the reign of Kalasa, Ananta’s son and successor.\footnote{\textit{Rājat. VII}, 319; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 294.} The other six princes were Kirti of Babāpura (Durgāra), Saṅgrāma-pāla of Rājapurī (Rājanī), Utkara of Lohara (Loharī), Saṅgaṭa (?) of Uraṣi (Hāzārā), Gambhira-siha of Kānda and Uttama-rāja of Kaṣṭhavaṭa (Kaṣṭavār).

Kalasa had previously married Āsaṭa’s sister Bappikā,\footnote{Cunningham, \textit{A. S. R.}, Vol. XIV, p. 115, places this event in A.D. 1060. But this is too late, as Harṣa was born in A.D. 1058. \textit{Cf. Rājat. VII}, 1717; transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 100.} and their son, the ill-fated Harṣa, became king in 1059, shortly after his father had died at Mārtana. The following table shows the relationship between the ruling houses of Kaśmīr and Chambā:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soma-varman</th>
<th>Āsaṭa</th>
<th>Bappikā</th>
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Although the facts related by Kalhana seem to point to the dependence of Chambā on Kaśmīr, it is curious that in their contemporaneous records none of the Chambā Rājás acknowledge in any way Kaśmīr suzerainty. On the contrary, they assume throughout the full titles of independent kings. Kalhana also, wherever he mentions the Chambā rulers, never uses the term \textit{sāmantra} “vassal,” but always applies to them some expression meaning “king” (bhūpāla, nṛpati). It seems that the dependence of Chambā and the other Hill States of the Rāvī and Cimbī valleys chiefly consisted in the obligation of military assistance. The relationship was perhaps the same as that existing at a later time between the Rājās of Jammā and their vassals. “The feudalatory chiefs,” says Drew,\footnote{\textit{Jammoo}, p. 9.} “those for instance of Akhanīr, Dolpatpur, Kirmāhī, etc., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jummoo they paid tribute and did military service.”

The second of the three copper-plate grants (No. 28) mentioned above was granted by Soma-varman, but issued in the first year of Āsaṭa. It contains the signature of both. An addition to it is dated in the eleventh year of Āsaṭa’s reign.
It records the donation of lands in various villages round the capital to two temples of Viṣṇu and one of Śiva. One of the Viṣṇu temples is undoubtedly that known by the name of Hari Rājī which stands between the Post Office and the Telegraph Office, at the side of the Caugān Gate. The Śiva temple referred to in the inscription appears to be no longer extant. It is stated to have been founded by Rādhā-devī, the queen of Śālavāhana (here called Śālākara-varman) apparently for the sake of the future bliss of her husband. This queen was the mother of Soma-varman and Āśata the donors of the grant. Among the lands presented to the temples there were some in the Pāṇḍhala mandala (now the Pañjilā pargāna) which at the time were enjoyed by the queen-mother, from which it follows that she had not become sālī on the death of her husband.

I may mention here a hypothesis advanced by Mr. V. A. Smith, according to which a rare silver coin of a debased bull-and-horseman type might be ascribed to Āśata the chief of Campā. It should, however, be remarked that there is no evidence of Campā having ever possessed her own coinage except the copper cakā, of which I have seen no specimens of an earlier date than the reign of Rājā Caṇhat Singh (A.D. 1808-44).

The third and last copper-plate of the 11th century was issued by Āśata in the fifth year from his succession. Neither this nor the previous plate contains any particulars about his reign.

According to the Paṃśvati he was succeeded by his son Jāśata. The year of his accession is proved by the Luj and Loh-Tikri inscriptions (Nos. 28 and 29) to be A.D. 1105. These two inscriptions also establish the fact that both Curāḥ and Pāngi then belonged to the territories ruled by the Chambā Rājā. We have seen above that in the second quarter of the 11th century Curāḥ formed part of the Vallāpura State, but it appears that in the first year of Soma-varman’s reign it had come under the rule of Chambā. It seems probable that Śālavāhana added it to his dominions.

Before his accession Jāśata took an active part in the civil war which, owing to Harsa’s misrule, had broken out in Kaśmir. It will be remembered that Jāśata was Harsa’s first cousin; it was, therefore, natural that he should side with his kinsman against the Lohara brothers, Uccala and Sussala. His support, however, did not save Harsa from ruin. Jāśata seems to have been with the army of Harsa’s general, Candrarāja, which was defeated by Sussala in A.D. 1101 near Vijbror (kulgo Bijn-bihara). At least, Kallāna mentions him among the four princes who, with the remnant of that army, had taken refuge in the temple-yard of Vijayesvara and surrendered to Sussala. “He (Sussala),” the chronicle says, “opened the door and stepped out quite alone, carrying his sword and using harsh insulting words, into the midst of those assembled in the court-yard of the temple of Vijayesvara, where there were king Jāśata, the son of king Harsa’s maternal uncle, and three other

2 Rājāt. VII, 1612; transi. Stein, Vol. I, p. 355. At the time of this event Jāśata was not yet king (āgata), but only heir-apparent, perhaps āgata. Kallāna rightly calls him “the son of king Harsa’s maternal uncle.” Undoubtedly when Kallāna mentions him as the principal of the other three Rājas who surrendered to Sussala, was perhaps a chief of Bābbāpura. In the sequel we shall meet twice with a Rājā of Bābbāpura of the name of Ujjayadhara among the supporters of Harsa’s grandson, Ekhilādeva.
chiefs, Umādhara, etc., and where the multitude of Rājapatras, horsemen, Tantrins and feudatories belonging to the eighteen divisions of the army could not be counted. He mercifully promised safety to those who prostrated themselves and left after taking the image of Śiva Vijayesvara there as witness. He then ascended again to the terrace, had them all disarmed and led up by his servants, with their arms bound by ropes. The place where Uccala held his assembly, being covered with heaps of gold and silver sword-hilts and decked with arms, appeared as if decorated with swarms of flowers. He handed them over to the Dāmaras to guard as one hands cattle to herdsmen, and stopped there for three days.” This event sealed Harsa’s fate and was immediately followed by the murder of himself and his son Bhoja.

Uccala now became king of Kaśmir. Bhoja’s infant son, born in Bhādōn 1099, who had received the inauspicious name of Bhikṣū or Bhikṣūcara (heggar), was allowed to live, though, as Kalhana’s remarks, “he should have been treated as an enemy, as he continued the enemy’s stock.” A few years afterwards when Uccala, threatened by various pretenders, wished to destroy the boy, he was saved by his relative the princess Āsamati and taken to the court of king Nara-varman of Mālava, where he was trained in arms and taught the sciences. Uccala at once took steps to prevent his return to Kaśmir, by concluding treaties with the princess, whose lands lay on the route. But this precaution proved futile. In the year 1111 after a troublous reign of ten years Uccala was murdered. Kalhana extols on this occasion the valiant conduct of a Rājput from Chambā, named Soma-pāla, who was slain in the attempt to defend his royal master against the conspirators. Possibly this Soma-pāla belonged to one of the baronial houses who held parts of the Rāvi and Cimāb valleys as feudatories of the Chambā Rājā.3

After a short interregnum the royal power was usurped by Uccala’s brother Sussala, who succeeded in holding his own against the powerful Garga-candra, Sahasra-māṅgala and other malcontents. But ere long a more dangerous opponent arose in the person of Harṣa’s grandson Bhikṣūcara. Though yet a boy, Bhikṣūcara, provided with money by the king of Mālava and accompanied by Āsamati, had started on the perilous undertaking of recovering his ancestral throne. At Kurukṣetra he happened to fall in with five Hill Chiefs who, after having made a compact for the journey, were performing the pilgrimage to that holy place. Three of them were ruling chiefs, namely Jāśaṭa of Campā, Vajrādhara of Babbāpura and Sahaja-pāla of Vartula. The two others—Belha of Trigarta and Āmanda-raja of Vallāpura—were Yuvrājas (i.e. heirs-apparent and co-regents). In view of subsequent events, we may assume that Bhikṣūcara’s meeting with the Hill Chiefs took place either in A.D. 1113 or 1115. It has been remarked above that pilgrimages to Kurukṣetra were and still are performed on the occasion of solar eclipses. In 1113 there occurred a solar eclipse on the 10th March and in 1115 on the 23rd July.

It may be assumed that the Chambā Rājā welcomed the opportunity thus offered to avenge himself for the disgrace of Vijāhūr. He received his youthful kinsman with the distinction due to his royal blood, and the other Hill Chiefs treated him with like honour. Thus he proceeded to Vallāpura, where Rājā Padmaka, at the instance of Jāṣṭā ṣa and of the Yuvārājā, gave him his daughter in marriage. A Thākūr of that country, Gayapāla, by name, collected troops, in order to restore Bhiksāvara to the rank enjoyed by his grandfather, but, before he could give effect to his design, he was murdered by his own relatives. Daryaka, the principal of the pretender’s supporters, fell in an expedition sent out by Padmaka against the murderers. After the faithful Āsamatī had died and the funds provided by the king of Mālava had become exhausted, Bhiksāvara received less attention from his father-in-law, the Rājā of Vallāpura.

He, therefore, left Vallāpura for ChambĀ and tarried with Jāṣṭā ṣa for four or five years. But here also the interest in the royal refugee seems to have declined considerably; for Kalhaṇa assures us that during his stay in Jāṣṭā ṣa’s house “he secured with difficulty mere food and clothing.” His next place of retreat was the castle of a Thākūr Dēṅga-pāla which stood on the banks of the Candrabhāgā, probably somewhere between Dōḍā and Rihā. This Dēṅga-pāla seems to have been an independent baron, such as existed in some parts of the Upper Candrabhāgā valley until recent times. He received Bhiksāvara with distinction and gave him his daughter Parpikā in marriage. “While the prince,” the chronicler says, “stopped there for some time in comfort and without fear, he left behind misery and boyhood.” From these words we may assume that the events here related took place about 1117 when Bhiksāvara had reached the age of eighteen years. In the following year a conflict in Rājapurī, on the road to Kāśmir, afforded him an opportunity to take another step towards the attainment of his aims. Saṅgrāma-pāla, whom we have met with among the princes who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of 1087-88, had died, leaving three sons Pratāpa-pāla, Soma-pāla and Nāga-pāla. The eldest, Pratāpa-pāla, was imprisoned and subsequently put to death by order of Soma-pāla, who ascended the throne.

Nāga-pāla, after killing Pratāpa-pāla’s murderer, took refuge with Sussala. Threatened with war by the king of Kāśmir, Soma-pāla applied for help to Bhiksāvara, who apparently at that time had returned to his father-in-law, Padmaka. At least Kalhaṇa states that Soma-pāla called him from Vallāpura. As the pretender, on his gradual advance towards Kāśmir, had now approached the very gates of that country, Sussala realised that the moment had come for vigorous action to check his further progress.

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1 Rājāt. VIII, 387 ff.; transl. Stein Vol. II, pp. 44 f. Dr. Stein presumes that Bala of Triratna is meant. It seems, however, more natural that it was the yuvārāja of Vallāpura who induced his father, Padmaka, to conclude a matrimonial alliance with the pretender.

2 The name of this Gayapāla is perhaps preserved in one of our Chambā inscriptions (No. 34).

3 It is curious that in the Chambā dialect the word kāthu denotes a “mischievous, troublesome person,” but it is probably derived from the Sanskrit name bhāṣu.


5 For the events here summarised see Rājāt. VIII, 583-584 and 547-555; transl. Stein, Vol. II, pp. 44 f.
MAP OF CHAMBA STATE AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS

KULU
KULUTA
TRIGITA
TRISHNATA
BHALG
NALLAPURA
SHEOL
SHAYPO
KOOCHING
KUNJARAH
BIRJU
Pokhri
PAPA
KASHMIR

KARWAL
MATHURA
CHANDER
PATHAN

ZANSKAR
In the autumn of 1118 he marched against Rājapuri, put Some-pāla to flight, installed Nāga-pāla in his stead and stayed there for seven months "causing terror to his various enemies."

Who those enemies were is not definitely stated. Only one of them is mentioned by name, viz. Vajradhara of Babbāpura, whom we have found among the princes who met Bhiksācara at Kuruksettā and espoused his cause. Babbāpura, as I have shown elsewhere, was situated on the left bank of the Tavvā, 17 miles due east of Jammū, and must have been the ancient capital of Durgara.

It is evident that Sussala's expedition was necessitated by the movements of the pretender, whom we have seen coming to the Rāvī valley about 1114, advancing to the banks of the Candrabhāgā about 1117, and finally settling at Rājauri. Sussala's object must, therefore, have been to discomfit the coalition of princes who had taken up Bhiksācara's cause, and among whom those of Campā and Vallāpura were foremost. The king of Kaśmīr made Rājapuri the base of his operations and sent marauding parties down the valleys of the Candrabhāgā and other rivers. It seems that Sussala's troops penetrated even as far as the upper Rāvī. This I infer from Kalhaṇa's statement that "the pious king (Sussala) preserved in the enemy's land Brahmāpurī and its temples." The word brahmāpurī occurs elsewhere in the Rājaśatāraṅgini as a generic name of uncertain meaning, but here, used in the singular, it can only be a proper name. I presume that Brahmāpura the ancient capital of Chambā is meant. As to the significance of Sussala's campaign for Chambā history no information is forthcoming.

It is to be regretted that Kalhaṇa is not more explicit in his account of Sussala's expedition against the chiefs of the Candrabhāgā valley. His vagueness is perhaps intentional and due to the circumstance that, notwithstanding the submission of Vajradhara and other princes, the undertaking evidently ended in failure. It should be remembered that Kalhaṇa composed his chronicle under Sussala's son and successor, Jaya-simha. Even the king's primary aim was not attained, for Nāga-pāla had to abandon his capital, and followed his patron to Kaśmīr in the spring of 1119. Sussala's ill-success is still more obvious from the fact that in the following year a rising of the Đāmaras or feudal land-holders afforded Bhiksācara a welcome opportunity to enter Kaśmīr and ascend the throne of his grandfather. But not for long did he enjoy the sweets of royalty. The energy which had marked his career in adversity left him as soon as fortune smiled on him, and the hereditary vices of Ananta's race soon became manifest in the young king. Only six months after his accession he had to flee the country, and Sussala re-assumed the royal dignity. Bhiksācara established himself at Purisāna (Skr. Purṣāpanāḍa) on the Pīc Pānīśāl road, from where he made inroads into Kaśmīr territory.

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2 On Sussala's campaign cf. Rajat. VIII, 621-635; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 50 f. Dr. Stein in a letter dated 9th August, 1905 calls my interpretation of Rajat. VIII, 628 "very acceptable and convincing." "Kalhanā's expression in VIII, 625," he remarks, "might have been clearer than it is, considering that a specific locality is meant by Brahmāpurī, but then we know that Bok VIII was never properly revised by its author and perhaps he was not himself quite clear as to what sort of a place Brahmāpurī was. His geographical horizon was limited." As a generic name brahmāpurī occurs. Rajat. VIII, 2433, 2433.
It does not appear that Jāsāta of Campā played any part in the later adventures of Bhiksācara. The year of his death is unknown. According to the Vamšāvali (ch. 84) he died without an heir and was succeeded by his brother Dhāla-varman. Neither this ruler nor his three successors, Ajita, Dalīyā and Pṛthvī-varman, have left any record of their reigns. If the names of these four princes are historical, their reigns must have been very short. In 1117 Jāsāta seems still to have been alive, and in 1122 we meet in the Jainatarangini with a Rāja of Campā of the name of Udaya-varman. According to the Vamśāvali he was the son of Pṛthvī-varman. Udāya figures again in Kalhaṇa’s account of the civil war in Kasmir. We find him and Jaijala1 of Vallāpura among the noblemen who valiantly assisted Sussala in defending Śrīnagara against Bhiksācara. With their help Sussala not only repulsed the enemy, but inflicted a severe defeat on the Dāmara allies of Bhiksācara at the Gopāḍī hill (Taṅkt-i-Salāmān). How it happened that both Campā and Vallāpura had abandoned the cause of the pretender and joined his adversary, is not apparent from the chronicler’s narrative.

The close alliance between the king of Kasmir and the chiefs of the Rāvi valley is also evident from the fact that Sussala had married two princesses from Campā—Devalchak, praised for her beauty, and her sister Tarakalekhā—and one princess from Vallāpura, Jaijala by name. After Sussala’s murder in 1128 these three ladies together with Rājulakṣṇi, the daughter of Garga-candra, became sāli. Kalhaṇa2 relates how “the people, benumbed by the fear of a hostile attack and by the sudden hard frost, were not able to conduct Sussala’s four queens to the distant burning ground. They therefore burned their bodies in haste near [the Vihāra of] Skandabhāvanā, which was not far from the palace.”

The death of his enemy did not in any way further Bhiksācara’s cause. In Sussala’s son and successor Jaya-simha (A.D. 1128-1154-5) he found a no less formidable adversary. Defeated at Dāmodara, he had to leave the country. Som-pāla of Rājapuri concluded a treaty with the new ruler of Kasmir and refused the pretender a further refuge in his territory. This faithless conduct induces the chronicler3 to utter the following invective, which no doubt is the echo of a popular adage: “Even the gods have no pity in Trigarta, no morals in Campā, no generosity in the Madra-land, and no good-will in Darvābhisāra.”

The only chief who to the very last seems to have upheld Bhiksācara’s cause was his father-in-law, the Thakkura Dīnag-pāla. His support, however, did not save him from ruin and in the summer of 1130 the ill-fated grandson of Harṣa was treacherously slain, by Jaya-

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1 Rājat. VIII, 1083. Dr. Stein in his translation renders the dative compound Udāyavrahmajajjalā as “Udaya and Brahmanajala.” I feel more inclined to take the names to be Udāya-brahman (for Udāya-varman) and Jajjalā. In the Chamba copper-plates of the Muhammedan period Brahman is very often substituted for varman. The feminine form of the name Jajjalā occurs Rājat. VIII, 1444. See beneath p. 108. It is borne by a Vallāpura princess. In his above-quoted letter Dr. Stein says: “If there is an Udāya-varman in the Chamba records, the division of Udāyabrahma-Jajjalā is, of course, to be accepted as the only possible one.”


3 Rājat. VIII, 1183; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 120. Dr. Stein remarks: “This verse probably produces a proverbial saying of Kalhaṇa’s time. Rājapuri is clearly included in the judgment passed on Darvābhisāra.”
sīnhā’s soldiers and his own Khaṣa allies, in a fort at the foot of the mountain pass of Bānpāsālā (modern Bānīhāl). With his death the war of succession came to an end. The prolonged struggle had completely broken the political power of Kaśmir, and the weak rulers who followed Jayasīṁha had to use all their efforts to hold their own, instead of asserting any claims of suzerainty over the neighbouring Hill States. Thus the connection between Kaśmir and Chambā ceased. None of the later Kaśmir chronicles ever mentions the Hill State on the Upper Rāvī.

For the further history of Chambā we are therefore limited to local records. The last mentioned Chambā Rājā, Udaya-varman, as stated in the Varnśāvali (sl. 85) was succeeded by his son Lalita-varman. It appears from the Sāhī inscription (No. 33) that his accession took place in 1142 or 1143 and that he still reigned in 1170. The Rānās of Curāh and Pāngi recognised him as their overlord and in the Dēvi-ri-kōthi prāsasti (No. 32) which was composed by the Rājaguru Kamalā-laṁcha in the 17th year of Lalita’s reign, we find a stanza in which his virtues are eulogized.

Lalita-varman’s successor was his son Vijaya-varman. The Varnśāvali (sl. 86-88) relates of him that he subdued the Kāmīras, Kīras and Mudgalas (i.e. Mughals), but, considering that the Kaśmir chronicles do not even mention his name, the historical accuracy of Vijaya’s alleged victories is open to doubt. Can it be that the Varnśāvali has retained a vague remembrance of Udaya’s exploits in Kaśmir and transferred them to his grandson, whose name is so suggestive of war and victory? It further states that he granted lands to Brāhmans, but up to the present no copper-plate issued by him has been recovered. The fragmentary Mūl-Kīhār inscription (No. 34) seems to have been composed in his reign, and the Rājā to whom it is due was probably one of his feudatories.

The record of Vijaya-varman’s reputed conquests is difficult to reconcile with the circumstance, that apparently towards the end of the 12th century the Rājās of Balor regained possession of Curāh. In that province two inscriptions (Nos. 31 and 35) have come to light, which are dated in the reigns of two rulers of the name of Raṇa-pāla and Ajaṇa-pāla. It is highly probable that both were Rājās of Balor, as their names can be traced in the Varnśāvali of that State. These stones seem still to bear testimony to a struggle for the possession of Curāh, which raged between the two rival powers of the Rāvī valley in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the first half of the 11th century Trailokhya-deva ruled Curāh. Then the Chambā Rājās from Soma-varman till Lalita-varman held it. Subsequently we meet again with the names of two Balaurī Rājās, but the province finally remained in the possession of Chambā.

It would seem, therefore, that Amīr Pāl of Basōhli only revived ancient claims, when, supported by Ranjit Dēv of Jammū, he invaded Curāh in A.D. 1774. But the renewed contest ended in the sack of Basōhli by Rājā Rāj Singh, and shortly afterwards the ancient Balor principality became absorbed in the Jammū-Kaśmir State.

ANTiquities of Chambā State.

B.—The Rājānas of Chambā.

The Rājānas play such a prominent part in the Chambā inscriptions that they deserve special treatment. In our epigraphs they are usually indicated by the name rājānaka. This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems, therefore, to be a sanskritized rather than a real Sanskrit word. Dr. Grierson has suggested a connection between this word and the Pāñcikā title rāja (i.e. rāja-nā = Skr. rājanyā) which occurs on coins. To me it seems more probable that the word rāṇa is derived directly from rāja. Perhaps it is the oblique case of this word transferred to the nominative. In any case, there can be little doubt that the word corresponds with the modern rāṇā, used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste-name. In the former meaning it is synonymous with Sanskrit sāmanta and thakura. In one of our inscriptions (No. 32) we find the terms rājānaka and sāmanta applied to the same person. The word thakura occurs in the form thakura in the Markuṇa image inscription (No. 48). It is not found elsewhere in the Chambā epigraphs, but in the Rājatarangini it is used in exactly the same sense as rājānaka, to denote a feudatory chief. I may add that now-a-days the titles rānā and thakur are employed promiscuously. A special meaning is attributed to the word rava (rānā?) in Kāṅgrā, namely that of "queen bee." The equivalent expression in Chambā is gaṇe-rājā, in which we seem to have Sanskrit gaṇa "a swarm."

Hitherto the rājānakas of the Panjāb Hills have been exclusively known from the Rājatarangini and from the Bajñāsth purāṇas.

The Bajñāsth.

The latter acquaintance us with a baronial house which ruled for eight generations, at Kirāgrām, the modern Bajñāsth, in Kāṅgrā and owed allegiance to the Rājas of Trigarta. Their importance may be estimated from the fact that the mother of Lakṣmīna-candra, the Rānā of the time, was a daughter of Hydaya-candra of Trigarta. The inscription, however, does not say whether her mother was a Rāni. It is certainly opposed to prevailing usage that the head of the illustrious house of Trigarta should give a daughter in marriage to one of his vassals. How punctilious the Kāśiṭes were in matrimonial matters, even in the expiring days of their rule, is shown by the example of Anurādh Caud, the last ruling chief of Kāṅgrā, who abandoned his State and everything rather than acquiesce in a matrimonial alliance which he considered below the dignity of his house.

"Even now," says the Bajñāsth eulogy, exist such wonderful men, filled with devotion to Iśvara like that store of marvellous virtue, the Rājānaka named Lakṣmīna-candra, who, after performing a pilgrimage to Kedāra, that cleanses from old sin, made even this vow: "Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters for me." What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from assaults by warriors of irresistible bravery, since he, a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not to be subdued.

2 Professor C. C. Uhlenbeck is of opinion that rājānaka is derived from the accusative of rāja, in the same way as bhagavāna from the accusative bhagavāna (Pāñcikā. Bhagavāna). Other instances are dātta from dāta and pāla from pālā.
3 Kāngra Gazetteer, 1904 (Lahore, 1897), p. 38.
4 J. As. Ind., Vol. 1, pp. 110 ff.
even by that [ deity ]. At present rulers, whose commands are disregarded by their opponents—because they deem them to be of small prowess—think the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of the inhabitants. Fresh youth, beautiful shape, liberality, sovereignty over a town, many flatterers [ all these are his ]; if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?

Bühler rightly remarks that "the picture of the morals of the time, which these verses unfold, is certainly not a flattering one."

The inscriptions of Chamba show us the ancient Rāmāya from a more favourable side. No doubt, like the knights of mediaeval Europe, they regarded love and war as the great aims of life. But their love was often the devotion of the husband, and their warlike spirit was not rarely displayed in loyal service to their liege-lord. Among those endless accounts of treachery and baseness in which Kālaṇaśa's chronicle abounds, it is refreshing to read of that Rājput from Campā, Somapāla, who, as his lord, king Uccala, was attacked by murderers "did not fall into disgrace, when after slaying his assailants he succumbed to their strokes." Of the conjugal devotion of these warlike heroes we have ample proof in those quaint fountain-slabs which they set up for the sake of the future bliss of their deceased wives. And even more clearly do we find it expressed in the solemn Sanskrit of those eulogies where, hidden under the weight of rhetorical
ornament, we still feel the pulsation of true love. Would it be just to cast upon
the hero of the Sārīthān eulogy the reproach that his love for the beauteous
Somaprabhā was inspired merely by her fair form, which is sung in such flowery
measures in that love-song carved in stone? Did he not prove his sincerity when,
“to establish a firm friendship between her and the Mountain-born goddess” he
built a temple to the moon-crowned Śiva?

In the half-obiterated lines of the Mūl-Kīhār stone we still read of the tears
shed by the chieftain of that place and his children, when “hostile Fate separated
her—his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all man-
kind—from her husband, even as the passing of the pārvaṇa separates the Moon-sickle
from the hot-rayed Sun.”

The no less sadly damaged eulogy of Dēvī Kūthi speaks of yet another love: a
noble lady, who, at her husband’s death ready to follow him on the pyre, was kept
back by her two sons, and who “henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts
she reduced her body to meagreness, brought up her sons and increased her charity,
her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kṛṣṇa. And conceiving at every
step the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of
waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, she caused a cistern to be
made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.” I know of no Indian inscriptions in
which true human sentiment finds so eloquent an expression as in these two—alas!
irreparably mutilated famous slabs. Nor would it be easy to point to another
group of epigraphical records in which the feminine element is so prominent as in
those of Chambā.

The inscriptions of Chambā State throw much light on the position formerly
held by the barons of the Hills. They show that in the Highlands of the Panjāb
Rāṇās once existed in considerable number. The ruins of their strongholds are
pointed out up to the present day; and still clearer evidence of their former importance
is afforded by those huge carved slabs, frequently inscribed, which they erected
over cisterns constructed for the heavenly bliss of deceased relatives. Such inscrip-
tions usually contain the name and sometimes the pedigree of the local Rāṇā to
whose piety they are due.

Numerous are the traditions still current in Chambā regarding those Rāṇās, of
which the salient point is their spirit of independence and their mutual feuds. It is said that, when Sāhilla
swept down the Rāvī valley, he found a Rāṇā of the name of Ralha settled on the
top of Baunu Hill overlooking the site which he had selected for his new capital.
The Rāṇā, when called into the presence of the Rājā, humbly tendered his submission;
but as soon as he had returned to his castle, he assumed an attitude of defiance.
It was then found out that it was the influence of the soil which caused him
thus to change his mood. For when at the next darār a lump of earth from his
own ground was concealed under the carpet on which the Rāṇā was seated, his
speech became as haughty and insolent as if he were within the walls of his own castle.

Another legend is associated with the neighbouring hamlets of Bâhnoțâ and Siyâ in Lôh-Ťikrî, where two of our fountain inscriptions came to light. Each of those places, so tradition says, was once the seat of a Râňâ. The more powerful of the two used to vex his weaker neighbour, until the latter, weary of continuous humiliation, called in a third Râňâ who promised to come to his assistance in the hour of danger, as soon as he should sound his horn. It was not long until the call for help was made, but when the third Râňâ hastened to the rescue of his oppressed friend, he found that the latter had sounded the horn without any need, merely to test the trustworthiness of his new ally. It is hardly necessary to add that, when again the signal was given—this time not without cause—the suspicious weakening waited in vain for the protection of his patron and had to submit to any indignity his oppressor chose to inflict on him. The story is only an adaptation of the well-known tale of the shepherd boy and the wolf, but it shows that the ancient Râňâs still live in the memory of the mountaineers as contentious and quarrelsome fellows, fighting and oppressing each other, as long as they had no common enemy to face.

There is a widespread tradition in the Alpine Panjâb that at a remote time the Râňâs were independent and held sovereignty over their baronies, although these, in most cases, do not seem to have extended beyond a few villages. This tradition is to a certain extent supported by the negative evidence of the Svâlîn inscription (No. 12), the earliest document in which the term rājānaka occurs. It is incised on the base of a stone image of Dēvī, and records that this object was made by order of Râjânaka Bhogaţa, the son of Somaţa, born in the district of Kîskindhâ. The inscription is not dated; but, judging from the characters, it must belong to the eighth or ninth century.

The earliest Sârâdâ inscription of Chambâ, the prāsauti of Sarâha (No. 13), which may be attributed to the ninth or tenth century, appears also to be the record of a Râňâ, though he is not designated by the title of rājânaka. Neither here nor in the Svâlîn inscription is mention made of an overlord, whereas the Râňâs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries invariably date their inscriptions in the reign of the ruling Râjâ. From this circumstance we may perhaps conclude that Bhogaţa of Kîskindhâ and Sâtyaki of Sarâha were independent chieftains. This is the more probable, as they must have lived at a time previous to the founding of Chambâ. On the other hand, we find a feudal lord who was passed as early as the reign of Meru-varman whom he acknowledged as his liege-lord. In his inscription (No. 9) he calls himself sîmanota which, as we saw, is a term synonymous with rājânaka.

ANTIOQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATE.

It is indeed highly improbable that the whole of the Panjab Hills were at any time ruled by Rāṇās. "Without a lord paramount," Sir J. B. Lyall rightly observes, "and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side for any length of time. It is pretty certain, therefore, that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power." We know from literary sources that the States of Trigarta, Kulūta and Kaśmir existed and were ruled by Rājās in the earliest period of which we possess cognizance. At the same time the more remote and inaccessible valleys may have been held by more or less independent Rāṇās. The measure of their ascendency, no doubt, depended largely on the influence which neighbouring Rājās could exercise. In the Candrabhāgā valley they remained in power until comparatively recent times. The history of nearly every hill State of the Panjab tells of a struggle between the Rājā and the Rāṇās, which curiously recalls the contests of the monarchs of medieval Europe with their powerful vassals.

It is evident from our inscriptions that in the 12th century the Rāṇās of Curāh and Pānglī acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rājās of Chambā. Not only are their inscriptions dated from the year of accession of the ruling Rājā, but in the Devirikothy praśasti (No. 92) it is stated that the local Rāṇā, Nāga-pāla, received from Lalita-varman the title of rājānaka. It is clear, therefore, that in this passage there is a question of the investiture of a vassal by his overlord.

The prominent position occupied by the Rāṇās in the 11th and 12th centuries is obvious from the copper-plate grants, where we find them mentioned immediately after the Rājās and at the head of all other State officials. In the charter of Soma-varman (No. 24) two rājānaka, Rithila and Kāhila by name, figure as Prime-Minister (Skr. mahāmātya) and Great-Recordkeeper (Skr. mahākṣepapaliku). It thus appears that the rulers of Chambā, like the contemporaneous princes in Europe, sought to attach the feudal lords to their court, and from turbulent chieftains converted them into assiduous officials.

This step led to a further development. It appears from the Rajatarangini that in Kaśmir the title rājānaka came to be given to high officials as a purely honorary distinction. Thus we read that Queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003) called her favourite Nam-yahana into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of rājānaka. This practice apparently had become so common that in Kalhāna's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with "minister." This is evident from the following passage, in which the chronicler says of king Parvagupta: "Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of Rājā and Rājānaka.""
The old feudatory Rānas of the Panjāb Highlands belonged naturally to the warrior caste. On the Chambā fountain slabs we see them rudely portrayed as knights on horseback, armed with sword and shield. But the high officials on whom the honorary title of rājānaka was conferred were very often Brāhmaṇs, and thus the word has survived in Kaśmīr in the form rāzdān as a Brāhmaṇical family name. "It was borne," Dr. Stein writes, "by Rājānaka Ratnākara, the author of the Harivijaya (9th century) and by many Kaśmirian authors of note enumerated in the Vaiṣṇava-praśasti which Ānanda Rājānaka (17th century) had appended to his commentary on the Naiṣadha-carita." It may, however, he questioned whether Ratnākara bore the title rājānaka in his own time and whether, at so early a date, the use of the term was extended to Brāhmaṇical officials.

It is curious that in the later Kaśmir chronicles the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word Rānī in Kaśmīr as a Muhammadan krām name, which, as Dr. Stein observes, corresponds exactly to Rāzdān as a family name of Brāhmaṇs.

I have noted above the frequent reference to rājānakus in the Chambā inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is remarkable that in the numerous later inscriptions found in the State they are never mentioned. There is no record to show in what manner the Rānas lost their position and power. We can only surmise that those numerous and warlike vassals—not less turbulent probably than the Dāmaras of Kaśmīr—constituted a constant danger to the supreme position of the Rājā. It must, therefore, have been his policy to curtail their power, and this
end he may have attained partly by main force. But from what has been remarked above it appears that, on the whole, the policy of the Rājas was the same as that followed by the kings of France in reducing their powerful barons: the vassals were converted into courtiers. It is indeed curious how much the history of the word Rāja is analogous to that of the titles of nobility in Europe.

The word Rājā has finally become a caste-name, and is now used as such in Chambā and Kāngār. Regarding the Rājas of Kāngār, I quote the following from Mr. Barnes’ Settlement Report: “Another class of Rājpūts who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or Rāvas, whose title and tenure is said to have preceded that of the Rājas themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed in the larger principalities. Still the name of Rājā is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by the Māns. The principal families are those of Chari, Giro, Kanhiāra, Pathūr, Habrol, Sumbar, Dadwāl, and other localities. Besides these, the following races occupy a high rank: the Indauria, Malhotar, Saharia, Harehandar, Ladhānch, Patūl, Chib, Jarāl, Bhogal, and others which it would be tedious to record. All these tribes affect most of the customs of Rājpūts. They select secluded spots for their dwellings, immerse their women, are very particular with whom they marry or betroth in marriage, but have generally taken to agriculture. In this particular consists their chief distinction from the Māns.”

In Chambā the position of the ordinary Rājās is not different from that of the agricultural castes with which they intermarry. At the last Census 94 males and 84 females were returned under that caste-name. There also exist, however, in Chambā a few Rānās in the original sense of the word, who still hold the position of their ancestors, the Rājana-kas of the inscriptions. Chief among them is the Rāna of Triloknāth whose barony extends over a large portion of Chambā-Lahul. It comprises the villages of Tunde, Kisori, Hinsa, Shokoli, Maiyā, Salgaram and part of Shyor and Porthi. The tradition of his family is that they came originally from Jammū and settled at the place now known as Triloknāth, before the celebrated idol of that name was established there. One of their ancestors was called Hamir Bārdiārīm, whose deeds are sung in the local dialect. He is said to have repelled the attack of a Kukh Rāja, who tried to carry off the image of Triloknāth. Subsequently, invited to a meal by his opponent, he was treacherously murdered, after he had laid down his weapons. At the annual mēlā on the last day of Sāva (Śrāvaṇa), in which

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2 Māns, i.e., Mīnis, is the title given to the Rājputā of the Panjāb Hills. It dates apparently back to the time when the sons of hill chiefs used to stay at the Mughal Court, and was, as it seems, originally applied to them exclusively. It has gradually become a caste-name for Hill Rājputā in general. It occurs in the form Mīn on some of the copper-plate grants of Raja Balabhaddar as title of his son and heir apparent Jarāndān (No. XLVII of A.D. 1613, line 12, and No. LIV of A.D. 1619, line 11).

3 Dr. Hutchinson informs me that these are not Rāja families. Some of them as Malhotar and Bhogal (Bhogalū) are really Māns. The Jarāl are the old Rājas of Rājpur (Rajpurī) and the Cīb are Rājpūt from Chīb—the country is the outer hills between the Chāh and the Jēlām. The Rājas of Palbūr are mentioned in documents of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Chambā archives. The last of them, Sīlā Cord by name, died in the reign of Rāja Ummed Singh (1748-1764).
the worship of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Compassionate, is strangely blended with bloody sacrifices of an aboriginal type, the Rāṇā takes the leading part. Though professedly a Hindu, he acts as manager of the famous Buddhist shrine, and appoints the lama pujārī. The eldest son of the Triloknāth Rāṇā is addressed as Tikā.

Fig. 20. The Rāṇā of Ulānsā, Gurūlā and Svāl.

On the left bank of the Ravi near its junction with the Budhā there are three small baronies held by the Rāṇās of Ulānsā, Gurūlā and Svāl.1 According to local tradition, these three rankhāns were originally one fief, which was granted to the common ancestor of the present Rāṇās by Rājā Māṇ Brahamā on his return from Kuñ. The Ulānsā barony comprises 100 lāṛi or 376 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 500. The area of the two smaller jāgirs of Gurūlā and Svāl is 273 and 235 acres respectively. As the present Rāṇā of Gurūlā, Sāhib Śingh, who is an old man of 70 years of age, has no heir to succeed him, his jāgir will probably lapse on his demise. The same has already happened to the barony of Ranhum Kothī which adjoined Ulānsā on the other side and has now become a parognā. Thus we see, how even those few surviving baronies gradually disappear. As now-a-days no new Rāṇās are created, there is a likelihood that in Chambā also the ruling Rāṇās will finally merge into the agricultural population, as has already happened in the neighbouring Kangrā valley. At Sāmb(h)rā in the Ravi valley and at Margrām in Lahul there are two more Rāṇās who still hold small jāgirs.

Until recently, as in the olden days, the chief duty of these Rāṇās was to render military service in the Rājā's bodyguard. Tradition holds that a Rāṇā of

1 On the subjoined photograph (Fig. 20) Jadhibir Śingh, the young Rāṇā of Ulānsā, stands in the centre. To his left is the old Rāṇā of Gurūlā and to his right Cēt Śingh, the Rāṇā of Svāl.

Ulamsā fell at Nértī together with his liege-lord Rājā Rāj Singh (7th Ḥūr saṅvat 1850). Rājā Shyām Singh released the Rāpās from their obligation of military service and converted it into a tribute in money of Rs. 100 annually in the case of Ulamsā and Rs. 70 for Svāh. The Rājā of Gurūjā has been acquitted of any payment presumably on account of his age.

The chief privilege of the Rāpās is the freedom from forced labour (hāgār) or any kind of State service, except personal attendance on the Rājā, if he is in their neighbourhood or on special occasions in the capital. When any of the ruling Rājās dies, his heir has to come to Chambā to obtain a charter (pattā) from the Rājā, and in the case of the Trilōkāṅth Rānā, a small robe of honour (khil'at) is given. On the accession of a new Rājā, the Rānā of Trilōkāṅth comes to Chambā personally to tender his allegiance, and to present a tribute consisting of a number of Lahuli hill ponies.

Fig. 21. Rāpā family at Sāhilī (Paṅglī).

Besides those six families of feudal Rāpās, there are still at various places in the State descendants of the ancient Rāpās who are in no way distinguishable from ordinary agriculturists, except by their name. That those agricultural Rāpās are descended from the Rājāṅkas of our inscriptions cannot reasonably be doubted. It is proved by the huge fountain slab of Sāhilī in Paṅglī (No. 23) erected by Rājāṅka Ludra-pāla, as stated in the inscription. The adjoining house is still inhabited by a family of Rāpās, descendants of the founder, but now reduced to the humble state of ordinary peasants. When, some years ago, the stone was thrown down by an avalanche, the head of the family took care to re-erect it as being the embodiment of the departed glory of his house.
Other villages in which agricultural Rāṇās are known to live are Dhunlāhī, Tīśa, Gehrā (Phyur pargyed), Agyārī (Rājnagar), Loh-Tikrī, Berā, Sai, Himgrī, Ranlām Kǒthi and Kiḷār and Sāc in Pāngī. The Agyārī Rāṇā, though no longer a jāgārdar, still enjoys freedom from forced labour. It is interesting to note that both at Dhunlāhī and Tīśa fountain slabs have been found which point to the former existence of Rājānākas at those two places.

The social status of the Rāṇās, both feudal and agricultural, can best be estimated from their relation to other castes in matrimonial matters. It may be summarized as follows: The Mīān Rājputūs, especially the smaller ones, take brides from the feudal Rāṇās. The latter, in their turn, intermarry with their own kind, but take also girls in marriage from the Thākurs and the Rāthīs, who are the main agricultural caste of Chambā. The non-feudal or agricultural Rāṇās intermarry either with their caste-fellows or with the Thākurs and the Rāthīs.

Finally, I wish here to insert a note on the existence of Rāṇās in British Lahul for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke. "In the Tibetan writings," Mr. Francke says, "I have met the word only once, namely, in the Tinan Chronicle discovered by Miss J. E. Duncan in 1907. There the ancestor of the Princes of Tinan, who came from Lengsmkhar ("Iron castle") in Guge, is called "Rana Pala." Pala is certainly a hinduized form of the common Tibetan name dpal. The family obtained the title Rana either from the Raja of Kuja or from Chambā. Popular tradition asserts that at one time the Raja of Chambā ruled a considerable portion of Lahul. Perhaps the fountain-slabs of Lahul date back to that period. The tradition of Gus refers to the days when a Rana dependent on Chambā resided at that place. It is even said that there existed a copper-plate, issued by a Chambā Raja which was carried off by the Raja of Kuja (possibly Bithi or Man Singh) at the conquest of Lahul. The fountain of Gus is entirely enclosed in ancient stone slabs. There are also traditions which relate to the Rāṇās of Gus.\(^1\) Descendants of these Rāṇās live at Gus up to the present day, where they form a "father-and-brother-(pha-span)hood," which perhaps corresponds to the castes in India."

It is curious that on a temple flag from Ladak, now in the Lahore Museum, we find the central figure—a three-headed, six-armed, green-coloured deity of terrific appearance—marked by an inscription as Rānā Herug. He is a Tantric deity, about whom little is known. On the picture he is surrounded by eight animal-headed witches which are labelled: Lho-tha-gre ("the southern Eagle"), Zla-ba ("Moon"), Zhi-ba ("Peace"), Lho-rdo-r-phag ("the southern She-boar of the Thunderbolt"), Lha-chen ("Great-God"), Spao-khu-bran ("Wolf-dog"), Sgo-sru ("Door-keeper") and Nor-sru ("Keeper of riches")

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\(^1\) Cf. Francke, *Historische und mythologische Erinnerungen der Lahouler* (blue-print in 40 copies). Nos. 11 and 12.

I now wish to consider what information can be derived from our records regarding the State officials of ancient Chambā. In three of the copper-plates published in the present volume (Nos. 15, 25 and 26) we meet with a passage in which the donor addresses his officers, who are enumerated in a list of considerable length. The lists in Nos. 25 (ll. 13-15) and 26 (ll. 7-10) are identical, except for some slight difference in the order of the names. No. 23 adds rājasthāniya which perhaps has been left out from No. 25 by a clerical error. No. 25 has twenty-two and No. 26 twenty-three titles including the names of the four castes brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaśya and śādra, which in No. 25 are found after rājamahāya and in No. 26 at the end of the list. It should be noticed that I have taken parikara-sannītyakta-viniyuktaka as the designation of one class of officials, though possibly the compound contains two or three different names. The list of Vidiagadhā's title-deed (ll. 6-9) omits the four castes, but has seventeen additional titles, making a total of thirty-six. Instead of parikara-sannītyakta-viniyuktaka we find simply viniyuktaka, from which it may perhaps be inferred that in reality by the former expression one class of officials is indicated.

Lists of officials like the present occur in inscriptions from different parts of India. A few instances are found in the epigraphical records of the Gupta period. One of the earliest examples is the Kāvi copper-plate grant (l. 8) of the Gurjara king, Jaya-bhata, who lived in the beginning of the 5th century. It contains only the following five titles: rājan, sāmanta, bhoga, viśaya-pati and rāstrā-grīma-mahâtare, which terms Bühler renders: king, feudal chief, governor of a province, governor of a sīla and chief of a tala and a village. Another instance is the Bihār pillar inscription (ll. 27-30) of Skanda-gupta (A.D. 453-a. 480), in which unfortunately the passage in question is very fragmentary. About a century later in date is the Māliya copper-plate (ll. 20-21) of Dharasena II and of the Gupta year 252 (A.D. 571-2), which contains a small list of only ten titles. A fuller list, partly identical with those in the Chambā copper-plates, occurs in the Deo Barānāk pillar inscription (ll. 7-10) of Jivita-gupta II who reigned in the beginning of the 8th century of our era. But here also the stone is badly damaged, so that several of the names are lost. Of special interest are the Āṇgāchī (ll. 27-31) and Bhāgālpur (ll. 39-36) copper-plates issued by Vignāha-pāla and his son Nārāyaṇa-pāla respectively, who both belonged to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and lived about A.D. 1000. Professor Kidhorn has already drawn attention to the similarity of the lists of officials in those two documents and those in the Chambā title-deeds.

It is a question of primary import whether the lists reflect the actual state of affairs in ancient Chambā, or whether the authors of the title-deeds simply copied certain fixed forms in use all over India, without any reference to local circumstances. The agreement between the Chambā lists and those of the Pāla rulers of Bengal points to the latter alternative. It is, indeed, very doubtful whether all the officials enumerated in our documents actually existed in Chambā. We find among them

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the visaya-pati, the head of a visaya or district, but the term visaya, though known in Kaśmir, is not used in the Chambā records, which invariably designate a district or paragavi by the name of manḍala. The head of a paragavi, as we shall presently see, is now-a-days called ear which undoubtedly is the cāha of the copper-plates. In Vidagdhā's plate we also find mention of "those concerned with elephants, horses, camels and the forces" (hastyaśrotra-bhala-eyōptaka). The purport of this expression will be discussed subsequently. Here I wish only to point out that a "superintendent of camels" would have an extremely easy task in Chambā, considering that such animals are unknown there. "Ces Montagnes," says Bernier1 with regard to Kaśmir, "sont trop rudes et trop fâcheuses pour leurs longues etroides jambes; il faut que les Prêtres-faix suppléent aux Chemeaux." This remark holds equally good, if applied to the mountains of Chambā.

Although, therefore, our conclusion must be that these lists cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chambā, we may safely assume that they are based on actual conditions in India generally during the 10th and 11th centuries. On that account they do not lose in interest. Unfortunately the individual functions of the officials named are by no means clear, as will be seen from the following detailed discussion. I shall follow the order of the titles as found in Vidagdhā's grant, as it is the earliest and fullest of the three.

All three grants, like the Bhāgalpur plate, start with the names rājā, rājānaka, rājaputra and rājanaśya. In No. 25 the two last-mentioned terms are reversed. There can be little doubt that among the vassals of the rulers of Chambā there were none who could rightly claim the title rājā. The title rājadhirāja, literally "king of kings," which they adopt themselves in their charters, is indiscriminately used by any independent chief. The Muhammadan historians usually designate the chiefs of the Panjāb hill states by the name zamindar. The title of rājā was conferred on them by the Mughal emperors as a personal distinction. Thus we read in the Bādshāh Namāh that Prthvī Candra (or Siṅgh) of Chambā received the title of rājā from Shāh Jahān in December 1641.

The term rājānaka has been discussed in the previous section. It is the title by which the vassals of the Rājās of Chambā designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern rāgā. It will be noticed that rājānaka as well as the following rājaputra is a title of nobility or a class-name and not the designation of an official. But the fact that the members of those noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list. It is interesting that in the Kāvi copper-plate quoted above the word rājā is immediately followed by sānanda which is synonymous with rājānaka.

As to the word rājaputra, literally "a king's son, a prince," Dr. Fleet2 is of opinion that in such passages as the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces Marāṭhā rāunt or rāūnt, and Gujerāti rāuet "a horse soldier, a trooper" which he derives from Skr.

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rājaputra and believes to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with rājānaka and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is, however, possible that from its original sense of "the son or near relative of a rājā" it had already like the modern rājpāt, come to be used of the nobility in general.

The word rājāmātya means "a minister or councillor (anātya) attached to the rājā," the second member of the compound being synonymous with sacina and mantrī (from mantra "counsel, advice") which has become the Chinese mandarin. One of the two officials mentioned by name at the end of Soma-varman's plate (No. 24) has the designation of mahāmātya which we may render by "prime minister" or "chief councillor." His office, no doubt, corresponds with that of the wazir of the Muhammadan period.

In Vidagdha's grant the word rājāmātya is followed by rājasihāniya. It is also found in No. 26, but here the four caste-names have rather inappropriately been inserted between the two.

The term rājāstāhāniya is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, but they give no clue to the exact meaning of the word. It occurs also in the list of officials in the Bhāgalpur grant. We know from the Rājatarangini that an office of the name of rājāsthāna or rājāsthanādhikāra existed in Kaśmir. It was held by Alaṃkāra, the brother of the poet Ma'ākha, in the reign of Jaya-simha. Dr. Stein remarks that it was connected with the administration of justice and that we may assume that its holder discharged duties equivalent to those of Chief Justice. After rājāstāhāniya the list in Vidagdha's title-deed contains nine terms not found in the two other plates. The first is pramāṭar which apparently does not occur in the Gupta inscriptions edited by Dr. Fleet or in the charters of the Pāla kings. But at the end of the Valabhi copper-plates of Dhruva-sena III (I. 49) of the Gupta year 334 (A.D. 658-9) we find a pramāṭar Śrī-Nāga mentioned as the dātā of the grant. We know also that an official of that name existed in Kaśmir, for Rāma, the poet of the Bhaiṇaṭh eulogies (II. vs. 37), mentions that his father, Bhrīgaka, was a pramāṭar of the king of that country. These references do not help us to decide on the nature of his office. Here Śrīvara comes to our assistance. The chronicler, after relating how Sūljan Zainu-l-šāhidin banished his eldest son Ādam Khān and favoured the younger one, remarks:

चय्यातुत्तमो राजसिन्धो: स्वरूप:।
विपर्ययं अधानेष: प्रमालेष्व विभाषिनि:॥

1 Gupta Inscr. pp. 157, n. 1, 170 and 218.
2 The Bhāgalpur plate has rājāsthānya-purika and the Angiśhi plate rājāstāhāniya-purika.
6 Śrīvara, Rājat. I 70.
"Fate reversed the natural order of the eldest and younger son of the king, like a pramätrar [would do] with two persons having share in an inheritance."

From this passage it is plain that the pramätrar is an officer entrusted with the administration of justice. This agrees with the meaning of the word in literature ("a person fit to perceive or judge" from root mä-) and accounts for its place in the list immediately after räjasthäninya.

Sarobhauga.

The next term sarobhauga I cannot explain. It does not seem to occur either in inscriptions or literature.

The office of kumäramätya is well known from the Gupta inscriptions. Where-as the word räjämätya, as noticed above, means "councillor of the king," the term kumäramätya may be rendered by "councillor of the crown prince." It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas there existed, side by side with the State-council, a special council to advise the heir-apparent who usually took part in the State affairs as co-regent (Skr. Yuvaraja). The office of kumäramätya appears to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch. Its earliest mention I find in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription (I. 32) of Samudra-gupta, in which the title, combined with that of sändhevigrahika ("minister of foreign affairs") and mahädagavamäyaka ("prefect of police"), is borne by Hari-sena, the author of the praśasti. It is also found in the lists of officials in the Mālyā copper-plate and on the Dēo-Baranārik pillar, referred to above.

Among the inscribed clay sealings of the early Gupta period discovered by Dr. Bloch at Basārī, the site of ancient Vaiśāli, there are several which contain the title kumäramätya. The fullest legend runs: Śri-Yuvaraja-bhāṭṭāraka-padiya-kumäramätya-ādhikaranasya which I propose to translate: "[Seal] of the Court (or Office) of the Prince's Councillor(s) [attached] to His Highness, the illustrious the lord Heir-Apparent." I may also note an inscribed stone linga, which came to light at Kurnambāṇja in the Faizābād district of the United Provinces in 1908 and is now placed in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription, which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A.D. 436), mentions a Pṛthivi-sena who was maṇtri and kumäramätya and afterwards general (mahäbulādhiśa) under Kumāra-gupta I. As his father Śikharā-svāmin is stated to have been maṇtri and kumäramätya under Candra-gupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary.

The term uparika is also frequently met with in the epigraphs of the Gupta period, but there is nothing to indicate its meaning. In the Bihār pillar inscription it stands immediately before kumäramätya, so that perhaps we may assume some connection between the two offices. Among the Basārī sealings is one with the following legend Tirabhūktya- uparika-ādhikaranasya "[Seal] of the Court (or Office) of the Uparika(s) of Tirabhūkti (i.e. Tirhut)." In the Bhāgalpur grant the word uparika follows räjasthäninya.

1 Gupta Inscri. pp. 10 and 16.
The next word viṣayapati, as already noted, means "head of a district (viṣaya)" and occurs on the Kāvi copper-plate. It is also found in the Indor copper-plate grant (J. 4) of Skanda-gupta, dated in the Gupta year 146 (A.D. 465-6). Among the inscriptions discovered by Mr. F. O. Oertel at Sārnāth in 1904-5 there is one in Gupta characters of the 5th century, recording the donation of a Buddhist image by a viṣayapati of the name of Suyātra. We have remarked above, that, as the term viṣaya is not met with in the inscriptions of Chambā, there is good reason to doubt whether the office of viṣayapati was known in that State.

In the two grants of the Pāla kings referred to we find viṣayapati followed by grāmapati "head of a village" and in the Kāvi inscription by rāṣṭra-grāma-mahātara "chief of a taluqa and village" according to Bühler's rendering. In Vidagdha's copper-plate the word next to viṣayapati is nihelapati which is unknown in Sanskrit literature. On the analogy of the above-mentioned documents we may perhaps assume that a nihela is a subdivision of a viṣaya and a nihelapati the officer in charge of such a subdivision. I have little doubt that this term is identical with nihilepati, found in the Nirmānd copper-plate as the designation of the dāta of the grant. As the word apparently does not occur anywhere else, it seems that the office it denotes was peculiar to the Panjab Hills.

It may seem strange to find among Vidagdha's officials the kṣatrapa or satrap.

But we may safely assume that this word is due to a clerical error and has to be read kṣetrāpa. This, at least, is the form found in both the Ängāčī and Bhūgalpur grants where it stands between ganimika and prānapāla. The literal meaning of kṣetrāpa is "protector of the fields." The analogous French term garde-champêtre would suggest a police officer.

In our Chambā copper-plate also the word kṣetrāpa, or rather kṣetrāpa, is immediately followed by prānapāla. Neither of the two terms occurs, as far as I know, in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The etymological meaning of the latter term would be "a frontier guard"—the word prāna being used in the sense of "a limit"—but it is impossible to decide whether the proposed rendering is applicable to our documents.

The compound kṣatryaśvastabala-vyāptaka which, as noted above, means "those occupied with elephants, horses, camels, and the forces" may, at first sight, seem a strange element in a list of State dignitaries. To understand the expression, it should be remembered that the army of ancient India comprised four arms—elephant-riders, horsemen, war-chariots and foot—and on that account was indicated as caturāṇya "four-membered." It is well-known that the game of chess—in reality a war game—

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1 Gupta Insocr. pp. 70 f.
3 Gupta Insocr. pp. 280 and 291.
originally reflected that state of things and has preserved in India the ancient name *calvaragya* in its Persianized form *shatragy* (Arabic *shatragy*). The chariots, which play such an important part in the Indian epics, fell into disuse, apparently before A.D. 600, as they formed no part of Harsha's army. It would seem that, to keep up the ancient tradition of a "four-membered" army, the "war-chariots" were replaced by a camel-corp. This much is certain that in the game of chess, as it is now known in India, the chariot has been replaced by the camel. I have little doubt that this change is based on the actual development of the old Indian army. If so, it is evident that the compound *hastiyαvya* is synonymous with *calvaragya* "the four-membered army" in its later form, and that "the persons concerned with elephants, horses, camels and the forces" are "officers connected with the four arms of the army" or in general "all military officers."

It is interesting to note that the expression *hastiyαvya* may safely be restored in line 10 of the Deo Baranárik pillar inscription, where Dr. Fleet reads... *ka... yogi* (?) *calvaragya.* For it will be noticed that the following compound, which is also mutilated, is undoubtedly *kikara-vya* *-gomal* *bajαhik* *kit* *hik* *kaya* which in the Ángācī and Bhágalpur grants stands immediately after the first mentioned compound. As the Deo Baranárik inscription belongs to the beginning of the 5th century, there is reason to suppose that the introduction of a corps of camel-riders in the Indian army took place in the 7th century, if not earlier.

We have just seen that the two plates of the Pâla kings also contain the expression under discussion in their lists of officials. But it deserves notice that here the word *nav* (ship) is introduced between *ydra* (camel) and *baila* (infantry). For an explanation we have to turn again to the history of chess. In a treatise on this game in Raghunandana's *Tilhitattata* we find the word "ship" (Skr. *vanka*) used as the name of the corner-piece—our "castle." It is very curious that in Chambá the castle is still indicated by the name *nav*, though few of the inhabitants have ever seen a ship. In the Russian game also the castle is called "ship" (lodicja). It would, therefore, seem that in certain parts of India the ship, or rather the navy, was adopted as the fourth arm of the army as a substitute for the abolished chariot. We may assume that the choice between camel and ship depended on the geographical position of the country. In the expression used in the Ángācī and Bhágalpur grants we find both introduced. Here the meaning evidently is "officers connected with the army and navy."

The next nine terms are identical in our three lists. The first three *dāta*, *gumagumika* and *abhitraramāna* seem all to have the same meaning—that of "messenger." The Bhágalpur grant introduces a fourth synonymous word *prawana* evidently derived from *pravata* "mission." In the Deo Baranárik inscription, on the contrary, we find *dāta* alone—the only one among these four terms which is found in Sanskrit

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2. The Hindi name of the castle is *Bag* (derived from Skr. *sphra*), but in Urdu the term *rudd* is used.
literature. The exact meaning of this and the other three terms in our lists of officials is by no means clear. In the “Trial” described in the ninth act of the old Indian play “The Little Clay Cart,” the Court of Justice is compared with an ocean,

“Whose waters are the king’s advisers, deep
In thought; as waves and shells it seems to keep
The attorneys; and as sharks and crocodiles
It has its spies that stand in waiting files;
Its elephants and horses represent
The cruel ocean-fish on murder bent;
As if with herons of the sea, it shines
With screaming pettifoggers’ numerous lines;
While in the guise of serpents, scribes are creeping
Upon its statecraft-trodden shore: the court
The likeness of an ocean still is keeping,
To which all harmful- cruel beasts resort.”

Here the translator, Dr. Ryder, renders dūta by “attorney”—I do not know on what authority. The meaning which would seem most natural in connection with a law-court would be “a beadle.” But it is curious that in the passage referred to the beadle is called sodhanaka “cleaner,” because his duty was to keep the court-room clean.

It is well-known that in connection with grants of land the word dūta or dūtaka indicates the official who carries out the king’s orders—his agent or delegate. Dr. Fleet 2 remarks that “the Dūtaka’s office was to carry not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king’s sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered.” As the person or persons mentioned as dūta at the end of the grant usually are indicated as the incumbents of some high office—e.g. that of mahāksapatekha or mahāmātya—it would seem that their function as dūta was only incidental. It follows that this word, when indicating a certain office-holder—as apparently it does in our lists—must have a different meaning. All we can say is that the dūta was one of the seven state officials, who, according to Kalhaṇa,3 had existed in Kāśmir up to the time of Jalauka.

As the terms gamogamika and abhitvaraśaya occur merely in the lists of officials discussed here, we can only state that the etymological meaning of these words would be “one who goes (gam-) and comes (ā-gam-)” and “one who hurries (tear-).”

Khaṣa and Kulika are tribal names. In the two Pāla grants we find them mentioned together with the Gaṇḍa, Mālava, Ḫaṇa, Kāraṇa, and Lāṭa—all non-Aryan tribes. The Khaṣas—the Khakhas of modern times—are referred to in the Bhāratamālī among the peoples of the north-eastern region in combination with the Kāśmiras, Abhīsāras, Dārvās, Kīras, Kūlūtas and Kauḷīndras.4 That the Khaṣas are rightly classed with these tribes of the Western Himālaya, is evident from the Rājatarangini.

1 The Little Clay Cart (Mṛcchakatikā) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1866, p. 190.
2 Gauḍa Jātika, p. 106 n. 8.
in which they play an important part. "The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining Kaśmir," Dr. Stein remarks, "can be traced quite clearly from the notices of the Rājatarangīni. In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by Khaṇsas. Their settlement extended, as shown by numerous passages of the chronicle, in a wide semicircle, from Kaśtavār in the south-east to the Vitāstā Valley in the west. The hill-states of Rājapuri and Lohara were held by Khaṇsas families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kaśmir in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khaṇsas are identical with the present Khakhas tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitāstā Valley below Kaśmir, and in the neighbouring hills, belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen."

Regarding the Kulikas we are not so well informed. The word kulika as a generic name means "kinsman" (from kula) and is also assigned the sense of "head of a guild." It occurs in the legends on some of the clay sealings (Nos. 5, 28, and 29) found at Bāsīr by Dr. Bloch who renders it by "merchant." I have little doubt, however, that in the documents under discussion it is, like Khaṇ, the name of a tribe. It would seem that Kulait, ancient Kulikagotra, in the upper Rāvi Valley received its name from a settlement (goṇa) of Kulikas.

The mention of those tribes in a list of State officials may be explained from the part which the Khaṇsas played in the history of Kaśmir. We read in the Rājatarangīni of Tunga, the Khaṇsas, who, through the favour of Queen Didda, rose from being employed as letter-carrier (lekhaṭhakana) to the rank of prime minister. The same man led an unsuccessful expedition against Mahomed of Ghazni in support of Trilochana-pāla, the Shāhi king of Gandhāra. From the part played by the Khaṇsas in the civil wars of Kaśmir, we may assume that their chiefs were employed as captains of mercenaries, and this would explain why they rank among the State officials in our title-deeds. Their position may be compared to that of the Scots and Swiss at the court of the Bourbons.

The two terms soukika and gaunmika are also found combined on the Bihār pillar inscription and in the Āṅgāchi and Bhāgalpur copper-plate grants. Dr. Fleet proposes the conjectural rendering "Superintendent of tolls or customs (sulka)" and "Superintendent of woods and forests (gulma)." Evidently the words are vṛddhi derivations from sulka and gulma; but it should be noticed that the latter word occurs also in the sense of "a patrol." It is, therefore, possible that by gaunmika a military or police officer is meant. The words soukika and gaunmika are unknown in Sanskrit literature.

The next word appears as khagdaraka in plates Nos. 15 and 26, but has the form khadgaraṣa in No. 25. We are tempted to consider the latter as the correct form and to regard khagdaraka as a corruption under vernacular influence. There can be little doubt that Hindi khāṇḍā "a straight, double-edged sword" is derived from the Sanskrit khadya. It

1 Rājāst. (transl. Stein) Vol. II, p. 430. Bhuspati mentions that the "levirate" (nigoda) was practised among the Khaṇsas; cf. Jolly, Recht und Sitte, p. 71.
should, however, be noticed that in the Bhagalpur grant also the form *khodvaraka* occurs, whereas the Amgahi plate has *angarsaka*. The word does not seem to occur in the Gupta inscriptions or in literature. The etymological meaning, supposing *khodgarṣaṇa* to be the correct form, would be "sword-guard."

The word *tārapati* (or *tārapatiḥ*) too is of uncertain meaning. It seems to correspond with *tārika* which in the two Pāla grants comes immediately after *visayapati* and *prānapati*. In Sanskrit literature the word *tārika* means "ferry-man" (from *tārī* "boat, ship" root *tārī*, to cross). The term *tārapati* which is not found in literature might be taken in the same sense, as *tāra* means "crossing, passage, ferry" (but also "freight"). But it is not very clear how a ferry-man could be expected to interfere with the rights and privileges of the owner of rent-free land. Besides, in Chambā territory ferries are practically non-existent, the only one being that which Forster used on the 10th April 1788, when he crossed the Ravi to reach Basohli. One of the Basūr clay sealings (No. 16) has the legend *Mahāpratihāra-tārapati-Vihaṇa-saura*, Dr. Bloch may be right in suggesting the identity of *tārapatya* and *tārika*, but the meaning of both words remains unexplained.

We meet next with two expressions which occur only in Vīdagha’s grant, and as far as I know, are *hāpay-eirēmēna*. We have, therefore, to rely entirely on etymological evidence. There can be no doubt, that *chatra-vaisthāyika* is derived from *chatra-chāyā* "shade of a parasol." The literal translation of the word would consequently be "parasol-shadower" and we may safely assume that it is synonymous with such words as *chatragrāhin*, *chatradhāra*, *chatradhārin* and *chatrapati* meaning "parasol-bearer." It is well known that in the East the parasol is one of the emblems of royalty. In Indian sculpture a royal personage is usually recognizable from the parasol held over his head by an attendant, whilst figures of deities and saints also are very often portrayed with that symbol of sovereignty. The *chatra-vaisthāyika* or "parasol-bearer" is, therefore, a personal attendant on the Rājā.

The same is, I believe, the case with the *veṣakāla*. This word, which is only found here, I propose to derive from Sanskrit *veṣikā*, a diminutive of *veṣā*, meaning "a little ball," but used as an abbreviation of *tāmbūla-vaṣikā* in the sense of "a preparation of the areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant." The form *veṣakāla* is, of course, irregular, but it should be remembered that the word is not Sanskrit, but apparently a sanskritized Prakrit or *bhāṣā* term. In any case, I have little doubt that it may be taken as a synonym of *tāmbūla-deṇ, deya-ko, deya, dhara, vaḥaka*, etc. The "betel-carrier" was a satellite of the Rājā not less indispensable than the "parasol-carrier." *Kalpa-dhāra* relates a story about Jayāpiṇa who, when wandering in *Punjab* to *Bengal* in disguise, was recognised as a king from the circumstance that out of habit his hand reached from time to time to the back of his

1. In a MS. history of the Rājā of Jammu in the vernacular it is said of Rājā Dīv Kṛṣṇa that he was the king of the parasol.
2. *Rājasthāna*, VIII, 330, where it is related, how after the murder of King Udaya his body was cremated by his "parasol-holders."
shoulder as if to receive betel from an attendant standing behind him. That the office of "betel-carrier" was not an unimportant one we may conclude from the fable of "The Blue Jackal" in the Pañcatantra, where we read that the upstart jackal king "gave the lion the rank of a minister, the tiger the guardianship of the bedroom, the leopard the office of the betel (tāmbūṭāḥ-bhikāra) and the wolf the post of doorkeeper." This passage makes it clear why the vēlokāya is mentioned among the office-bearers of the State.

The term vīrajātrika (No. 25) or viyātrikā (Nos. 15 and 26), according to Professor Kielhorn, is not mentioned in any other grant.

Vīrajātrikā.

We can only say that the first mentioned form appears to be the correct one, the change from pā into jā in the second being due to vernacular influence (Sanskrit yātra = Hindi jātra). Etymologically we may interpret the word as meaning "a person belonging to a military expedition."

The caurodāharāyikā of the three Chambā plates is also mentioned in the lists on the Déo Barānārk pillar and the two copper-plates of the Pāla kings. The literal meaning, as Dr. Fleet observes, is "one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves," from which it may be inferred to be a technical title of a certain class of police-officers. Professor Jolly considers the word as synonymous with cauroddhārā and cauvarāpana mentioned in the law-books. I may add that the prosecution of thieves (cauroddharāya) is sometimes mentioned as a special privilege conferred on the grantee, e.g., in the Bhāgalpur grant (l. 42). It corresponds to the infamy of Old English law. In case this right is excluded from the donation, we find it especially stipulated for by such expressions as cauḍadhāracārya, cauḍohakācārya, or simply cauḍacārya.

The two terms dāṇḍika and dāṇḍaprāśika also relate to criminal justice. The rod (dāṇḍa) is the symbol of judicial power and punishment and is, therefore, used to indicate punishment in general. As in ancient India a fine was the most common form of punishment, we find in the vernacular the word dāṇḍa exclusively used in that sense. The term dāṇḍika or dāṇḍika and its synonyms dāṇḍin and dāṇḍapāni occur in literature in the sense of a police officer.

The Déo-Barānārk pillar inscription and the two copper-plates of the Pāla kings have dāṇḍika and dāṇḍaprāśika immediately after caurodāharāyikā. The term dāṇḍapāśika is derived from dāṇḍa and pāśa, the latter word meaning "a sling or snare." The compound dāṇḍa-pāśa may, therefore, be rendered by "rod-and-rope" the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement. From this it is evident that the dāṇḍapāśika, originally at least, was an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals. In the Chambā copper-plates, we find a slightly different form, namely dāṇḍovāśika. I feel inclined to ascribe this.

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2 Recht und Sitt. p. 124.
3 Ibid. p. 129.
4 Among the Déo clay seals there are two (Nos. 14 and 15) with the legend [Dāṇḍa]pāśikābhikarāmya which I propose to translate "[Seal] of the Chief of criminal law." Dr. Eelck's rendering is "[Seal] of the Chief of Police." Another seal (No. 17) has the legend Maṅgāṇadhārṣayaśa-bhikṣāmya "[Seal] of the Judge Anu-gupta."
form to vernacular influence, instances of which we have already had occasion to notice in khedavaka and virajatrika. It is curious, however, that, whereas the words dāndapāsaka and dāndapāśika have the meaning "police officer," the Petersburg Dictionary ascribes to dāndavāsin that of "village elder" and to dāndavāsika that of "doorkeeper." Here I wish only to mention that the last-named form occurs in the Sālhi fountain inscription (No. 23, l. 2) as the designation of a district officer in Pāngi.

The last seven names of the list, with the exception of viniyukta or, are peculiar to Vīdāgaha's charter. The term bhogapati occurs in literature in the sense of "a governor of a town or province," the first member of the compound being a territorial term apparently synonymous with bhakti. The latter word is found in proper names like Tirabhukti (Tirhuta) and Jejakabhuski (Bundelkhand). Which meaning the term bhogapati has in our copper-plate and whether an official of that title existed in Chambā at all, I am unable to decide.

After bhogapati comes viniyukta. This word occurs also in the two other Chambā grants, but here we find it placed towards the beginning of the list and preceded by parikara- sānnyukta. The word parikara does not appear to be the designation of an official. At least, I have not found it used in that sense in inscriptions; and in literature it always figures as a collective noun meaning "followers, servants." I therefore take parikara-sānnyukta-viniyukta to be one expression, in which sānnyukta and viniyukta seem to indicate some contrast. It deserves notice that in the Māliyā copper-plate and in the Aṃgāchī and Bhaṭāpur grants we find viniyukta preceded by āyukta. The term āyukta-puruṣa, rendered as "officer," occurs in the Allahābād pillar inscription, while we find tāν-niyukta "his deputy" in the Alīna copper-plate (l. 76) of the Gupta year 447 (A.D. 766-7) and sānnyukta "appointed" in the Īnagah Cyrus inscription (l. 9) of Skanda-gupta. Finally I may also mention pravayukta which has been read by Dr. B. Heal on one of his Basīpī seals. There can be little doubt that all the enumerated derivatives of the past participle yukta (root yu) must be closely related in sense, but the exact meaning of each of them it is impossible to establish.

The following two words bhāgika and bhogika are also uncertain. It seems reasonable to connect them with the dvandva compound bhāgabhoga which is frequently met with in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and will also be noticed in the grant of Vīdāgaha (l. 22). Dr. E. G. E. C. F. translates it with "royalties"; a more literal rendering which I have chosen is "share and use." It should, however, be noticed that both words, bhāga and bhoga, are also employed in the Gupta inscriptions as territorial terms and that bhogika, if Bühler's interpretation is correct, occurs in the Kāvi grant as a synonym of bhogapati.

The meaning of the word cāta, on the contrary, can be established with full certainty, as it is one of the very few terms in the list which have been preserved up to the present day. And I may at once add that Chambā appears to be the only place in the whole of India in which the word cāta in its modern form cār is still extant. That an official of that
designation once existed all over the Indian continent may safely be concluded from the frequent occurrence of the term in inscriptions. In the Māliyā copper-plate (1, 20) the cāṭa and bhaṭa are mentioned after the mahattara. We find both words especially used in the expression acaṭbhaṭapraveśa (as an epithet of the word grāma) to indicate a certain privilege attached to the donation of a village or village lands. One of the earliest instances of that compound seems to be in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Hastin of the Guptā year 156 (A.D. 475-6). Variant expressions are ahaṭapraveśa, abhaṭacāṭrapraveśa and pratinnādaḥacāṭabhaṭapraveśa. Dr. Fleet also compares the expressions sangostādakṣayānām apraveśa and rājusvākānām vasatīdaṇḍoprayāñadāṇa na stah. The last mentioned expression seems to refer to "fines, i.e., forced contributions of money or supplies imposed by the king's servants, when halting at or starting from a village." Dr. Fleet adopts Bühler's interpretation of the word cāṭa in rendering it by "irregular soldiers." The constant combination of the word with bhaṭa "a soldier" seemed to lend support to that view, though in Sanskrit literature cāṭa has quite a different sense, namely, that of "a cheat, deceiver, fortune-teller."

As noticed above, the word cāṭa survives in Chambā in its modern form cār.²

2. On the subjoined photograph the man seated in the centre with an inkstand (kalasāda) stuck in his girdle is the cāṭa. The old man standing to his right and the one on the extreme left with a strike-light (calmaṭa) in his girdle are bhaṭaṇḍa and the tall man standing to the cāṭa's left is a pūhar or watchman. Of the two seated in front, the old man is an śrīn or milk-collector, and the other a drenād or tax-gatherer. All these men wear the national costume of the Goḍilī or shepherd tribe which inhabits the Bhāmar wood. Three hold the wand of office. Their pointed cap is supposed to represent Mount Kailāsa.
This is the title of the head of a paragaṇa who is responsible for the internal management of his district, for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of criminals. It belongs to the duties of the cār, in case the head of the State, his relatives or officials—and in modern times European travellers also—visit his paragaṇa, to collect load-carriers and supplies. It should be remembered that the carrying of loads on such occasions is forced labour (bēgār) paid according to a fixed rate out of which the cār receives his commission. The duties and position of the cāstra of the copper-plates were, no doubt, the same as those of the cār. This explains why it was granted as a special privilege to holders of rent-free lands that the cāstra should not enter their village. It means that the head of the district had no right to seize agriculturists dependent on the grantee for the purpose of forced labour. Nor should he be allowed to call on the grantee to furnish supplies. This is distinctly stated in Vidalādha’s grant: “And of our cāstras and bhāstras, etc., no one will be allowed to enter his (i.e. the grantee’s) house, to eat or crush his grain, sugarcane or pasture (?), whether green or ripe, nor to take roṿika (?) or cītīlā (?) or cows-milk, nor to carry off stools, benches, or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chalk, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted on him nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, servants, maid-servants, and all other people that are dependent on him.” I quote this passage in full, as it is of unusual interest in picturing to us the amount of oppression and vexation the ordinary villager who was not in possession of, or settled on, rent-free land might be expected to endure, at the hands of petty district officers. It also supplies us with a valuable commentary on the expression rājva-sena kānām vasaśīd vajreṣṭhravā pakṣidaṇḍan quoted above from the Pāithana grant of Rama-candra of Śaka-Sanvat 1193. The substitution of cātra (“parasol-bearer”) for cāstra, in the Chāmmak and Siwāni copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravara-sena II, points to the fact that to the authors of those grants the word cāstra was unknown or unintelligible.

We have seen that in the inscriptions the word cāstra is nearly always coupled with bhāstra. The latter means “soldier” but also “servant.” I presume that, when combined with cāstra, it has to be taken in the sense of “an official subordinate to the head of the paragaṇa.” The word senaka which closes the list means probably any menial servant in State employ.

In the course of our discussion we have seen that only the following officials named in Vidalādha’s list can be said with certainty to have been known in Chambā: rājā, rājānaka and rājaputra (which however in reality are titles of the head of the State, his feudatories and near relations), rājānātya (if synonymous with mukha-mātya), dvaravāśīka and cāstra. Other offices may be assumed with a high degree of probability to have been in existence in Chambā, as there is evidence of their occurrence in Kaśmir or other parts of the Western Himalaya. Such are rājasthāniya,

2 The meaning of Prakrit bēgār (i.e. bēga-bēgār) is “unpaid labour.” In the title-deeds of the Muhammadan period we find the tautological expression bēga-bēgār, or bēga-bēgār, the first member of the compound being derived from Skt. nāg, “forced labour.”
pramāta and nihelapati. If we take hastyaśastrabhalavarjalaka in the sense of “officers attached to the army,” it is evident that this element also must have been present in ancient Chambā. The chattraśeṣyika and cetakika were, of course, indispensable satellites of the Rājā’s court.

It now remains to be considered what other officials are mentioned in the Chambā documents, apart from the above discussed lists. At the end of two of our title-deeds (No. 14, i. 19; No. 26, i. 21) we find the name of an official with the designation of akṣapataśika. In two other plates (No. 24, l. 24; No. 25, l. 28) we have the same title preceded by the word mahā “great.” It seems that the mahākṣapataśika mentioned in these two plates is one and the same person, though the form of his personal name slightly differs in the two cases. It is Kāhila in No. 24 and Kāhuka in No. 25; but in support of my suggestion I may quote the Sarban well inscription in the Delhi Museum in which the names Paitūka and Paitula are applied to one and the same person.1 It is impossible to say whether the terms akṣapataśika and mahākṣapataśika denote any difference in grade. So much is certain that both words are used to designate the official who acted as the ādīta of the grant.

The akṣapataśika is the officer in charge of the akṣapataśa office. The latter name has been rendered by “Court of Justice” and “Archive,” but Dr. Stein prefers to translate it as “Accountant General’s Office” on account of a gloss in a manuscript of the Rājataṅgini which explains akṣapataśa as paṇḍitaśiṇaśiṇa. Dr. Fleet renders it as “Record Office” or “Court of Rolls” (daftar). In the Kāsmir chronicle the word is of frequent occurrence. One passage2 is of special interest, as it shows that in reality title-deeds were issued by the office in question. It is the story of the low-caste Raṅga, the favourite of king Cakra-varman. “When the king had granted the village of Helu to Raṅga as an agrahāra, and the recorder of official documents (pattopadhyāya) did not execute the document relating to the grant (dānapatiṭaka), then Raṅga proceeded to the Akṣapataśa [office] and in anger thus addressed that [official]: "You son of a slave, why do you not write: "Raṅgasa Helu dividend" ("Helu granted to Raṅga"). The idea of a grant of a village to a low-caste man was, of course, as absurd in the eyes of Kahlara as that of a title-deed composed in the vernacular.

Two of the Chambā copper-plates (Nos. 25, l. 23, and 26, l. 21) mention, after the mahākṣapataśika who acted as the ādīta of the grant, two officials, designated as karana-kāyastha, who were the writers of the document. Bühlert assumes that in this compound “karana is perhaps only a synonym of kāyastha, as the law-books mention the Kārāṇas as one of the mixed castes.” I prefer to follow Kielhorn in taking karana in the sense of “a deed, legal document.” The word kāyastha which he renders by “writer of legal documents” is synonymous with karana-kāyastha.

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2 Note at Rājaś. V. 301; cf. Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, p. 194; transl. Fleet, p. 102.
4 Indische Palaeographie, p. 94; transl. Fleet, p. 102.
The Brahmo grant of Yugâkara (No. 14) mentions only one writer who has
designation kâyastha. In No. 15 we find only the writer’s personal name.
In No. 24 the corresponding passage of the inscription is partly lost; but the syllables kâ. De[ea] . . . . are still legible. Evidently kâ. stands for kâyastha and
De[va] . . . . I propose to restore as Devapena, the Instrumental case of Devapa,
this being the name of the father of the kâyastha Śivapa mentioned in Nos. 25 and
26. If this restoration is correct, it would show that the office in question—as we
should have expected—was hereditary. In the Sâlhi fountain inscription (No. 33,
l. 3) mention is made of a Kâyastha Sekha; his knowledge of Sanskrit certainly
left a great deal to be desired.

The kâyasthas who are mentioned in inscriptions from the 8th century, are a
caste of clerks. We have seen that in the passage from “The Little Clay Cart,”
quoted above these scribes are dubbed the “snakes” (we should say “sharks”) of
the law-court. This agrees well with the part they play in the Râjatarangini where
their oppression is frequently complained of. “The Courtzan,” says Kalhana,
“the scribe (kâyastha), the clerk (dîvara) and the merchant, being [all] deceitful
by nature, are [in this respect] superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained
under a teacher’s advice.” That the modern Kâyasth or Kâyath enjoys no better
reputation may be inferred from the Persian proverb:

\[
\text{اگر قطاوین بر جال انتقل از اژان سه انس کم کری} \\
\text{یکی کبود سیم کم می‌آورد که دوادان کبدی‌خور} \\
\]

“Even if there befell a famine of men, one should not make friendship with these three; first
the Kâyath, second the Kambhâ, third the bad-natured Kashmiri.”

The influence of the kâyasthas on the development of the Indian alphabets has
been noted by Bühler. The modern form of Nâgari in use in Bihâr is called after
them Kâyathi.

I now wish to draw attention to an interesting passage in the Sâlhi fountain in-
scription (No. 33, l. 2) in which we find the names and
designations of the local officials of Pângi at that time
(A.D. 1170). They are: Śegâna Śri-Kâluka, Prâtihâra Śri-Nenuka, Dvândrośâka
Sikutaka (?) and Kosâla-satka-segâna Sirika. As the words are given in Sanskrit,
or, correctly speaking, Sanskritized forms, it is impossible to say which terms were
actually in use. We can only assume that they did not differ materially from
those used in the inscription. The document does not supply any information
regarding the functions of these officials. All we can say is that in all probability
they are mentioned in order of rank.

The chief official of Pângi at that time would, therefore, be Kâluka (probably
sanskritized Kâlu) who bears the curious title of Śegâna.

This word is not Sanskrit. According to a suggestion,
for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke, the word is perhaps a corruption
of Tibetan segamba meaning “a custom house officer or tax-collector.” If this

2 Another, perhaps more original, version of this proverb mentions the Afghân instead of the Kâyath.
interpretation is correct, it would point to the occupation of Pângi by some Tibetan power previous to Chambâ rule. Anyhow, we may assume that the functions of the segâra were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pângi, who until recent times bore the title of pālsārā. This term, which is not found in other parts of Chambâ, is the designation of the head of a perya in Manči State and is known to have existed in Kułu also, where it has been replaced by the term uēgī.

The next official Nemu (probably sanskritized Nemu) has the title of pratihâra. This term is also found in the fountain inscriptions of Saí (No. 35) and Nâl (No. 39, l. 2) as the designation of a local official.

In Sanskrit literature the word pratihâra is used in the sense of “a door-keeper or porter.” Among the five offices created by Lalitâditya of Kuśmâr the first is that of mahâpratihâra. Dr. Stein renders it by “High Chamberlain.” The same term occurs in the Alinâ copper-plate of Śilâditya VIII (l. 75) as the designation of the dâta of the grant who has also the title of mahâksapatilika, discussed above. We have already noticed it in combination with toracara on one of the Basârî clay sealings. In the list of officials in the Âmgâchi and Bhâgalpur copper-plates the mahâpratihâra is mentioned immediately after the mahâsenapati “the Commander-in-Chief.”

In the Gwallor inscription of Bhoja (l. 3) Lakṣmaṇa is called the pratihâra of Râma; on that account the rulers of Bhoja’s House who claimed descent from Lakṣmaṇa were known by that name. In the same document the word is explained by a fanciful etymology from pratihâraṇa. At first sight it may seem strange that the office of “door-keeper” was considered of such importance. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dhyâni Singh, the powerful minister of Mahârâja Ranjit Singh held the post of deorihârâ or “chief door-keeper.” Drew rightly remarks that “in a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence.”

It is clear, however, that the term, if applied to a district officer in Chambâ can mean neither “door-keeper” nor “chamberlain.” It is evidently an instance of the degradation of a high title of which India offers so many examples. We may perhaps conjecture that the pratihâra of the three fountain inscriptions held the same position as the modern likhimâhârâ who is the deputy of the cāt, keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work. I do not, of course, assume any etymological connection between the two words.

The title dandavâsika borne by the third official of the Sâli inscription has already been discussed above. Here also we shall have to assume a deterioration in meaning, at least if the word is derived from Sanskrit dandapâsika. What in the present instance the

2 Gupta Insr. pp. 189 and 190.
3 A. R. A. S., 1903-4, pp. 280 and 283.
4 Jum. no. p. 12.
functions of the *daṇḍavāsika* were, it is impossible to say. Perhaps he was
subordinate officer corresponding with the *bhaṭrāḥ* of modern Chambā.

![State Kōthī at Bakswer (ruined in the earthquake of 4th April 1806).]

The last official mentioned in the inscription bears also the title of *śegāno* and
may, therefore, have been a revenue officer. But besides, he is called *kośṭhika-satka* which probably means that he
was attached to the *kośṭhī* (Skr. *kośṭhika*). It should be remembered that each
*parghāṇā* contains a State granary (kōṭhā) in which the local officers live and in
which the revenue, collected in kind, used to be stored. In a Chambā copper-
plate (No. 25, 1 21) mention is made of such a granary (*kośṭhāgāṇa*) at Bhadravarmā, modern Bhadram, not far from the capital. This explains why in Kūḷū
where once the same system of administration existed, the word *kōṭhī* is used in
the sense of *parghāṇā*. 
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Nos. 1-4.—PANALI NALÁ ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

(PLATE VI.)

These rock-inscriptions are found in the Panali Nalá not far from Guri which was once the head-quarters of a parganas of the same name, but is now included in the Lih pargana.

The letters are of a cursive type which makes it in many cases difficult to establish their value. The main interest of these inscriptions is the circumstance that they are the oldest epigraphs hitherto found in Chambá territory. On account of the character, I feel inclined to assign them to the 7th century.

The first inscription (Plate VI a) consists of two lines 2.1" and 7" long respectively. The letters in the upper line are partly uncertain. The following is a tentative reading:

मच(?)हिमयारा सुरित (?)त ने दि स(?)बच्चरा
(1. 2.) गोरदीवेन (लिखित)

The only part of the reading which appears certain is vaccharā at the end of the first line and Goradiveṇa at the beginning of the second line. The latter is probably a personal name. I presume that त has been substituted for e and that the name is in reality Goradeva. There are other instances of the substitution of त for e in the Chambá inscriptions. This points to Kaśmir influence, as the pandits of that country usually pronounce e as त in Sanskrit words. After the instrumental case Goradiveṇa we naturally expect a past participle. Perhaps we may read likitaṁ, assuming that the vowel stroke of khī has erroneously been drawn through the aksara instead of at the side of it.

The second inscription (Plate VI b) consists of a single line 1' 2" long. It contains eleven aksaras 1" to 2½" high. It will be noticed that it partly agrees with No. a. I read it tentatively:

विलक्षणानां प्रतिपत्तिः एते भ

The third inscription (Plate VI c) consists of one line, 5½" long, of only six aksaras. I read it एते संवारेः which corresponds to Sanskrit एतमिनिःसवराः “In this year.” Possibly the numeral or numerals expressing the year have become lost. The use of Prākrit in an inscription of this period is remarkable.

The fourth inscription (Plate VI d) consists also of one short line, 6" long, of six aksaras. It reads चो नम्[."

शिवाय “Adoration to Śiva.”
Nos. 5-8.—Image Inscriptions of Meru-Varman.

(Plates VII-X).

These inscriptions were first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and subsequently re-edited by me. They are engraved on the pedestals of the brass images of Lakṣaṇā Devi, Ganeśa, Nandi and Śakti Devī, of which the first three are found at Brahmoor (map Barmaor), the ancient capital of the State situated on the Budha, a tributary of the Rāvi; whilst the temple of Śakti Devī stands at Chattrīhpī (map Chitrari) about half-way between Brahmoor and Chambā town below the triple junction of the Rāvi, Budha and Tundēhā.

The four inscribed images, which were made by order of Meru-varman, exhibit a high degree of technique, rather than of artistic merit. In the Devī statues the workman, whose name, Gugga, is perpetuated in the inscriptions, has realized that conception of female beauty so frequently portrayed in Old-Indian poetry, but so alien to western taste. Even the trisula has not been omitted!

Lakṣaṇā is mentioned in the Vaināś vali (śloka 46) as Bhadrakāli and is also known by the general name of Bhagavati, the feminine of Bhagavān. Apparently she is, in the popular belief, no other than Durgā-Pārvatī, for she is portrayed in the act of slaying the Mahisāsura—the much extolled exploit of that goddess. The image proper is 3' 4", the pedestal 9" high. Her right foot is placed on the head of the buffalo-shaped demon, and with the trident held in her right hand she pierces his neck. Her left hand partly raises his body from the ground. Another right hand clasps a sword, another left hand a bell. It is of interest to note that the forked end of the trident (Skr. trisula) assumes the form of a thunderbolt (Skr. veṣṇa, Tib. rdorje). There is thus reason to suppose that this favourite weapon of Devī and of Śiva, the ancient storm-god, is nothing but a representation of the forked lightning, which in a somewhat different shape became the attribute of the thunder-god Indra. Miniature tridents of iron are presented in great numbers at Devī shrines as votive offerings, all through the western Himalayas. The bell, another favourite attribute of the goddess, by means of which she frightens her adversaries, I suppose to be a symbol of thunder.

The image of Ganeśa is 3' high, its copper pedestal 14½". Its creation by Meru-varman is duly mentioned in the Vaināś vali (śloka 46). Both the legs of the Ganeśa image are broken, but a fragment of drapery, decorated with lotus-flowers, is still preserved on the pedestal. The god wears a snake as a sacred thread and has a tiger’s or lion’s skin tied round his waist. It is fastened in a knot over his prominent belly. He is three-eyed and four-armed and holds the following attributes: a rosary in his upper right hand and one of his tusks in the other right hand, a hatchet in his upper left hand and a vessel of sweetmeats in the lower left hand.² The appearance of the

2. Durgā-pārvatī (Bombay 1871) III. 37. दुर्गा-पार्वती शाबर तस शाबरदि। दाँताभिर बक्षी श षुऽणमनामस्वात
3. Cf. Ferguson and Burgess, Cave Temples of India, Plate LXXII.
(a) Image of Sakti Devi

(b) Image of Laksana Devi

HEIGHT 4' 6"

HEIGHT 4' 1"
figure therefore closely agrees with the description given in the following dhyāna, for which I am indebted to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

"Worship ye the Lord of Gaṇas (Gaṇapati) with his diadem shining like the young moon; with the face of a lord of elephants and cheeks moist with gushing rut-juice; with a mighty snake, fastened as an ornament, and red clothes and ointment—him, minium-coloured, three-eyed and very corpulent, who in his lotus-like hands holds a tusk, a noose, an elephant hook and a boon, and who delights in the citron glittering in his broad trunk.""

The following is another dhyāna which I obtained from a local Pandit:

"May the corpulent son of Rudra (i.e., Śiva) grant you the desired fruit, he, the lord of success and intellect, who alone is quick in destroying and removing obstacles. He, elephant-faced and distinguished by an elephant’s trunk, bears in his four excellent hands [a vessel of] sweetmeats, a rosary, a hatchet and likewise a spotless tusk."

On the pedestal are a pair of lions, the ordinary symbol of a throne (Skr. simkāsana lit. lion-sent) in Indian plastic art, and in the centre a grotesque, elephant-eared figurine crouching in an indecent attitude and resting his hands on a crooked stick. Over it the inscription is placed. I have noticed a similar figurine on a stone Gaṇeśa image of the Viśveśvara temple at Bajaurā (Kuṭā). It is probably meant for one of Śiva’s Gaṇas who are often represented with animal heads, and of whom—it should be remembered—Gaṇeśa is the leader, as his name indicates. Mr. Coutens informs me that, in the Cave sculptures, one finds dwarfs and some of Śiva’s Gaṇas resting upon crooked sticks. They are often portrayed in indecent attitudes. Possibly the figure in question was originally derived from the Bodhisattva figurine commonly found on the pedestals of Buddhist statues of Gandhāra. On a brass Buddha statuette from Eatehpur (Kānḍra District), now in the Lahore Museum, the centre of the pedestal is occupied by a miniature Atlant, for which I have claimed the same origin. The Gaṇeśa figure is perhaps the most fortunate

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1 It occurs in the Taddacāra and is quoted Sādhuuṣpadma. The metre is Sṛṣṭikāra.
2 The word rīta in the second line is perhaps synonymous with eva and may refer to the "gift-bestowing attitude." (Skr. muruṣvadra), But it is strange that no mention is made of the vessel of sweetmeats, one of Gaṇeśa’s most characteristic attributes. It is interesting to note that the citron or lemon (Skr. bhūṣpana) is also an attribute of Viśveśvara the Buddhist god of wealth.
3 It is composed in the Śāhīvadakṣerita metre.
4 Nārsasāhityasaṃhitapuruṣ.
5 Perhaps ṛṇādīśa; read, to be read. Instead of धुरिः it would be better to read ḍhùrī.
of Gugga's works, and we cannot but admire the skill with which he has succeeded in imparting majesty to the grotesque features of the elephant-faced god.

The bull Nandi (locally called Nandiga), the vehicle of Śiva, stands in front of the temple dedicated to that deity under the name of Mañjunāha. "The execution," Cunningham says, "is stiff and rigid with all the features much exaggerated." The erection of the bull is mentioned in the Vaiśeṣika (Śloka 47) which asserts that Meru-varman wrote on it his royal decree. This tradition which exists up to the present day does not, unfortunately, agree with the facts. Strange to say, the Vaiśeṣika does not mention the founding of the temple itself. The bull is of considerable size, being 5' high, to which the pedestal adds 13". It should be noted that the tail, the right ear and the bell suspended from the neck of the animal are broken. It is believed that this damage was done on the occasion of a foreign invasion, but tradition fails to supply any reliable information as to the nationality of the invaders. The people agree in asserting that they were not Muhammadans. These certainly would have done the work of destruction more thoroughly. According to some, the invaders came from Yarkand. The Vaiśeṣika (Śloka 48) relates that in the reign of Laksml-varman, the grandson of Meru-varman, the Kiras invaded Chambā and killed the Rājā in battle. It seems not unlikely that the damage done to the statue as well as to the Ganeśa image may be connected with this invasion.

Śakti Devī of Chalukrāhu is more properly named Śivasakti, from which it appears that she represents the female energy of Śiva, commonly called Māheśvari (from Maheśvāra = Śiva). This explains also why a stone effigy of Śīra's bull Nandi is placed in front of the shrine. The image which is 4' 6" in height is four-armed. The chief attribute is not a trident, as one would expect, but a lance1 which is an attribute not of Śiva but of his son Kumāra or Kārttikeya. Possibly it implies an allusion to the name of the goddess, Sanskrit śakti meaning both "power" and "lance." In the other right hand she holds a full-blown lotus-flower—the general Indian symbol of beauty and grace. The two left hands grasp a bell and a snake. The meaning of the bell has been indicated above. The snake, whatever its original significance may be, is decidedly a Śaiva emblem. The goddess is standing on a conventionally treated lotus, beneath which the inscription is engraved.

The language of Meru-varman's inscriptions is Sanskrit, but of an extremely ungrammatical type. The substitution of e for o and the doubling of t before r (gotra, putra) and of y, e, i, u, and v, after that letter (durgga, arucā, kirtti, varman, pūrva) are too common in Sanskrit epigraphs to call for special notice. A more serious error is the substitution of o for au in potra and the use of forms like kārapita for kārita and karmāna for karminā. The Lakṣmi and Ganeśa inscriptions are in prose, the other two in verse, the Nandi inscription in the Vasemkatilaka metre, that on the Śakti image in what is evidently meant for the Indraśakti metre. The numerous grammatical as well as metrical mistakes occurring in the two latter epigraphs do not suggest great ability on the part of Meru-varman's poetics. They obscure the meaning to such a degree that it is

1 Cunningham calls it a scapifer. The temple attendant informed me that this lance is a modern addition. Possibly the image held originally its proper emblem—the trident (Skr. trīkāla).
only possible to establish the general purport of the inscriptions. In transcribing them, I have attempted to correct the numerous mistakes which will be obvious to any one possessing the most elementary knowledge of Sanskrit. A disregard of sandhi rules is noticeable throughout.

The inscriptions of Meru-varman are not dated. According to Cunningham, the character would be that of the ninth and tenth centuries. It should, however, be noted that the script of Meru-varman is much earlier than the Śāradā character, which must have existed as a distinct type as far back as the tenth century and was in common use in the Panjāb Hills by that time. Hence it is difficult to assign to these inscriptions a later date than the eighth century. On account of the striking resemblance of their scripts to that found on the Multai copper-plates of c. A.D. 700, I am inclined to place them rather in the beginning than at the end of that century. This conclusion well agrees with the place assigned to Meru-varman in the Chamba Vaiśākha. It should further be noticed that the sacred syllable oṃ is regularly expressed by a symbol which is derived from the sign for O, as found in inscriptions of the seventh century, but which in some cases is placed vertically. In the Laksanā legend we twice find at the end of a sentence a symbol consisting of two concentric circles, the inner one approaching a dot. In the same inscription the use of the jihvāmūliya should be noticed.

No. 5.—LAKSANĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(Plate X.)

The inscription on the image of Laksanā consists of two lines, 18 3/4" and 17 1/4" long respectively. The average size of the letters is from 2/4" to 3/4". The engraving is well executed. The epigraph records the construction of the image by the workman Gugga by order of Meru-varman, whose three immediate ancestors are enumerated, together with the mythical and the presumably historical progenitor of his race—Aditya the Sun-god and Mośūna. The main point of interest from a linguistic point of view is the word used to indicate the image. Cunningham read in the second line Devyāroccakārāpitaḥ, but the syllable which he read aṅkā can only be ḷkā. It is further evident that the preceding compound contains the word arcā which means “worship,” but which must here be taken in the sense of “object of worship.” Another instance of a similar “materialisation” of meaning is found in the word kirti meaning “glory,” but which in inscriptions is used for “an object of glory, a glorious work.” In that sense we shall presently find it in the Naudi image inscription.

The faulty form of devyāroccakā seems to be due to confusing the alternate forms devyā arcāḥ and devyarccakā. The a of the last syllable must in any case be lengthened. It should also be noted that the word arcā stands in the plural.

1 Ancient Geography, p. 141.
2 Bühler, Indian Palaeography, Table IV; col. XX.
3 Jaina p. 90; Bühler supposes it to be a conventional representation either of the dharmacakra or of the lotus. For the popular form of O see Table IV; 5, XVIII.
5 A similar mistake occurs in inscription No. 14, 1 a devyadura instead of devyadura (or devyā udara).
ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATE.

TEXT.

श्रीक भाूमूनांगो वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वीरसयम्भवपीठ-वीदिवि- करबृद्धि रुपिया (1. 2) श्रीमंतमानणा प्राचीनादित्वार्थ कारापदिति। 

corRECTED READING.

श्रीक भाूमूनांगो वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वीरसयम्भवपीठ-वीदिवि- करबृद्धि रुपिया (1. 2) श्रीमंतमानणा प्राचीनादित्वार्थ कारापदिति। अभिषेक गुणमण।

TRANSLATION.

Born from the own-house (gotra) of Mosña and from the Solar race, the great-grandson of the illustrious lord Aditya-varman, the grandson of the illustrious lord Bala-varman, the son of the illustrious lord Divikara-varman, (1. 2) the illustrious lord Meru-varman, for the increase of his spiritual merit, has caused the holy image of the goddess Lakṣṇā to be made by the workman Gugga.

No. 6.—GANEŞA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE X.)

The Ganeśa image bears an inscription in four lines of unequal length (13" to 5 ½"). The fourth line is divided into two by the head of the grotesque figurine noticed above. The size of the letters is from ¼" to ⅓". The execution is fair. The contents—it will be seen—are almost identical with those of the Lakṣṇā inscription. Instead of the word paṇḍra we find here the curious term anupotra (read anupantra) which evidently owes its origin to a wish to emphasize the distinction between paṇtra and prapenatra, the meaning being the same as that of paṇtra. The word indicating the gift was read by Cunningham devavarma(a); but varman never has the meaning of an image. The third syllable must be dā. Evidently the expression intended by the author of the inscription was deyadharma, the term commonly used in the epigraphs of the Gupta period to indicate a pious gift and regularly followed by 'yam.'

TEXT.

श्री नमः गणपतिः। श्रुतिप्रभावति वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-पारस्क-(1. 2) श्रीवाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-कल्याणा (1. 3) महाराजाचिराज श्रीमंतमानणा कारापदिति देश-धमार वं (1. 4) करापदिति गुणमण।

CORRECTED READING.

श्री नमः गणपतिः। श्रुतिप्रभावति वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-पारस्क-(1. 2) श्रीवाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-विष्णुविवाहिनी-वाणिज्यके वर्षमत्रृत-कल्याणा (1. 3) महाराजाचिराज श्रीमंतमानणा कारापदिति देश-धमार वं (1. 4) करापदिति गुणमण।

1 Cunningham took the syllable sva to be part of the proper name. I believe that it belongs to the following word gotra and has to be taken as a separate word.

2 As remarked by Dr. Flee, Ganga Tava, p. 15, footnote 8, the more correct rendering of prapenatra and paṇtra would be “son of son’s son” and “son’s son.”

3 Of. Flee, Ganga Tava, p. 23, footnote 6. The expression devadharmam for deyadharma occurs in inscription No. 9 of the present volume.
TRANSLATION.

Adoration to Ganapati. Born from the own-house of Maṣūṇa and from the Solar race, the great-grandson of the illustrious lord Aditya-varman, the grandson of the illustrious lord Bala-varman, the son of the illustrious lord Divākara-varman, the king of kings, the illustrious Meru-varman has caused this pious gift to be made by the workman Gugga.

NO. 7.—NANDI IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(Plate X.)

On the image of the bull Nandi we find two lines each 3 2ʹ long,¹ the name of the maker being added in the third line of 4 ½ʺ. The letters, the average size of which is ½ʺ, are very distinct. Unfortunately the author of the inscription has performed his task in a far less satisfactory manner than the artist. His knowledge of Sanskrit grammar was evidently very imperfect, and the whole record looks like a conglomerate of words and expressions borrowed from other votive inscriptions, but only partially understood, or altered to such an extent as to render them unintelligible. So much is certain that the inscription records that Meru-varman built a temple which, with an evident allusion at the founder’s name, is said to have equalled Mount Meru in height. In front of it he placed the bull on which the inscription is found. The second half of the first stanza which contains a description of the temple in question is very obscure, owing to the use of what seem to be technical terms denoting various members of the building.

Unfortunately it is by no means certain that the present temple is the edifice founded by Meru-varman. Its style is that of the ordinary śikara temple; whereas at this early period and in such close proximity to Kaśmir one would expect to find the style of the ancient Kaśmir temples which, as we know, was also in vogue in the plains. The façade of the Laksanā temple has the trefoil arch enclosed in a triangular pediment,² which forms such a typical feature of the Kaśmir temples. This would indicate that the Kaśmir style was known in Chambā in the days of Meru-varman, who—it should be remembered—was well-nigh contemporaneous with the great Lalitāditya, the founder of the famous temple of Mārtāṇḍā. It should also be noticed that our inscription seems to imply that Meru-varman’s temple was provided with a mauṣūla, whereas the present shrine consists only of a cella entered through a porch, to which that appellation can hardly be applied. (Cf. fig. 10.)

In ancient Hindū temples we invariably find the figures of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā on both sides of the entrance. Such for instance is the case with the temple of Mārtāṇḍ.³ In one of the Baijnāth Prahāśitas, too, it is distinctly stated that figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā were placed at the entrance. It deserves special notice that they are also found, carved in wood, on the temple of Laksanā Dēvi. In each instance the two river goddesses are distinguished by their vehicles—the crocodile (mākara) and the tortoise.

¹ The cutting reproduced in plate X has been cut into two.
² Vide A. R. A. S. for 1882-3, pl. XXIV.
³ Major Cole has misinterpreted these figures. Ancient buildings in Kashmir, Plates 14–18.
In temples of a later period we usually still find two female figures flanking the entrance to the sanctum. But their true meaning has become lost, and the characteristic vehicles of the two river-goddesses have either been omitted or changed into meaningless animals. This is the case in the temple of Mașiṣaṇāa where the crocodile and the tortoise have developed into birds, apparently geese. This is another sign of the late date of this temple. Considering that the temples of Lakṣaṇa, Śakti and Ganeśa are all built of stone and wood and decorated with woodcarvings, it seems highly probable that the Śiva temple of Meru-varman was a shrine of the same type, which at a later period was replaced by the present stone temple.

The word kārtti, as has been remarked above, is used here in the sense of "a work which renders its constructor famous." The compound Śrī-Meru-varmanacatur-udadhi-kārtti will be readily understood by comparing an expression like catur-udadhi-samāthi-kārtti which is found elsewhere in epigraphical records. At the end of the inscription the object of the donation is said to be the increase in religious merit of the founder and his parents.

TEXT.

चोट्ठ पाासाद मिश्रत्वसंग्रह हिमवन्तमुक्ति: कला स्वव-प्रव-कर्मसुखरैर्नकी: तच्छद्यावर्धितं नवगमन नाम प्राचीनवृतिविविधपुश्यन्त: कविकी: II (1. 2) तधायती इयम् प्रव-दोषयणायः संग्रह-वनक्कुलसप्तदेवायम्: कोष्ठक्वचल्लहैविविधविविधाय: संरिख्या: मातापिण्यु: सततमलपालितः II (1. 3) कर्तात् कुर्भिन्नः सुभोभः: II

CORRECTED READING.

चोट्ठ पाांसाद मिश्रत्वसंग्रह हिमवन्तमुक्ति: कला स्वव-प्रव-कर्मसुखरैर्नकी: I तच्छद्यावर्धितं नवगमन नाम प्राचीनवृतिविविधपुश्यन्त: कविकी: II (1. 2) तधायती [स्क्यार्मन] कृप्या: प्रव-दोषयणायः संग्रह-वनक्कुलसप्तदेवायम्: कोष्ठक्वचल्लहैविविधविविधाय: संरिख्या: मातापिण्यु: सततमलपालितः II (1. 3) कर्तात् कुर्भिन्नः सुभोभः: II

TRANSLATION.

After that he had himself built a temple like unto Mount Meru on the top of the Himavant through the manifold bliss of [his] good works, an upper chamber (condrakāla) delightful to the eye, was added to it with various porches (madopad) and numerous ornaments (cilstra) turned towards the east; in front of it was set this bull fat of cheeks and body, compact of breast and lump, the exalted vehicle of the god (Śiva). This is the glorious work of the illustrious Meru-varman [famous] over the four oceans, [tending] continually to increase the [spiritual] fruit of his parents and himself. Made by the workman Gugga.

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2 The rendering of the third pāda of the first stāma is problematic. For the term mahakakṣa mūna (if this is the correct reading) I cannot offer any plausible explanation. Possibly it stands for mahakakṣikā or perhaps naaṇākṣa na-ending to be naaṇākṣa. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 71. Nor is it clear what is meant by condra-kāla and prajyapati. 

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Brahmā and Chaturthy Image Inscriptions

Lakṣaṇā Image Inscription.

Gapeṣa Image Inscription.

Nandi Image Inscription.

Sakti Image Inscription.
No. 8.—SAKTI IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE X.)

The inscription on the image of Sakti Devi at Chatrâphâ consists of two lines, each 1’ 3” long. The maker’s name is mentioned in a separate line of 3” placed behind the former two. The engraving is inferior to that of the Brahmor inscriptions. The shape of the letters which measure only from 3” to ½” in the average, is indistinct and the value of several of them uncertain. The inscription, moreover, exhibits the same want of grammatical knowledge on the part of its author as that on the bull Nandi discussed above.

TEXT.

चाँ वामौ निरमणकु मुखवर्तिः विदवबौति प्रेसिन्कौति संकृमयृतं। सत्यगुणातिरास्त॥ चौमिश्रयायुनम प्रचन्तित विविधस् || (१.२) मातापियोपुरयानिसिंतं पूर्व कारिता भक्तिः॥ द्वियासवात॥ || (१.३) कृतं कामोद श्रीविनये॥

CORRECTED READING.

चाँ वामौ निरमणकु मुखवर्तिः विदवबौति प्रेसिन्कौति संकृमयृतं। सत्यगुणातिरास्त॥ चौमिश्रयायुनम प्रचन्तित विविधस् || (१.२) मातापियोपुरयानिसिंतं पूर्व कारिता भक्तिः॥ द्वियासवात॥ || (१.३) कृतं कामोद श्रीविनये॥

TRANSLATION.

There was an eminent chief of a pure race, the illustrious Deva-varman of celebrated fame. His son, charming by every virtue, [is] the illustrious Meru-varman, renowned on the earth. First, for the sake of the spiritual merit of his parents, he, out of devotion, caused the image of Sakti to be made, after having conquered [his] foes in their invincible strongholds, he who has prolonged his life by glory, fame and religious merit.

No. 9.—GUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTA AŚĀDHA-DEVA.

(PLATE XL)

Gum (map Guh) is situated on the ancient road from Chamba city to Brahmor, which follows the hill slopes along the right bank of the river Râvi. It was once the head-quarters of a pargâna of the same name which, together with the former pargâna of Belj (map Bailj), is now included in the Lîhil pargâna. The State kothâ of Gum is still extant. At some distance from it there is a Devi shrine surrounded by a considerable number of liṅgas. Tradition holds that their number once amounted to 101. On the same spot near the edge of the precipice a squared stone is found 3’ 2” long and broad, by 9” in height. Apparently it once served the purpose of a liṅga stand. On the front of this slab the inscription is cut in bold and well-defined letters which measure from ½” to 1½”. It consists of four lines varying from 15” to 18” in length.

1 As a generic name güm (९) means “a chestnut tree.”
The character is similar to that of Meru-varman's inscriptions, but in some respects it represents a more ancient type. Post-consonantic o is expressed by a stroke in front of the consonant and not by a flourish over it. In the same way the vowel-sign o consists of two strokes, one before and the other after the consonant. The akṣara m is not provided with a loop as in the Brahmo inscriptions. On the contrary, the akṣara s has a loop and the u in su is expressed by a downward continuation of the vertical stroke, as in the early Gupta inscriptions. On the whole the character resembles more that of the seventh than that of the eighth century. The syllable ar is rendered by a symbol; in the first line we meet with the sign for upadāmāṇya.

The points just-noted are the more remarkable, as the inscription refers itself to the reign of Meru-varman, and cannot, therefore, be separated by any considerable space of time from his epigraphical records. The purport of the Gupta inscription is that Aśādha-deva, a feudatory (sāṃanta) of Meru-varman, built at Śrīva-pura a temple dedicated to Śaṅkaliśa. This conclusion cannot be said to be absolutely certain, owing to the language of the inscription, which shows the same disregard of grammatical and metrical rules as we have noticed in the Brahmo and Chatriya inscriptions.

**TEXT.**

चं समयागतिकेन द्यान्त्रधिमनी वर्णालीकरणम्।

(1, 2) नामर्थिकोपजीवनः कसौललिंगपरायणम् वेदश्रेष्ठम्।

(1, 3) सामयिक चापातवत सुतिपतरवन्त्रिकीवालमन्दिराः।

(1, 4) ज्ञातः देवविशेषविश्वसिद्धेन्द्रियमय्य यदीष्ठपि द्विमची।

The inscription, as it stands, does not yield any sense. We can only attempt to discuss what its author can have meant by the curious succession of compounds it consists of. First of all it should be noted that it is composed in poetry. It consists of one stanza of four pādas in the Śravīṣṭhā metre—each pāda occupying one line of the inscription. There can be little doubt that Mosunāya-vatya (or perhaps "venśa") is intended to convey the same meaning as the expression Mosunagottānyośvaravānandaśrībhūta used in the Laksanapā and Ganesa inscriptions of Brahmo. The following compound paramaśiśvanato is clear; but it is difficult to say what is meant by kṣattramādyatiṃkṣudradoh. In any case these three compounds must belong to the name Śrī-Merovarma-deva in the second line, in which the poet has taken the liberty of changing Mero into Mero for the sake of the metre.

The second line will become intelligible if we place the word pāda (or pādo? ) immediately after Śrī-Merovarma-deva, by which the genitive devayu becomes superfluous. The word aśṛtya, which stands either for aśṛtya or for aśṛtya connects the two hemistichs syntactically. The following compound Sāṃanta-Asaḍha-deva which shows a curious ignorance of the most primitive sandhi rule, ought to stand in the instrumental case. It is to be connected with the past participle kṣido in the last line. The rest of the third line, as it stands, is unintelligible.
Perhaps it is meant for *sura-pitjanavarudvaprasaddati*. The impossible form *krtvo* in the last line is a mixture of *krito* and *krtvā*. Evidently the past participle *krtvo* is wanted, its subject being the expression [a]yān. *devadharmakaś*, immediately following it, for which, as in the Śākti image inscription, *devadharmakaś* is to be read. The last member of the next compound *Śivapuruṣadhikṣa* is not clear. The only explanation I can offer is that *madhika* (the last syllable ought to be long) stands for *madhye* or for *madhyugāvaśa*. The genitive *Śakalakṣasya* belonging to *karmyagrośa* is very strange. Can it stand for *Śakalakṣasya*? We arrive consequently at the following reading which approximately must represent what the would-be poet employed by Śamanta Aśūdha wished to express.

**CORRECTED READING.**

1. **1** 2. **3** 3. **4**

**TRANSLATION.**

The feudatory chief Aśūdha-deva resorting to the lotus-like feet of the illustrious prince Meru-varman (that scion of the house of Mruṣuṇa and Surya, and worshipper of the most exalted Śiva), has made this pious gift—a shrine of Śaṅkaliśa in the midst of Śivapura—thanks to the service [rendered] to the multitude of the gods and the ancestral spirits.

**No. 10.—TUR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.**

(Plate XII.)

The village of Tur belongs to the Basu pargana and is situated 1½ miles east of south from Basu Kothi on the road which leads by the Baleni Pass to Shālpur and Rihlu in Kāṅgrā. At a short distance beyond the shrine of Śūrṇ Nāg before entering the village, the road passes a boulder bearing carvings and inscriptions. The locality where it is found is known by the name of Tārṣrā and the stone itself is usually designated as *ikkhat pata* “the inscribed slab.” No traditions seem to be connected with it.

The centre of the slightly slanting surface is occupied by an elaborate square figure supposed to be a magic spell. Under it we find the effigies of a caparisoned elephant and two horses running, as it were, in the direction of the Pass. Over the front horse is the word Śri enclosed in a rectangle. Between this and the central figure we read: Śri-Harismetana, the meaning of which I cannot explain. Most probably it is a proper name, but the last member of the compound is puzzling. It is noteworthy that the last syllable is written under the line, evidently because the central figure came in the way. This must, therefore, have been carved before the inscription.
Over the second horse are three lines apparently without any connection with each other. The first line measures 3 1" in length and consists of eleven aksaras 3\(\frac{3}{4}\)" to 8\(\frac{3}{4}\)" high. I read it: Oṁ saṇṭiḥ Śrī-Thakkikena likhitam. "Hail! Written by the illustrious Thakkika." The syllable following Śrī is doubtful, but it is very similar to the aksara ttha found in the Sarabhaṇ prasasti (No. 13) l.7.1 I suppose that in reality the name is Thakkika and that the form Thakkika is due to a confusion of Śrī-Thakkika with Śrimat-Thakkika. The second line has only four aksaras 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)" to 4\(\frac{1}{4}\)" high, and reads: Māgarabrūḥ, which can be hardly anything else but a proper name. It is possible that the first syllable is in reality na, as in the inscriptions of Meru-varman this aksara can scarcely be distinguished from ma. The third line contains three aksaras of very large size: Śrī-Lakṣmī. The first aksara is no less than 14\(\frac{3}{4}\)" high. It is impossible to decide whether the word "Lakṣmī" here indicates the goddess of good fortune and forms part of the charm, or is to be taken as the personal name of some female. Nor can we make out who the illustrious Thakkika" was by whom these lines and presumably the accompanying figures also were engraved. It is, however, noteworthy that an inscription (No. 17) incised on the pedestal of an image found in the same village of Tur, contains the proper name, "Śrī-Thakkika." The character of this epigraph which exhibits a much later type than that of the rock-inscription precludes the possibility of the two names indicating the same person. The occurrence of the proper name "Thakkika" elsewhere supports my explanation of the ttha in the word Śrī-Thakkikena. I may add that the image inscription contains also the invocation Oṁ namo Śrī-Thakkikasāṁi-pādah, in which apparently the same orthographical mistake is made.

The later Thakkika was a local Rāṇā; possibly the older one was his ancestor, as there are instances of a name recurring in the same family. Most probably the two inscriptions are separated by a space of time of nearly three centuries. The rock inscription is written in the same character as Meru-varman's inscriptions and may be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century, whereas the younger Thakkika was a vassal of Rāṇā Vidagdha and must therefore have lived about the end of the 10th century.

No. 11.—PRÖLI-RÁ-GALĀ ROCK INSCRIPTION OF MṚTUṆJAYA-
VARMAN.—(PLATE XL)

Prōli-rā-galā is the name of a narrow mountain-passage (galā literally "neck") through which the road from Basu leads over the Kankōt range, and thence by the Kankōt Pass (the Bowar Pass of the Survey Map) over the Dhaulā Dhār to Rihū in the Kāṅga District. The locality evidently owes its name to its resemblance to a gate (prōli).2 There are no traces of buildings on the spot, but at a distance of 2 miles the ruins of a fort are said to exist. In these days the Kankōt road is but little used owing to its difficult nature. It is, therefore, the more

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1 Cf. also the ligature nēḥyā in purâpaṇkhya (No. 15, l. 17.)
2 On the meaning of this word and its connection with Sanskrit pratōli and Hindi pauli see my note J. R. A. S. for 1896, pp. 529 ff.
remarkable to find a rock-inscription here, proving the fact of its having been in existence for a thousand years at least.

The inscription which has to be reached by means of a ladder is cut on a rock at the side of the road. It consists of two lines 3' 1" and 3' 2" respectively in length. The letters vary from 1" to 2" in size and, though irregular in shape, are distinct and legible throughout, except where the stone is broken. This is unfortunately the case in the latter half of the second line, where the letters are crossed by a number of cracks which have disfigured several of them beyond recognition.

Owing to this circumstance, I have not been able to make out the exact purport of the document. It seems to record the appointment of a certain Raja-putra (whose name is illegible) to some post. This at least seems to follow from the word puraskṛtaḥ (read puraskṛtaḥ) at the end of the second line. The main interest, therefore, lies in the first line which is legible throughout and contains the name of a Raja which I read: Mṛtyunājya-varmanadeva. The use of the royal titles and of the cognomen varman renders it highly probable that the person bearing that name was one of the early rulers of Brahmor or Chambā, though his name does not occur in the Vasāvālī.

The inscription is undated, but its character bears a close resemblance to that used in the records of Vidagdha's reign. This is particularly striking in the shape of the s which has a pouch and not an angular loop as is regularly found in later Śāradā inscriptions. The s also presents a type peculiar to the 10th century. Post-consonantic e is expressed by a horizontal stroke running from the top of the aksara towards the proper right.

On the strength of palaeographical evidence we may, therefore, assign the Proli-rā-gālā inscription to the 10th century of our era. Assuming Mṛtyunājya-vārman to have been a ruler of the house of Mūsaṇa, the question arises whether he is to be placed before or after Sāhilla. In other words, was his capital Brahmor or Chambā? Geographically both alternatives are possible, as the Basu purgāna presumably belonged to the ancient Brahmor State. Two points may be noticed. From Sāhilla onwards the Vasāvālī becomes fairly reliable, whereas for the preceding period it cannot claim the same degree of historical value. It is, therefore, more likely that a name should have been left out in the earlier portion. Secondly, it is noteworthy that all documents after Sāhilla are dated, whereas those of the period previous to his reign are not. In this respect the Proli-rā-gālā inscription agrees with the earlier records. Weak though these arguments are, they perhaps justify us, in the absence of other evidence, in provisionally placing Mṛtyunājya-vārman between Meru-vārman and Sāhilla, but considerably nearer to the latter from whom he cannot have been separated by more than a century.

**TEXT.**

चन्द्रास्वामिनाथपरमेर्च-महाराजा-पीयुष्यमन्डिपकितम्

(1. 2) यथादिवर्णं यथवर्णं यथानुव्य संसरुखत?...

[खन] सन्तुरोक्तः

1. The stroke following s cannot be part of the inscription. The s stroke of kṣa is uncertain.
2. This word I cannot explain; the third aksara is perhaps ca.
Hail! The king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Mrtyunjaya-varman. By order of the king the Rājaputra has been appointed.

No. 12.—SVĀIM IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA BHOGATA.

(PLATE XIII.)

This inscription is cut on the base of a stone image of Devi Āstabhujī which is placed in the village shrine of Svāim (map Sai), a hamlet of the Himgiri pargana, 1 mile east of Himgiri Kothi. The Himgiri pargana forms part of the Curāh wazirat. The shrine, which measures nearly 11' 3" by 11' exteriorly, contains a cella or gāmbhirā of nearly 4' 4" by 4' in which the image is enshrined.

The statuette which is 3' 3" high and 1' 10" wide is carved on one side only. It represents the goddess in the act of slaying the evil demons. She is shown standing in the archer-attitude (Skr. ādirāsatā)—the favourite position of deities in their angry mood. She wears a diadem, heavy ear-pendants and various other ornaments. Her forehead is marked with the frontal eye. She is eight-armed, whence the name Āstabhujī by which she is often indicated. With two hands she clasps her formidable weapon the trident (Skr. śrīśāla) on the prongs of which struggles a demon who still raises his sword for a desperate blow at the goddess. In her remaining three right hands she holds a long sword, a thunderbolt (Skr. vajra) and a sword-shaped mace. Two left hands hold a bell (Skr. ghanā) and a bow. With her eighth hand she seizes the hair of a second demon, armed with sword and shield, who struggles in vain to escape her grip. The two demons are no doubt the Asura kings, Šumbha and Niśumbha, whose destruction is extolled as one of the greatest deeds of Devi.²

The feet of the goddess are hidden behind a miniature balustrade formed by a row of eight dwarf pillars. The two central ones support an arch under which a figurine, apparently male, is seated. It occupies the same position as Aruṇa the charioteer in images of Surya. The Buddhist goddess Vajra-varahī “the She-bear of the Thunderbolt” is also accompanied by a similar figure, which is supposed to drive her team of seven hogs. But in the present case the meaning of this attendant figure is by no means clear. It is a frequent practice in Indian art to represent, at the feet of a divine image, a miniature effigy of the donor or donors of the sculpture. But such figurines are always shown in a much more respectful pose than is the case here. Otherwise we might take it to be a portrait of Rāṇā Bhogata, the son of Somastā, who was the donor of the image.

On the front of the pedestal we see two ferocious lions devouring the body of the Buffalo demon, whose discomfiture is regarded as a no less famous exploit of Pārvati than her victory over Šumbha and Niśumbha.³ In plastic art she is usually

¹ Fouche, Iconographie bouddhique (Paris, 1900) p. 67, n. 2.
² It is sung in Chapters IX and X of the Duryāya-saptakā which forms part of the Mārkandeya-purāṇa. A reference to Pārvati’s victory over Šumbha and Niśumbha occurs in the last verse of the sixth act of the Mṛchakotikā.
³ Cf. Duryāya-saptakā, Chapters II and III.
Svāhin inscribed Devi Image.

HEIGH 5'2''

SCALE 0:22
represented in the act of piercing the Mahiṣāsura with her trident. An instance of this is the statue of Lakṣaṇa Devī at Brahmor. The presence of two lions on the base of the Śvāmī image is surprising. It is true that, according to the texts, the lion of Pārvatī took an active part in the fighting, but we read only of one lion. I presume that the second lion here is due to the fact that in Indian sculpture a throne (Skr. viṅkāśana) is invariably supported by two such animals.

The inscription consists of two lines, which measure 20 3/4" and 5 3/4" respectively. The aksaras are from 1/2" to 3/4" in length. They are clearly cut and legible throughout. The inscription is not dated but, on the strength of paleographical evidence, may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century of our era. The type of the letters with their elongated, mostly nail-headed and decoratively twisted strokes shows some similarity to that used in the inscriptions of Meru-varman. Especially the k and t with their twisted tails have an early type. Some of the letters, however, (e.g. ṣ, ṣ and ṣ) exhibit a later stage of development. It may, therefore, be better described as a transition from the ornamental script of the 7th and 8th centuries to the early Śrādā, as found in the Saraha prosaśṭ (No. 13).

The language is Sanskrit, but the number of grammatical errors is remarkable, considering the brevity of the record. In this respect also the Śvāmī inscription reminds us of the epigraphs of Meru-varman. Here also we find the prakritism kāripitāh kāripitāh. The meaning of the preceding word bhaktē is not clear. It can, of course, be connected with the immediately preceding Bhagabhati, which evidently stands for Bhagavati. But after the name of the deity represented by the image one naturally expects a word meaning “an image.” I do not see how bhaktē can be explained in this manner. For the rest, the purport of the inscription is clear, notwithstanding the corruptness of the language. A difficulty remains with regard to the last word which is the name of the donor of the image. The reading is undoubtedly Śrī-Bhogaṭēṣṭyāk. The visarga may be eliminated. In ungrammatical inscriptions like the present we often find it used at random as a kind of ornament at the end of a sentence or word. But how to explain the vowel e in the last but one syllable. I presume that the author of the inscription hesitated between the instrumental Bhogaṭēṣṭa and the genitive Bhogaṭēṣṭya and, by confusing the two, produced the impossible form Bhogaṭēṣṭya. Anyhow the word must be an a stem. Compare Somata the name of the donor’s father. Other instances of a man’s name ending in ta are Āśaṭa (Nos. 25-27), Bhogaṭa (No. 15), Jāśaṭa (Nos. 28-29), Prakaṭa (No. 17, 1. 3) and Suramhata (No. 23, 1. 10).

The Śvāmī inscription records the construction of the image of Bhagavati, i.e. Devī, on which it is found, by order of a Rāṇa Bhogaṭa, the son of Somata, born in the district of Keśkindha. It is of interest as the earliest document in which the word rājānaka “a rāṇa” occurs. The expression “born in the district of Keśkindha,” if applied to Somata,3 does not necessarily imply that his son Bhogaṭa resided

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1 Bhaktā, though a past participle, is used in an active sense.
2 I quote, moreover, the following examples from other sources: Bapata (Bṛhad. VII. 452, 572 and in Pāppatāovi 189, 1230), Bhogaṭa (Bṛhad. IV. 214), Cippata (Bṛhad. IV 676, etc.), Dhaunaja (Bṛhad. VII. 616, etc.), Hemata (Bṛhad. V. 117), Kalata (Bṛhad. V. 60, Margata (Bṛhad. VII. 589, VIII. 1030, 596, Bṛhad. VII. 589, VIII. 1050, 5176), Somata (Bṛhad. VII. 482) and Varpata (Bṛhad. VII. 80, etc.).
3 Grammatically the compound Keśkindhārājānaka(ma) can, of course, be just as well applied to Somata-putra, i.e. to Bhogaṭa.
in that country. I feel, however, inclined to assume that this was the sense which the author of the inscription wished to convey, as Bhogāṭa was probably the hereditary Rāṇā of the tract round Svaīm. If so, this must have been the district designated by the name of Keskindhā. It is impossible to say how far it extended, but, as the old baronies are said to have often corresponded with the modern pargana, we may roughly say that, in all probability, Keskindhā is the ancient name of the Hīngi pargana. The name does not seem to have survived.

In the Sarahāṇ pārāṣasti (No. 13, ll. 3-4) mention is made of "a lord of Kiskindhā," whose daughter Somaścbhā was married to Sātyaki, the son of Bhogāṭa, evidently a Rāṇā residing in the Sāṇ valley. I have little doubt that this Kiskindhikā is the same country which is called Keskindhā in the Svaīm inscription. Possibly the e in the first syllable is due merely to a clerical error. This assumption, if correct, would render it the more probable that Kiskindhā corresponds roughly with the Hīngi pargana. For it was only natural that the chief of Sāho should intermarry with the family of a neighbouring Rāṇā.

TEXT.

चौ खचिति। समयच भक्ता कारापितः। बीतिकरित्वक्रिययोगसमाधारककरणकम-धर्मसुधरा-वज्रमुक्ते॥

CORRECTED READING.

चौ खचिति। भगवती भक्ता कारापितः। बीतिकरित्वक्रिययोगसमाधारककरणकम-धर्मसुधरा-वज्रमुक्ते॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! [This image of] the revered (?) Bhagavati has been made by order of the Rāṇā, the illustrious Bhogāṭa, whose body is adorned with the full number of all virtues, the son of Somaṇa, born in the district of Kiskindhā.

No. 13.—SARAHĀṇ PĀRĀṢASTI.

(PLATE XV.)

The village of Sarahāṇ is situated on the left bank of the Sāṇ rivulet opposite Sāhō (map Sāṇ), the head-quarters of a pargana of the same name. The distance from Sāhō to Chāmbhā City is 63 miles as the crow flies, and about 8 miles by road. In the village temple of Sarahāṇ—an insignificant little building of a type common in the Panjab Hills—an inscribed stone was pointed out to me, remarkable both for its workmanship and excellent preservation. Since May 1908 the stone is preserved in the Chāmbhā State Museum and is entered in the Museum catalogue as No. A, 1. The inscription is carved on the front and the back of the slab, the inscribed sides being 22" in width and 64" in height. It consists of twenty-two lines, of which eleven, each measuring 21" in length, are found on the obverse and the

1 There can hardly be any connection between this Kiskindhā and the mythical realm of the monkey king Sugiyasa and Vālin which has given its name to the fourth canto of the Rāmāyaṇa.

2 Bhagavati is the feminine form of Bhagavān which is used to designate deities and deified saints, especially Buddha and Kṛṣṇa. The most correct rendering would be "Lord." Bhagavati, therefore, is almost equivalent to "our Lady."
remaining nine lines, each 20½” long, on the reverse, the last line being only 14½”.
The average size of the letters is 8”.

The obverse is in a perfect state of preservation. Some small pieces have flaked off along the edges, but this has hardly affected the lettering. Of the reverse the two upper corners are broken, by which the first and last two aksharas of the 12th line have become lost. The initial syllable can be nothing but ra. The two at the end of the line I have restored in accordance with a conjecture made by Pandit Nityānanda Śāstri of Śrinagar (Kasmīr). Here also I believe the restoration may be regarded as certain. For the rest, the execution is such that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the meaning of any of the characters.

The inscription, except the initial maṅgala, is composed in Sanskrit poetry and consists of twenty-two verses. The first and last, which are benedictory, are in the Aryā metre, the second and third in the Varṣatotilaka. The remaining stanzas are Ṛṣiṣṭi, except verses 18 and 19 which have a long syllable at the beginning of each pāda, and therefore belong to the Indravijā variety. It will be seen that this diversity of metre has a close connection with the nature of the contents of the poem. The verses are not numbered in the original, but simply marked by a double stroke at the end. The single stroke after the second pāda is often omitted.

The author of the inscription was evidently well acquainted with the rules of Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric, and therefore a good poet in the Indian sense of the word. The only objection we can make to his language is the frequent use of such burdensome adjectives as kāthinyaḥbhāj (l. 11), arunabhāvabhāj (l. 13), subhrahva-

bhāj (l. 14), kṛṣṇakula (l. 15) and evyakṣatā-sālin (ll. 17-18) which, after all, convey no more sense than kāthina, aruna, subhra, kṛṣṇa and evyakośa. The two blunders kāthinya-bhājōs instead of ṛbhāj (l. 11) and stīr for syāt (l. 19) are probably due to an oversight. We find also cakkras for cakras (l. 3) and Kārttikeya for Kārttikeya (l. 3). The signs for ba and va are often interchanged. For the rest, the orthography of the inscription is unobjectionable. The sign for amavā is never used as a substitute for the nasal consonants; it is exclusively found before semi-vowels and sibilants. In the same way the visarga is only used in pava; whilst before initial sibilants the final sibilant is retained with the necessary modifications. Before hard gutturals and labials we find jihvāniya and upadhināya used throughout. Finally, the following uncommon words occurring in the inscription should be noted: vimalinakara (vimalimār-akara) in l. 2 and sudhā-sāti in l. 17, both meaning “moon”; pravikasatra from vikasara “full-blown” in l. 3; and alīvaja in l. 13 with the meaning of “moon.” The use of pramodolāvase for pramodolāvase in l. 8 is hardly justified.

The inscription records the foundation of a temple dedicated to the “moon- crowned” Śiva (verse 21) by an individual called Śāyaki (v. 3) the son of Bhogaṭa (v. 2) and married to a lady named Somā prabhā (“Moonlight”) of the house of the lord of Kṣiṃcidhvā (v. 4). The greater part of the poem (vs.5-20) is devoted to the praise of this lady, whose charms are extolled in the flowery style of Indian ecstics. No more information is given regarding the donor, but we may infer from certain expressions (cījithā-cakkras v. 3; jayam prabhā sakalām v. 22); and especially

1 Cf. maṇḍāja, maṇḍāhva, maṇḍā, cēlāhva, cēlāhva, cēlāja, cēlāja, cēlā, cēlā, etc.
from the term narendra (v. 21) applied to him, and from that of Devi (v. 4), applied to his consort, that he belonged to the warrior caste. The names Bhogaja and Satyaki do not occur in the genealogical list of the Chambá Rājās; nor is there in the epigraph itself any evidence that they belonged to the illustrious house of Mūsāna. More probably they were local chieftains belonging to the class of Rānas to whom so many of our Chambă documents owe their existence. We have seen above that Kiskindha is the ancient name of the country round Himciri. It was the seat of a Rānas's family, and it was evidently a daughter of that baronial house whose beauty is sung in the Sarahan eulogy.

The temple founded by Satyaki is indicated as deva-kulān-kotānā-mukt-endulekha-ñukita-śekharasaṣṣa (v. 21), and again in the final benedictory stanza Śiva is spoken of as hinarasmiśekhara (v. 22). From this it may be conjectured that the shrine, the foundation of which the inscription records, is not the poor and unimportant village-temple of Sarahan, but the Śivāyapa of Sāhō, known by the name of Candrasekh (Skr. Candrasekhar). At first sight this building, with its high slate roof supported by white-washed pillars, presents quite a modern appearance. But on close examination it will be seen that the cella in which the tiṅga is placed is undoubtedly ancient.

**Fig. 24. Temple of Candrasekh at Sāhō.**

This cella, which measures 17' 10" outside and 12' 7" inside in both directions, is oriented east. It contains a large stone tiṅga placed on a stand, 6' 4" square at the top, which is encased in copper sheeting. The walls of the temple are plain.
The north wall is pierced by an outlet for the sacrificial water which is provided with a gargoyle in the shape of a makara head. On the south, west and north sides there is an ornamental niche in the centre of the wall. That on the south is surmounted by the figure of a monkey and contains a stone slab which represents Narasimha disembowelling Hiranyakasipu. On the east side are two niches, one on each side of the doorway.

The doorway is the most ornamental part of the temple. The doorlintel is supported by two pillars with round shafts and capitals of the pot-and-foliage type. The bracket-capitals are provided with supporting figurines. Both sides of the entrance are elaborately carved. The lower half of each doorjamb is decorated with a standing figure of Śiva, measuring 2' 3" in height (plate XIV). That to the right shows him in his angry form (Skr. kruddha), and that to the left in his benevolent mood (Skr. śanta, prasanna). The right-hand figure has three faces and six arms. With two hands he holds the ends of an elephant-headed snake swung over his head. The other two right hands hold a trident and an object which is perhaps the hilt of a sword or mace. The left hands hold the heads of two demons. The god wears a long necklace of human heads and, as sacred thread, a snake. He stands on a corpse and is attended by two miniature chowrie-carriers. The left-hand figure represents Śiva four-armed. In his right hands he holds a flower and a rosary, and in his left hands a trident and a waterpot. He is also accompanied by two chowrie-bearers. The roof and the verandah with its twelve neatly stuccoed pillars are said to have been built about A.D. 1900, after the temple had been damaged by a flood. In front of the temple is a sunk courtyard which contains a large stone slab pierced with an octagonal hole. Apparently it once belonged to the stand of a tiṅga. On the other side of this courtyard opposite the temple, stands a large stone figure of Śiva's bull Nandi, 6' 4" high, which is entirely blackened with oil. It has very elaborate trappings, in which demon-heads are introduced, and a decorative coverlet carved with a row of geese on each side and an eight-petalled lotus on the top in the manner of a saddle. The bell, suspended from the neck of the animal, is broken on the proper left side. For the rest, the statue is well preserved. A male figurine, said to represent a cowherd, hangs at its tail. Such figures I have often noticed on Nandi images in the Panjāb Hills.

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Candrasekhar temple to Sāhilla-varman. Though, in view of our inscription, this tradition must be rejected, it may be taken to afford an approximate date both for the temple and for the record of its construction. The circumstance that the inscription is undated points to its being one of the earlier epigraphs found in Chambā. Some peculiarities of the script confirm this conclusion. The na has a shape different from that found in other Śāradā inscriptions but very similar to that of the time of Meru-varman. It is also noteworthy that in pa, ma and ya the vowel-sign is attached to the consonant by means of a long horizontal stroke which does not touch the upright, in exactly the same manner as in the copper-plate grant of Vīdagha, Sāhilla's grandson. The inscription may, therefore, be assigned to the 10th century and to the time of Sāhilla or one of his immediate successors.
TEXT.

ची खसिकः

जयति तिष्व एष घ्रंङ्गोहमझया तिष्विजि-गङ्गयः।
सनसतितुगर-नीलो-नक्षित्र-निवंज-तत्वां ॥ २ ॥

अा। घ्रंङ्गोहमझया गुण-गोरित-गुण-गुण ॥ १, २ ॥
च्युङ्गे विशलकरणाराज-राज-युधः।
ची-भूमियोऽनुभूत-घुर्त-शृङ्गारण-सोौक-मर्य-प्रतिम-सत्येवहाम् ॥ २ ॥
तथा: त्रिगली (१, ३) वय स्वयमं भास्वरस्त्रालम्बन्धापुः शिखर-धराविन्द कालिकायः।
ची-सालिकीः। प्राणियः दीौं-निराकारिणौर्ज्यस्याः गुण-दुर्गुणो विज्ञातिर-यकः ॥ ३ ॥
क्रिकः (१, ४) ख्याताहोरो-कुंलो व्रतः भूमिकया नामं वीरवु तत्वः।

एँकी जनस्याच्युङ्गेश्वर-शृङ्गारयुक्त निर्ग्रीय-पूर्णः ॥ ४ ॥
च्युङ्गेय सष्टिसाजिध्याय वेद्यायादारा (१, ५) कृयाविशिष्टा-काल-फूलमें।

समामिनीय मनोत्तर विद्यावाच्यावपाषाण-यतः ॥ ५, ॥

नागाशिकल्पने-सिंहवीर-स्वर्णम गुणशालविनो याः।

(१, ६) मनोत्तर सत्रभवैपु सचेन्तर सतिकृति-भारतीयः ॥ ६ ॥
हृदय-निस्वयाः। विग्रहवत दृष्टि वर्णना किं वा। सन्तमुख-मनस-सादृशी यातः।

मनससतिर िरा (१, ७) घृङ्गे-अन्तरिनेत्रोऽयोऽनुमीनदयं-समाधिवामि ॥ ७, ॥

जगायो-भग-भावभानयं दष्ट विज्ञाय सनेच निःशिकानिभिज्ञाय न।

परत्तुरो जान-विज्ञाताय न निखिलेत्युत (१, ८) काशिकः ॥ ८ ॥

चण्यमहाकाशस्वामी सनेच दुःखां चर्य विक्रिय-समाहितयः।
चर्य विस्मिता (१, ९) घृङ्ग-पाठ्यभानिष्ठा घाता कृष्मावधयः।

आजायो-मानस-संयमश्चस्यामहत्युथसनातविशुद्धः ॥ १० ॥

भस्माद-सुत-सेतुः कदाचिं विज्ञाय वाराणसु (१, १०) नाते सतिता।

आश्रयकाष्ठा सुन्दरी विग्रहार्थो निराकारिणो कारिः यथा सनेचः। ॥ ११ ॥

यथाः। कतपानो परस्परासुपाराश्रोत्य-वाक्यसिद्धिर च।

नेत्रोत्सङ्ख्यात (१, ११) नाना-यवाध-जटी ग्रामाण-दुष्कृतकत्वाः ॥ १२ ॥

रामाणमानान्याध्याय यथा X कारिभ-भाषाः चुकुलाव-सुरें ॥।

न पञ्चासिक रसीविभिन्न सुर (१, १२) ध्रुस-विद्यमाय यथामायम् ॥ १३ ॥

यथाः च विधात्वमस्तन्त-राजाः तुम्बक्करा नाम-भुजा-लतायः।

उत्तुः म-नाविश्व-जलं विभार्ति कृष्ण-द्वारिसु [सैं पौि] (१, १३) वायुभूम्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

वाक्यावादाण-मानस-सादृशी वाक्यावत् यथानेच्च-भाषाः।

योंति यथा X विक्रिय-विकीर्तिवर्णो कथा निःशिक्यवायमेद्युत ॥ १५ ॥

1 The verses are not numbered in the original.
2 Cf. Śāradāpradāpādhaka (386).
3 The verse form is Lālīkāyādādākas.
4 The lower portion of the sign for ga is still traceable. Cf. Hannamārājan II, 6.

वन्दनामन्यातः ध्रुवाले प्रभुमाताम् सौंभववनाम् ऋषि
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(l. 14) ॥ श्रीवत्स-भस्वकम्। विभावणिकायन प्रस्तुतत्या यथा सम्बोधनेण।

नखाद-जालेन विभावनि दिलाय सुभाष-नकायाधिकं विधायमाणि ॥ १५ ॥

यथा (l. 15) च सच्च शत-भाष-शुभा सा शूष्कद्वंतं शतात्मकम् ॥

सच्चदाविनिन्द्र विभावणिं ॥ शताय शनम्-यात्रेपुरुषम् वहणेन ॥ १६ ॥

विभावणिकायन (l. 16) रजस्कृष्ट-रक्षेत्र-शारी समविवरि सत्ताय ॥

तद्धारायणयामक-अजन शुद्ध-यथा विद्वेष्य च नामस्य ॥ १७ ॥

यथा विशालिनि च नितय-विषय (l. 17) दृढविचारमति नितारामप्रकृष्ठि।

करुणा च वचेि स्नान-गर्भ-नीरों सु-संवेदित्यात्म-सन्नी तथा यथा यथा ॥ १८ ॥

प्रभुवंतिषुर्विचार-प्रतांति आकृतिः (l. 18) तत-शालिनि प्रतीय चित्त।

तद्धारायण करणाय व-तस्म नत्ताय-बालस्य तद्धारायण ॥ यथा ॥ २० ॥

धर्माय वैनमया भेदः (l. 19) शास्त्रार्थास्स्तिविकृतं तद्धारायण ॥

चरित्रादेवन्तुहिलक्रियां मुखलिनुवेशादित्य-देशवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥

जगायु विभावणिकायन च (l. 20) वसुरक्षोंद्रमस्य देवकुलम्।

प्रख्यातसम्राज्यस्य ॥ यर्कृती श्री-सायणकालाम् ॥ २२ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail!

1. Victorious is Śiva, our Lord, whose body is adorned with moon-light and whose affection is fixed on [that] half of [his] body [consisting] of the ever-devoted Gauri.

2. There was on the earth a man of laudable virtues, dignity and deportment pure like the sickle of the glittering shedder of brightness (the Moon), whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls.

3. From him was born—even as Jayanta from the Prince of the immortal (Indra) and Kārttikeya from Him who bears the half moon as his diadem (Śiva)—the illustrious Śatyanī who used to put away the sorrow of his dear ones—like unto Viṣṇu of abundant virtue and the victor over his enemies’ host.

4. A daughter of the house of Kishkindhaka’s Lord, Soma-prabhā by name, whose form was an ornament of the world, was his queen—even as the daughter of Himalaya (Durgā) [was the queen] of the three-eyed god (Śiva).

5. When the Creator had fashioned her face—a moon such as was never seen before, of ever sparkling splendour, devoid of blemish [and] full-orb’d—the hairs on his slender limbs stood on-end.?

1 The original has vihustrova.

2 Cf. Śrī-Mamaniṇa quoted Subhāgānanda 1567.

लक्षणम् भक्षणविवरातं नितयाय ॥ यथा

व-वचेति समविवरि सत्ताय-विभावणिकायन ॥

तद्धारायण करणाय देशवचनम् ॥

3 The original has uttama-bimbkā.

4 The original has stāl.

5 Literally “this Lord.”

6 An evident allusion to the name of the lady whose praise the greater part of the poem is devoted.

7 The Creator himself was in rapture over her face, which resembled and, at the same time, surpassed the moon as it was never obscured by eclipses or clouds, had no markings and was not subject to different phases.?
6. She, exceeding lovely and rich in virtues, attained by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet.  

7. "Can she be the high-tide of the ocean of passion, or a cluster of blossoms on the tree of love, or the presiding goddess of the realm of king Spring, or the sum of the beauty of the three worlds?"

8. Or a spell named "Mind-perplexing," capable of rendering the three worlds obedient?" Thus lost in a multitude of doubts, one cannot decide about her.

9. Beholding her with an eye, now sparkling with joy, then pregnant with amazement, and then again confused with doubt, one was bewildered and full of imaginings.

10. She bears a lock (lit., sling) of hair, glittering like a bec, made by the Creator—desirous, as it were, to show favour to the flower-armed one (Cupid) that he may fetter [with it] the hearts of the three worlds.

11. By her who, with the bent bow of her brows and with the arrows of her side-long glances, has attacked and completely conquered the hearts of mankind, Cupid has been rendered shelter-less.

12. Her cheeks, of a very pale hue and full of the essence of beauty and loveliness, capable of causing delight to the night-lotuses which are the eyes [of her admirers], make on the people the impression of the Hare-marked One (the Moon).

13. Her lip is not equalled by the ruby, though endowed with [a like] redness; for the one partakes of hardness and has no moisture, the other is soft-shaped and nectar-distilling.

14. Her rows of teeth beam like diamonds; her slender arms are soft like lotus-stalks; her pair of breasts, high and watered with charm, appear [like a castle] of Cupid.

15. That her lotus-like hands, possessing the ruddy appearance of young buds, remain expanded in the brightness of her moon-like face, even when in contact [with each other], caused amazement among the people.

16. With the flashing act of her ray-like nails, gifted with whiteness, of spotless nature, exceeding captivating, she seems to scatter bundles of pearls in all directions.

17. The Creator who was afraid that, by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break, has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds.

18. The dolphin-bannecred One (Cupid), perceiving that she contains exquisite treasures of grace and dalliance and such-like pearls, has, in order to guard those, shaped her navel like a seal.

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1 According to the laws of Indian rhetoric, good poetry has three virtues (guna), namely vigour (guj), serenity (prakāśa), and sweetness (mañcāhaya). The ornaments (alaṅkāra) of speech are an essential part of it.

2 Kāma dwells in the human hearts, whence its epithet mañcāhaya.

3 I have translated according to the proposed ammendment. 

4 The words between brackets are missing in the original.

5 The red lotus is expanded only in the day-time, and not when the moon shines.

6 The three-folds (trīsūla) about the waist are considered a mark of female beauty. Cf. Kumārasthānākkha 1, 39. It is often indicated as the Divi images of Mutu-varman; cf. above, p. 128.
19. The eye roaming over her broad, round buttocks is wholly bewildered. She has thighs yellowish like the centre of a lotus, well-matched like two honest men.

20. If a tendril-like beam of the Nectar-shedder (the Moon) fell on a widely expanded red lotus, then were there an image of the net of her ray-like nails on her pair of rosy lotus-like feet.¹

21. “May there be an unshaken friendship between her (Soma-prabhā) and the Mountain daughter (Durgā).” With this wish that prince (Śātyaki) had this temple built to Him whose diadem is marked with the stainless sickle of the Moon (Śiva).

22. Victorious be [Śiva] He, whose diadem is the cool-rayed One (the Moon) and may this temple be of high renown, as long as the wealth-bestowing One (the Earth) [endures] and may the illustrious Śātyaki conquer the entire Earth!

No. 14.—BRAHMOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YUGĀKARA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XVI AND FIG. 15.)

The copper-plate which contains this inscription is 12$\frac{1}{2}$" wide by 8$\frac{1}{2}$" high. The average size of the letters is 1 3$\frac{1}{16}$". The epigraph consists of nineteen lines, besides the subscription which is written vertically on the proper right margin. The plate is far from entire. The four corners are broken away, which has led to the loss of the symbol om and the first two aksaras of the signature in the upper proper right corner, and of the last five aksaras of the first line and of the upper portions of the last four aksaras of the second line in the upper proper left corner. In the lower corners the first four aksaras of each of the last two lines are missing to the proper right, whilst the ends of the last six lines are missing to the proper left in such a manner that of line 14 only the last aksara is damaged and of line 19 nine aksaras are lost. In the upper part of the plate a broken piece of 2$\frac{1}{2}$" by 1$\frac{1}{2}$" has been fastened on with clamps by which several aksaras of the first four lines have been injured or destroyed. Most of the missing portions can be restored.

The inscription opens with a Mālīnī stanza² in praise of Śiva, the soul of the universe (ll. 1-2). In the following passage (ll. 3-6) we find the names of the donor Yugākara-varman and of his parents Sāhilla and Nennā. Both Sāhilla and Yugākara³ hold a prominent place in the Vaiśākali, especially the former as founder of the town of Chambā and of the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The passage in which the grant is defined (ll. 6-10) is far from clear, owing partly to the number of proper names and what apparently are sanskritized vernacular words, and partly to the loose syntactical construction and absence of signs of punctuation.

¹ As the flower of the red lotus is closed at right, the condition proposed by the poet is never fulfilled, in other words, the combination of her feet which are red like a lotus and of her nails glittering like the moon, is without a parallel. The name of the aksāra used here is aksāyakta. Cf. Sāhilla-darpāna X 694.
² With this verse may be compared Bhagavata 7, 4.
³ Yugākara is called Yugākara in the charter of his son Vīdagdhina (No. 15, l. 1) and Yugākara in the Vaiśākali (stobas 68, 78, 80 and 82). Cf. p. 100 n. 2.
It is of great interest that we meet here with the ancient name of Brahmor. It is Brahmapura and not Varanapura as assumed by Cunningham,\(^1\) presumably on the authority of the Varṣāvatī. Mention is also made of the hospice (maṭha) of Khaṇṭi. This village, which still retains its name (map Kani),\(^2\) is situated east of the confluence of the Rāvi and the Budhaul, on the ridge which forms the watershed between these two rivers. It is curious that up to the present day we find several rest-houses for travellers, shaded by mulberry trees at the spot where the road from Ulānsī to the village of Brahmor crosses the ridge near Khaṇṭi. They consist of open wooden pavilions called bīkāy. The other two villages mentioned are Vidavinikā, perhaps the modern Bārei (map Bārai) and Grima which is still known by the same name. Bārei is situated about half-way between Brahmor and Khaṇṭi on the road which connects these two places. Grima lies above Bārei on the ridge which separates the Rāvi and Budhaul valleys. It is passed by the road which leads from Brahmor to Trebā, a tract on the left bank of the Upper Rāvi. In none of these villages any traditions seem to exist regarding rent-free land having been situated there. It is, therefore, impossible to identify the fields described in the title-deed and to interpret the passage satisfactorily. There is, however, above Grima a field, “Kuṭṭi” by name, which, I believe, may be identified with the Kuṭikā of the inscription.\(^3\) Vernacular names, it should be noticed, are regularly sanskritized by adding the termination ka (cf. beneath kōhikā). The “Kuṭṭi” field belongs at present to the Gaddis Juārī and Bhāndārī. It is said to yield two pīrās in two years, namely, a crop of wheat (kūnāk) and a crop of buckwheat (bārvē). This would well agree with the statement in the inscription that the Kuṭikā field yielded 1 piṭāka, that is, annually. This Sanskrit piṭāka is the modern pīrā, which is the twentieth part of a kūrī and consists of 20 māṣas, a māṣa being equivalent to 2 pākhā sēr. A pīrā consequently amounts to 40 sēr.\(^4\) The term vāpya may either be connected with the Sanskrit root vap- “to sow” and rendered as “arable land” or it may be derived from vāpī (tank) and explained as “land watered from tanks.” The latter interpretation seems to me preferable as we have a parallel in the word kōhikā. This word is evidently sanskritized kōhī, which in Chambā indicates an irrigated field used for rice cultivation. It frequently occurs in the vernacular portions of the Chambā title-deeds of the Muhammadan period. The word is derived from kuhl(a) “a channel,” Skr. kūlaḥ, Kaśm. kul.\(^5\)

Fāpya would, therefore, correspond with Persian chāhī from chāh (well) and kōhikā with Persian nāhī from nāhr (canal). The second member of the proper name Sādha-bagga is evidently a vernacular term, bag meaning “a field.” It also occurs in Khani-bagga and Prāha-bagga, names of fields mentioned in Vidaghdha’s copper-plate grant (No. 15, I. 13). Now-a-days it is still used in the names of fields


\(^2\) Skr. khaṇṭi means “a shrine.”

\(^3\) In the Kuṭi dialect the generic word kōt means, “cultivated land lying at a high elevation yielding in the course of two years only two crops, buckwheat followed by wheat.” Cf. Black, The Kulu Dialect of Hindi (Lahore, 1896), p. 75.

\(^4\) A pīrā is said to be equivalent to a dōn (Skr. drōna) and a māṣa to a path (Skr. praṭha). The path is the unit used in Kuli for measuring grain. Cf. A. R. A. S. 1893-94, pp. 363 f. Also Rājput. IV 233.

\(^5\) Cf. Black, op. cit. i. v. kōli.
such as, "Hoḻa-bag" in Grima, "Sat-bag" in Malkotā and "Bag" alone as the name of a field at Khanjī. In Brahmrō hagyā is used to denote a field in general.¹

The donor of Yuggākara's grant was the god Narasimha, the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, whose image had been erected by Queen Tribhuvana-rekha, perhaps the consort of the donor. There can be little doubt that this is the same image which is still worshipped in one of the ancient temples of Brahmrō (Plate VIII b). "The figure," Cunningham² says, "is seated on a Singhisāra or lion throne, and is remarkable for its ferocious aspect and horrible wide jaws. There are traces of an inscription on the pedestal, but the letters are so much decayed that I was obliged to give up the attempt to copy it." In the Vaṃśāvalī (śloka 45) the Narasimha temple along with the others is ascribed to Meru-varman, but this can hardly be correct. The temple is no longer in possession of the lands described in the title-deed, and the copper-plate has now been deposited in the Chambā State Museum.

The concluding portion of the inscription contains no less than six stanzas—all in the Anuṣṭhā (śloka) metre—regarding the dānadharma. Then follow the date, the 10th year—presumably of Yuggākara's reign—the name of the messenger (dīte) and that of the writer, the latter partly missing, and finally the subscription of the donor.

The language of Yuggākara's grant is far from correct. Altogether we count in it more than fifty mistakes. A few of these errors are evidently due to want of care on the part of the engraver who left out syllables or altered them. Thus we find toe (l. 2) for Bhava, prayacha for prayacchatu (l. 14), tai for etai (l. 16); pālpaḷaṇā (l. 15) for pālpaḷaṇa; anudakeśava synonym śuṣka- (l. 13) for anudakeśa vaneśu śuṣka-; tvat kṣapāti (l. 19) for tvat kṣapātika. The frequent omission of the visarga and anusthāra may also be partly attributed to the engraver. Instances are pāḍapa (l. 5), sa (l. 11), jawapadāna (l. 11), saṅravai (l. 13), vaśe (l. 14), dharma (l. 15), saṅsi (l. 17), taṅgaṇā (l. 17) and -māliyā (l. 17). On the other hand, sṛṣṭikāta (l. 17) ought to be sṛṣṭikāta. But the great majority of mistakes, no doubt, result from the ignorance of the author of the document. Trespasses against the saṃhī rules are very frequent, e.g., devyodara (l. 4) for devyudara; niyoga (l. 10) for niyogathan; saṅsā (l. 11) for saṅsāra; agraḥāraṭci (l. 12) for agraḥārvita itī; paremo svarga (l. 13) for paremah svarga. The final consonants of terminations are often missing, e.g., madhyā (l. 7), prāmāṇā (l. 13), asmi (l. 14), kaści (l. 14), bhava (l. 14), ayatikrame (l. 14), pālaṇā (l. 15), e (l. 16). Wrong terminations are used in bhoge (l. 14), samutpanne (l. 14), pālaṇā (l. 16), loke (l. 17). The form vasāpayaṭu is a prakritism like the past participle kāripīta of Meru-varman's inscriptions. Substitution of sa for sa in Triśavana (l. 12), Tribhuvana (l. 12) and -māliyā is due to the influence of the vernacular, likewise the substitution of sa for sa in sāhana (l. 15 and 15). The double consonant is replaced by the single one in bhayaṛaka (l. 3 and 5), bhaṭārikā (l. 4) and [daj]tva (l. 17).

¹ The word bag is possibly derived from Skt. varṣa meaning "group, section, division."
TEXT.

कालित्व: भीण गणपति नाम: स्वतः वज्र-विभयों-वायुरास्त्राक नमः-नमः
(1. 2) पुराण खंडः संभूतः-योगः। इतर तत्र गीत गंगा ज्योतिर्गण सदृश विद्यते दयामादः
(1. 3) नस्तम् नमनः। भीण ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 4) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 5) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 6) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 7) वायुः-मक्क्तियुज्यते-ण्डवः। चन्द्री-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः। विनिधित्वं-विद्वानः।
(1. 8) नाम् वेषः तत्त गणितम्, छण्डः चार्कृत्याकांबिकः। वेण-रहोः-हुन-गमः-भुजामानः कृष्णः
(1. 9) महः। यथा कृष्णा-चंद्रगमः एव। एव। गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 10) महः। च च च। गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 11) यथा गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 12) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 13) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 14) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 15) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 16) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 17) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 18) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 19) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 20) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।

CORRECTED READING.

छोरी काकित्व: कृणा गण्यन्ति नाम: कस्वर्म-शलिन-वग्न-योम-वायुरास्त्राक नमः-नमः
(1. 2) पुराण खंडः संभूतः-योगः। इतर तत्र गीत गंगा ज्योतिर्गण सदृश विद्यते दयामादः
(1. 3) नस्तम् नमनः। भीण ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 4) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 5) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 6) शारःशिस्तानायाः-परमेश्वर-ज्योतिर्गणाद्वारास्त्राक-वेंढ़नाचित्र-रुक्ष-भ्रम्स-परस्मारक-मः
(1. 7) वायुः-मक्क्तियुज्यते-ण्डवः। चन्द्री-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः। विनिधित्वं-विद्वानः।
(1. 8) नाम् वेषः तत्त गणितम्, छण्डः चार्कृत्याकांबिकः। वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 9) महः। यथा कृष्णा-चंद्रगमः एव। एव। गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 10) महः। च च च। गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 11) यथा गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 12) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
(1. 13) िशिदाल गणितम् वेणः-सूर्यी-विश्वरूपः।
Hail! Reverence to Gānapati. O Thou that art the soul of the earth, the water, the fire, the aether and the air... ancient and self-created! Hara, Bhava, Śiva, Śarva, Tryambaka (three-eyed), Iśāna (Lord), Rudra, Trinayana (three-eyed), Vṛṣabhānaka (bull-marked), O Thou whose shape is endless, reverence to Thee.

(L. 3.) From [his] residence at the glorious Cānkapāla, he who reverently remembers (lit. is meditating at the feet of) the very devout worshipper of the deities, the twice-born (the Brāhmaṇas) and the spiritual precursors; [him] the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Śāhila, and who was born from the womb of the supreme princess and queen, the illustrious and divine Nennā; he, the tree of whose glory is increased by damming back the great wave of pride [arising from] the uprooting of the host of manifold foes;—he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Yāgākara-varman, the prosperous one—grants:

1. Cf. verse No. 15. II. 9-10.
3. This stanza is restored from No. 25. II. 20-27.
4. This stanza in a modified form is found in Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 168, 137 and 180 and Ind. Ant. vol. XIV (1885) p. 319.
5. The name Jāmēpa may be assumed here. It occurs as the name of a Chāṃbhā Raja in inscriptions Nos. 28 and 29.
8. I translate according to the proposed emendation māna for dāna, as the latter word does not yield any reasonable sense.
(L. 7) 2 bhū of bhū land of the Khaṇī hospice in the pūrva (?) belonging to the village of Vidāvā, belonging to the Brahmapūra district of his domain. Out of these a field, Ṣabdamagga by name, which was enjoyed (lit. entered) by the son of Harīballā Bāṅkila, is given in exchange. Also in the village of Grīma one pītaka of rice is given from the vāpya land of Kūṭikā which was [previously] enjoyed by the sons of Rāhāraka collectively and belongs to the Ākūṭānāgarika. Further in the vicinity of the Khaṇī hospice is the Yamālikā kitchen-garden; out of the vāpya land there, two, in figures 2, pītakas are given. [These] together with that of Kūṭikā [make] three pīt. And further, half the kitchen-garden.

(L. 10.) He [the king] informs all officials, every rājā, vāyā, chief-justice and all house-owners. Be it known unto you, neighbouring country people, landholders and others, who are the eighteen elements of the State. On [the temple of] Narasimha founded by the Queen, the illustrious and divine Tribhuvanamārihā, is by a formal libation of water (?) this grant bestowed. Having understood [this], let all servants of the king, named and unnamed, observe it, so that on the authority of the charter2 issued by us, he (the grantee) should live and cause [his tenants] to live, without paying a tithe [to the Rājā]. Let no one offer obstruction.

(L. 14.) Whosoever, born of this race, may be king, I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit; by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit; by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained]; [its] observance, therefore, is very important. Whosoever sin, from his birth onwards, a man commits, it will be cleansed by a gift of land, be it only the size of a cow-hide. He, who gives land, filled with the plough, provided with seed-corn and fertile (lit. wreathed with grain), he will be blessed in Heaven, as long as light is produced by the sun. He who takes away [the land] is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks, by a hundred horse-oblations, and by a gift of ten million cows. Those who confiscate a grant of land are born as black serpents dwelling in the hollows of withered up trees in waterless forests.

(L. 19.) In the year 10, [the month of] Vaiśākha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 10. The messenger on this occasion was the Recordkeeper, the illustrious Vivakhā (la).

Written by the writer of legal documents Jā[saṭa ?]. Own sign-manual of the illustrious and divine Yagākara.

No. 15.—SUṆGAṆ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA.

(Plate XVII.)

The plate of Vidagdha measures 17" in width by 13" in height and contains thirty lines of which two are written vertically in the proper right margin. On the euneiform handle to the proper right side of the plate there are, moreover, three short lines containing the donor’s subscription. The average size of the letters is ¼". The plate is well preserved except for a small piece missing in the lower proper

1 A bhū or bhūmi, subdivided into four (bhūmi) pītakas, is equivalent to about 17 acres.
2 On the use of śānu in the sense of “a charter” cf. Freist, op. cir. p. 49, n. 2.—In Chamba rent-free land given to Brahmans and temples is now-days regularly designated by the name of śānu.
right corner, by which one *ākṣara* has been partly lost. Through the central portion of lines 13-15 there runs a rent which, however, has caused no damage to the inscription.

The engraving is remarkably clear, the letters being well-shaped and shimmer than is usually the case with Śāradā inscriptions. As regards its language also, this copper-plate inscription is superior to that of Yagākara-varman. We note the omission of *visarga* and *anuvāra*, the substitution of *ṇ* for *n* (three times, l. 28) and that of *ṅ* for *ñ* (l. 19 *saṅāra*; l. 25 *vaṅge*) and the interchange of the sibilants (l. 8 *Khara*). *Anuvāra* is substituted for final nasals, including *ṅ*. The word *pādāya* (l. 15) is used in the neuter instead of the masculine gender. In line 24 *āśita* stands for *āśīta*. In line 21 we find the ungrammatical forms *bhūrjatu* and *bhūrjopayatu* instead of *bhūrāṭum* and *bhūjayaṭu*. Some other mistakes are due merely to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

The inscription contains a certain number of sanskritized vernacular terms which it is not always easy to explain. Thus in line 5 we meet with the expression *gāvikalavara* evidently a synonym of *chaīrābhoja* (read *kṣetrābhoja* No. 21, ll. 15-16 and No. 26, l. 11) found in corresponding places on other copper-plates. In the passage describing the boundaries of the land (ll. 12-16) such terms are particularly numerous. Here we twice have the word *vidā*, evidently the modern *lār* which in the dialect of Chamba denotes the steep slope between terraced fields usually strengthened with a rough wall. The word *bagha* which here occurs twice in the names of fields (Khatitaggā and Prabhābaggā) has been noted above (p. 160). In *khaḍḍa* we easily recognize the modern *khaḍ* “a precipice.” The word *kuppaṭa* means perhaps “a rivulet.” The terms *esīhāra* and *kullaka* (l. 16) which belong to the same class of expressions are immediately preceded and followed by a word meaning “water.” There can be little doubt that *kullaka* is the *bhāsa* word *kulla* or *kull(a)* “an irrigation channel.” The real Sanskrit word would have been *kulyā*, from which *kull(a)* is derived. We have met above (p. 160) with the word *kolika, kolī* “an irrigated field,” evidently a derivitive of *kulli*. Possibly *esīhāra* has some similar meaning. The words *ročika* and *ciṭolā* I am unable to explain; judging from the context, they would seem to denote some agricultural products.

In the beginning of the inscription (ll. 1-5) the donor Vidagdha is mentioned as a secon of the Solar race and of the house of Mośana, and as the son of Yagākara-varman and Bhogamati. The name of his ancestor Mośana we have met with in a slightly different form in the image inscriptions of Meru-varman. His father Yagākara-varman is undoubtedly the same as Yagākara the donor of the Brahman grant. Vidagdha was consequently the grandson of Śāhilla or Śāhila, the founder of Chamba town.

The lands granted are said to be situated near the village of Sumaṅgala, the modern *Sungāl* (map Sungul) 2 miles above Chamba town on the right bank of the Sāhā stream. The name of the district, Tavasa(*ka*), is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausā, which may once have been the head-quarters of the *maniyata*
of that name. Most of the names of the localities mentioned in describing the boundaries of the grant (ll. 11-13) are known up to the present day.\(^1\)

The exact meaning of the special privileges connected with the donation (ll. 15-26) it is difficult now to ascertain. It is, however, clearly stated that the gift is given in perpetuity and is not to be interfered with in any way. The clause enjoining that the head of the district (cāţa : cāt) was not allowed to enter the land seems to imply exemption from forced labour (Skr. viśṭi ; Camb. bīṭh).\(^2\) Rents and taxes (and apparently fines also) due to the king would fall to the share of the granter. The present holders of the land assert that originally the right of sanctuary was connected with the grant and that this right was still exercised in the reign of Rājā Carhat Singh (A.D. 1808-1844). But no reference to such a privilege is found in the title-deal. The donor, named, Namū (ka) the son of Deddu (ka), was a Brāhmaṇa whose grandfather had come from Kuruksetra, the famous place of pilgrimage near Thāneśvar.

In the following three lines (26-28) we find the usual verses—ascribed to the Sage Vyāsa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata—in which the duty of maintaining the grant is emphasized. This is the only portion of the inscription composed in poetry. It consists of three stanzas, two of which are in the Anustubh and one in the Indravaśā metre.

The document is dated in the fourth year of Vidagdhā’s reign on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha. As previously stated, the grant was made on the occasion of the hibernal solstice (Makara-saṅkrānti).

**TEXT.**

\(^1\) Similar passages in which the natural boundaries of the granted land are described are regularly found in the Chauhān copper-plate grants of the Muhammadan period. They are invariably in the vernacular and begin with the words: ātra sitam.

\(^2\) In later title-tracks one meets with the expression bīṭa-bīṭār.

\(^3\) The dēśama ry is provided with an a mark.

\(^4\) No. 20 i. 14 reads ākṣapā-sakṣat which is probably correct. Cf. above p. 127.
Hail! From [his] residence at the glorious Canpaks, he who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Yugikaram-varman; he, the very devout one; who, having attained expertness in his Law, by his devotion to all good commandments, by his deportment towards the spiritual preceptors and by his obedience to the deities, has propitiated the hearts of the learned; who by the practice of bravery combined with policy, has acquired success in the three aims of life; who, by his complete attainment of
desirable qualities, resembles a fruit-bearing tree on the road-side; he, the refuge of all beings; sprung from the House of Mōṣaṇa and from the Solar Race, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva), born from the illustrious and divine Bhogamati; the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Vidgūtha, the prosperous one.

(L. 5.) orders all who are concerned with (lit. arrived at) the village of Suṇaṅgaḷa belonging to the Tāvasa(ka) district of his domain (⋯)—every rāja, rāṇa, rājput, royal minister, chief-justice, judge, sarabhaṅga, councillor of the Prince, upānika, visūgapi, nihalapati, kṣetrapa (kṣetrapa ?), frontier-guard (⋯), those occupied with elephants, horses, camels and the forces, every dāla, gamāṇika, abhitvaramāna Khaša, Kulika, superintendent of customs (⋯), superintendent of forests, khaṇḍaraṅga, (⋯khadgaraṅga ⋯), torapati, parasol-bearer, betel-carrier, those belonging to the expeditionary force (⋯), every "chief-catcher," "rod-bearer," "rod-and-rod-bearer," bhogapati, vinīyukta, land-owners (⋯), land-holders (⋯), district officers (eṣṭ) and their subordinates, servants and so on,⋯—all, whether named or unnamed, who subsist on the favour of His Highness the King, householders and country-people, from the highest Brāhmans who hold a prominent position among the eighteen elements of the State down to the Melas, Andarakas, fishers and Cāṇḍalas—all inhabitants:

(L. 11.) Be it known unto you that in the above-named village of Suṇaṅgaḷa [there is] one bhū of land, Serti by name, of which the boundaries are these: on the east side the limit of the rent-free land (agrakāra) of [the village] of Pāṭala, on the south side the limit known as “the great slope,” on the west side the limit of the slope of the Khanibagga (field), on the north side the limit known as Prāha-bagga. One bhū [of land] thus bounded, together with the houses and kitchen-gardens situated thereon. Further in that same village [there is] another half bhū [of land] Lavāla by name, of which the boundaries are: on the east side the precipice, on the south side the large rock, on the west side the rivulet (⋯) Majvalikā by name, on the north side the limit of the path to the pasture-ground of Puskari. Half a bhū thus bounded together with the above described bhū [to wit] one and a half bhū as far as its limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, together with fruit-trees and with the water-courses and channels, with approaches, ingress and egress, with fallow-land and cultivated land,⋯ with [the fines for] the ten offences,⋯ to be enjoyed by the succession of sons, sons’ sons, and so forth, uncontrollable, unopposed, [with the privilege that it is] not to be entered by district-officers or their servants, free from tax,⋯ inalienable, for as long a time as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth shall endure, for the sake of the spiritual merit and for the increase of the glory of my parents and myself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world, and in order to cross the ocean of existence, have I granted by a formal libation of water,

(L. 19) as an agrakāra to the illustrious Nandu(ka), the son of Deddu(ka) and grandson of the Brāhmaṇ Devanna from⋯ the hermitage of holy Kurukṣetra, [to

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1 The meaning of these various titles has been discussed above, pp. 120 ff.
2 I suppose pala to be Hindi pala “land constantly under cultivation.”
4 The ordinary meaning of abhinanditam "Nachts zu Wege bringend, zu Nichts nutze” (B. K.) cannot be applied here. Cf. Rajasthan. VIII 531.
him] the Brahman student¹ of the house of Kāśyapa, the descendant of three prominent sages (raisi) and adherent of the school of the Vaijñavas, on the auspicious day of the hibernal solstice.

(L. 21.) Having understood this, he should freely enjoy and make [others] to enjoy [this grant] on the authority of our charter. The subjects, resident in the enjoyed land, in obedience to our command, will have to deliver to him the regular share and use,¹ tax in kind and cash, and every other tribute due to the king. And of our district officers and their subordinates and others no one will be allowed to alight at his house, to cut² or crush his corn, sugar-cane or pasture(?), whether green or ripe, nor to take rociika or ciyolu or to take cows-milk, nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted on him, nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, maidis, servants and all other people that are dependent on him. Otherwise, in case of infringement of [this] order, there will be punishment for breaking the law. Also the future kings, born of our race, considering the common merit of bestowing land, should recognize and preserve this brahmanical inheritance.

(L. 26.) It has been said by the venerable arranger of the Vedas: “Many kings from Sāagar onwards have enjoyed the land. Whose is the ground, his is the fruit. Whoevers shall take away one gold-piece, one cow, or one inch of land, he will remain in hell as long as moon and sun shall endure. Those gifts which have been given by previous princes causing here [in this world] spiritual and material gain and glory, and respected like the remnants of a sacrifice, what pious man, indeed, would take them back?”

(L. 29.) In the fourth year of the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, anno 4, [the month of] Magha, the bright fortnight, the first lunar day 1. The messenger on this occasion was the illustrious Āditya-vardhana. Written by me, Sukha-rāja.

Own sign-manual of the illustrious and divine Vidagdha. The illustrious and divine Vidagdha.

No. 16.—SPURIOUS SAI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XVIII.)

This copper-plate measures 10½" in width and 6" to 6½" in height. It contains fourteen lines of writing; lines 11-13 are half lines written vertically on the side margin to the proper right, and line 14 is incised inversed on the top margin. The side margin contains, moreover, the signature in two short lines, and at the bottom we find half a line in the vernacular in somewhat smaller type. The remainder of the inscription is in Sanskrit. The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾". The inscription is clearly engraved and the plate is in an excellent state of preservation. Its present owner, Byāja, a Brahman resident at Sai (Gudyal pargana) is still in possession of the land described in the title-deed.

¹ The word brahmacārī can either be taken in its classical sense of “Brahmanical student” or in that of a Śiva sect of ascetics founded by Śukrabrāhmacārī. Cf. Oman, Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India (London, 1903), p. 182.
² For bhūga cf. Fact, Gupta Ins. p. 242, for bhūga ibidem, p. 112, n. 1 and for bhūga-bhūga, p. 120, n. 1.
I translate according to the proposed emendation, laxana instead of eva.
The inscription pretends to be the record of a grant of land by Vidagdha-varman to a Brahmana, Kalasi-sarman by name. There can, however, be little doubt that the copper-plate on which it is engraved was never issued by Vidagdha, who, as we know, ruled in the 10th century A.D. The character of the inscription alone is sufficient proof; it is the Takari found on copper-plates of the 16th and 17th centuries. It should also be noticed that the inscription is dated in the Sastra year 27, whereas this era was not used in title-deeds until the 14th century, the earlier plates being dated according to regnal years. The very corrupt language of the inscription also points to a much later date than the 10th century. Finally, it may be noted that the clause *ladduva sahasraniocaundrya-sarya-brahmangi-sthiti-paryantam vpadhamujya-nigama* is regularly found in the same words on the later copper-plates, but on the specimens of the pre-Muhammadan period the idea is expressed in a different manner. The subsequent description of the boundaries also is in the style of those later documents.

On the other hand, the inscription has certain features in common with the early title-deeds of the period to which it is alleged to belong. This leads me to think that it was, partially at least, copied from a title-deed actually issued by Vidagdha-varman. It opens with a stanza in the Vasantadilaka metre in honour of Siva which is to be restored as follows:—

\[
\text{तपस्या नमः॥ परम-कारण-कारणिय देशुक्रवः स्विनासित-पिल्ल-नौमनाय।}
\text{नागीन-दत मृत-कुंडल-भूमण्य सिद्धे-विषु-वर्द्याय नस्ति राय॥}
\]

Such verses are regularly found at the beginning of the Chambha copper-plates of the 10th and 11th centuries; but there is not a single instance on plates of the Muhammadan period. Two orthographical points deserve special notice. In *nmaS-SiVeRa* we find the final sibilant assimilated to the initial sibilant of the following word. This is a peculiarity of the pre-Muhammadan period; in later epigraphs the final *s* is changed into *visarga*. In the first line we have *nmaS-paramo*. I presume that in the original the first word ended in *upadhmama*, which the maker of the spurious plate mistook for *sa* to which it bears a close resemblance, if placed vertically. It has to be remembered that the *upadhmama* dropped out of use in this part of India after about 1200 A.D. These observations lead us to infer that the original was not copied from memory, but that the engraver actually had before him some genuine plate of Vidagdha, part of which he transferred into the character of his time, not without making numerous blunders. The subscription in the margin points to the same conclusion; for this also is a feature peculiar to the earlier copper-plate inscriptions. The engraver only repeated erroneously the *visarga* and the double stroke after the first half of the compound.

The original document seems no longer to be extant. It is clear that it cannot be the Suñgal plate of Vidagdha edited above (No. 15), as it does not contain the initial stanza. The fact that another plate of Vidagdha existed up to a few centuries ago is of some interest.

It is interesting that the village of Suñgal is mentioned here by its ancient name, Sumanagala, which we have already met with in the immediately preceding inscription.

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tion (No. 15). The other localities referred to in the description of the boundaries—the village of Śālō, the Mureṇji Khad and the hamlet of Balyārā—are still known by the same names. The rock marked with a hoe (ṇākri) is also said to be still extant. The word ṭikri denotes also a rock. It is probably the same as ṭikri which occurs in the names of the two pargānas Lōn-Ṭikri and Bhaṭṭī Ĭṭikri.

**TEXT.**

\[\text{...}\]

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! Homage to Him, the ultimate Cause of causes, whose eyes are blazing red and lustre-flaming—adorned with ear-rings, wrapped in serpent-garlands, Brahmi, Indra, Viṣṇu's Patron—Hail to Śiva!

The illustrious [prince] whose frame is adorned with the full number of all virtues; who resembles the fire of a forest conflagration [in his behaviour] towards supplicants and poor,\(^7\) the protector of all the castes, the orders of religious life, and of the law; the illustrious supreme prince, the king of kings, the illustrious and divine Viḍāgha-varman grants a village, Sya by name, limited by its boundaries, to the Brāhmaṇa Kalaśi-śūrman of the house of Atri.\(^8\) It is to be enjoyed by him and his offspring for as long as the sun, the moon and the earth shall endure. These are the boundaries. On the east side the boundary is as far as the rock; on the south side the boundary is as far as the hoe-marked rock behind [the village of] Śālō; on the west side the boundary is as far as the cattle-tract of Sumaṅgalā (i.e. Sungal) ; on the north side the boundary is as far as the Cālī Nāḷi including house and shop, the boundary as far as the Mureṇji Khad, the boundary as far as [the hamlet of] Balyārā Kasyārót. In the Śāstra year 27 [the month of] Māgha . . . Written by Bhaṭṭacāryya. Signature of the illustrious and divine Viḍāgha-varman. (In vernacular:) Whosoever there will be of my race, . . .

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\(^1\) For a restored reading of this stanzas see above p. 170.

\(^2\) The construction of this sentence is hopelessly wrong.

\(^3\) Read एकनाशारी.

\(^4\) Probably चावनाशारी.

\(^5\) Read शात्र.

\(^6\) Read महाशात्र.


\(^8\) The word ṭurak has been left untranslated.

\(^9\) The rest of this sentence is unintelligible.
No. 17.—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THAKKIKHA.

(PLATE XIX a.)

Besides the rock inscriptions noted above (No. 10), the village of Tur has yielded three inscribed stones which were all found on the same spot inside the village, and have since been brought to Chambá Town and placed in the State Museum (Nos. A, 2-4). Two of the stones are evidently detached pedestals of images; they are provided with a mortice to receive the tenon of the image, and with a waterspout to allow the sacrificial water to run off.

One of these slabs, measuring 2' 3/4" by 1' 3/4" by 6", bears an inscription of six lines of 23" each, except the last line which is 17" in length. The letters which are on the average 3/4" in height, are clearly cut, but a considerable number of them are more or less worn away or damaged. The two ends of the first line are completely destroyed, by which some three aksaras have been lost at the beginning, and some sixteen aksaras at the end of this line. In the second line also the initial three aksaras are indistinct, and the last twelve aksaras are uncertain, owing to the surface of the stone having peeled off. There is a crack through a portion of the last line by which the first six aksaras have become injured.

The language used in the inscription adds to the difficulty of its interpretation. It is Sanskrit, but the words follow each other without any syntactical connection. We may assume a priori that the inscription records the erection of the image to which it belonged. This assumption is confirmed by the word pratishthitam preceded by a date at the end. But the object, the erection of which it is meant to record, is apparently not mentioned. We find, however, in the first line a deity invoked whose name reads: Śrī-Thakkkika-swāmin, and there is every likelihood that this is the god represented by the image. It is true that no member of the Hindu Pantheon bears this name, but it was the custom in Kāśmir and probably in other parts of India to give an image the name of its founder, with the words isvara or svāmin added to it. Well-known instances are afforded by the temples of Meruvardhanasvāmin founded by Meru-vardha at Pandrēthana; those of Avantiśvāmin and Avantiśvara at Vāntipōr (Avantipura) named after their founder Avanti-varman; and the two temples of Paṭan called Śāṅkaragauriśa and Sugandhesa after Śāṅkara-varman and his queen Sugandhā. In general the term svāmin in such compounds indicates an image of Viṣṇu, and isvāra or iśa one of Śiva, so that in the present instance the inscription presumably refers to a Viṣṇu image.

The only objection to my interpretation is that the person who erected this image is mentioned in the inscription under the name of Thakkika (l. 3) or Thakkkika (l. 4). The resemblance, however, of this name to the first part of that of the deity invoked in the beginning of the document is so great, that I have no hesitation in restoring the latter as Śrī-Thakkkika-swāmin or Śrīmat-Thakkkika-swāmin.

1 See above, pp. 147 f.
2 The past participle of the causative pratiṣṭhāpita would have been more correct; cf. above, No. 14, l. 13.
3 Cf. Stein, Rajaf. vol. II, p. 369. The custom exists also in Bājpītana.
4 It is true that in the inscription Thakkika calls himself a worshipper of Śiva, but this need not have prevented him from dedicating an image to Viṣṇu.
Besides the founder's name, we find that of his father, Prakṣa, his grandfather, Carata, his great-grandfather, -khika, and his great-great-grandfather, Cauṇa. The progenitor of his house was Dharav who is called sīmanta, Lord of Makuta and mahārājā-kīśorajā. Regarding the position of Makuta I am unable to offer any suggestions, but it should be noticed that it occurs also in the Vanīśāvalī (verse 79). Possibly it was the old name of Tik.

It is interesting to meet here for the second time with the ancient name of Brahmar, viz.: Brahmapura already noticed in the copper-plate grant of Yugākara-varman (No. 14, l. 6). Unfortunately, owing to the stone being broken, it is not clear in what connection it is mentioned here. The title sīmanta indicates that Dharav and his descendants were feudatory chiefs, no doubt dependent on the Rājas of Brahmar and Chambā. The inscription is dated in the first year of the reign of Vidagdha, and at the end of a long series of partially obscure epithets Thakkika is said to have found high favour with Vidagdha-deva. This Vidagdha can be no other than the Chambā Rāja whose copper-plate grant has been edited in the course of this work (No. 15). To him Thakkika owed allegiance, and the mention of Brahmapura perhaps indicates that the same relationship existed between Thakkika's ancestors and the ancient rulers of Brahmar.

TEXT.

[ची खिर्य] त्रीविदिक-राज्य-संसारे 1.2 ची नसी(म.) त्रीगुप्तवासिणिकादा:
(वाप्स) || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || ||
(l. 2) [संविदित-महत्त्वा-समान-मुकुटाध्ययति-सहाराराजाधिक-राज्यद्रव-निवासृ-म][ख]
(l. 3) कीर्ति-विद्या (संपूर्ण)इव-दोषक-पुल-वीरी-... दिर्घ-पुल-दीर्घ-साधनराजाधिक-राज्यद्रव-पूल-दीर्घक पि महाराज 1.4 [र-] देव-पुल-शब्दव-भाषा [सहाराराज-दीर्घक-संस्कार-विनोद] (ल. 4) [र-] गुप्त-दु: शब्दव-भाषा [कम-] (ल. 5) अय ची-शब्दव-एक क्षाणकाराराम-निष्क-प्राकार-विनोद [सह-संस्कार-रा-] [सह-पु: तिति-पु: शासन-दीर्घक-सविदिक-देव-पुल-]
(l. 6) पर-प्राचार-सहाराराजाधिक [सह-शासन-विनोद] भोव वार-पतित हिस्म.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the first year of the reign of the illustrious Vidagdha. Reverence to the feet of the illustrious Thakkika-svāmin. . . . . . (1.2) By the very illustrious baron, the lord of Makuta, the king of kings, the illustrious Dharav . . . . . In the lineage of the illustrious Dharav was born the illustrious Cauna; his son was the illustrious -khika; his son was the illustrious Carata; his son was the illustrious Thakkika, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva), delighting in the adoration of the deities and the spiritual preceptors.

1 The lower ends of the two akṣaras of evaṛti are still traceable.
2 Between skt and kīṣ one akṣara is lost.
3 Cfr. beneath No. 24, l. 11 and No. 25, l. 11.
4 It seems that the akṣara k is written beneath the line between ḍhī and ṣa; but owing to the fracture of the stone, the proposed reading is to be considered hypothetical.
5 Before ṣt evidently an akṣara is missing. On account of the preceding ṣa, we may assume that this syllable, though I have not met with the expression samars-ṛṣi anywhere else, it is also possible to restore it to samars-ṛṣi which would yield a better sense.
He, the king of kings, the illustrious Thakkāka disported himself in the combat with the maned lion, was an ocean of virtues, of lion-like prowess, the terror of the hostile host, when in the joy of battle he raised a rampart with his own arms reddened with the crossing of swords in search of victory, and won great favour with the illustrious and divine Vidāgdaḥa, he, the king of kings. Erected in [the month of] Māgha, the bright fortnight, the twelfth lunar day, on Tuesday.

No. 18.—Tur image inscription of Dodaka.

(Plate XIX b.)

The second of the inscribed slabs noted at Tur must likewise have belonged to an image. It measures 3' by 2' 1" by 7½" and bears an inscription in three lines each about 18" in length. The letters which measure ½" to ¾" in height are badly formed, and in places damaged. In the first line most of the aksaras are broken at the top, but enough remains to enable us to decipher it. The language is Sanskrit, but the vowel marks have often been omitted. As the greater portion of the inscription consists of conventional royal titles, the uncertain syllables can easily be restored.

In the inscription it is recorded that an image of Kārttikeya—evidently that of which the inscribed stone formed the base—was erected by Dodaka. This Dodaka may be identified with the Chamba Rājā who in the Pañchācālī (verse 82) is called Dogdha, and there figures as the son of Yugākara and the father of Vidāgdaḥa. From the Tur inscription, however, it is clear that Dodaka was the successor, and presumably the son of Vidāgdaḥa, whereas the latter was the son and successor of Yugākara. This last point is, moreover, established by Vidāgdaḥa's copper-plate grant (No. 15).

TEXT.

श्री चंद्रिका। श्री-महात्माराजियंत्र-परमेश्वर-नीमयुग कर-पुज-शी-। (1. 2) विद्रभ्देव-पद्म-अष्ट-पादेवूक्ष्यात-परमेश्वर-परमभाव (2) एक-दीपदेव (ई) द- (1. 3) शंदव-कामु-क-देव-कोत-स (ख्या) स्मालाकित [०] धर्मदेव (के) न खापति [०]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The illustrious Dodaka has erected [an image of] the illustrious lord Kārttikeya, that god who loves the supreme lord, the supreme prince, the illustrious Dodaka—him that reverently remembers the illustrious and divine Vidāgdaḥa, the son of the illustrious king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Yugākara.

No. 19.—Tur image inscription.

(Plate XIX c.)

The remaining Tur inscription occurs on a much defaced stone statuette of inferior workmanship (height 1' 11"; width 1") now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 4.) It represents a standing four-armed goddess, presumably Pārvati.

1 "On the field of battle" if we read samara-kpiti.
the spouse of Śiva. One of the two left hands is missing. The figure seems to hold a trident (Skr. trisūla) in one of her right hands and a snake (Skr. sarpa) in the preserved left hand. A lion, the vehicle of the goddess, rests at her feet.

The inscription carved on the base consists of three lines, each 9" in length. The letters, which measure $\frac{1}{2}$" to 1" in height, are well formed, but unfortunately nearly the whole of the writing is obliterated. The only word which is quite distinct is pratiśthita in the last line. Here as in Nos. 14 (l. 12) and 18 (l. 6) this past participle is used instead of the causative pratiśṭhāpita. It suffices to show that the inscription records the erection of the image on which it is engraved. After pratiśthita, and separated from it by a double vertical stroke, we read Nānamma followed by the aksara gha. I presume that the latter forms the beginning of the past participle ghaṭita. In fact the second aksara of the word is still traceable, though apparently it is provided with a long i stroke. If this restoration is correct, the preceding word is the name of the maker of the image, in the instrumental case. Probably we have to read Nānma.

The word preceding pratiśthita, in all probability, gave the name of the deity represented by the image. The last letter is certainly t and the last but one may be ḍha, gu, or baṛa. Perhaps the word was Bhagavati which is also used in the Svāmī image inscription (No. 12) and is a general title of female deities. It should, however, be remarked that there is no trace of an i stroke connected with the t.

In the second line the only aksara which is distinct is an initial i which here presents the same archaic appearance as in the Sarīhaṇ prahāti (No. 13, l. 1). It is preceded by an aksara of which only the ū mark beneath is preserved. The letter following i seems to be an initial a. It is not clear, how these two letters could follow each other in a Sanskrit record, but we have had frequent opportunity to observe that the language of the Chambā inscriptions is often far from correct. The remaining portion after the supposed a I propose to read sāha-[e]naya. The e stroke over the first a can still be traced.

This reading, if correct, would yield the word rāya in its vernacular form which elsewhere in inscriptions is regularly sanskritized as rājawaka. We may assume that the donor of the image belonged to the house of hereditary rājas who once held sway at Tur, as is evident from the other image inscription (No. 17) discussed above. His name seems to be Asāhā or perhaps Asāhyā (Irresistible) which is almost identical with that of Śiva's syllable borne by a feudatory of Meru-varman (Inscription No. 9, l. 3). It is also possible that Asāh(y)arna is to be taken as one name. The rest of the inscription is too much obliterated to allow of even tentative decipherment.

**TEXT.**

(L. 2) .................................. उ से चम्पाख (श) - रचना

(L. 3) [भ]ग[व]त(ली) प्रतिपित(तर) बरनव बट(टिला)

**TRANSLATION.**

[This image of] Bhagavati has been erected by Rana Asāh(y)ā. It was made by Nana.
No. 20.—Dādv ār FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA; ŚĀSTRA [41] 17 (A.D. 1041).

(PLATES XX AND XXXVII a.)

The hamlet of Dādv ār is situated 2½ miles north of Tisā and belongs to the Tisā pargana of the Curūh wazīrat. A profusely carved fountain-slab broken into three pieces was found here in 1905. It has since been deposited in the Chambā State Museum (No. A, 6) and refixed. It measures 5' 9" in width and 3' in height. In the centre we recognize Varuna with his lotus-flower. On each side of this figure are three horizontal bands of ornamental carvings, the lowermost consisting of a pair of birds with elaborate tails, a design very common on stones of this kind. Beneath Varuna is a square opening to receive the spout; on both sides we find the usual dwarf pilaster and eight-petalled lotus-rossette, surmounted by a narrow band of scroll-work. The whole of these carvings are enclosed within a double serpentine border.¹

On the plain rim, between the horizontal top portion of this border and the inner carvings, there runs an inscription in one line, 5' long, divided into two portions, owing to the fracture of the stone. This inscription is well preserved. The letters, which measure from ¼ to ⅛, though shallow and badly shaped, are legible throughout. Originally the stone had a panel projecting from the centre of its top. Only a corner of it now remains. Beneath it we notice another short line of writing, of which the concluding portion has been lost with the greater part of the panel. The first two akṣaras also are indistinct.

I read the preserved portion of this upper line: Saṁvāt 17 Śrimattrailo. The last akṣara, though partly missing, may be considered as certain. The concluding part of the line cannot have consisted of more than eight akṣaras, as the gap is about equal in length to the preserved portion. In view of the Naghai and Bhakund fountain-inscriptions (Nos. 21 and 22), which are both dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva,² I have no hesitation in restoring the upper line of the Dādvār inscription as follows: Saṁvāt 17 Śrimat[trai]loya-yasa-saṁvāt followed by a figure expressing the regnal year of Trailokyadeva, in which the stone was erected. It will be seen that the Bhakund inscription is dated both in the Śāstra era and in the reign of Trailokyadeva. There can be little doubt that in the present instance also the figure 17 refers to that era. We find it, moreover, repeated in the beginning of the second line, without any mention of a reign, but immediately followed by the notation of the month, fortnight, lunar day, day of the week and nakṣatra.

This very full indication of the date enables us to find the corresponding year of the Christian era. We may assume on palaeographical grounds that the date lies between A.D. 900 and 1300. The Śāstra year 17 can, therefore, correspond to A.D. 941, 1041, 1141 or 1242. I find that for those four years Jyeṣṭha bati 12

¹ Cf. beneath p. 234.
² On Trailokyadeva cf. above pp. 71 ff.
³ The same mistake occurs in the Bhakund inscription.
(pūrṇaṁgra) corresponds to April 26, Monday; April 30, Thursday; May 5, Monday, and May 9, Thursday, respectively. As the week-day recorded is Thursday, it follows that the only possible date is the 30th April of A.D. 1041, on which the moon stood in the lunar mansion Revati.

Thus the Dādvar inscription has enabled us to fix not only the time of Trailokyadeva, but also that of the Bhakūnda and Naghai fountain stones which were both erected in his reign. For the rest, the document under discussion does not present anything deserving special notice. The language is, as usual in fountain-inscriptions, very corrupt.

TEXT.

ब्राह्मण-सीरिः लात्र भोग (लात्र) वस्त्र-देश [ः] श्रादित्य [ः]। संसार-भय-सीतिन। क्षर दृढ में।

TRANSLATION.

In the year 17: [in the year? of the reign of] the illustrious Trailo[kyadeva].

Hail! In the year 17, [the month of] Jyeṣṭha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 12, on Thursday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Revati, has [this] fountain-stone (lit. god Varuna) been erected by Bhoga, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Saibila, fearing with the fear of existence. A line made in heaven. Thus will it be blessed. Thus [will it be] fortunate.

No. 21.—BHAKŪND FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA; ŚASTRA [410] (A.D. 1028-9).

(Plate XX.)

Bhakūnda is a hamlet situated in the Bhakūnd Nālā, some 5 miles north-east of Tśā Kāthi, in the Tśā pargāṇā of the Curāh vaṇāvat. An inscribed flat stone, 4' 9" long, 1' 10" wide and 2' thick, was discovered here in 1904 on the top of a wall belonging to one of the houses of the village. It is now preserved in the Chamba State Museum (Cat. No. A, 5).

The inscription consists of three lines which measure 4', 4' 4" and 1' 6" respectively in length. Unfortunately the proper left end of the slab is broken off, causing the loss of the concluding portions—probably some eight syllables—of each of the first and second lines. At the beginning of the first line the symbol for ॐ also is lost with a corner of the stone. The letters are 1" to 2" in size and very distinct, though rather shallow and evidently not cut by a professional sculptor.

The language of the Bhakūnda inscription is less faulty than that of later fountain inscriptions. Sāndhi rules are neglected in nama (l. 1) and Sukrakāśīne
(l. 2). The single consonant has been substituted for the double in Śrīma-Trailokyā-
(l. 1) and utara- (l. 2), and the double consonant for the single one in Sukkradine
(l. 2), mukṣuttra (l. 2) and īti śubham (l. 3). The lingual .scope has been used instead
of the dental in Phalguṇī (l. 2). The character shows some remarkable archaic
features. The aksara ṛa (l. 1, less pronounced in l. 2) still retains a remnant of the
ancient base stroke. Medial e is throughout expressed by the praṇamātrā except
in -dina (l. 2) where the superscribed sign is used. Medial ai in -Trailokyā-
is rendered by the praṇamātrā and the superscribed stroke combined. For medial o, on
the contrary, the superscribed mark is used throughout. The ligature stha (l. 3) has
its later type. The eursive loops of the aksaras u, τa, da, ma deserve special notice.

The man who erected the Bhakūnd fountain stone was apparently not a Rāpā
but a Brāhmaṇ, judging from his father's name ending in -Karman and from the
absence of any titles. The inscription is dated both in the Śastra era and in the
reign of Trailokyā-deva, but the notation of the regnal year, of the month, the
fortnight and the lunar day has been lost at the end of the first line. From the
Dājvar fountain inscription (No. 20), however, we have drawn the conclusion that
Trailokyā-deva lived in the first half of the 11th century. The Śastra year 4 of the
present epigraph must, therefore, correspond to the 25th or 29th year of the 11th
century of our era.

TEXT.

[3] āpātāḥ: dhārtī guṇam

CORRECTED READING.

[3] āpātāḥ: dhārtī guṇam

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Adoration to the god Varuṇa, adoration! In the Śastra year 4, in the
reign of the illustrious Trailokyā-deva . . . . . . . . on Friday, at [the conjunction
of the moon with] the lunar mansion Uttaraphalguni, has this fountain-stone
(lit. god Varuṇa) been erected by Paripāṇa, the son of Bho-śarman, fearing with
the fear of existence. Blessed be it!

No. 22.—NAGHAI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE RĀJANAKA
DEVA-PRASĀDA DATED IN THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA-DEVA.

(Plates XXI-XXII.)

About 1895 half a dozen carved fountain-slabs of large size were unearthed in
the jungle below the village of Naghai, 2 miles south of Sai Kōṭi in Curāh. The
largest specimen, which is still standing and measures 5' 2" in height by 6' 7"
in width, is much defaced. The upper portion is divided into five panels, each of which

1 The curve of ṛa is still visible.
2 This portion can be restored with certainty from analogous passages in other fountain inscriptions.
contains a figure. The central figure armed with a trident and a mace evidently represents some divinity, perhaps Varuna the god of the waters, in whose honour such slabs are usually erected. To his right we find a standing male figure with a sword in his right hand, a shield in his left, and a dagger in his girdle. To the left of the central panel there are two figures, possibly meant for a woman with a child. Each corner panel has a rudely carved horseman. In the middle of the lower portion of the slab a square hole has been cut out to allow the water to run through. It is enclosed on each side by a dwarf pilaster and a lotus-rosette. Over each division there runs a horizontal band of decorative design, whilst a serpent-border encloses the whole of the carvings. Behind this stone there are two smaller slabs, each 1' 5½" high and 6' 6" wide, one of which is still standing.

Another large-sized slab, the lower portion of which is broken, measures 3' 6" in height and 6' 4½" in width and is divided into two portions by a broad horizontal border of exquisitely carved scroll-work, in the centre of which a pair of birds are introduced. Over and beneath this border there runs a narrow band of leaf ornament. The upper division consists of a row of five sunk panels, each containing a clumsily carved figure, separated by square pilasters. The central panel is occupied by a seated deity holding a snake in his right, and a lotus flower on a long stalk in his left hand. To his right is a kind of animal, perhaps meant for a vāhana, and to his left a miniature human figure. In the panel adjoining the central one to the proper right we recognize Ganeśa, holding a hatchet and a flower, accompanied by two animals which probably represent mice. The corresponding panel to the proper left side contains a female figure standing with her two hands raised, palms upwards. The left hand holds a water-vessel. She wears, besides the usual ornaments, only a short petticoat reaching down to the knees and fastened round the loins by means of a girdle. The two little figures seated on each side at her feet evidently represent children. Each of the corner panels contains the figure of a harpy (kinnari) with little wings instead of arms, a short bird's tail and a long crest falling down from the head. The carvings are enclosed on the three sides within a double serpent border.

The lower portion of the slab must have had a spout-hole in the centre, flanked by two dwarf pilasters, the capitals of which are still extant. Between them we distinguish a pair of apparently flying figurines which must once have surmounted the spout-opening. Over the figure of Varuṇa also a portion of the stone is broken off. Presumably it was a projecting square panel as is sometimes found on fountain-slabs. (Cf. fig. 11).

Along the raised narrow band beneath the row of figures there runs an inscription in one line, which is continued on a similar band between the leaf and scroll-work borders. The first line measures 5' 3" in length and the second only 10". The letters, which are ¾" to 2" in size, are very shallow and indistinct, especially in the beginning portion of the epigraph. The reading of this part is therefore uncertain. The inscription records the erection of a "Varuṇa-deva"—i.e. the slab on which it is carved—by Deva-prasāda, the son of Rāṇā Naga-prasāda, the son of Nāguka for the sake of [the bliss in] the other world of Rāṇi Mekhāliś. We may assume that the Rāṇi who may have been the wife of Deva-prasāda, is represented.

1 On the accompanying plate XXII the first line is divided into four.
on the stone by the female figure at the side of Varuna. That the persons, for whose sake such stones were erected, were sometimes portrayed on them is proved by the Sani example (No. 35). The circumstance that the Rani is accompanied by two children and another child kneels down at the feet of Varuna, perhaps gives a clue as to the peculiar reason, for which it was considered necessary to erect so elaborate a stone for the sake of the deceased Rani. It is said to be still the custom in Chambā to erect stones for women who have died in child-bed. This custom is based on a widespread superstition that the souls of women who die in child-bed become evil spirits.

Possibly for this same reason the Naghūni stone was erected to assure peace to the deceased Rani in the next world and to her relatives in this one.

TEXT.

[भी क्रिक: ॥ परमहर्षकः] सत्यालापितलाम—परमेश्वर—कीमा[के]लोक-देव-राज्य-चंबर्तू इं ।
वातम-मनः — चंद्रिन्द्वम् विनियता-वित्तान्य। भाष्योक्तं नागकोपोन्वन राजस्मी—कीमा-नागाम्बारिक्षण।
पूनेन चो-देवप्रसादस्थ राज्य-कीमांकपल्ट्याः पर मालाबृंह ब(१.२)रण-देवः[के] स्मरितम् (त: १)
शत्त गुणम् [के] ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the 3rd (? year of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Trailokyam, in [the month of] Śravaṇa, the dark fortnight, the lunar day, on Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Dhanisthā [was this stone] erected. By the grandson of the very illustrious Nāgū (km), by the son of the Rāṇā the illustrious Nāga-prasāda, by the illustrious Deva-prasāda was this fountain-stone (lit. god Varuna) erected for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the Rāṇi, the illustrious Mekhalā. Blessed be it!

No. 23.—BĀHΝOTĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SOMA-VARMAN.—(PLATE XXIII.)

In the summer of 1908 an inscribed fragment of a fountain-slab was discovered near the village of Bāhnotā in the Lūl-Tikri pargana of the Curāh wazōrat. It is now placed in the State Museum and numbered A, 7. When discovered, the stone was used in a flight of steps leading up to a dwelling-house, which accounts for the central portion of the lettering being much worn. Besides, the stone is broken on both sides, so that, to the right and to the left, parts of the inscription are missing. The remaining fragment is 1' 9½" high and 1' 4" wide. The upper half is carved with horizontal bands of decorative design, through the middle of which there runs a plain rim with one line of writing 12" long. The lower half is inscribed with eight lines (2-9) partly obliterated. This part of the inscription, when complete, must have occupied an oblong panel, measuring about 20" in width and 10" in height, which probably was placed over the spout-opening of the slab.

1 The first ten akṣaras are partly traceable.
2 Between 3 and 4½ there is a depression which possibly represents zero. There is sufficient space for a second figure, but the surface is worn.
Lines 2-5 are 10\(\frac{1}{2}\)" to 11" in length, but the concluding portion (ll. 6-9) is only preserved for a width of 7".

As the contents of the inscription are very similar to those of other such documents found in the Loh-Tkari purgana, it is possible to restore the missing portion to a certain extent. Thus it appears that between the second and the third lines ten aksharas are lost and between the sixth and seventh lines fifteen aksharas. If the first line contained the full stanza which in a modified form occurs in the Bhararā fountain inscription (No. 30) also, we may infer that on the proper right side sixteen syllables are lost and that, consequently, on this side the larger part of the stone is broken off. For this reason, I have placed the restored portions at the beginning of the lines.

The inscription was evidently fully dated both in the Śāstra era and in the regnal year of the ruling chief Rājā Soma-varman, whose name is found in line 3. Had it been complete, it would thus have enabled us to fix the year of accession of that prince and at the same time the date of Ananta-deva’s invasion and Śālavāhana’s dethronement. Unfortunately the Śāstra year as well as the regnal year are lost. So is the name of the donor. From other sources we know that Soma-varman’s accession must have taken place about the middle of the 11th century and that Asaṭa succeeded him before 1087-8. These data supply an approximate date for the Bāṅgāstra fountain inscription.

Line 1 and lines 5-7 contain four stanzas which, as remarked above, occur on other fountain-slabs and can be restored, except the one in lines 5-6 which has not been found elsewhere. These verses all emphasize the merit of erecting a fountain-stone in honour of the god Varuṇa. The Sanskrit seems here to be less incorrect than in similar passages of other inscriptions. The concluding two lines of the epigraph are apparently composed in the vernacular, but their fragmentary state renders it impossible to interpret them.

The inscription is well executed. The letters, as far as they are preserved, are well-shaped and distinct. They measure about \(\frac{3}{4}\)" to \(\frac{5}{8}\)" in height. A peculiarity which is also noticeable on the copper-plates of Soma-varman and Asaṭa, is that postconsonantic i and i are sometimes expressed by a flourish written over the consonant and turned towards the proper right and left respectively, but not continued along the side of the consonant. See e. g. the word Abhinī in line 2.

TEXT.

\[\text{\textbf{TEXT.}}\]

1 This pseudo-Śākta has been restored according to the reading of the Bhararā inscription (No. 30). In correct Sanskrit it would be: न वर्षस्वायत्वः: न वर्षस्वायत्वः तथाः। न व वस्वायत्वः। न व वस्वायत्वः तथाः।

1 The vowel stroke over æ and æ are still traceable.

2 Read सुमनान्त्रे।

3 Read विप्रुः माहा।
TRANSLATION. 3

No higher religious merit than [the erection of] a Varuna slab. No higher ascetic merit than [the erection of] a Varuna slab. No higher god than Varuna is known in the three worlds.

Hail! In the Sástra-year... [in the month of] Ā... , on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, on Saturday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Aśvini. In the year... of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent...

... for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the deceased ancestors, male and female, ... [this] fountain-stone (literally god Varuna) has been erected... by the body... the eternal world is gained. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of] Devi or Varuna...

NO. 24.—KULAIT COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA-VARMAN.

(PLATE XXIV.)

This copper-plate grant of Rájá Soma-varman was brought to my notice in the summer of 1902. I subsequently edited it in my paper on inscriptions in Chamba State. 4 The copper-plate is 14¾" wide and 10½" high, and consists of twenty-four horizontal lines. In the proper right margin the subscription of the donor and two short lines, containing the names of the officials concerned with the grant are written vertically. Over these the signature of the previous Rájá, Sáhaváhan, the father of Soma-varman, can still be traced, partly running through the initial akṣaras of lines 5-17. The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except along the proper right margin where both corners are broken. In the upper corner the symbol oṁ, the initial akṣaras of the first two lines and the initial akṣaras of the subscription are missing. In the lower corner five akṣaras of line 22, probably two of line 23, and one of line 24 have been lost, besides the lower portions of the two short vertical lines in the margin. Along the lower edge of the plate some rents are visible, one of which has been clamped. The letters are well-engraved; their average size is 3₃/₄" to 4¼".

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1 Read Āśvak.
2 This oṁ has been restored according to the reading of the Bhagṣaya inscription (No. 30, ll. 14-17). It also occurs in the Lek-Tiketi (No. 29, ll. 7-11), the Mangalas (No. 41, ll. 6-7) and the Sukéi inscriptions (No. 28, ll. 6-9).
3 In correct Sanskrit it would be धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः धिः.
4 The oṁ in the lower part is in a line found in copper-plate inscriptions (No. 14, ll. 17-18, No. 25, ll. 25-27.)
5 The vernacular fragments in lines 8 and 9 I have left untranslated.
6 A. R. A. S. for 1902-03, pp. 355 fl. with facsimile III.
Bāhnorā Fountain Inscription.

Siya Fountain Inscription.

SCALE 0-50

SCALE 0-22
The plate records a grant of land by Rājā Soma-varman, the son of Śālavāhana. The latter, as we know from the Rājatarāgiṇī,⁴ was deposed by king Ananta-deva of Kāśmir and replaced by another ruler. From the fact, just noted, that Śālavāhana's signature is still traceable on the plate, there can be little doubt that Soma-varman was his immediate successor, and consequently the new ruler installed by Ananta. The granted land was situated at Kulakagōṣṭha, the modern Kulait, in the district of Trighaṭṭaka which corresponds to the Trēṭā pargāna on the Upper Rāvi.

The inscription opens with a stanza in the Paippāyagrā metre, in praise of the three great gods Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same verse is found at the beginning of another copper-plate grant issued by Soma-varman together with his brother and successor Āṣaṭa (No. 25, ll. 1-2), and also in a corrupt form in the Sāhili fountain inscription (No. 33). Subsequently no less than nine lines (2-10) are devoted to a eulogy of Sāhilla the glorified ancestor of the donor. This passage recurs also, with slight modifications, on the title-deed of Soma-varman and Āṣaṭa. The praise lavished on the reputed founder of Chambā is not merely of the conventional kind usually found in Indian inscriptions. It speaks of a successful war waged by him against the Kira troops of the Lord of Īgar (Durgara) and their allies the Saumajīkas, of his alliance with the ruler of Kāṅgrā (Trigarta) and of his suzerainty over the principality of Kuḷa (Kula). It mentions a pilgrimage performed by Sāhilla to Kuruksetra on the occasion of a solar eclipse, and his great liberality on that occasion. Apparently his gift of "a multitude of elephants" which afforded him the honorific title of "Elephant-rain" had the desired effect of securing offspring for his house, through the favour of its mythical progenitor, the sun-god Bhāskara.

The encomium bestowed on Soma-varman himself is, on the contrary, purely conventional, though no less elaborate. We may conclude, therefore, that this prince had not rendered himself conspicuous by any exploits. Whether he had really "uprooted and replanted the royal power of several princes" may rightly be doubted, as this belonged to the dharmā of every right-minded ruler of ancient India.

The inscription is dated in the 7th year of Soma-varman's reign, but, as stated above, there are no data to fix the exact time of his accession. All that can be said with certainty is, that it cannot be far removed from the middle of the 11th century. When first editing this plate, I assumed that its date could be fixed owing to its having been issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse. But on re-examining the original, I have come to the conclusion that the damaged syllable following that indicating the month (Bhā. i.e. Bhāḍrapāda) is šō and not kr, as I first read it. It is, therefore, certain that the date of the inscription does not coincide with that of the solar eclipse at which the grant was made. Other instances are known of copper-plate grants being dated on a day subsequent to the donation.⁶

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² It reminds of the name of Kākkanarāja "Braslet-rain," borne, according to Rājat. IV 246, by a Tuhikara magician, brother of Lulāḍītya's general Śiśuṇaka and also by king Kṛṣṇa-gūpta (Rājat. VI 161).
It is a point of special interest that both the Prime Minister (Skr. mahānātya) and the Great Record-keeper (Skr. mahākārapiṭaka) mentioned as “messengers" at the end of the title-deed, bear the title rājanaka, i.e. rāṇā. Whether this title here denotes a feudatory chief or is merely honorary, does not appear, but the former alternative seems more likely. The name of a third official is only partly preserved. Between the initial ā and the three syllables -kṛthukah in the next line some eight akṣaras appear to be missing. We may, therefore, assume that here also the official’s personal name was preceded by his designation, perhaps akṣapaṭalika “connected with the akṣapaṭalī office.” It will be noticed that the ā is followed by a short almost vertical stroke which is also found after kā (for kāyastha) in the next line and after brā (for brāhmaṇa) in line 22, and evidently is meant to indicate an abbreviation. If so, this ā may stand for akṣapaṭalika and the missing portion may have been the word rājanaka, followed by Śrī and the initial letter or letters of the official’s personal name. The name of the kāyastha of which only the initial akṣara de is preserved, may be restored with some degree of probability from the grant of Āsata (No. 26, l. 21), which was written by two kāyasthas, one of whom is called Śivapa the son of Devapa.

Soma-varman’s grant, though neatly engraved, is by no means free from errors. Most of these seem to be due to thoughtlessness on the part of the engraver. Sometimes we find syllables or even words left out, which we have restored from inscription No. 25. On the other hand, we find a syllable repeated in paripōpālīta (l. 13). Vowel-marks have been omitted in Kurukṣetra (l. 5) for which No. 25, l. 5, has the correct form Kurukṣetra; in pratīrōpita (l. 14) for pratīrōpita and in udāyāśe (l. 16) for udāyāśalī. Mistakes for which the author of the inscription may be held responsible are partly due to the peculiar local pronunciation of Sanskrit. Thus we find ri for r in trīṣa (l. 21), j for y in prajī (l. 15), and an interchange of sibilants in maś (l. 7) for maśī, visī (l. 17) for visīva, sāśyamāna (l. 20) for sāśyamāna. The form vasī (l. 10) for vasiṣṭha nearly represents the local pronunciation beṣṭha. For the rest such mistakes are almost entirely limited to trespasses of Sanskrit rules which I have left uncorrected in my transcript. Marks of punctuation have been frequently omitted.

TEXT.

[Chā. 6]#Chā. Nāmaśāstra॥ ज्ञाति भवन-कारण सर्वभू ज्ञाति पुरुष-लगनी सुरारि: [16] ज्ञाति समिश्रण-सिध्ज-वेदी (l. 2) [द]रिन्न-भश्यरूरी चरा देव॥ ची-साक्षका-साधुकल्पस-प्रकाशी ब्राह-नर-वृत्त-विख-क्षुपृि प्रभा (l. 3) च-चुर्णित(द)द-कद-की-सत्तिका-कात्सानगर-दहरर्य-समीर-समुष्ट-कौर-बल-वनवदन्यायोयिण-चन-च्याय-(l. 4) नव-जानकरा। देवीसीसन-निम्नार्थितनय-प्रायित-समाचर्। सेवा-विधि-वाय-स्वत्व-क्रृत्य-कुर्सिनाद-कार्य-विनिष्ठा-(l. 5) र-प्राप्य-माण-रब्यारण-प्रदाताः। कुर्सिनाद-(द)चर राज्यराण-समसत-समिधिर(द)द-त-न-न-लु-ध्याभास-कु-नालक-पूज-प्रशस्त-। (l. 6) नव-कार-श्रवण-रूपालि-प्रक-भाग-भाग-भाग-अक्षारालखा। नान्ति-निम्नार्थ-प्रतित-वायर-सार-कर्विविभागार्य-। (l. 7) दस्य तत्काल-मित्र-निकितः

1 Cf. above No. 14, l. 19 and beneath No. 26, l. 21; also Sāla’s note at Kājat. V, 301 and Bühler, Indian Palaeography, p. 101.
अन्तीय अर्थ एवं आन्तोगीन—कृपायितों। सुमुखम्य—भक्षम्य कोऽभोगम्। तिररिगम्य—वीकीर्द्यां धे धे। (18) योगावः गान्धीर्य—समायोद्धाद्वा—द्रव्याम्—विलिङ्गम्—उपसर्गायस्य—कामकर्मम्—नित्यम्—कामकर्मम्—सुविकीर्द्यादि—प्रवर्त्ततिः। द्रव्यादि। (19) नानाकोली—वीकीर्द्यादिवशम्। (चौ) अंगवर्धवी—गुड़ा—वास्तुसे—कर्तितायाम्। धार्मिक प्रणालीमध्ये। यादृच्छिक—संसार—वादम्। (110) ज्ञान—संविदायक—काव्यतं। (कोपातिः)। साक्षाक्षे—सहायम्। उपर्युक्तासलिः। (विचारण)। विचारण—प्रक्ष्यधे धे। (111) योगान्त्रिक—विश्वास। निर्माण—स्वतंत्र—निर्माण—विश्वास। विश्वास—विश्वास—प्रक्ष्यधे। (विचारण)। (112) मास्स:। वाग्गुल्लन—चिन्ह—रणनिर्माण। (त्रित्योजन)। (113) तृतीयोजन—वाणिज्य—सुभाषित—विश्वास। (प्रक्ष्यधे)। (114) चारी—कर्मचरक—विश्वास, [नः]। (115) विचारण—विश्वास—काव्य—संसार—काव्य—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)। (116) विचारण—विश्वास—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)। (117) स्वातंर्कित—बिन्यन्त्रित। (तार्किक)। (118) स्वातंर्कित—विन्यन्त्रित। (तार्किक)। (119) स्वातंर्कित—बिन्यन्त्रित। (तार्किक)। (120) स्वातंर्कित—बिन्यन्त्रित। (तार्किक)। (121) विचारण—विश्वास—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)। (122) विचारण—विश्वास—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)। (123) विचारण—विश्वास—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)। (124) विचारण—विश्वास—संसार—काव्य। (तार्किक)।
Hail! Reverence to Śiva. Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahmā). Victorious is the son of (Śiva or Indra) the Destroyer of castles, the Rival of Mura (Kṛṣṇa). Victorious is He, whose body is held by the Mountain-daughter (Durgā), He who removes distress and danger—Hara the god.

(L. 2) From his residence at the glorious Cappāka, the highly devout [king Soma-varman], who is an ornament of the spotless house of the illustrious Sāhilla of divine descent—that great jewel adorning the race of Mūsana—who (Sāhilla) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīta forces, fanned, as by the wind, by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Samatikas, whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sāhilla's) forehead; whose (Sāhilla's) alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who (Sāhilla) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage; who (Sāhilla) had the fortunate name of Karivarṣa (Elephant-rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhūskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed2 in Kurukṣetra at the time of an eclipse; who (Sāhilla) has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame [painted] with the ink-brushes which were the mouths of all the princes assembled (at Kurukṣetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse); who (Sāhilla), by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness and unfathomable profundity, has improved the fame of Janadagni's son (Parāśurāma), Sibi, Karna Yudhisthira and such-like heroes; by looking upon whose (Sāhilla's) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; whose (Sāhilla's) wide-spread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like [that of] the lord, the illustrious Śūraka-svāmin3 of divine descent; who (Sāhilla) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sāhasāhika (Marked by rashness), Niṣānka-mallia (the dauntless Wrestler) and Maṭamaṭa-simha (the roaring ? Lion)—

(L. 11.) [King Soma-varman] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge; whose mind is perfumed by the fragrance of every science; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues; he, the only abode of discrimination; whose heart takes delight in the worship of the deities, the twice-born and the spiritual preceptors; who possesses enviable courage full of excessive manliness; who in their proper order maintains the status of the four castes; whose strong arm is dexterous in brandishing the fierce falcion intent on crushing the great pride of the irresistible foe; who (Soma-varman) by his

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1 Here as well as in line 17 I have translated according to the proposed emendation. If we read Paṇāna the rendering will be “the Solar race.”

2 I translate according to the proposed emendation samarpīla instead of samartikāta.

3 Bhūskara is a legendary king who largely figures in old Indian folklore, and is the reputed author of the play Mūdakulākā ("The Little Clay Cart").
excessive majesty has uprooted and replanted the mighty and widespread royal power of several princes; who has completely fulfilled the wishes of all his favoured ones by profusely granting to them their desired objects; who, by the effulgence of his glory, bright like the multitudinous beams of the Hare-holder (the Moon), has illuminated all regions; who takes an exquisite delight in every art and sport; he, the eastern Mountain where—from the orb of the sun (alias the circle of his friends) rises, [but] a Comet of calamity to the wicked; he who has illuminated all the quarters of the universe by his fame acquired by extraordinary heroism; he, born in the house of Mususa, who by his devotion to his parents has outvied the piety of Rāma; he, the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Śiva) and of Viṣṇu; he, who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śālavāhāna of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious and divine Raḍhā even as the Moon was born from the Milk-ocean; he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent, the prosperous one.

(L. 20) has granted one bhū in Kulika-gośtha, which belongs to the Trighatā-ka district of his domain and was occupied by Raṅgu(ka)'s son Raṇādhitya and belonged to the latter's son Udma—in figures 1 bhū occupied by Raṅgu(ka)'s son—as far as its limits with grass, grazing, and pasture-ground, with fallow land large and small, with fruit-trees and water, with ingress and egress, together with gardens and resting-places, for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure,] to the Brāhmaṇa of the house of Kāyapa, the descendant of three prominent Sāges (ṛṣi) and adherent of the school of the Vajasaneyas, the grandson of ..., the son of Brahma, Bhūṭa Rahaṇa—on the occasion of a solar eclipse, as an agraḥāra. To be enjoyed henceforward for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure] by son and son's son.

(L. 24.) In the increasing fortunate reign of victory, anno 7; [the month] Bhā[drapada], the bright fortnight, the lunar day 3. The messenger on this occasion was the Prime-Minister, the illustrious Raṅga Rihila; the Great Record-keeper, the illustrious Raṅa Kāhila ..., Iluthuka. Written by the writer of legal documents, the ka[gaßha] De[vapa ?]

Own sign-manual of the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent. (Original subscription.) Own sign-manual of the illustrious Śālavāhāna-varman of divine descent.

No. 25.—CHAMBĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA-VARMAN AND ĀSAṬA.—(PLATE XXV.)

This copper-plate belongs to the temples of Hari Rāi and Campāvati, both in Chambā city, and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. B, 5).

The inscription was first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and was subsequently edited by the late Professor F. Kielhorn. I have re-edited it in my preliminary article on the inscriptions of Chambā.1 Here again I desire to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the work of so eminent an

authority on Indian epigraphy. My transcript—it will be seen—differs but slightly from that of Professor Kielhorn, which was prepared from an imperfect rubbing. In my translation I have adopted the rendering of certain passages, as given by my predecessor in the course of his paper. The only point, on which I venture to differ in my conclusions from those of that distinguished scholar is the topography, in elucidating which I had the enormous advantage of an investigation in loco.

The plate measures 18" in width and 12" in height. It contains thirty-two lines, of which 1-28 are written horizontally over the whole breadth of the plate, and record the original grant by Soma-varman, whose signature is engraved vertically in the centre of the proper right margin. The addition by his successor Āśata commences from the end of line 28 and is continued along the lower, proper left and upper margins, ending in the proper right margin near the first akṣara of Soma-varman’s subscription. After his name that of Āśata is engraved.

The upper proper left corner of the plate is broken, causing the loss of about five akṣaras at the end of line 30, and of about three akṣaras at the beginning of line 31. In the upper proper right corner also a small piece is missing. Here two akṣaras have become damaged, but are still legible. Otherwise the inscription is well preserved. Its execution leaves nothing to be desired. The average size of the letters is between ½" and ¾".

The grant is composed in prose, except two imprecatory verses in the Purāṇa and Mahānī metres at the beginning, one in the Śārdūlaśiridīka metre in the middle, and four ślokas (Amuśūkha) regarding the dānadharmā at the end. The insertion of a verse in the middle and in continuation of the prose, though common enough in literature, is unusual in a title-deed. "From a grammatical point of view," Professor Kielhorn remarks, "I may draw attention to the employment of the instrumental case Śukraśvam in line 27 instead of the locative Śukravāra, and to the position of the numeral in bhāmaḍaka-caturmāni, line 29, and in deco-deyokha, line 30, which is not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions of the middle-ages. The Sanskrit of the genealogical part of the inscription, up to line 13, is unobjectionable."

As regards orthography, Professor Kielhorn draws attention to the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in Kulūtesvara and sākhinah (l. 5), Śītā (l. 8), oṣeṣasāstrārtha (l. 11) and parameṣvara (l. 12); the employment of the guttural nasal instead of the anusvāra in vaṅkē (l. 24); and the fact that ba is everywhere denoted by the sign for va. I may add that we find rī for r in tritigāyōka (l. 27) and that the nasal is used instead of anusvāra in svayamābhārā (l. 1), sanāhuṣṭottara (l. 4), sanāḥāmnagā (l. 4) and sanāniyuktaka (l. 14).

The inscription, as stated above, opens with two benedictory verses, the first of which occurs also in the grant of Soma-varman (No. 24, l. 1-2), whilst the second will be found again in that of Āśata (No. 26, l. 1-2). In some respects the two readings differ in spelling. The first stanza recurs also in a very corrupt form in the Sāhili fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 1). The next eight lines (3-10) contain, with some slight modifications, the same eulogy of Sāhila, the ancestor

1 No. 24 has in the same verse svavābhu.
of the donor of the grant, as we have noticed in Soma-varman’s title-deed (No. 24, II. 2-11). This has enabled us to restore missing words or syllables and to correct mistakes in both the corresponding passages.

A point of special interest is that in the present grant mention is made of a victory gained by Sāhilla over the Turuṣkas. Professor Kielhorn conjectures that this refers to the repulse of one of Sultan Mahmūd’s invasions at the beginning of the 11th century. As, however, according to the Vanśāvali Sāhilla is separated from Āsāṭa by five reigns, to which probably those of Sālavāhana and Soma-varman are to be added, he can hardly have been a contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghazni. Unfortunately the term “Turuṣka” is not only used to denote the Turks, but, like “Śaka” and “Yavana,” it designates any race of foreign invaders.” Kalhaṇa calls even the Svythian Kaṇiśka a Turuṣka. It is quite possible that the Turuṣkas defeated by Sāhilla were merely foreign mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring hill-chiefs. Kalhaṇa speaks of Turuṣka centurions (Turuṣka-śatā-
dhika) in the service of king Hṛṣa of Kaśmir, and of Turuṣka allies which the latter’s grandson Bhiśpacara employed in an expedition against Sussala, who defeated them near Puño (Parsotāsa) in the month of Vaiṣākha A.D. 1121.

The praise bestowed on the donor himself is less elaborate than in the corresponding passage of Soma-varman’s grant. The high-flown expressions used are partly identical. It will be seen that Soma-varman is the donor of the grant, but that the charter was issued after he had been succeeded by his brother Āsāṭa, in the first year of whose reign it is dated.

The following passage (II. 13-15), in which the donor enumerates his officials and enjoins them to observe the grant, also occurs with certain modifications in the title-deed of Vīḍīrdha (No. 15, II. 6-11) and in that of Āsāṭa (No. 26, II. 7-10). In the next 6 lines (16-21) the situation of the granted lands is described. In each case we find the names of the district (Skt. māṇḍala), of the village and of the previous landholder. In some cases a name is added which apparently indicates the land itself. In the grants of Yūgākara (No. 14) and Vīḍīrdha (No. 15) also the fields are designated by special names, according to a custom still prevalent in Chambā. The villages, which can nearly all be identified, are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and belong to three different māṇḍalas, the position of which can approximately be fixed from that of the villages.8

Among the persons who enjoyed the lands at the time when the grant was made we find in the first place the Queen-mother, Rādhā. From the wording of the title-deed (bhūyamāna i.e. bhūyamāna is the present participle of the passive voice!) we may infer that she was still alive at the time of the donation and consequently had survived her husband, Sālavāhana. From the Devī-ṛi-kōṭī fountain inscription (No. 32) it is evident that the custom of sāti prevailed among the noble families of Chambā, but was not universally practised. Queen Rādhā possessed a jātara, indicated by the name of Kuṭoṭa, out of which she granted four bhīs of land, thus participating in the donation of her two sons. It will be seen in the sequel.

2 On their position see above, pp. 11 L.
that she was the founder of one of the two temples to which the grant was made. This accounts for her liberality. The position of Kulotī is uncertain. A charter of Rājā Saṅgram-varman, dated Śastra 22 (A.D. 1446) contains the name of a village called Kulotī, but without any particulars regarding its situation. In a copper-plate grant of Rājā Balabhadrā, dated Śastra 68, Vikrama 1649 (A.D. 1692) mention is made of Kulot ḍhaga, i.e. "precipice" near the village of Lakhali in the Sāhō pargava.

The next landholder mentioned in our inscription is the cook (śūpakāra) Surabhīta. We may safely assume that he was the cook of the royal household. Among the numerous grants of Rājā Balabhadrā is one dated Vikrama 1687, Śastra 16 (A.D. 1640/1) which records the donation of the village of Krahmārī in the Sāhō pargava to the cook (śūpakāra) Viṣṇu-varman. I may add that up to the present day the Rājā's cook is a Brāhman.

The land granted in the village of Vāṭā was in the possession, not of an individual, but of the members of a committee (goṣṭhikā from goṣṭha). The term chowmēraka, by which these goṣṭhikas are indicated, I cannot explain. Possibly it denotes some locality. The next landholder, Vījvula, is called Bhadravakāśya, i.e. a native of Bhadravakāśa, the modern Bhadarvā. This hill-tract belongs at present to the Jammu-Kāsmir State. Among the remaining five landholders two bear the designation aśāprahārika. This word is not found in Sanskrit literature, but there can be little doubt that it denotes eight watchmen attached to the temple of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇ, the chief sanctuary of Chamba. The word prahārika is evidently derived from Skr. prahara (Hindi pahar) meaning "a watch of three hours." The expression dōpahṛ for "noon" (literally "two watches," i.e. six hours after 6 A.M.) is well known. The word aśāprahārika is not formed according to the rules of Sanskrit etymology. The correct erddhī form from prahara would be prahārika. This is also borne out by the fact that its modern derivative is pāharī, a word used in Chamba to denote a watchman, either of a temple or some other building. It is synonymous with the Urdu word cawkidār (Anglo-Indic chowkidār). At present one pāharī and four pāharīs are attached to the temple of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇ. In a charter of Balabhadrā dated Vikrama 1684 Śastra 83 (A.D. 1697) mention is made of these watchmen as Śrī-Nārāyaṇa de pāharī (I. 11). Professor Kielhorn has drawn attention to the fact that here as well as in the concluding portion of the inscription the landholders are sometimes not called by their own proper names, but described as the sons of their respective fathers. The same peculiarity may be noticed in Yogākara's grant (No. 14).

The total area of land granted is stated to be 15 bhū. It is clear that bhū is a superficial measure divided into four bhūmīṣṭhakas. In the grants of Vidagdha (No. 15), Soma-varman (No. 24) and Āśa (No. 26) also we find the area of the land expressed in bhū or bhūmī. In that of Yogākara, on the other hand, the extent of the granted land is expressed in a measure of capacity—the pīṭaka (modern pīṭra)—according to the usage of the Hills. We may compare with bhū the English word "acre" which originally must have meant "a field," as appears from German

1 At present the village belongs to the temple of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇ.
As to the exact value of a bhū, I may note that the land, granted in Āsāta’s charter, which is stated to be 1 bhū 3 maṣaka, in other words 2½ bhū, has an area of 14 lahrī or 42 acres, from which it would follow that 1 bhū corresponds with nearly 5½ lahrī or nearly 17 acres.

In addition to the 15 bhū of land detailed, the donor granted annually one khāri of grain from the store-house (koṭṭhagāra) of Bhadravarma, the modern Bhadram. This store-house was, no doubt, the building in which the revenue in kind was collected and would, therefore, correspond to the State Kothi found at the head-quarters of each pargāvā, and used not only as a residence for the State officials, but until recent years also for the storage of the grain paid as revenue. The custom of paying revenue in kind has been abolished since A.D. 1883, but the large wooden grain vessels called kañjāṭi may still be seen in many of the Kothis.

Lines 21-24 contain particulars regarding the doncees of Soma-varman’s grant. It is to be regretted that, in the midst of his business-like statements, the author of the title-deed was suddenly seized with poetical inspiration, which circumstance has considerably impaired the lucidity of this passage. This much is clear that the total grant is divided into two very unequal portions. One portion consisting of only half a bhū is given to a Viṣṇu temple founded by order of the illustrious Pāśaṭa.

Professor Kielhorn proposed to read Śri-Āsāta, but to this emendation there seem to me to be serious objections, though at first I felt inclined to adopt it. First of all it will be seen that the akṣara pā, which was doubtful in Professor Kielhorn’s rubbings, is quite distinct in the original. Supposing that the engraver had really substituted pā for d, it can hardly be believed that such a mistake in a personal name would not have been corrected at the same time as other corrections were made.

By reading Śri-Āsāta, we should moreover have to assume that the author of the inscription had made a serious mistake in saññāḍhy by allowing the hiatus to stand. Finally we notice that Śri-Pāśaṭa is called mahārājeputra, so that he can hardly be identical with Āsāta, who was the ruling Rājā at the time when the charter was issued. We shall, therefore, have to admit the existence of a Pāśaṭa, but it is impossible to say in what relationship he stood to the donor. The Viṣṇu temple founded by him seems to have disappeared. Judging from the smallness of the grant, it cannot have been a very important shrine.

The remaining 14½ bhū of land, together with the annual khāri of grain, were bestowed on two other temples, one of the Lord Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu) founded by Lakṣmana-varman and the other dedicated to Śiva by Queen Rañjāhā, apparently for the benefit of Sālākara-varman. The first-mentioned shrine is undoubtedly the temple of Hari Rāi near the Cangān Gate, which still enjoys part of the grant. Regarding its founder, Lakṣmana-varman, nothing is known, but we may assume that he was a member of the ruling house. In any case, it is very probable that the Hari Rāi temple was built shortly before the grant was made. The tradition that it dates back to a period anterior to the foundation of Čambā by Sāhilla will, therefore, have to be rejected. Professor Kielhorn is, no doubt, right in identifying Sālākara-varman with Sālayahana-varman, the father of the donor. The fact that Rañjāhā

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1 Smaller vessels for storing grain are called śre. They contain up to 20 more of grain. On the koṭṭhā cf. above p. 196.
built a Śiva temple in his memory is conclusive proof that she did not become
sati after his death. The temple in question is no longer extant. At least, none
of the three chief Śiva temples of Chambā town—namely, Candargupt, Gauri-
Śākhar and Trimukh—has any tradition regarding Śālavāhana and his queen
Rādjā. In view of the above, Professor Kielhorn’s conjecture, that the two gods
were worshipped in the same temple and that this temple was probably that of
Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa cannot be upheld. It is curious that at the present time Hari Rāj
shares the grant with Campāvati the eponymous goddess of Chambā. In what
manner a part of the donation has become transferred to this temple, it is impossible
to decide.

Lines 24-27 contain four ślokas of the usual type, in which the sanctity of the
donation is emphasized and its confiscation denounced as the blackest of crimes.
In line 27 the date is given as the first year of the reign of Āṣata, the month of
Vaisākha, the third titli of the bright fortnight, Friday.

The Great-Recordkeeper (mahākṣapatalikā) Kāhuka, mentioned as “messenger”
of the charter, is perhaps identical with the Rājānaka Kāhula, whose name occurs
with the same designation and in the same connection at the end of Soma-varman’s
plate (No. 24, l. 25). In the same manner we find the names, Paikuka and Patala,
used to denote the same person in the Sārbānī well inscription2 in the Delhi Museum
(Cat. No. B, 6). The kāgaṭhas, Śivapa and Manna, by whom the charter was
written are mentioned again in line 32. They were also the writers of Āṣata’s
grant (No. 26, l. 21).

After the formula uti śubham which marks the end of the original document
we find a few lines added in the 11th year, evidently of Āṣata’s reign, the month of
Buḍḍrapada, the 12th day of the bright fortnight. The name of the day of the
week is lost except the initial s. This addition is written in a less careful manner
than the original grant and contains several mistakes, which to a certain extent
obscure its meaning. It records a change in the original donation as regards the
bhū of land in the village of Māngala (modern Mangā) in the Pārakamaṭa māṇḍola.
It also records an additional grant of one bhū of land to a temple (it is not clear
which), apparently for the special purpose of rewarding the services of the eight
watchmen (aṣṭaprahrāṭika) above mentioned. In the right hand margin we find
the signatures of both the original donor Soma-varman and of the ruling chief Rājā
Āṣata.

TEXT.

चौं समन्विन्यायः जयति जुध्व-वारण(च) स्थवर्भृत्यति पुरुष-नवन्द्वि मुरारि: [1]*
जयति नित्रित्रुत्त्व-विखेत-वेर्दा ह्वरव-विदापकाहरि हरे-(1. 2) च देव.: जयति जनमांनिन्दादुर्गलोऽ
भवनी जयति नित्रित्रुत्व-आस-विग्रहव गुरारि: [1]* जयति च गाजवश्रीय च यस्य प्रादानादु- नरसिंहः (1. 3)
समस्तहः नित्र-वर्मिंशयः। चौं-चन्द्रपकानाकव-वर्मिंशयो नयानाद-नेत-
घातित-विक्रिया-भूकुटि प्रकट-कृत्तिकेय-काल-सौभाषित-काल-सामाय-रूग्गः-(1. 4) रेथर-समी-कुशिनः

1 A parallel instance is the temple of Śālavāhana built in 1825 by Rājā Sarda, the widow of Rājā Ji Singh who died in 1808. Of above p. 1, n. 3.
3 No. 26, l. 2, has upaśanamati.
4 I read first bhūka with Prof. Kielhorn. The aṣṭapraḥāṭika, however, occurs in No. 14, l. 6, in a different form.
For Part 2 see A.S.T. Memoir No. 72
ANTHROPOID FUZZY-HEADED ASIANS: CHANDRA-SHIVA. 9 Bhojpur: Mathiyaravan-4, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan-7, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan-4, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaravan, Mathiyaraverse.
was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kira force, fanned, as by the wind, by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumaṭikas, whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sāhilla’s) forehead; whose (Sāhilla’s) alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who (Sāhilla) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return of services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kulata, anxious to render him homage; who (Sāhilla) by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree, the large force of the Tūrūkas, on whom wounds had been inflicted; who (Sāhilla) had the fortunate name of Karivaṇa (Elephant-rain), on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhāskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed¹ in Kurukṣetra at the time of an eclipse; who (Sāhilla) has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame [pointed] with the ink-brushes, which were the months of all the princes assembled (at Kurukṣetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse); who (Sāhilla), by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, and unfathomable profundity, has impaired the fame of Jamadagni’s son (Parasurāma), Śibi, Karṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira and such-like heroes; by looking upon whose (Sāhilla’s) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; whose (Sāhilla’s) widespread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like (that of) the lord, the illustrious Śūraka-svāmin² of divine descent; who (Sāhilla) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sāhasaṇa (Marked by rashness), Niśāṇaka-malla (the dauntless Wrestler) and Maṭamaṇa-simha (the roaring Lion).

(L. 11.) [King Soma-varman] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge; whose mind is perfumed by the fragrance of every science; the royal swan of the only lake of discrimination; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues; whose fame is strewed over the dwellings of the three worlds; he who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sālavāhana of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious Račhā of divine descent, even as the Moon was born from the Milk-ocean; he, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma-varman³ of divine descent, the prosperous one,

(L. 13.) enjoins on all the officials, every rājā, rāgā, royal minister, rājput, those appointed and commissioned of [the Rājā’s] attendants (?), every dāta, gamagamika, abhito-vamāna, Khaṣa, Kulika, superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests (?), sword-guard (?), torapati, those belonging to the expeditionary force (?), every “chief-catcher,” “rod-bearer,” “rod-and-rope-bearer,” brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaisya, sūdra, and all others, that constitute the eighteen elements of the State and the neighbouring country people:

¹ I translate according to the proposed emendation “somarpita” instead of “somarāta”.
² See above, p. 186, n. 3.
(L. 15.) Be it known unto you, that within the domain under our sway in the Pāṇḍhāla district there are four bhūma of land belonging to Kuloṭi, enjoyed by the queen, the illustrious Rādhā of divine descent, and at Māṅgala two bhūmi belonging to the cook Surambhaṭa, and at Vāṭā there are two bhūmi belonging to the Chhohraṇaka-gosṭhika, and in the Tāvasakā district at Bhadravarma there was one bhū held by Vījīvala of Bhadravāh, and at Saralūla there was one bhū held by Bhaṭṭa Vasaṇa, and at Dhālāya two bhūmi in Lartuka which belong to the watchman the son of Denu, and in the same village two bhū in Jauḍhaka, belonging to the second watchman, the son of Rāmaṇjaya, and in the Pārakamaṭa district at Māṅgala in Dhauliṅga two bhūmaṣaka belonging to the son of Lutthuka and two bhūmaṣaka belonging to the son of Hūrāṭaka, both together making one bhū. In figures: of Kuloṭi 4 bhū, at Māṅgala 2 bhū, at Vāṭā 2 bhū, at Bhadravarma 1 bhū, at Saralūla 1 bhū, at Dhālāya 4 bhū, at Māṅgala 1 bhū, thus 15 bhū, thus on the previously established terms of occupancy, as far as their limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, with fallow land large and small, with ingress and egress, with fruit-trees and water, together with houses, kitchen-gardens, orchards, and resting-places; also from the storehouse of Bhadravarma annually one kharī of grain, in figure 1 kharī of grain. Out of these [lands] the two bhūmaṣaka of the son of Lutthuka on the road to Māṅgala in Pārakamaṭa are bestowed as an agrahāra on the Lord Viṣṇu, founded here by order of the illustrious Pāṣaṭa the son of the Mohārījā. The remaining 14 bhū 2 mā. and 1 kharī of grain are granted by me for as long as moon and sun shall endure, unceasing, unopposed, as an agrahāra by a formal libation of water.

(L. 23.) to the Lord Hari (Viṣṇu) who is renowned by the auspicious name of the illustrious Laksmaṇa-varman, and to Śiva who, praised with music, has blessed the illustrious Sālakara-varman and has been established by the illustrious queen Rādhā, whose mind possessed highest devotion to him. Let then all people approve it.

(L. 24.) And this has been spoken by Vyāsa: "Whosoever of this wide-spread race may be king, I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit, by [its] observance the highest sovereignty [will be attained]; [its] observance is therefore very important. The land which is unlawfully confiscated or unlawfully caused to be confiscated consumes up to the seventh generation of him who confiscates it and of him who causes it to be confiscated. He who takes away the land is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks, by a hundred horse-oblations and by a gift of ten million cows."

(L. 27.) In the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, in the first year of the illustrious Āśaṭa of divine descent, on the third day of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Vaiṣāṭha, on Friday has this plate been presented. The messenger on this occasion was the Great-Recordkeeper, the illustrious Kāhuṇa. This was written by the writers of legal documents, Śivapa and Manna. May it be blessed!

(L. 28.) Here again is written that, in exchange for the four bhūmaṣaka of Māṅgala in Pārakamaṭa, four, in figures 4, bhūmaṣaka, belonging to the sons of Savyāka, are given as an agrahāra in apportionment (?) to the two gods. In the
year 11, [the month of] Bhādra, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 12 . . .

. . . One, in figures 1, bhu belonging to the son of Mattika, the grandson of Mahendraka, in Ghalahanja, situated in the Pānthili district, is granted for the service of the watchmen in the same temple. To be observed in the previously described manner.

(L. 32.) Written by the same Śivapa and Manna. Own sign-manual of the illustrious Somā-varman of divine descent. Own sign-manual of the illustrious Āsata of divine descent.

No. 26.—THUNDHU COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ĀSATA.

(PLATE XXVI).

This grant of Rāja Āsata came to my notice in the summer of 1902 and was preliminarily edited by me with the other four Chambā copper-plate inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period.1 It belongs to a Bṛhman of the name of Jāsu who lives in the village of Thundhu at the head of the Hol valley in the Hol-Gudhāyā pargāna. It is doubtful whether the lands now held by the owner of the plate are those described in the charter. On a visit to the spot I could not identify any of the localities mentioned in connection with the donation. Those lands are no longer regarded as a sāsam, as the owner has to pay the ordinary revenue. It is a curious circumstance that Jāsu claims to belong to the Bṛhadāvā gastra, whereas the original donor was a Bṛhman of the Kāśyapa gōtra, so that it may rightly be doubted whether he is a descendant of the latter. The plate is now preserved in the Chambā State Museum (Cat. No. B, 6).

The copper-plate on which Āsata’s grant is engraved measures 9½" in height and 13½" in width, including a short handle to the proper right. It is pierced with a round hole which is probably meant to hang the plate on the wall. It may be noticed here that none of the copper-plates found in Chambā are provided with a seal. The inscription consists of 21 lines, besides the signature of the donor written in the proper right margin. The average size of the letters is from ½" to 3¼".

The inscription is engraved with great care and the lettering is distinct throughout. Yet the number of blunders is very considerable. They consist mostly of the substitution of akṣaras closely resembling the intended ones. Such mistakes are: evāpna (l. 1) for evāpta, guruc (l. 3) for guruc, gopāgama (l. 8) for gamgama, bhītavrāṇa (l. 9) for bhītavrāma, saṃhika (l. 9) for saṃhika, sapajñāpayati (l. 10) for samajñāpayati, yalī (l. 10) for yalī, tabhā (l. 12) for ubhā, śocara (l. 13) for gocara, sanapaty- (l. 13-14) for sanapaty-, pālanda- marana (l. 19) for pālanda-paraṇo, u (l. 19) for u, gacaya (l. 20) for gatīyas, ato (l. 21) for dato. Visarga (or final s) and anusvāra have been omitted in va sācita tā (l. 10); anusvāra in sanapaty-udaka (l. 13-14). The top-stroke has been left out in svarc-i-paśi-kītīt - (l. 16) and the ā stroke in -Śivapāhāyāna (l. 21). We may perhaps assume that the engraver had to execute the plate from an indistinct copy which would account for so great a number of blunders. When comparing this grant with the previous one (No. 25), we notice that in the present

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1 J. P. A. S. for 1902-03, pp. 284 ff.; with facsimile V.
case the writing is much more cursive. This is especially noticeable in the shape of ज. The short i stroke used in this inscription deserves special notice.

Mistakes of a different kind are those resulting from an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the author of the inscription. They are on the whole similar in nature to those noticed in the other four grants of the pre-Muhammadan period. Sāndhi rules are generally treated with great levity. Thus we find vīvārdhīta akalantakā (l. 6), sarvācayavac (l. 7), cauvrodharānike (l. 9), vṛkṣa-ārāma (l. 11) and agraśāratvad i (l. 13). Interchange of sibilants is found in kūlā (l. 7) for kuśā, sāśyānā (l. 11) for śāśyānā, Vyāsa (l. 19) for Vyāsa. In jala-sāluka (l. 15) ū has been substituted for cu. We find ri instead of r in triṇa (l. 18) and ō instead of u in Dhāraśāyā (l. 15) in khaṇḍarūkya (l. 9) and vīraśārika (l. 9) we notice the influence of the vernacular words khaṇḍa (from Skr. khaṇḍa) and jātrā (from Skr. jātra).

The charter opens with a stanza in the Mālinī metre, the same as is found at the beginning of the previous grant (No. 25, ll. 2-3). We notice that uparāmātī has been substituted for uparāmati. The eulogy of the donor (ll. 2-6) is partly identical with the corresponding passage in Soma-varman’s grant (No. 24, ll. 11-15), but less extensive. The following portion (ll. 7-10) in which the officials are enumerated who will have to observe the Bājā’s grant, agrees closely with the list of officials found in the charters of Vidaśāhu (No. 15, ll. 6-11) and in that of Soma-varman and Ásāta (No. 25, ll. 13-15).

The Bājā’s mawālaka in which the granted lands are said to be situated, corresponds perhaps with the Hol-Gudhyāl pargona. The other localities, called Dālima and Vahjilīkā (l. 12), I have not been able to identify. They are probably fields; it will be noticed that no village is mentioned. As usual in these charters, the lands are indicated by the names of the last holders. The name of the donee, Mace the son of Pūjarāja and grandson of Dhāraśāya is found in line 15. In lines 19-20 one śāluka is quoted from Vyāsa in corroboration of the grant. The date is the 5th year of the reign of Ásāta. The messenger is the Recordkeeper Bhumāṇa-pāla, and the writers are the kṣaṇaśāhas Manma and Śivapa (here called the son of Devapa)—the same whose names we have twice met with in the grant of Soma-varman and Ásāta (No. 25, ll. 28 and 32).

**TEXT.**

कर ज्यति अनानिष्ठाकुरस्ती भवानी ज्यति नित्य-विस्मृति- बाप ([१५]) विश्व × पुरारि: ([१५])

ज्यति च गणन- (l. 2) काहीं च यथभ्रातारुपमसमि समस्तो विश्व-वर्गासमृ:। क्र-वाचनका वाम- कालाधर-वर्णणो देव-दिवा- (l. 3) य(५)इ-पूजनमहारति दीनावा-सप्तानावा-वाल:। अविभित-सुपर- गणालि नुस्तनि:। विवेकव-वसिति यस (५) शव्व-कर-विकलावदान-यमः। \(\text{र् \(\text{र्} \)}\) -प्रसर-प्रकाशित-वर्णः।

काहीं(५) शय-कृतिका-सिकक:। प्रसर-भारसङ्ग-क्षवर्तः- (l. 4) विकार-परमेश्वर-भोजकातावन-देव- गुरुरुपातानात-प्रसर-प्रकाशित-वर्णः। अथाःक-विविधत्व-कवितवलः। प्रसर-भारसङ्ग-क्षवर्तः-विकार-परमेश्वर-भोजकातावन- (l. 5) विकार-परमेश्वर-भोजकातावन-देव- गुरुरुपातानात-प्रसर-प्रकाशित-वर्णः। अथाःक-विविधत्व-कवितवलः। प्रसर-भारसङ्ग-क्षवर्तः-विकार-परमेश्वर-भोजकातावन- (l. 7) सत्कर्त्र × नुष्धिः। क्र-सप्तानावा- समासान्। बाप ([१५])

\(^1\) Apparently पन or पन was written first, and corrected into पन.
TRANSLATION.

Victorious is she who saves mankind from misfortune—Bhavāni (Durgā). Victorious is he who with his splendour has pervaded the universe, the Ece of the castles (Śiva). Victorious also is the Elephant-faced one—he by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases (Gaṇeśa).

(L. 2) From his residence at the glorious Canpkā, the highly devout [king Ásāta] who takes delight in the worship of the deities, the twice-born (the Brāhmans) and the spiritual preceptors; the friend of the distressed, the blind, the needy and the unprotected; whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of virtues; the only abode of discrimination; who, by the effulgence of his glory, bright like the multitudinous beams of the Haro-holder (the Moon) has illumined all regions; the only ornament of the race of Mūsaya; who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sālavāhana, of divine descent, and was reared by that other Ocean—the womb of the supreme princess, the queen, the illustrious Rājāhā of divine descent, but was without spot.  

1 No. 26, l. 14 has somaṇuṣṭha.  
2 No. 26, l. 14 has dhānaṇjaraka which is probably the correct reading. In No. 16, l. 8, we also find dhānaṇjaraka.  
3 The original has Vakṣjiśekā, but I presume that the k in the second akṣara has been substituted for s to which it bears a great resemblance. Cf. Pānjarajaya (l. 15).  
4 I translate according to the proposed emendation. If we read “Phropā,” the rendering will be: “the only ornament of the Solar race.”  
5 Here, as in the other grants, the donor is likened to the Moon born from the Mīk-ocean, but in the present instance it is added that, unlike the Moon, he was spotless. Cf. above, No. 13, verse 5.
(L. 6.) He, the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Āṣata, of divine descent, the prosperous one, enjoins on all the officials concerned—every rājā, rāya, rājput, royal minister, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaisyā, śūdra, chief-justice, those appointed and commissioned of [the Rājā's] attendants(?), every dāta, gamāgamika, abhīvaśamāya, Khaša, Kulika, superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests (?), sword-guard (?), tarapati, those belonging to the expeditionary force(?), every “thief-catcher,” “rod-bearer,” “rod-and-rope-bearer,” and all others that constitute the eighteen elements of the State.

(L. 10.) Be it known unto you that within the domain under our sway, in the Bhuttārā district there is one bhū of land belonging to Dālima which has been enjoyed by Uddhara, the son of Canpa, and six bhūmi-māsaka of VajjiLikā, together in figures 1 bhū 6 mā [This land], on the terms of its previous occupancy, as far as its limits, grass, grazing and pasture-ground, with fallow-land large and small, with fruit-trees and water, with ingress and egress, with houses, kitchen-gardens and so on, trees, gardens and resting-places together with all that is attached to it, has been granted as an agrahāra to the Brāhmaṇ Māca, the son of Pāramāja, the grandson of Dhaṇaṇjaya of the house of Kāśyapa, after a formal libation of a handful of water, for as long a time as the sun, the moon and the earth shall endure. This grant is to be observed by all the above-named royal officers, to be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and sons' sons, inalienable, uncurtailable, unobstructed. Let no hindrance whatever be caused [to him]. Let him, on the authority of the copper-charter, issued by us, live and make [others] to live, enjoy and make [others] to enjoy. Let him act as he pleases. Let no one offer obstruction.

(L. 19.) For thus has Vyāsa, the Sage, spoken: “By the observance [of this grant] the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest aseetic merit, by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained]; [its] observance, therefore, is very important.

(L. 20.) In the increasing, fortunate reign of victory; in the year 5 [the month of] Śvāmani, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 15. The messenger on this occasion was the Recordkeeper, the illustrious Bhurana-pāla. This was written by the writers of legal documents Manna and Śivapa, the son of Devapa.

Own sign-manual of the illustrious Āṣata of divine descent.

No. 27.—SIYĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ĀṢATA—(PLATES XXIII AND XXVII.)

The carved fountain-slab on which this inscription occurs came to light in the summer of 1908. It was found at a locality known by the name of Siyā and situated on the ridge above Lūl-Tikrī beyond Bharārī and at a distance of some 8 miles from the Kōṭhī. Siyā consists of a few houses which are only inhabited in summer by cowherds, who graze their cattle on the rich pastures of the Siyā Dhār. The place is believed to have been the seat of a Rāṇā, but this is not borne out by the inscription. At the time of its discovery, the stone was almost entirely buried. It measures 3' in height, and 6' in width, and is beautifully preserved.

1 Cfr. above p. 113.
The centre of the carved surface is occupied by the squatting figure of Varuna, the god of the waters, to whom the stone was dedicated. He holds a cobra (?) in his right, and a full-blown lotus-flower in his left hand. Beneath him we notice the well-known decorative device of a pair of birds with interlaced necks. For the rest, the upper portion of the slab is carved with four horizontal bands of scrollwork, and the lower portion with panels containing eight-petalled lotus-rosettes and other ornaments. The spout opening is also enclosed within a border of ornamental carving and the whole is surrounded by a double serpent border.

The inscription is cut on two elongated panels, measuring 2' in width and 4\(\frac{1}{4}\)" in height, which are placed beneath the lowermost horizontal band of scrollwork. Each of the panels contains three lines of writing. The letters are in the average from \(\frac{3}{4}\)" to 1" high. The lettering is clearly engraved and well preserved, so that there can be little doubt about the reading except in the case of a few akṣaras which present an uncommon appearance. The akṣaras ca, dha, and va (va) are very similar to each other.

It should be noted that the tailed form of the cerebral a appears here for the first time. We notice also the looped r and the ru with its vowel mark attached to the top-stroke. Medial e is expressed ten times by the prathamātā and seven times by the superscribed sign. Medial o in lokēṣu (read lokēṣu l. 5) is hardly distinguishable from medial e. The language of the inscription, except in the first two lines, is hopelessly incorrect, so that it is sometimes difficult to guess the sense concealed in these barbarous forms. A comparison with other fountain-inscriptions has enabled us to establish the meaning in most cases.

The inscription records that a fountain slab was erected by Ranasika and Dhanaśīha, the sons of Māca,¹ the son of the Bhaṭṭ Rudra for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Canika. This name occurs also in the Loh-Tikri inscription (No. 29), and possibly indicates in both cases the same person. The two stones were found at a few miles distance from each other and the founders of both belong to the caste of the Bhaṭṭa. The date also would agree, as the Loh-Tikri stone was erected for the sake of the son of Canika, in the reign of Jāṣṭa who succeeded Āṣṭa in A.D. 1005-6. But the names of the relatives differ. It seems more plausible to identify Dhanaśīha with an individual of the same name mentioned on the Siyā-Dudhār fountain stone, which was discovered not far from that of Siyā. He belonged also to a Bhaṭṭ family and is called the grandson of Ludraka which may quite well be another form for the name Rudra. The names Ludrau, (of which Ludraka is the sanskritised form), and Ludra are still used in Chambā. Evidently they are connected with Sanskrit Rudra. In the Sālli fountain inscription (No. 53) the name Ludra-pāla is found which undoubtedly stands for Rudra-pāla.

The second half of the epigraph contains a stanza, which occurs in other fountain inscriptions in the same corrupt form, followed by a half-verse which appears to be a quotation from a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī.

The most important part of the inscription is the date—the first year of the reign of Āṣṭa, Magha kuṭa 13, Monday, the lunar mansion Ardā. I have pointed out in the introductory part of the present work (p. 73) that only in two cases within

¹ The personal name Māca occurs also as that of the grantee in Āṣṭa's copper-plate grant (No. 26, l. 12).
the period from 1060 to 1088 does Māgha śuśī 13 fall on a Monday and in conjunction with the nakṣatra mentioned in the inscription. The corresponding Christian date could, therefore, be either the 15th January 1074 or the 10th January 1077. Unfortunately the data provided by the copper-plate grant, No. 25, which is likewise dated in the first year of Āsāta’s reign, do not tally with the assumption that either A.D. 1073-4 or 1076-7 could be the year of his accession. It seems that in one of the two inscriptions the date is wrongly noted. The years to which the data of the copper-plate grant can be applied are A.D. 1071-2 and A.D. 1080-1 so that in any case it is highly probable that the year of Āsāta’s accession lies between 1070 and 1080.

TEXT.

नाचि सिलिया नामद्वर-वनस्पति-श्री मुखुर्दौत्र देव-राज्ये वस्तु (1. 2)
1 मास गुः ति 15 चन्द्रदिन चारैः नवने धा नानाम गुरुः च (1. 3) श्री रणेशीर श्रीमा
स्वप्नोऽवर्त नारा चामुनिकां भवेश्वरां जयसुमाय विजये (1. 4) सार-भव-भवेश्वर चामु
स्वप्नोऽवर्त नारा च (1. 5) श्री रणेशीर नवने धा नवने नानाम गुरुः च (1. 6) न विजये
हवेश्वरां जयसुमाय विजये (1. 6)

CORRECTED READING.

चः च्विळ श्री मुखुर्दौत्र देव-राज्ये वस्तु (1. 2)
1 मास गुः ति 15 चन्द्रदिन चारैः नवने धा नानाम गुरुः च (1. 3) श्री रणेशीर श्रीमा
स्वप्नोऽवर्त नारा चामुनिकां भवेश्वरां जयसुमाय विजये (1. 4) सार-भव-भवेश्वर
स्वप्नोऽवर्त नारा च (1. 5) श्री रणेशीर नवने धा नवने नानाम गुरुः च (1. 6) न विजये
हवेश्वरां जयसुमाय विजये (1. 6)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Āsāta of divine descent, in the year 1, [the month of] Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 13, on Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Ārdrā has this fountain-stone (lit. Varuna) been erected by Kanasiha and Dhanasila, the two sons of Māca, the son of Bhuta Rudra, fearing with the fear of existence, in order to open the way to heaven for their brother Camika.

No higher god than Varuna, no higher gain of penitence, no higher shrine than Varuna is heard of in the Universe. Therefore, in truth, Oh great Gaurī, he finds the end of human birth.

Thus may it be a blessing to all!

No. 28.—LUJ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ĀSĀTA; ŚASTRA [41]Ś1 (A.D. 1105-6).

(Plates XXVII and XXVIII.)

The hamlet of Luj is situated in Pāṅgi, 1½ miles north of west from Dharrās (map Darvas) and at a short distance from the Pāḍār border. Below the village

1 The 1st obscura might be read va, la or va.
2 The syllable tāma seems perhaps stand for tenaika “even therefore” or for tenaika “even by himself.” In the latter case, we should have the singular instead of the dual.
Siya Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 3'  
Luj Fountain Stone.

HEIGHT 4'
is a place known as Bhadya which is little frequented owing to the popular belief that it is haunted by the winter witch (Sit ki Budhi lit. “the old Woman of cold”). Here stands a quaintly carved fountain-stone measuring 4' in height and 6' in width. In its centre there is an inscribed tablet, 5 ½" high and 15" wide, surmounted by a lotus-rosette. On each side is a sunk panel containing the clumsy figure of a squatting deity. The one to the proper right is Ganesa the god of prosperity, apparently four-armed and holding an axe and a couch-shell in his right hands and a thunderbolt (?) and a wheel in his left. These attributes, it will be seen, are far from orthodox. The other deity is most probably Varuna, the god of the waters. He wears a moustache and a sect-mark (or a frontal eye ?), is two-armed and holds a mace or trident in his right and a rosary in his left hand. On both sides are coiling snakes which seem to issue from his diadem. The representation bears a close resemblance to the central figure of the Nāghai fountain-stone.

Over each of these figures there runs a horizontal border, whilst the lotus in the middle is surmounted by a pair of birds, perhaps meant for peacocks. In the lower portion of the slab, separated from the upper part by a horizontal rope border, we have in the centre a vase (kāśaka) and immediately beneath it a square opening to receive a water-spout. On both sides there is a curiously degenerated pilaster, the shafts having been replaced by scroll-work. On the capital of the one to the proper left there is a second inscription of three short lines almost entirely obliterated. At the sides of these pseudo-pilasters there is a lotus-rosette somewhat smaller in size than the central one and different in design. Both ends of the slab are occupied by a vertical row of panels which contain various figures representing birds, a horseman, a squatting figure, a pair of interlaced snakes and a non-descript quadruped.

Originally there was in front of the large slab a square cistern, formed by three smaller slabs which are still extant, but displaced. The front one is carved like one of the Nāghai stones with three eight-petalled rosettes enclosed between five pilasters. It measures 1' 7" in height and 6' in width.

The inscription, incised on the central panel, consists of five lines of about 14" in length and a short line 3" long written beneath the end of the fifth line. The aksaras measure from ½" to ¾" in height and are deeply and clearly cut in the stone, but owing to long exposure their outlines have become somewhat worn away. The language is a mixture of very corrupt Sanskrit and vernacular terms which are for the most part difficult to explain. It would seem that the stone was erected by an individual called Nāgara, the son of Bhatalau and Bhatagiri. It does not appear from the inscription to what caste he belonged, but there is a local tradition that the fountain was constructed by an ancestor of the present likh+rā (revenue officer) of Dharrā, who is a Brāhmaṇ by caste. The name, Nāgar, is still of common occurrence in Curāh. Bhatalau may be compared with the name, Bājula, borne by the wet-nurse of Rājā Prithvi Siṅgh. The name, Bhatagiri, does not seem to be now in use; it is possible that the first member of the word is the caste-name Bhatt.

1 Cf. above, pp. 138 f.
2 The third line seems to read gahara. In the facsimile Plate XXVIII & the lines are numbered 7-6.
The main point of interest of the inscription is its date which enables us to determine the year of accession of Rājā Jāsāṭa (the inscription has Jāsāṭa) and thus yields the earliest fixed date in Chamba history.

The composition of the Luj inscription is extremely clumsy and points to its having been done by a person of very slight literary ability. We find the word thāpila (Skr. sthāpita) repeated three times and the word samvipanya twice. As to the meaning of the latter word, I presume that it is a corruption of Skr. samvapana and that this past participle is used instead of the causative samvapātīna. For the ending yu we may compare thāpyā (from Skr. sthāpita) in the Harṣar image inscription (No. 49) which ends: Eḥ Mahādaēvo Ḍiveśē thāpyā. “This [image of] Mahādev has been erected at Harṣar.” The sentence idām bhogaṇa nānā bhokana svamāpāna (ll. 3-4) is difficult to explain. The word bhogaṇa is possibly a past participle of the root bhuj. If we take bhogaṇa in the ordinary sense which it has in Sanskrit, it would mean “to be used, useful” which could be referred to the fountain. Instead of bhokana we may perhaps read bhogana (Skr. bhogana) which could also be applied to the benefit derived from the fountain. If so, I should propose to translate it: “This is to be used (or useful) and various (nānā) enjoyment has been produced [by it].” But it is also possible that this sentence refers to the custom of providing a feast to the villagers on the occasion of the erection of a fountain slab. Local tradition asserts that such a custom did exist. This would also explain the word mahāprajā, used twice in the inscription, as referring to the inhabitants of the village at large, who took part in the construction of the fountain and in the feast of consecration. At the end of the inscription we find, moreover, that grain (?) dhānikam; Skr. dhānya?) was provided (samāpāna), presumably for the same purpose. The word joda preceding dhānikam I cannot explain. The following expression mul dra 32 (or 30), I suppose, indicates the quantity of grain supplied by the donor on the occasion of his consecration feast. The syllable dra I take to be an abbreviation of dramma which in the Bajnāṭ prāṣasti (II, 30) occurs as a name of a piece of money or monetary value.

शासनचेतना चार्मिक याकाण्ड वैद्यनाथाय।
सम्बंधिकीयसिद्धान्ताय[लाप य] त प्रवर्त द्रम्मा॥

“And daily six drammas of the money collected in the custom-house have been allotted by Rājānaka Lakṣmana-candra to this Vaidyanātha.”

The word dramma is derived from Greek ἀργάσιά; it must originally have denoted the silver coins of the Indo-Bactrians.

It deserves notice that we find śa (perhaps pronounced as sa) substituted for śa in varṣa (l. 2) and in Poṣa (l. 4; Skr. Paṣa). The viesṣga is used throughout as a sign of punctuation. In my transcript I have replaced it by the single stroke, for which it stands. Once (l. 4) we find it combined with the double stroke. Medial i is indicated by a short curve over the aṣyaṇa, and medial u by a hook slanting downwards, except in śu (l. 4) where the curve is used. Medial e is expressed by a horizontal stroke and medial o by a flourish, both placed over the consonant.
TEXT.

चोखसर। सं ८१ । श्री-महाराजा-जाताप-भाष-धर्षण् (१. २) श्रापित । तच्च वानि
सा:कन्याभिषेकस्व-गुह । नामगा। भा-०।। दहाधुर। प्रत्यक्षीयः वेश-देव-श्रापित। इत्या
विभक्त गण्ये भा-०।। भुवन सुसज्जा।। प्रेम-सारि श्रायितं द्रति राम।। दाहिक साफळें (१. ५)
सरमवर-पुष्प-देव। महापाणि। जाद धामिक बुधस्मुम, (१। ६)मूल २० ( or ३०)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Erected in the year 81, in the first year of the illustrious Mahārājā Jāsaṭa. At that time Nāgarā, the son of Bhāṭalau and Bhāṭagiri [and the] people [of the village?] [have] erected a fountain-stone (lit. god Varuna) for the sake of the next world. This is to be used (or useful?); various enjoyments (or foods?) have been provided (?). Erected in the month of Pāśa (Skr. Pauṣa). Thus [may it be] blessed! The carpenter (?) Kamlone, the stone mason Deva, the son of Deva, [and the] people [of the village?] Grain (?) has been supplied (?). Price 20 (or 30) drammās.

No. 29.—LOH-TIKRI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE 9TH YEAR OF
JĀSAṬA (A.D. 1114).—(PLATES XXVIII AND XXXVII b).

Loḥ-Tikri² is the head-quarters of a pargāṇa of the same name, in which the ancient pargāṇas of Baghai and Caṇḍja have been included, and which thus comprises the whole of the right bank of the Caṇḍja Nala. At a short distance below the kūṭāl a fountain-slab was found in the summer of 1905, which has since been brought to Chambā Town and deposited in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 8). The lower portion, the proper left end, and the upper right corner of the stone are broken off; the remaining portion measures 2' 8½" in width and 1' 8½" in height.

The inscription is distributed over two panels separated by a lotus-cosette which must have occupied the centre of the stone, when entire. Both the lotus and the inscribed panels are enclosed within three ornamental borders, the innermost a bead border, the middle one a leaf border and the outer one a double rope border. Of the two panels that to the proper right, containing the first half of the inscription, is entire. It measures 10" in height by 5½" in width, and contains eleven lines of writing. Of the proper left panel only a portion is preserved, 7½ high and 5½ wide, containing seven lines of which only the first one is complete. The letters, though rather shallow and irregular in shape, are legible throughout; their average size is ½". The language is Sanskrit of the corrupt type generally found in fountain-inscriptions.

The right hand panel contains the date and a stanza in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The second part of the inscription, incised on the proper left side, mentions the name of the founder who belonged to the Brahmanical caste of the Bhāṭī which has still its representatives in Chambā.

¹ This stands of course for गर्भिनारी.
² गर्भिनारी may be a local form for गर्भिनारी.
³ सदार 1 suppose to stand for सुदार the term commonly used to denote the artisan employed in carving the stone. Cf. beneath No. 30, 1, 2, No. 38, 1, 3, and No. 35, 1, 1. Cf. also p. 267.
⁴ The word "Loḥ" which is added to distinguish this Tikri from a place of the same name in Bhāṭī (commonly called Bhāṭī-Tikri) is said to refer to the existence of iron ore in that pargāṇa.
The inscription is dated in the 9th year and in the reign of Jāśaṭa (spelled Jāṣṭa). The question arises whether the year mentioned is a regnal one or refers to the Sāstra era. In the latter case it could correspond only to A.D. 1133. To this assumption there are two objections. Khalanda mentions Udaya-varman as Rajā of Chambā on the occasion of the siege of Śrīnagar in A.D. 1122. In the second place, Jyeṣṭha bāt 12 of Sāstra 9 (A.D. 1133) fell on a Wednesday (May 3), whereas the day of the week of our inscription is Sunday. If, on the other hand, we assume the year to be a regnal one, both the day of the week and the nakṣatra will be found to agree. The Laj fountain-inscription (No. 28) has yielded Sāstra 81, i.e., A.D. 1105 as the first year of Jāśaṭa’s reign, his 9th year must, therefore, have been A.D. 1114, and Jyeṣṭha bāt 12 would correspond to the 3rd May of that year. This date fell on a Sunday and the moon stood in the lunar mansion Revati.

TEXT.

भी खसिक || संवृत 8 (l. 2) पि [४]म भट्ट (द)रक्ष-मण्डारा-ि(3)रक्रमन7 परसेवर- (l. 4) योमन (क)-नासर (ट)-देश-(l. 8)राजस्व कुचलोऽरुड़ख-(l. 6) विष बादमाल सौध्यर-(l. 7) भे रेवतन नरसिम्हा-(l. 8) कोटा-दांगनें गरा [४]-ि(10) सूर्यस्वरि: नक्षत्रसम् तुषार- (l. 10) नार नक्षत्रोऽग्नि प्र-(l. 11) सिद्धर (ि)” द्वितीय सम् (ि)”
(l. 12) भट्ट-यी-जाज शीर-ि(13) कोमन नुम-ननि [ि] — — (l. 14) चहतेन — — — — (l. 15) पुष्प भलिक-पुष-ि(ि) — — (l. 16) क्ष भर्तिका[ि] भे नक्षत्रा (l. 17) देश[ि”] का [विश: संभा] (l. 17) र-भर्ति-ि(ि)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year 9, in the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Jāśaṭa, of divine descent; in [the month of] Jyeṣṭha, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 12, on Sunday at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Revati. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of] Devī or Varuṇa. Muśūṇa the son of — kona, and grandson of the Bhaṭṭi, the illustrious Jaja, together with his wife (?) has erected [this] fountain-stone (literally god Varuṇa) for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of Ś . . . , the son of Canika and grandson (?) . . . , while fearing with the fear of existence.

Nos. 30-32.—DEVİ-RI-KOTHI INSCRIPTIONS.

(Plates XXIX and XXX.)

Děvi-ri-kothi (map Debrī Kotī) a village of the Berā (map Baira) pargāṇa of the Curāh vāsatāl is situated at an elevation of 7,705’ on the western slope of the Khablaḥ Nāḷa, a side-valley of the Berā Nāḷa. The place is named after a temple of

1 Between the words मण्डारा and परसेवर three akṣaras परसेवर have been wrongly inserted.
2 The word रक्षार् which is regularly found in copper-plate grants after the donor’s name, is meaningless here. I have left it untranslated.
3 This corrupt ḫoka occurs also in inscriptions Nos. 29, 31 and 43.
4 Perhaps [ि]भलिकेन is meant.
5 Possibly [ि]शीर्ष.
the goddess Cāmuṇḍā (modern Conḍā) Devī. The present building, decorated with quaint frescoes and curious carvings in deodar and shisham wood, was erected in A.D. 1754 by Rājā Umēd Singh, as appears from the following Taḵari inscription cut on two wooden boards on both sides of the entrance.

TEXT.

ं २० भैद्र द २२ नागदत चय ने सो-माहरणे वसंद मोहि सो-देवी चमुंडा दा देखार पाऽ
देखार दा सीद्दार सो-मोहि बीसेन सोह बाजरी मोल्डी बया सुखाल भागो चख्का गुढ़े भागो
बटेहड़ बेल हेड़ गठीर बाऽ पोव २४ सवत बीक्ष सुभ

CORRECTED READING.

ं २० भैद्र २२ नागदत चय ने सो-माहरणे वसंद मिन्द सो-देवी चामुंडा दा देखार
पाऽ। देखार दा सीद्दार सो-कीसिया विध्यन सिद्ध। बाजरी मोल्डी बयं चबां सुखाल भागः।
चख्का गुढ़े भागः। बटेहड़ बेल हेड़ गठीर बाऽ। पोव २४ सवत बीक्ष। सुभ।

TRANSLATION.

"In the year 30 [the month of] Bhādṛ 21, on that date the illustrious Mahāraja Umēd Singh has built the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā. The Superintendent (sardār) of the temple the illustrious Miyān Bisan Singh; the stewards, Ghamiyām the Nihēri and Jhagā of Suṅgī; the carpenters Gurdēv and Jhargā, the stone masons Dēbu of Hail and the cēlā (?) Dvāl. Written on the 28th of Poh. Bliss!"

There are, however, at Dēvī-mū-kōṭhi remains of much greater antiquity. The village contains, besides a small itāga shrine, the ruins of a large building now overgrown with vegetation, which by local tradition is said to have been the castle of a Rānā or Thākur (Cf. above fig. 18). That this tradition is founded on fact, is borne out by three epigraphical records, which belong to a fountain enclosure to the north-east of the village, on the road leading to Sāc in Pāngī by the Cēnī (map Chaiya) Pass and by the villages of Candrum and Hail.

No. 30.—NĀRAYANA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA
NĀGA-PĀLA.—(PLATE XXIX.)

In the centre of the back-wall of this fountain-enclosure there was a stone figure (height 1½"; width 8½") of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, which has now been deposited in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 9). It is three-faced, the side faces being respectively those of a boar and a lion, and shows the god seated on Garuḍa, clasping Lakṣmī in his left arm, and holding a mace in his right hand. Evidently the image was originally four-armed. The whole sculpture is much defaced. On the base is the inscription in two lines 7½" and 5" long. It is clearly cut and well-preserved, except for the two first akṣaras of the second line, which are lost but can be restored with certainty. The average size of the letters is ½".

1 Cf. above, pp. 11 f. and 164 ff.
TEXT.

चाँ। चर्चा राजाना-सागरी-नागपाल्लो नारायण-देव धारणिता मूर्ति (१, २) [सप्रे]-उद्धरण-सवत्तितम भिति गाम।

CORRECTED READING.

चाँ चाँ। राजा-सागरी-नागपाल्लो नारायण-देव, धारणित: मूर्ति (१, २) धारणितम सवत्तित।

TRANSLATION.

Hail! By the Rāga, the very illustrious Nāga-pālā [this image of] god Nārāyaṇa [was] caused to be made; [it was] made by the artisan Sabhaga, the son of Uda.

Fig. 25. Devi-dhārā inscriptions erased.

No. 31.—STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀNA-PĀLĀ OF THE YEAR 2.

(PLATE XXIX.)

The Viṣṇu image just described is enclosed between two upright slabs, each 2 ½” wide. A large stone (1’ 9” wide, 3 ½” high) overlaps the three. It has two round mortices ½” in diameter placed at a distance of 14” apart and corresponding to two similar holes in the stone on which the image rests. They were evidently meant to receive bars which kept the image in position, as their distance nearly agrees with the width of the image and the two adjoining slabs (8 ½” + 2 × 2 ½” = 18 ½”). On the face of the surmounting stone the second inscription is found. It consists of four

1 Grammatically the word आवर्णक is may just as well belong to Uda but in a country where the son invariably followed the trade of his father, this seems practically to the same thing.

2 On the date of this inscription cf. above, p. 75.
lines 7" in length; the average size of the letters is ½". It is well-preserved and its execution is excellent. The stone is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 11).

TEXT.

चरित्रां लघुत्रं। परममहाराजाः-महाराजाः-प्रथमां-श्रीमंडळ-प्रथमां-धर्माः-विजयाः-राजाः। वर्गमाणे (१०) संवत २ श्राद्ध वत्ति २ युधिष्ठिरि।

CORRECTED READING.

चरित्रां लघुत्रं। परममहाराजाः-महाराजाः-प्रथमां-श्रीमंडळ-प्रथमां-धर्माः-विजयाः-राजाः वर्गमाणे-संवत २ श्राद्ध वत्ति २ युधिष्ठिरि।

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the victorious reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Raşa-pāla of divine descent, in the current year 2 [the month of] Āśvina, the dark fortnight, the lunar day 8, on Wednesday.

No. 32.—FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RAJĀNĀKA NĀGA-PĀLA OF THE 17TH YEAR OF LALITĀ-VARMAN. (A.D. 1159-61).

(Plate XXX.)

The last and most important of the three Dēvi-ri-kōthi inscriptions is carved on a stone slab (18½" high, 10½" wide) which originally must have stood to the proper left of the Nārāyana image and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 10). In its upper proper right corner a rectangular piece (4"×3½") is cut away so as to make the slab fit into the overlapping top-stone which bears the second inscription (No. 31). The latter shows a groove 1¼" wide which is exactly the thickness of the slab under discussion (cf. fig. 25).

The inscription consists of twenty-five lines and is composed in Sanskrit poetry. From the fact that the numbering of the stanzas begins with 10 it is evident that the slab contains only the second half of the praśasti. According to local tradition, there existed another inscribed slab of the same size which stood on the proper right side of the Viṣṇu image. It is said to have been removed by a lema some forty years ago and carried off to Pāngi across the Čeni Pass. Whether this be true or not, the stone is no longer in situ. This is the more to be deplored, as the inscription is both of literary and historical interest. The remaining slab, moreover, which contains the second half of the inscription is badly damaged, the surface having peeled off, more or less, all along the edge of the stone. In this manner the first line has half disappeared. The marginal portions of lines 7-25 are lost, the number of missing syllables varying from three to about twenty. The end of lines 17-25 also is completely destroyed, so that of the last two lines only a few syllables in the centre are still traceable.

The greater part of the inscription is composed in poetry, which circumstance enables us to restore to a certain extent the missing syllables. The stanzas are numbered from 10 to 17. The metres used are the following:—St. 10 Nīkharī, 11 Upajñā, 12 Mālinī, 13 Vasantaśīlaka, 14 Upajñā, 15 Mālinī, 16 Prthveśī and
17 Āryā. The concluding three and a half lines of the inscription are apparently in prose.

The Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi inscription possesses great literary merit. The poet has freely used rhetorical ornaments, but in such a manner that they bring out the sense, instead of obscuring it. The description of the pious works done by Ballā after the death of her husband is very fine. The poet indulges in the use of rhyming words with great melodious effect. Verse 15 with its reference to the instability of this world is worthy of the best poets of ancient India. We can only deplore the fact that no literary productions of the poet and Rājaguru Kamala-kāśchana have been bequeathed to us, except this sadly mutilated eulogy.

The only mistakes to be noticed are pāpajalma- (l. 6) for pāpajāla which is evidently due to the stone-mason, and perhaps avabudhyā (l. 16) for avabudhyā, if my restoration of verse 15 is correct. In l. 24 we find sthāpati which apparently stands for sthapati. The visarjana in this and the last line can hardly be correct, but unfortunately this part of the inscription is almost wholly destroyed. The use of the uncommon word utpahisita in lines 5-6 should be noted.

As regards spelling, we notice that the final sibilant is retained before an initial sibilant, e.g. jāla-svāra (l. 6) and sokas-svāpādi (l. 7). Final nasals before mutes are rendered by the anusvāra. In this respect the present inscription differs from that of Sarāhāna (No. 13), where the nasals are retained. We find the upadhāmānya used in ll. 2 and 17.

The skill of the stone-mason who carved the inscription is no less remarkable than that of the poet who composed it. The lettering is clear and distinct. The use of wedges and angular forms produces a pleasing effect. The inscription is undoubtedly the best specimen of that later Sarada which we find also used in the Baijnāth prāśastis. The angular forms of pa and dha, the sloping base-lines of ca, ma and va and the peculiar shape of kha deserve special notice. The medial vowels e, ai, o and au are rendered throughout by the superscribed signs. It will be seen that the o mark has the same appearance as in the Baijnāth inscriptions. Where m is provided with a virāma (ll. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17) the full aksara is found (Cf. above, No. 13.)

As to the contents of the inscription, verse 11 contains a eulogy of Nāga-pāla, who may be safely identified with the Rājānaka Nāga-pāla of the Narāyan inscription (No. 30), and must have been the local Rājā of the time. The preceding stanza evidently was devoted to the praise of his mother, Ballā. We may assume that on the lost slab, containing the first half of the inscription, the history of Nāga-pāla’s family was given. In verse 12 we find the interesting statement that Nāga-pāla, after the death of his father, prevented his mother from following him, i.e. from becoming saivī, and in the following verse we are told that she devoted the rest of her life to the upbringing of her two sons, and to works of piety and religion. Verse 14 records the no less important fact that king Lalita conferred on Nāga-pāla the title of Rājānaka. It will be seen that the word expressing the title is lost, but

it must have consisted of four syllables — — — — , and we may safely restore it as rājānāka, the title which Nāga-pāla bears in the Nārāyaṇa image inscription. In verse 15 we find the purport of the inscription expressed in exquisite language; namely the construction of a water-tank by Balhā in memory of her deceased husband. Verse 16 contains the date of the inscription, reckoned from the accession of Lalita-varman, and the name of its author Kamala-jātēkhana the guru of the Rājā just mentioned. This, at least, is the purport of the last portion of this stanza, if my restoration of the missing syllables is correct. The last verse is a benedictory stanza which concludes the praśasti proper. The remaining three and a half prose lines must have contained the date expressed in the Śāstra-kāla, and the names of the overseers and workmen connected with the construction of the tank referred to in the inscription.

This part of the epigraph, as remarked above, is almost entirely destroyed. Of the date only the syllables Śāstrī- are preserved. Fortunately the data contained in verse 16 enable us to fix the time at which the inscription was composed. There the date is said to be the year of Lalita-varman indicated by the words "Sage" (muni) and "moon" (śikhu). As the numerical value of these words is 7 and 1, respectively, the inscription must date from the 17th year of Lalita-varman. The name of this Rājā is not only found in the Vaiśeṣikā (Stokes 86), but occurs also in the Sālhi fountain inscription (No. 33) to be discussed later on. The latter document enables us to fix his accession in the year A.D. 1143 or 44. The Devī-rī-kōthi praśasti must, therefore, be assigned to the year A.D. 1159-60 or 1169-71 and the corresponding Śāstra year would be 35-6 or 36-7.

TEXT.

{(l. 2)वाहातुकबिधिविधातुं का तथ्या X प (l. 3)रिम्न-} तमिरलं लुण निचे: || 8 4 ||

(l. 4)तत्त्वांशुद्धम शेषकालो गुणे-(l. 5)विषाणो रिम्नोक-कालः[1]

चर्चितयोगसम-(l. 6) त-पापस्य स्तोत्रेनायावली यथोपयोक्तः[1 11]||

(l. 7) [पितारि पर] सुन्ते लोकमश्रोकोशक्षपदे पतिचियोगा-(l. 8) [बृहिष्टां मातरं]}

|| 13 2 8 ||

चन्द्रमन्विधानार्यामास कथं कन-(l. 9) [विनययात्री बालिका] मातं मातं[1 21]||

संज्ञाबाबास मतं निः-(l. 10) [सोयवा] श-रोमययन्निम-तनुं तुल्यं गयंतो ।

हर्षि नि-(l. 11) [मातव्य च द्रातमसो मुनो च दोनों दया च सुरविषिणि (l. 12) [चैत] महिमः[1 31]||

|| 13 2 8 ||

ते नागमालं लक्षितंचितोष्टथाकार-(l. 13) [राजानन्त] गण्यायाम [1 8]

चक्राकां-नाययसद्ग-चक्राकार-(l. 14) [राज-कारिः] स-विनविद्यार्थिः || 14 1 ||

1 Read परस्तान.
2 The aśvara म is still traceable on the back of the stampmace.
3 The aśvara भ is broken, but is still recognisable.
4 The last aśvara of this word is partly preserved.
TRANSLATION. 11

[this] was enough even to flatter her [who was] of measured speech and a vessel of virtue. She bore him [a son] the illustrious Nāgapāla, the sole abode of grace, great by his virtues, the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not [acting] like a child in the forefront of the battle. After his father had gone to the next world, he—that abode of good deportment and modesty—overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother [who was still] an infant held back from following him [into death] his mother, instantly fasting at the separation from her lord. She recovered consciousness and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kṛṣṇa. On this Nāga-pāla king Lalita conferred the title of Rāga, on him who with his deadly sword and rod-like arm—fierce like the suddenly flashing rod of Death—had torn asunder his foes.

But Balhā [his mother], who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves, restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this cistern made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.

In the year shown by [the words] "saer" and "moon" of [the reign of] the great Lalita-varman—who solely performs good works and whose sport is

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1 The akṣara ə being traceable; the wedge indicating ə is distinct.
2 Read əkiṃ.
3 The akṣara ra is slightly damaged.
4 The ə is traceable on the back of the stampege.
5 The lower portion of pha is preserved.
6 The akṣara ra is practically certain.
7 The first six akṣaras of line 23 are defaced, but their estimes and vowel marks are still visible.
8 The akṣaras of the word are worn, but still recognisable. Cfr. above, No. 30, 1.2 Udāsana.
9 Read əkṣara-avatāra.
10 The akṣaras of line 25 are all indistinct; the reading is therefore doubtful.
11 Words in Italic represent the missing portions of the inscription which have been restored. Words between square brackets are not expressed in the original and have been added for the sake of clearness.
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misfortune of the voices of his enemies, who has lent much support to the needy and baffled the joy of his rival's—Kamala-lāñchana his spiritual guide composed this eulogy.

May the righteous ever rejoice and the world be full of happiness; may the baron Nāga-pāla be victorious on earth and may this eulogy be stable.

In the year 35-6(?), the Śāstra era was this eulogy composed. May it be blessed. This eulogy was constructed by Master Bhāgarāja the son of Udda . . .

. . . by the mason, Tyaga, by the mason Bhagira . . . .

NOTES.

In support of the proposed restorations of incomplete or missing syllables the following is to be noted:

(L. 6.) Of the two syllables which I read jāla the first is clearly ja without the ā stroke, which is always attached to the end of the central slanting stroke; the second syllable presents the appearance of īma. But on account of the preceding pāpa and the past participle utpumita, there can be little doubt that jāla is the correct reading. It should also be noticed that the poet makes all the epithets of Nāga-pāla rhyme with his name.

(L. 7.) The restoration of the five missing syllables at the beginning of this line may be regarded as correct. Evidently the death of Nāga-pāla’s father was mentioned here; otherwise the main sentence would be unintelligible.1

(L. 8.) Here also the proposed restoration of the first six syllables is necessitated by the context, the word mārchitām by the expression savajñām anāpya in the beginning of the next stanza, and the word mātaraḥ by the immediately following svām. Of this word the first aksara svā is still traceable.

(L. 9.) In the beginning of this line seven aksaras are lost, the metrical scheme being — — — — — — — . The proposed restoration is due to Pandit Daya Ram Sahni and is, if not certain, at least plausible. The sign for ka at the end of the missing portion is still clearly traceable. As the syllable, which is followed by a single consonant, must be long but has neither the ā nor e stroke, the only alternative is that it was ke, the e being expressed by a stroke in front of the aksara. An objection to this assumption is that medial e is throughout expressed by the superscribed mark in this inscription. The word ending in kena must, of course, be connected with the following annajena and may well have been bhalakena, unless we are to assume that it was a proper name ending in pālakena.

(LL. 10-12.) As in verse 13 the words tanutām and vṛddhim are placed in opposition to each other, it is evident that after vṛddhim also a form of the verb nayati is required. The syllable ni preserved at the end of line 10 enables us to restore mināya. Of the following word varadānum the second syllable ra can still be traced. The first syllable of the word bhaktim at the end of the stanza is extant in outline.

(LL. 13.) The restoration of the word rūjānaka has already been discussed. The last syllable, it will be seen, is partly preserved.

1 Cf. विधि विद्वेषति in the Bhairi pillar inscription of Sundara-gupta (l. 12) Gupta Inscri., p. 54.
(L. 15.) Of the two missing syllables at the beginning of this line the first must be la to complete the word kallola. The other I at first felt inclined to read ve; but as there are traces of an à stroke, the syllable to be substituted can only be mà. The expression kallola-malà is not uncommon in Sanskrit literature.1

(L. 16.) An objection which could be raised to my restoring the missing syllables of line 16 in the manner suggested above is that the inscription clearly has buddhyā and not budhyā. But the substitution of dhāy for dhā in gerunds (which is evidently due to some confusion with the past participle and the nomen actionis) is by no means uncommon in epigraphical records. In the same way we find buddhyate instead of budhyate in the copper-plate inscription of Yugākara (No. 14, l.18). Moreover, the preceding aya forbids us to regard budhyā as a noun. By the proposed emendation the relation between the two halves of the distich is established, and its meaning becomes perfectly clear. It is evident that the object of the verb actkarač cannot be the preceding jicalokana, but that it must have stood at the end of the stanzæ. It was evidently a masculine noun, as appears from its attribute etem. It must have signified a water-tank, and must have consisted of five syllables answering to the metrical scheme — — — — —. The first two of these syllables are found at the end of line 16. One is clearly pu and as here a long syllable is required, the next akṣara must contain a compound consonant. As the preserved upper portion represents g, it is obviously right to restore the akṣara as ska and the whole word as puskurādhāram, a synonym of the more common expression puskarinī which etymologically means “a lotus-pond” (from puskara, a blue lotus) but is regularly used in the sense of “an artificial tank.”2 The letter r and the preceding mark for medial à can still be distinguished at the beginning of line 17.

(L. 17-20.) The 16th stanza contains the name of Lalita-varman in the genitive case combined with a series of compound epithets, each of which has a word rhyming with -varman as its last member. We have met with an instance of this atadkara in verse 11 of the inscription under discussion.3 Bearing this in mind, we shall be able to restore this stanzæ, notwithstanding its mutilated state. The first epithet shubhakikā-kṛta-karanamŚ is complete. Of the next one, most of the syllables are either indistinct or lost. The conjectural reading para-vadhā-vipau-naranmao, suggested to me by Bṛndit Daya Ram Sahni, is based on the following considerations. As the preceding word ends in an upadhmanīya, the initial consonant must be either p or ph. If we have to choose between the two, the probability is in favour of p as the more common one. In the beginning of the following line we have the four akṣaras pavanamana which form the end of the adjective compound. The syllables pa and unu, though somewhat defaced, can still be read. The epithet, as restored expresses a thought often met with in panegyrics of royal personages, though hardly complimentary according to modern ideas.

3 Cf. also Janaśāra, v. 27 and Bṛjnāṭaḥ, prastāta, II, v. 11.
The third adjective, ending in bharman which is entire, is to be connected with the following 'rthiyu. Of the next epithet, consequently, no more than the first aksara which is ha, remains, and the proposed restoration is necessarily doubtful. Considering, however, that the last member of the compound must rhyme with varman and that karmam, bharman and varman have already been used, our choice for the ending word is restricted to a few expressions. It may also be noticed that the second aksara ta can be recognized on the back of the stampage, so that only the second member of the compound can be said to be arbitrary, except as far as its form is determined by metrical exigencies. The third syllable of line 19 is certainly bha. The traces which remain of the first two aksaras support the proposed reading byha, which suits the metre and yields good sense.

Finally, it remains to discover in what connection Kamala-laśchana (the first two syllables are practically certain) "the guru of him," i.e. of Lalita-varman is mentioned at the end of the stanza. Naturally we expect to find the name of its author in the concluding portion of the inscription. The Rājaratna who is bound to be a Sanskrit scholar would be a fit person to compose a prāṣāti. Our conclusion is that Kamala-laśchana composed the Dēvi-ri-kōthi inscription, and by supplying the missing syllables in the proposed manner, this has been expressed in the simplest possible way. It will be seen that of the first syllable of the word prāṣātim in line 19 the lower portion is still extant. The initial syllable of the next line preserves roughly the outline of the aksara mām.

 LI. 20-22. As verse 17 is evidently composed in the Āryā metre, and the quantity of the lost syllables, therefore, cannot be fixed, the restoration of the missing portions is attended with some difficulty. From what remains it is manifest that this stanza has the same benedictory purport as the concluding verse of the Sādhana prāṣāti (No. 13), which is composed in the same metre. In both cases the pious patron is specially commemorated, for there can be no doubt that the sāmanthā in 1. 21 of the Dēvi-ri-kōthi inscription is no other than Rājānaka Nāga-pālā previously mentioned. The adjective sukhāśī in the same line cannot, of course, be connected with the word sāmanthā, but must belong to a neuter noun which has become lost at the end of line 20. This noun I suppose to be jagad which with the following api (pi, the first aksara of line 21, is legible) makes the fourth foot of the first half-verse. To complete the third foot, a short and a long syllable are supplied by the word sada. Thus the first half-verse is restored.

The second half-verse I propose to restore in the following fashion suggested to me by Pundīt Hirandana. We may complete the syllables jaya as jayatu and supply the name of Nāga-pālā who, as just stated, is the sāmanthā mentioned at the end of the first half-verse. It is also possible that the missing word was an adjective like vipula-kirtti. As no trace of any letters remains, the restoration is necessarily conjectural. Of the remaining five feet we have āya ca sthīro bharatā. The initial e with its peculiar shape and the ā, though both broken, may be regarded as

1 Cf. Bhrjāmā prastuti, I. 29.
certain. From what remains it is evident that the verse is an áryā stanza of the sūgiti variety. We require, therefore, besides the fourth foot, only one short syllable to complete the fifth foot. We may safely assume that the object for the stability of which the poet prays is the cistern which supplied the subject of his poem. We require, therefore, a masculine noun, meaning a water-tank, which will fit the metre. The word toyākṣaṇa meets the case. It will be seen that the defaced three aksaras at the beginning of line 22 may quite well have been ya, śa and ya. The first has traces of the a mark, the second shows a distinct vertical and the third one has retained its shape so as to be still recognisable.

The first syllables of line 23, though somewhat defaced, can be read. The last two lines, which contain the names of the workmen, it is, of course, impossible to restore. It seems probable that Udda mentioned in the beginning of line 24 is the same individual as the nāṭrādhāra Uda, whose son, Sāhaga (Sūhāga?), carved the Nārāyana image (cf. above, p. 208). The latter would consequently be a brother of Bhāgarāja, unless we are to assume that both names indicate the same person.

No. 33.—SĀLHI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀNAKA LUDRA-
PĀLA OF THE 27TH YEAR OF LALITA-VARMAN; ŚĀSTRA

[12] 46 (A.D. 1170).—(Plates XXXI and XXXII.)

This inscription is found in Pāṇgi at the village of Sālhi (map Saubli), some seven miles from Sāc (map Sauch) in the romantic Sācu glen (fig. 1) which debouches into the Candrabhāgā valley near the latter place. It may be noticed here that an ancient route connecting Pāṇgi and Lahlur leads up the Sācu Nālā, and, after crossing the Ghūr-Dhār (map Gudhar) Pass, descends by the Maiyār Nālā to the Candrabhāgā valley which it rejoins at Markulā or Udaipur (map Odapur). Starting from Sāc, the stages are Sācu (map Saichu; height 8,412'), Bāt or (map Bataur; height 11,638'), Singhamār (height 13,000'), Maiyār (map Miyar; height 10,215') and Cimrat. This road, notwithstanding the pass, is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhāgā. It is practicable for hill-ponies which circumstance perhaps accounts for the name of the pass.²

The inscription is incised on an enormous fountain-slab (6' 6" high; 7' wide), the largest of its kind yet seen, covered with the figures of various deities. These are arranged in three horizontal rows, the upper and central row each containing five, and the lowermost row four figures. The place of the central panel of this row is pierced by a square hole, through which an ornamental water-spout is passed. The spring which once fed it has either dried up or changed its course. Unluckily the stone has at some time been thrown down by an avalanche,

¹ We may compare the concluding verse of the Sāhāya prasasti:

अनुभूति दिवां महामराय श्रयते नामस्तु द्वितीय नुजयस्।
मन्त्रास्त्रययतु न पूर्णु नीयानाविनिव्ययस्।

or the last stanza of the Sāhāya well inscription:

द्वितीय वरदिक्षे द्वारे गारबलय च नुजयस्।
पिरस्य श्रुतु दुर्योगान चारकय महात्म।

² It is also possible to connect the name with the word gādī which in the Cambayālī dialect means “a rock, boulder.”
whereby its lower portion was partly destroyed, and the upper, proper right corner broken off. For the rest, the stone is very well preserved. In excavating the cistern in front of the slab, we recovered some fragments of the missing portion, which had been used to support the slab at the time it was re-erected.

It is a point of considerable interest that in addition to the long inscription which records the erection of the slab, each of the figures carved on it is provided with a short epigraph containing its name. This, we shall see, is also the case with the Sai fountain inscription (No. 35). But, whereas at Sai the figures portray both deities and mortals, we find in the present instance only beings of the higher order. The figures are placed in sunk panels separated by slim pilasters.

The five figures of the upper row are all four-armed and seated in the same fashion: the right leg drawn up and the left placed on the ground. It is the position which in Buddhist art is peculiar to Bodhisattvas, and is known as the Mahārājajitī or Lalitāsana attitude. Each figure has its vehicle (vahana) reclining at its feet. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Śiva seated on his bull Nandi. He is three-faced and four-armed and wears a crescent in his head-dress. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary; the attributes in his left hands seem to be a knife and some kind of fruit. A defaced inscription in two lines at the side of his head calls him Lokapāla Isāna. Śiva, who is also called Isā or Isāna "the Lord," figures, that is to say, as one of the eight Lokapālas or World-protectors, his region being that of the north-east (Skr. aisāna seil. dīṭa).

To his right we find a deity seated on an animal presumably meant for a horse or mule. His four hands are provided with an elephant hook (ākuśa) and a lotus-flower (paśa) to the right, and with a club (gada) and a conch-shell (sankha) to the left. The inscription next to his head marks him as Lokapāla Vamana, i.e. "the World-protector Varuṇa," in other words the god of the waters in whose honour the slab was erected. His region is the West. I may note parenthetically that the aspect of Varuṇa in this sculpture is very uncommon. Mr. Cousens informs me that his effigy occurs among the deities on the great tower of Chitāpur. Here he holds a snare and a rosary in his two right hands and a lotus and a water-pot in his left hands. The figure is inscribed: Śrī Varuṇa-mūrtiḥ. The vehicle of Varuṇa is invariably the makara. On this animal he is seated as guardian of the west in the eśādikāla ceilings of the Western Presidency.

On the other side of Śiva we find, in the terms of the inscription, Lokapāla devarāja Indra, i.e. "the World-protector, the king of the gods, Indra," who, having been from Vedic times the agent of rain and thunder, has very appropriately obtained a prominent place on our fountain-slab. Among the Lokapālas he is the guardian of the eastern region. He is four-armed, his right hands holding a club and his typical attribute the thunderbolt (vastra), his left hands an elephant hook and what appears to be a mace or sword. The ancient thundergod is shown seated on his elephant Airāvata or Airāvaka, in whom we may recognize the dark-coloured

2 It should be remembered that Śiva's seat is Mount Kailasa located in the Himalaya.
rain-carrying thunder-cloud. In Sanskrit poetry the clouds are often compared to elephants, e.g., in the following stanza from "The Little Clay Cart":

"It seems as if the sky would take the guise
Of some fierce elephant to service braid;
The lightning like a waving streamer flies,
And white cranes serve to deck his mighty head."

It is interesting that Airāvata is also the name of a Nāga king, which by popular etymology has become changed into Elīpāra.

The two remaining figures of the upper row are both deities of the Śaiva Pantheon. At the proper right end we recognize the familiar shape of Ganesa with a single-tusked elephant's head. He has exchanged his ordinary vehicle, the rat, for a lion possibly borrowed from the lion-seat (Skr. sinhasana) on which we find him often enthroned in older examples. One of his right hands holds a rosary which, strange to say, is shown upright, the other some indefinite object. His left hands hold an axe and a vessels of sweet-meats, to which he has applied his trunk. The sculptor has thought it necessary to label even this most popular member of the Hindu Pantheon. The inscription, the first syllable of which is lost, runs [Ga]ndhipati.

The proper left end of the upper row is assigned to Śiva's other son, Skanda, Kārttikeya or, as the inscription incised on his breast names him, Kumāra-deva "the divine Prince." He is seated on his vehicle the peacock, and has his usual number of faces, whence his epithet Śanmukha or Śadānana "the six-faced One." His attributes are a trident, similar to that of Śiva, and a rosary in his two right hands, and another trident of different shape and a bird in his two left hands. In the second trident we may recognize a spear—Kārttikeya's typical attribute.

The bird in the second left hand bears a very close resemblance to a parrot, but is more probably meant for a cock. This bird, at least, is mentioned as one of Kumāra's attributes in the following dhyāna which I have found on a miniature representing that deity:

सिद्धार्थसिद्धांतान्तरितं वेंयुहरार्दिशिं
विशेषधर्मेण विभूतयतना सर्वसा योऽपि ग्रहमिदम्
श्रवणाध्यायस्य कुक्तपर दिव्याभिरागापलुः
सुविवाधपुषपाव्रोध्यं प्राणसामितसस्तिप्रिपदम्

"We worship the minimum-red one, moonshine-faced, whose body is adorned with bracelets, garlands and other celestial ornaments, the giver of the joy of Paradise, who, beaming with heavenly ointment, bears a water-born lotus, protection, a spear and a cock, and, very kind to Brāhmans, gives the attainment of their desired objects to those who bow down before him."

1 The Little Clay Cart (Mythologica) transl. by A. W. eyler (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1903), p. 83.
2 Cfr. above, p. 100 f.
3 In the third set of The Little Clay Cart, the Brāhma-burglar Saṃjñaka speaks of his Patron Kārttikeya as "the Lord of the Golden Lance."
4 One of Kārttikeya's right hands makes the gesture expressing "protection" (Skr. abhaya-mudrā) rel. It is raised with the open palm at the level of the shoulder.
In the centre of the middle row, right over the spout opening, we recognize the well-known scene of Viṣṇu's sleep, a symbolisation of the sun's disappearance during the season of the rains, and, therefore, very appropriate in the present instance. The subject is commonly found on the fountain-stones of Brahmā and Chathārā and is always treated in the same conventional manner. I have noticed it also on spring enclosures in Maṇḍī State. On our sculpture we see Viṣṇu reclining rather awkwardly on the Nāga Śeṣa, who joins his hands in adoration (namas- kāra). It will be noticed that the Nāga does not wear the usual hood of snake-heads, but the lower part of his body is that of a serpent. Viṣṇu himself is three-faced, the right and left faces being those of a lion and a boar, respectively. This peculiar feature, not unfrequently found on Viṣṇu images in the Western Himālaya, he has in common with the Buddhist goddess, Mārici or Vajra-vanālī. He is four-armed and holds his ordinary attributes—the lotus (padma) and the wheel (cakra) to the right; and the conch-shell (saukhi) and the mace (gada) to the left. From his navel springs a lotus-flower on which Brahmā, likewise four-armed and carrying his usual emblems, is seated. In front of Viṣṇu stands Laksñi fanning her lord with a fly-whisk (cūmara). The inscription over his head runs Śeṣa-śayī (read Śeṣa-śayi) Viṣṇu which means “Viṣṇu resting on Śeṣa.” The substitution of ś for s is a peculiarity of Sanskrit pronunciation in Kaśmir, and seems to point to the author of the inscription having come from that country.

On both sides of the sleeping Viṣṇu there are two panels, each of which contains a female deity standing facing the centre, and holding a well-shaped waternurse in one hand, while the other clasps a lotus-stalk. The four figures are identical, but the vase is always in the hand next to the centre. They are, moreover, accompanied by different animals. Though from their attitude and attributes it is evident at once that these figures represent river-goddesses, it would have been impossible in every instance to fix their names solely by means of these more or less phantastical vāhanas. To remove our doubts, the sculptor has cut their names on the vases, which, in the Indian fashion, they hold raised to the level of their shoulders. Those names, in some cases, are given neither in Sanskrit nor in the modern vernacular, but in an intermediate form which probably corresponded to that in use at the time of the inscription. The two figures immediately to the right and left of Viṣṇu are the personifications of the sacred twin rivers, Gāṅgā and Jāmna, readily recognizable from their vehicles—the crocodile in its conventional shape as makara, and the tortoise. They are, moreover, marked by inscriptions as Gāṅgā and Jāmna. The latter name is an intermediate form between Sanskrit Yamunā and the modern Jāmna. The lingual ś is evidently due to the propensity for cerebralisation of dentals, peculiar to the Cambiyaḷi dialect. The occurrence of Gāṅgā and Jāmna at the entrance of temples has been noticed above (pp. 143 f.)

I may mention here that, according to information received from Mr. Consens we find the three river-goddesses Gāṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī portrayed among the deities on the tower of Chitōr. The vāhana of Sarasvatī is a fish. In the Elura Caves in the courtyard of Kailāsa, there are three standing life-size images of these

1 I am using the indigenous appellation of the chief river of India in preference to the unpronounceable form which Europe inherited from Greece.
same three. While Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand upon the makara and the tortoise respectively, Sarasvatī stands upon a lotus.

The figure adjoining Gaṅgā on our sculpture has a fish as vāhana and is called Vētḥ in the inscription. This name we may safely interpret as a derivative of Sanskrit Vēśastō signifying the westernmost of "the five rivers," famous both as the Hydaspes of Alexander's battle and Horace's melodious ode, and as the Vyāth which waters the Happy Valley. If we remember the tanks, teeming with fish, of Vērnāg, Anantaṇāg and other sacred springs of Kaśmir, the vehicle assigned here to the river which they feed, will seem most appropriate. It is hardly necessary to add that the Vyāth of Kaśmir is the same river as the Jēhlan of the Plains.

Next to the Jannā we meet a river-goddess with a dragon. She represents the Indus, named in the inscription by its old Indian appellation Siyāhā (the modern Siāh), whence originated the name by which the whole Indian continent has become known to the West.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tiang, when crossing the Indus at U-to-kia-han-cha, the ancient Udakabhāṇḍa or Udakāṇḍa (modern Und or Ohind) speaks of "poisonous Nāgas and hurtful beasts" occupying the caverns and clefts along its banks. This may perhaps account for the vehicle which here distinguishes that river.

The third or lower-most row of deities is, as has been remarked above, partly missing; but enough remains to show that it contained four figures identical with those just described, but somewhat smaller in size. Of these four Nainīs, that at the proper right end is the only one, the vāhana of which is preserved. It presents the appearance of a hippocamp such as frequently occurs on Greco-Buddhist sculptures. The inscription leaves no doubt that the river personified here is the Biās (or Byās according to the legend), the Vedic Viśā ([ā and the Hyphasis of Alexander's historians.

Of the figure at the opposite end the vāhana is lost, but the vase resting on its right hand retains the epigraph Śatadvīra, evidently an older form of the name Satūj (vulgo Sutlej) derived from the Vedic Śrutṛ. An intermediate form Śatadru occurs in Sanskrit literature.

The two inner figures of this row are almost completely gone, but they must have been similar to the others. We may safely assume that they represented the rivers Rāvi and Candrabhāṇḍa; for it is not very probable that the two rivers of Chambā should have been omitted. Thus, besides the two sacred rivers Gaṅgā and Jannā, and the not less important Siāh, we have the five great tributaries of the latter, which from ancient times have given to the country which they water its name "the land of the five rivers."

It would seem at first sight that there were two strokes over the initial consonant, but one of these belongs to the ornamentation of the vase on which the inscription is written.

In the epigraph the word Siyāhā is apparently spelled with lingual q and dental dā. We may compare the form Conyaku (for Coyaku) of the copper-plates, in which, however, the second consonant is a labial.

Of Roucher, L'art gréco-buddhique du Gandhāra, fig. 121.

Of Suvṛṣa, Rājāt. 439; also Pāliam voll inser, v. 14 in Delhi Museum Cat., p. 24. In Chambā I have heard the name of the Satūj pronounced as "Sutūdr."
We have mentioned above that in front of the carved fountain-slab just-described there is a cistern meant to receive the water, but now filled with earth. It is rectangular in shape and measures 12' 3" by 5' 8". The front slab, 12' 6" wide, 1' 6" high and 1' 3" thick, is also decorated with carvings. Though much defaced, they allow us to recognize three crouching male figures, seated cross-legged and, separated by dwarf pilasters, the shafts of which bear lozenge-shaped ornaments. The whole device can be traced back to the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, where it is commonly applied to decorate the bases of stūpas.\(^1\) Of the three figures the central one has his hands resting on his knees, in the attitude of an Atlant, though in reality there is nothing for him to support. It is equally strange that the two remaining figures are provided with fly-whisks, which would have been more appropriate if the central figure had been a deity. At the two ends of the slab there is a lion standing with its head turned outward. This indicates that the scheme of the decoration here exhibited was borrowed from the simhāsana of some image. That the fountain-slab, when seen in perspective, would, as it were, surmount the front stone may have suggested this form of ornamentation.

The inscription\(^2\) is cut along the raised rim between the upper and central row of figures, and consists of three lines of unequal length. Lines 1 and 2 cover the whole width of the stone and measure 6' 1\(\frac{2}{3}\)" in length; the third line is 5' 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long. The letters, which are on the average 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)" high, are well engraved, but in places the surface of the stone has disintegrated so as to make their shape indistinct. A more serious difficulty in dealing with this inscription is the circumstance that sometimes syllables have been left out. The language, moreover, is as defective as in other similar records. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged. We find \(\ddot{u}\) instead of \(\dot{u}\) in dhāvāya (l. 1) and ārādhaye (l. 3). The anusvāra is regularly found over any vowels which are followed by a preconsonantic nasal, and the visarga is freely placed at the end of words to separate them, as it were, from each other (Cf. above No. 28).

The first line contains three benedictory stanzas. The first composed in the Ṛṣipitāgrā metre is also found in the beginning of the copper-plate of Soma-varman (No. 24) and that of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa (No. 25), so that we can easily restore its very corrupt reading. The second and third stanzas composed in the Anusṭubh metre are addressed to Śiva. For the correction of the second verse I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn. The third verse in which several syllables are missing has been restored by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni.

The first half of the second line contains the date of the inscription: the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lalita-varman or the forty-sixth year of the Śastra era. The name of Lalita-varman occurs in the Vamsāvali (41. 85) immediately after Udaya-varman who assisted Sussala of Kaśmīr in the defence of Śrinagara in A.D. 1122.\(^3\) The year of our inscription must, therefore, be 1170 A.D. Unfortunately the other particulars of the date do not agree. Professor Kielhorn has arrived at the conclusion that most probably the month of Śrāvaṇa has been erroneously

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\(^1\) Cf. Foucher, op. cit. 268, figs. 84-87.

\(^2\) Plate XXXII. It will be noticed that the octameter has been cut into four for reproduction.

\(^3\) Hijār, VIII, 1683; transl. Stein, Vol. II, p. 86.
substituted for Asādha in which case the corresponding date of the Christian era would be Sunday, the 28th June, A.D. 1170.  

The rest of the second line is of unusual interest, as it contains the designations and names of the local officials. It will be seen that two of them bear the title sēgāna or segāna which is certainly not Indian. Mr. A. H. Francke has suggested to me that the word is possibly a corruption of Tibetan sōgampo meaning "a custom-house officer or tax-collector." This explanation seems very plausible and would point to a period of Tibetan rule in Paṁgi previous to its conquest by the Rājās of Chambā. I may add that the vowel in the first syllable may perhaps be read o which would make the word still more similar to the Tibetan sōgampo.

The first mentioned Segāna Kāluka was evidently the chief-official of Paṁgi, which is here called Pāṅgatī. It will be noticed that, though his title may be of Tibetan origin, his name "Kālu" is certainly Indian. The next official, named Neṃ(ka), has the designation of pratīhāra (read pratīhāra) which occurs also on the Sai fountain-slab (No. 35). Next comes Kutu(ka), the daṇḍavāsika, a title, also found on copper-plates, which probably denotes a police officer. The last-named official Sīrī(ka) who, like the first mentioned, bears the title segāna was evidently in charge of the kōḍā (Sanskrit kośṭhya cf. kośṭhāgāra No. 25, l. 21).  

The last line of the inscription records the erection of the fountain-stone (Varalu) by Rāṇī Dohā, the wife of the Rāṇā Ludra-pāla. The name Ludrapāla which evidently stands for Rudra-pāla, seems to point to Kashmir influence. We find the shrine of Jyeṣṭha-rudra on the Takht-i-Sulaimān near Šrinagar designated as Jiṣṭha-Ludra in an inscription of A.D. 1484.  

It is not a little curious that up to the present day the house adjoining the Sāhī fountain-stone is inhabited by a family of Rāṇās (now simple agriculturists) who claim descent from the Ludrapāla of our inscription (cf. fig. 21).

After a short sentence in praise of the water of the fountain, the inscription ends with the name of the writer, Kāyastha Sekha, and of the two stone-masons (Skr. sīnṭvādārā), Sāhaja and Gagga. The latter certainly deserve more praise for their craft than the former for his knowledge of Sanskrit.

**TEXT.**

1. The date has been fully discussed above, pp. 74 ff.
2. For a discussion of the functions of these officials cf. above, pp. 134 ff.
4. The last two adverbs are indistinct, but cf. No. 42, l. 12.
Hail! Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahma). Victorious is the son of the Destroyer of castles (Siva or Indra), the enemy of Mura (Krsna). Victorious is He whose body is held by the Mountain-daughter (Durga), He who removes distress and danger—Hara, the god.

Reverence to Śambhu (Siva) the beautiful, whose lofty head is touched (lit. kissed) by the moon as by a chowrie, [and] who is the beginning, the root and the support of the town of the Universe.

Reverence to Him, the Crescent-carrier, who strikes the body of Kaśa [and] whose seat is the region of Apāna—Śiva, the creator of the manifested world.

In the year 27 in the reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Lakita-vyāman of divine descent, in the Sāstra year 46, [the month of] Śrīvaṇa, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 13, on Sunday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Mula, on the thirtieth lunar day—when in Pāṇagati there was the Sīgīs the illustrious Kālu, the prabhāra, the illustrious Neṣu, the danāṃgāsika the illustrious Kuta; and Sīgīs Śīrka, in charge of the Kothi—[at that time] the wife of the Rāpā, the very illustrious Lūdā-pāla of Sālti, the queen, the illustrious Dholā has erected a fountain-slab (lit. Varūṇa-deva) for the sake of Siva's heaven, in order to gain the other heaven of Viṣṇu [and] for the sake of the joy of Paradise.

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1. The adverb which I read has apparently both the i and the y vowel signs.
2. The p. is written under the line.
3. Perhaps Saraka is to be read; the first syllable is doubtful.
4. As all the proper names in this passage except Sarika are preceded by the word Śrī, it is probable that the syllable caḥ is also to be read as such.
5. I presume that Dholā is the true form of the name (cf. above, p. 210) which erroneously was provided with the instrumental termination of the masculine.
6. The form jīva is due to vernacular influence.
7. Perhaps Sūgīs is to be read. Cf. above, p. 158.
8. Prāpu and Apāna are the two breath currents in the human body according to the Yoga system.
[This] flowing water [is] excellent, pure and cool [and] causes glory, fame and grace. Thus may it be blessed. This is written by the writer of legal documents Sekha. It was set up by the stone-mason Sahaja and by Gagga—truly set up.

No. 34.—MÜL-KIhÁR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXIII.)

At a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Düühr (map Duire), the headquarters of the pargana of the same name, lies the hamlet of Mül-Kihär. The name seems to indicate that it was originally the chief place of the Kihär pargana. The present Kihär kūṭhā is situated some 4 or 5 miles further to the west at the village of Digi. On a spur above the village of Mül-Kihär there are the remnants of ancient walls which evidently once belonged to a building of considerable size. Local tradition holds that this was the site of a Rāṇā’s castle, and the inscription presently to be discussed leaves no doubt as to the correctness of this tradition.

On the site I found a defaced piece of sculpture, 1’ 9” high and 1’ 3” wide, representing a goddess standing between two female attendants. Each of these figures wears the usual ornaments and is placed on a conventional lotus. The central one shown in a dancing posture, is four-armed. Two arms seem to swing a snake over its head, the other two are in front of the body, but the attributes which they once held are lost. The two attendants, of somewhat smaller size and in the usual contorted posture, were presumably provided with fly-whisks (Skr. cāmanā). The attendant to the left of the main figure with her right hand raised above the head has the typical attitude of a chowrie bearer. The two pilasters shown at the sides of the figures, indicate that these were supposed to be enshrined in a chapel. It is not clear what architectural member these pilasters are supporting, as the upper portion of the sculpture is totally effaced. The cusped arch, partly preserved at the back and over the heads of the figures, seems to be developed from a trefoil halo.

A more important relic of the past is a ruined fountain at the side of the Düühr-Kihär road in the immediate proximity of the site just noticed. The destruction of this cistern is locally ascribed to the Basóbli people. In the reign of Rāj Singh, about A.D. 1774, Chambā was invaded by the Basóbli Rājā Anup Pāl at the instigation of Ranjit Dev of Jammū. Rāj Singh repelled the invader with the assistance of the Rāmgarihā Sardārs and in his turn invaded and conquered Basóbli in A.D. 1782. Again in the reign of his son and successor Jit Singh bands of Basóbli troops made inroads in Chambā territory under their chief Bījai Pāl. In A.D. 1800, the Chambā Rājā retaliated by invading and conquering Basóbli. The traveller George Forster who travelled through Basóbli territory in April 1783 gives a graphic account of the destruction caused by the invasion of Rāj Singh of Chambā.

1 The name of the last Rāṇā of Mül-Kihär is said to have been Gālib Singh and that of his Rāṇā Kanaṇḍ. I am told that one of his descendants, Mahāl Singh by name, still lives at Bhadraṇā.
2 Cf. Chambā Gazetteer, pp. 90 ff. The date of the copper-plate referred to in the footnote is Vikrama 1531, Śaka 1696, Vaiśākha pūrṇima, Vrīga prā. 15 corresponding to Wednesday the 25th May, A.D. 1774.
The Mül-Kilhär cistern is of a type entirely different from that of the ordinary paṇkiyāra in which the large back-slab with its carvings and inscriptions is the most striking feature. In the present instance we find only a curiously sculptured water-spout, the mouth of which seems to represent the head of some phantastical animal, perhaps meant for a maṇḍara. Some more carved stones of considerable size are found on the spot, but their original position cannot now be ascertained.

The inscription which contains the record of the foundation of this cistern is carved on a large slab (2' 5" by 1' 10" by 11") which is no longer in situ. It has shared the fate of the monument to which it belonged and is now in a deplorable state of mutilation. The inscribed surface is 2' in width by 1' 6" in height; but a large portion of the epigraph has disappeared with the proper left end of the stone. The missing part of the inscribed surface has the shape of a rectangular triangle, the hypotenuse being marked by the fractured edge. The upper lines have suffered the greatest loss, probably some twenty-two syllables each, whilst at the end of the lower lines of the inscription only a few aksaras seem to be missing. Of the remainder most of the letters along the top and proper right side of the stone are entirely effaced; the surface has peeled off in places, especially in the lower portion of the record, and everywhere separate letters are found damaged or destroyed.

The mutilation of this inscription is the more to be regretted, as evidently it was a document of considerable interest, both historical and literary. It seems to have consisted of twenty-six lines and to have contained no less than thirty-one stanzas of very fine Sanskrit poetry, composed in a great variety of metres. The metres used are Śāridāvāikṛṣṭī in verse 2; Ṛathodhātā in verses 3, 4 and 15;
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Varanityākā in verses 5, 10, 12, 13, 18, and 27; Mālinī in verses 6 and 16; Anuṣṭubh in verses 7 (?), 9, 14, 20–24, 26 (?), and 29; Upajātī in verses 8, 10 and 30; Māndakāntā in verse 11; Śīkharīni in verses 17 and 25 and Drutavilambīta (?) in verse 28. At present not a single verse is entire, but a few can be conjecturally restored. Enough remains to make out the chief contents of the inscription. It may be divided into three parts. The first part consists of benedictory stanzas and invocations to various deities; the second part contains the genealogy of the local Rāṇā to whose piety the fountain owed its origin, and the final portion gives an account of the pious foundation itself.

Let us now attempt, as far as the fragmentary state of the document allows, to consider its contents more in detail. The first stanza, apparently preceded by the usual maṅgala in prose, is almost entirely destroyed. Presumably it contained, like the following stanzas, an invocation to some deity, perhaps Varuṇa, the god of the waters, who, as we have had frequent occasion to notice, takes a prominent place both in the carvings and inscriptions on monuments of this kind. Of the second stanza the concluding portion is still legible; it ends with the name of Śiva whose protection it was apparently meant to implore. The third stanza had evidently a similar purport, but the name of the deity invoked is lost. Stanzas 4 to 6 are addressed to Kama (Madama) the god of love, to the Sun-god Śūrya, here called Tarapi, and to Śiva's son Kuṇāra or Kārttikeya, the god of war. The seventh verse begins with the word śreyah, from which we may infer that, like the preceding six stanzas, it was intended to secure the blessing of some deity.

The second genealogical portion of the inscription is on the whole somewhat better preserved than the beginning and concluding parts, but unfortunately most of the names are lost. Of the first of the Rāṇā's ancestors, mentioned in verse 8, the name certainly ended in -yāla(ka); the first member of the name is perhaps gaya. The bears the title of Rājānaka, i.e. Rāṇā and is said to belong to the house (gotra) of the muni Kāśyapa. In stanzas 9 and 10 it is related that he married, and a child was born to him, but the names of both his wife and his son are lost. In the next two verses (11-12) this son marries in his turn and begets a son whose name is likewise missing. This grandson of Rāṇā Gaya-pāla marries a lady, Śūramati by name, who is praised for her generosity (verse 13). Several sons are born by her, the names of the eldest being Śyāmalu, Laksmana, Golhaṇa and Chinna (verse 14), and also a daughter Bhappikā whose beauty is described in an elegant line of poetry (verse 15). The following passage (verses 16-18) consists of an account of the death of Śūramati and of the lamentations of her relatives, told in exquisite language. Verses 19-24 eulogize the water, which quenches the fire of grief and allays even the torments of hell. These stanzas, all composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre, seem to be a quotation, as may also be inferred from the following Iti śrutvā, but I have not been able to ascertain from what work they are borrowed.

The concluding portion of the inscription relates, how a cistern of clear water was constructed, evidently in memory of the deceased Śūramati. In verse 25 the founder is named Goga, but it is not apparent whether her husband is indicated by

1 Cf. Thibetan, Outline of Punjab Ethnography, § 421.
2 The female personal name Chinna occurs in the Raipaṭh prajñāst, I, 27.
this name or one of her sons. In the latter case Goga might be a pet-name for Golhana mentioned in verse 4. It seems, however, more natural that it was the husband of the deceased lady who had the fountain made. The whole passage is too much mutilated to allow us to arrive at any definite conclusion. So much is certain that in verse 30 the date of the inscription is expressed in the regnal year of some Rājā of Chambā, whose name I propose to read Vijayaśvara. Unfortunately the first syllable is lost, and the second uncertain. If my conjecture is correct, "the lord Vijaya" of our inscription may be identified with Vijaya-varman, who in the Pāñcabali (61.85) figures as the son and successor of Lalita-varman. As we know that the latter became Rājā in A.D. 1143 and was still ruling in 1170, the date of Vijaya-varman’s reign must fall about the end of the 12th century. This conclusion well agrees with the palæographical evidence afforded by the Mūl-Kihār inscription. It follows, moreover, from verse 30 that the Rānās of Mūl-Kihār owed allegiance to the Rājās of Chambā.

Another point of considerable interest is whether Rājānaka Gaya-pāla mentioned in verse 8 of our inscription can be the same person as the Thakkura Gaya-pāla who, according to the Rājareravānī (VIII, 548-9) collected a force to restore the pretender, Bhiksācara, to the throne of Kaśmir, but was treacherously murdered by his own relatives before he could give effect to his design. Chronologically the identification might well be maintained. The Gaya-pāla of the Kaśmir Chronicle lived in the reign of Jāśata of Chambā, at whose court Bhiksācara found a refuge for several years. We saw that the Rānā who founded the Mūl-Kihār cistern lived at the time of Vijaya-varman, i.e., about the last quarter of the 12th century. His grandfather may, therefore, quite well have been a contemporary of Jāśata who ruled in Chambā in the first quarter of that century.

On the other hand, it would seem from the wording of Kaśhana’s account that his Thakkura Gaya-pāla was a feudatory of Padmaka, the Rājā of Vallāpura, whose daughter Bhiksācara married. This, however, is not a very serious objection. We can hardly expect absolute accuracy in a narrative of events which happened at a considerable distance from Kaśmir. Gaya-pāla the Rānā of Mūl-Kihār was most probably, like his grandson, a vassal of the Rājā of Chambā, but his castle stood almost on the border of Vallāpura territory and he could, therefore, conveniently collect the troops from both States. For it should be remembered that Jāśata of Chambā lent support to his kinsman Bhiksācara, like his neighbour Padmaka of Vallāpura.

So far, therefore, the identification seems plausible enough, but it may be well to emphasize the fact that the reading of the name in the inscription is itself problematical. Only the last member of the compound is certain, and this unfortunately was the common cognomen of many royal and noble families of the period. The first part of the name must indeed have consisted of two short syllables, the first of which is still extant in outline and can hardly be anything but ya. The little that remains of the second aksara permits of its being read as ya, but this reading must of necessity be regarded as conjectural.

As far as the fragmentary state of the inscription allows us to judge, the record is composed in very pure and grammatically correct Sanskrit. The only error
occurring in the preserved portion is the substitution of \( r \) for \( ri \) in \( tṛdakāpatisvadānām \) (verse 18), a mistake of which we have met with instances elsewhere and which is evidently due to the pronunciation of \( r \) sonorous as \( ri \). The author of the Mūl-Kībār inscription was not only a scholar, but a true poet whose good taste prevented him from indulging in the bombastic phraseology which so often disfigures the classical literature of India. His language is simple, and the rhetorical figures of speech are applied in such proportion as not to obscure but to elucidate the sense of each verse. The similes, if not original, are well chosen. If we compare verse 15, in which the charms of Śūramati's daughter are lauded, with numerous passages in Indian poetry devoted to the praise of female beauty—of which our Sarīhāna ṭrāṣṭrī (No. 18) affords a good example—we cannot but admire the chaste moderation of the writer.

**TEXT.**

\[\begin{align*}
(1.2) & \quad [\text{शों} \text{रथ}] \text{सिस्ता} \quad \text{शों} \text{रत्न} \\
(1.3) & \quad [\text{शैवि-}]\text{हिस्वसिन्यु} \quad \text{सफल-क्रौथ-प्रसा} [\text{द} \text{पिया}] \\
(1.4) & \quad [\text{वनस्य}] \text{सिम} \text{बदन} \text{वम्यते} \text{स्यॅन} \text{दृष्ट-नुष्टाणि} \text{शृण्डिः} \\
(1.5) & \quad [\text{कण्डा}] \text{सिस्ता} \text{सरस्तम} \\
(1.6) & \quad [\text{राक्षश}] \text{नृत्य} \text{शृण्डिः} [\text{त्रिया}] \text{सिम} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{विशिष्ट-विन्य-रीवीय-बाल-वैवक्षवससुसुक} \text{जयति} [\text{विपुक्क}] \text{श्रद्यारो} \text{कुमार} \\
\text{नेरो} \quad \text{रामकार} \quad [\text{नव} \text{पालकाण्डा}] \\
\text{तथा} \text{नमाञ्च बुध-पिन्त-पविद्य-पदा} \\
\text{तत्त्वविज्ञात} \text{शुक्ल-शुम्भरर} \text{वस्य} \\
\text{[श] \text{प्रवेशसिक} \text{शृण्डिः} \text{बहुमूलं} \\
\end{align*}\]

1 Cf. No. 0, 1, 2, श्रेष्ठया for श्रेष्ठया and No. 15, 1, 24, श्रेष्ठया for श्रेष्ठया.
(l. 10) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या निवयः [नाम] तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम] सुधाम्।

(l. 11) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 12) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 13) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 14) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 15) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 16) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।

(l. 17) तत्त्वाद्य युज्या [नाम]।
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Hail! Adoration...

1. [Lost.]
2. Śiva whose wrath and favour bear fruit with his foes and friends [may he protect you].
3. He whose splendour is white like snow—may he keep you.
4. I praise Madana (i.e. Kāma) who, though his body was reduced to ashes, subdued the heart of the Trident-holder (i.e. Śiva).
5. Tarāpi (i.e. Sūrya) in whose fire the misfortune of the righteons [is consumed] like fuel, he who is a boat on the ocean of existence, may he render you happy.
6. The chaste Kumāra (i.e. Kārttikeya) conquers the host of enemies.
7. [Lost.]
8. In the house of the great Sage whose name is Kaśyapa was born the Rājānaka called the illustrious Gayapālaka.
9. [He married a lady] who was appropriately so named and who secured success to the factions of her father-in-law and her father.
10. To him of noble deeds was born by her a son whom here the multitude of princes [praised] as the champion of knighthood.

Translation.

1 The metre is uncertain. Judging from the space occupied by this verse, it seems to have been an Anuvṛtta.
2 The metre is uncertain. We have apparently a pātha in the Brāhmatantra meter, but some of the akṣaras are lost.
3 Conjectural words are shown in italics. Words which are incoherent have been left untranslated.
11. He also had a lawful wife adorned with a multitude of virtues... at the report of whose fame the fair ones within the circle of the earth yielded without complaint the utmost charm of their beauty.

12. By her [was born a son]... [at the sight of whom] the bodies of the fair ones, feeling the pangs of love, [attained] their highest aim.

13. His [spouse] is Śūramati of spotless nature... who bestowed land, food, gold and clothes at sacrifices and on the afflicted.

14. She bore [him several] sons of whom the elder were Śyāmāya, Laksmana, Gobhaga and Chinna.

15. He had also a daughter, Bhappikā by name, with teeth like jasmine buds, a slender waist, a face like a full-blown lotus, the voice of a cuckoo and eyes resembling dark-blue water-lilies.

16. She (Śūramati?) passed away. Certainly, having attained her wish and conquered the world of men, she left the earth and reached the abode of heaven, to transcend in beauty, loveliness and manners the women of the Chief of the gods.¹

17. . . . . . . . . . . . neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor... nor the nectar-juice of sweet words—alas! [none of these things] ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same manner to Yama's town.²

18. . . . . . . . . . . . thus hostile Fate separated her—his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind—from her husband, even as the passing of the parās [separates] the Moon sickle from the hot-rayed [Sun].³

19. . . . . . . . . . . . the fire [of grief] of her dear relation... was slowly alloyed besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes.

20. For water is life in [this] world, water is breath, water is strength...

21. Of those who are overcome by faintness or fatigue, who are afflicted with grief or burning... of those whose mind is singed by the fire...

22. Of lovers separated... [the hells]

Mahārāvaka, Mahāpadma and Raurava—

¹ The Lord of the gods (Dvarcakra) is Indra the thundergod. His celestial abode is inhabited by the Gandharvas and Apsaras. Śūramati, the poet supposes, left the world to outshine the beauty of these heavenly nymphs in Indra's Paradise.

² Yama is the Indian Ḫaṭa; he is the god of death and the lord of the lower regions.

³ The parās are the changes of the moon. Here the New Moon is meant, when the sun and the moon are in conjunction. When the parās of the New Moon passes, they become separated. This same simile occurs in the Rājasthān kālī.
23. And the one called Taptavāluka (Burning Sand) ... what would they do to that being whose mind inside is cool.

24. ... with the gift of which the eternal world becomes at once satisfied.

25. When he had thus understood ... and exhorted Ananda his father, Goga his son ... made this cistern of very pure water which causes joy to gods, men and ancestral spirits.

26. [Lost.]

27. By his son this cistern was made here like the word of his father ... at the sight of which ... [his] sons with their offspring. The chief protects the land ...

28. ... [Plates XXXIV AND XXXV.]

29. Constructed by ...

30. In the ... year [of the reign] of Prince Vijaya the seion of the Solar Race and lord of the town named Cāppaka ...

31. ... gleaming in the lotus-like heart of the wise ...

No. 35.—SāI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AJAYA-PĀLA; SĀSTRA 1 (A.D. 1225?) OR KALI 14270 (A.D. 1169?).

Sāi is the head-quarters of the pargāna of the same name which belongs to the Curāh wazīrat. Near a fountain below the village there stands a carved stone of considerable size (3' 6" high; 4' 6" wide). In its centre is a square hole (3"×9") which once must have contained a water-spout. The spring apparently has changed its course. There are still two water-spouts with carved mouths beneath the fountain-slab, but these also have become dry.

Immediately over the square opening we notice a liṅga placed on a stand of the ordinary type. The symbol of procreation is being worshipped by two figures placed on either side of it. The one to its proper right is a bearded male figure seated cross-legged on an ornamental cushion, and holding a censer in his right hand and a bell in his left hand. Between him and the liṅga there is a vessel presumably intended for offerings (Hindi bhōg). From an inscription placed immediately over this figure, it appears that it represents Rāmautra Phāhi; the person for whose sake the fountain-stone was erected. The figure on the other side is a female standing on a kind of stool. Round her head is a halo of trefoil shape. She wears a diadem from which a scarf (H. dupattā) floats down over both her shoulders, and also an ornamental petticoat. The upper part of her body is nude; her breasts are broken and her face slightly injured. Presumably this figure also was marked with an inscription; but the surface of the stone above it has peeled off. From its position we may presume that it represents the wife of Rāmautra Phāhi. In her right hand she holds a fly-whisk (Skr. cāmara; H. cauri, oauri; Anglo-Indo-Chowri); with

1 It is doubtful whether the first oauri is to be read phā or phā. The rounded shape of the letter leads me to assume that it is more probably phā though the curve of phā usually ends in a loop. For instances see above, p. 65.
her left hand she grasps the scarf of another female figure somewhat larger in size which stands behind her and is labelled: Dāi Nāgī. This personage wears the same kind of dress, though differing in design. She holds a water-vessel in her left hand; the right hand which is empty shows the attitude known in Indian iconography as the “gift-bestowing” (Skr. para-mudrā). Beneath these two female figures we notice the effigy of a fish. The other end of the slab is occupied by a figure similar to the one last-described, but holding in each hand a lotus-flower. The inscription over this figure is destroyed except the last letter which is la. Beneath it is a quaint looking animal, presumably meant to represent a tortoise. There can be little doubt that in these two figures we may recognize the portraits of two ladies belonging to the household of Rāgaṇtra Phāhi, for one of them is distinctly marked as dāi, i.e. nurse. We know that even at the Mughal court the wetnurse of the heir-apparent had the title dāi and was a lady of distinction. In Chāmbā we have the example of Dāi Bālō, the wetnurse of Rājā Prithvi Singh, who, according to popular tradition, saved the life of her nursing from the hands of Jagat Singh of Nārpur. She was the founder of two temples and the donor of gifts of land, the titles-deeds of which are still extant among our copper-plates. Thus it can be no matter of surprise that the nurse of Rāgaṇtra Phāhi was considered worthy of being portrayed on the stone. It is curious that the sculptor, in rendering this and the corresponding figure, evidently copied the river-goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, commonly found on similar fountain-slabs. Invariably these Nālsās are shown with a water-vessel in one hand and a lotus-flower in the other, and we notice that each of our two figures has preserved one of these attributes. Besides, the two animals beneath are clearly derived from the crocodile and the tortoise which are the vehicles of those two river-goddesses.

It is well known that Gaṅgā and Yamunā are regularly represented on both sides of the entrance of ancient temples. They are distinguished by their vāhanas—the crocodile and the tortoise. Some noticeable instances are the temples of Martand in Kaśmir, of Nārpur and Bajnāth in Kāngrā and of Bajaurā in Kūlū. And it is the same not only in the Western Himalaya but all over Northern India. But temples of a later period when the meaning of these figures was no longer understood often show those animals metamorphosed; the crocodile becomes a fish, the tortoise assumes the appearance of a goose. Such a development was not only favoured by the highly ornamental character which already at an earlier date the figures of the two animals had assumed, but seems the more natural in a region where both the crocodile and the tortoise are equally unknown.

Whereas the lower portion of the slab is thus reserved for mortals, we find the upper part occupied by beings of a higher order. Of the row of five deities, seated cross-legged and separated by pilasters, the central one, according to its inscription, is Vārūṇa, the god of the waters, in whose honour the fountain-slab was erected. He has four arms which support a mākara-staff and a rosary (Skr. aksamālā) on the right, and a snake and a water-vessel on the left.

1 Cf. above, pp. 19 and 30, and Gazetier, p. 83.
The deity to the right of the central figure is likewise four-armed. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary. Of the left hands one holds a conch-shell, and the other is broken. Unfortunately the name of this figure, which was inscribed on the pilaster to its right, is lost. As the sculptor has allowed himself so much license in iconographical matters, it would be risky to identify this figure from its attributes. The trident would suggest Śiva, but we shall presently meet him under another name on the opposite side of the row.

The figure at the proper right end has its name, Baudha, marked on the corner pilaster at its side. As Baudha is the same as Buddha, the personage represented here would be the Planet Mercury. But from its appearance it seems that the sculptor has confused Buddha with Buddha. The figure is seated cross-legged, with the hands joined in front of the breast. The hair is bound up in a knot on the top of the head. It thus bears, in reality, the appearance of a representation of the Śākya sage in the attitude of expounding the law (Skr. dharmacakracakor-mudrā).

We should have some difficulty in recognizing Brahmā in the figure to the left of Varuna, were it not clearly indicated as such by the inscription over its head. The figure is bearded, but has not the four faces which characterize the Creator of the four Vedas. He is four-armed, but his attributes are indistinct. The lower right hand seems to hold a rosary. In the somewhat phantastical animal beneath we must recognize a goose, the vehicle of Brahmā.

The last figure of the row it would have been still harder to identify, but for the inscription over its head which reads Dhyāna-Mahākara, leaving no doubt that the deity represented here is Śiva, in the period of his asceticism. He is seated cross-legged, the hands placed in the lap in that position which expresses meditation (Skr. dhyanamudrā).

The whole of the sculptures just described are enclosed on three sides by ornamental borders, each of which consists of a double pair of interlaced snakes, a decorative device largely used on monuments in the Western Himalaya. In the centre of the rim which runs above the uppermost of these borders there is a piece of ornamentation evidently the remnant of a projecting panel such as is found on other fountain stones (Cf. fig. 11). Between the upper serpent border and the row of deities there is a space of 3'5" in width by 3'6" high, which bears an inscription of four lines of unequal length. The inscription proper commences 2'6" from the snake border to the proper right. In the intervening space we find a short epigraph in three lines which I read Pratikāra Śrī-Gaghuca. The space after the fourth line which measures only 1'10" is occupied by the two short epigraphs, Brahmā and Dhyāna-Mahākara already noted; and the concluding phrase Iti kubh[am].

1 Seev-Dikshiti, Ind. Calendar, p. 3.
2 The supposition that this figure refers to the week-day is not borne out by the conclusions derived from the date of the inscription.
3 Cf. above pp. 176, 179 and 201. In these instances the meaning of the ornament is lost, and only on the Sarstone the snakes can still be recognized.
4 The meaning of the word Pratikāra in Sanskrit literature is "door-keeper," but here it denotes probably some local official who was in some way connected with the erection of the fountain-stone. The word occurs also in No. 29, l. 2. Cf. above, p. 135.
which stands between these two words, is thus separated from the end of the inscription proper by a distance of 7”. The letters are of fairly large size (1/2 to 2") and well engraved; but in places the surface of the stone has peeled off, so that several of the akṣaras are more or less damaged.

The pronounced angular type of the akṣaras tha, dha, pa, va, and ya is a noticeable feature, which this inscription shares with the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi prasasti (No. 32). The rectangular, almost square dha is specially remarkable; this form I have not met with in any other Śāradā inscription. The kha with crooked front-stroke occurs also in the Dēvi-ri-kōṭhi inscription. The la appears here both in the older form with a horizontal stroke representing the original base line (l. 8, bāladhāra), and in the later form with double curve (l. 1, kātī). Medial i is sometimes rendered by a short curve above the akṣara (l. 1, vati, khasitmā, l. 3, ghatāpitaṁ) and sometimes the curve is continued at the side of the akṣara. It deserves special notice that the medial vowels e, ai, o and au are throughout expressed by the superscribed signs and never by a prasthānam. The subscribed tha in the ligature stā (l. 3) has also the secondary form. On the whole the Sai inscription exhibits the later type of Śāradā found in the inscriptions of the latter half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. It also deserves notice that the anusvāra is used instead of the nasal consonant in setubandha (l. 3), avāntā (l. 4), pantiṁ (l. 4).

The first two lines of the inscription are in prose. They record the erection of a “Varuṇa” by Rāja-pāla for the sake of Rāṇatra Phāhī. We have already met with this name as indicating the male figure seated at the side of the tiṅga. The word Rāṇatra I believe to be a title derived from Rāṇaputra, and consequently designating the son of a Rāṇa. We may compare aular which, in the dialect of Chambā, denotes a sonless man and is clearly derived from Sanskrit oputra. The word rāṇatrā would, therefore, have the same relationship to varṇa as rājput to rājā. It may possibly be identified with the caste-name Rotar which occurs in Kaṭavār. The Rotars who are a not numerous caste are said by local tradition to have held Kaṭavār before it became the seat of a Rāja. There is also a tradition that on one occasion they ousted the Rāja and for a short time enjoyed their former independence. Their position was evidently the same as that of the Rāṇas in Chambā and other Hill tracts. It is interesting to note that in Kaṭavār no Rāṇas are found.

The second half of the inscription contains two stanzas in the anusṭubh metre, numbered 1 and 2, in which the comparative merit of various pious works is contrasted. It will be observed that the climax of merit is not, as one would expect, the erection of a “Varuṇa,” but the construction of a road, perhaps a gentle hint addressed to the local ruler of the time. As roads deserving of the name have become known in Chambā only during the last fifty years, it would appear that those in power had not shown themselves very anxious to acquire the endless merit, promised by the writer of our inscription. This poetical passage betrays a very indifferent knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

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1 We may also compare māhānti which, according to Dr. Bloch, is derived from māhāputra, Z. D. M. G. Vel. LXII, p. 572. 2 2
The language of this inscription, as remarked above, is extremely corrupt. The date requires no further discussion, nor will it be necessary to point out mistakes like Cattra for Catria and varāṇām for varāṇām. The word khaśitaḥ (perhaps the true reading is khaṁśitaḥ or khaṁścitaḥ) I am unable to explain; but the meaning is evidently "remaining, left." The vighraha after parameśvara is out of place; for kṛimata read kṣumā and pravardhamāṇa instead of pravardhamāṇya (l. 2). The term Devasūmāja, if grammatically correct, can only mean "the son of Devasa"; but I have a suspicion that here, as elsewhere, the writer has ignored the svādhi rules, and that the true reading would be either devasūmāja or devasūmāja, in which case dvaṣa would indicate Ajañyāpaśu-dvaṣa who was reigning at the time. For Phāhinīkāraṇe I propose to read Phāhi-kāraṇe. In other similar inscriptions we find the person mentioned, for whose sake the fountain-slab was erected. In the present case it was Rāgavaṇa Phāhi, whose effigy is portrayed on the stone. The words Tārṇyā and dharma in the next line have been treated as if they were neuter instead of masculine. The first word of line 3 must be satyabandhe, the word following daśagunāṁ is uncertain; it seems to consist of three words tu-āpīs-lathā; but what meritorious work is indicated by āpis I am unable to say. The u of kupe must be long. Of the compound mātha-chādane, the first member mātha means a hospice or rest-house for travellers, the modern dharmāla. The meaning of chādane is "cover, screen, clothing"; but here it will have to be taken in the sense of "the providing of cover or clothing to the poor," in which case the whole expression may be regarded as a co-ordinative or deśamāna compound. The word nīra (=water) in the beginning of the second stanza is puzzling. It can hardly be connected with the preceding prabhā, which I believe to stand for the vocative prabhō. The first member of the compound deva-sthāpane is evidently a form derived from the Sanskrit devakuta "a temple." The word pratiṣṭhā means "foundation," here to be taken as a nomen actionis. There can be little doubt that the word pautāḥ-sāmārāya at the end of the second stanza is intended to mean "the construction of a road," though the literal meaning would be "remembrance of a road."

1 The syllable t is partly traceable.
2 The sign for s is written in the top margin over the preceding akṣara ra.
3 The lower portion of the syllable which I read tra is injured.
4 The value of this character is uncertain, perhaps it has to be read gāk.
5 The first syllable of sthāpane is effaced, the anusvāra over the last syllable is lost.
6 The last syllable of the word upanta is much damaged, but both the ta and anusvāra over it can still be traced.
7 Cf. Sīra, Rājaśi, inscr. 3v. mātha.
CORRECTED READING.

In the Śāstra year 1 (?), [the month of] Caitra, on the 10th day of the dark fortnight, when 4,270 years [of the Age of Sin (Kāli-yuga)] had gone [and] 427,730 remained, the total [being] the duration [of the Age] of Sin 432,000 years [and] in the... year of the increasing fortunate reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Ajaya-pāla of divine descent has [this] fountain-stone (lit. Varuṇa) been erected by the illustrious Rāja-pāla, the son of the illustrious Devasa (or Deva, vī., the king ?) for the sake of Rāṇaurta Phāli [Verse] 1. It is declared that in the building of a bridge[1] [lies] exceeding merit; ten-fold [that merit] in...; in [the digging of] a well an hundred-fold, thousand-fold [in the construction of] a hospice and [the providing of] covering. [Verse] 2. Ten-thousand-fold [that merit lies] in...; hundred-thousand-fold in the erection of a temple; ten-million-fold in the consecration of a god (i.e., a divine image), endless merit in the construction (?) of a road.

Caused to be made by the illustrious Bālaghara[2] Cha... k-. Made by the illustrious artisan... na. Thus may [it be] blessed!

No. 36.—BHRĀRĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

The village of Bharārā (map Bārara) is situated at the head of the Dūkrumṇi Nīlā, which debouches into the Čāñju valley near Lōh-Tikri, and at a distance of 3 miles from the latter place. The rivulet which waters the Dūkrumṇi ravine takes its origin from two springs. At the western source which rises near the first-mentioned village three sculptured slabs are found, besides a great number of rudeely carved autar stones. The three slabs all bear inscriptions, but on two of them the lettering is so obliterated as to render deciphering impracticable. (Cf. fig. 19.)

The third slab, measuring 3′ 1½″ in height and 5′ 11½″ in width, shows over the spout hole a male figure seated on a low couch and holding in its right hand a trident.
and in its left what looks like a club, but is presumably meant for a lotus-flower. This attribute we have already noticed in the hands of Varna on other fountain stones; the figure on the Bharāṇa stone presumably represents the same deity. On both sides a female figure clad in an ornamental petticoat is standing with a water-vessel in each hand, the left being raised and the right stretched downward.

In the lower portion of the slab, separated from the upper part by a horizontal band of scrollwork, we find on each side of the spout opening a dwarf pillars and a lotus-rosette. Over the latter and at the side of the female figures the inscription is cut, being distributed over two panels of equal size (10° high by 11° wide). The whole is comprised within various decorative borders.

The proper right hand panel contains nine lines of writing, and has, moreover, one word written vertically on the ledge next the female figure. The left panel has eight lines and a short ninth line. The letters are from \( \frac{5}{2} \) to \( \frac{3}{2} \) in size. Owing to long exposure, the inscribed surface has become considerably worn so that many of the akṣaras have lost their original shape. Besides, the language of the document is as ungrammatical as in most inscriptions of the kind.

The inscription is dated in the 27th year of a Rājā: the first part of whose name is unfortunately lost. As the name ends in -carman, we may assume that he was a ruler of Chambā. The second portion of the epigraph records the erection of the fountain-slab. The name of the founder is lost. The concluding portion consists of two stanzas of the usual kind.

**TEXT.**

चो स्थानः। प्रवचनमाण-कल्याण सो- (1.2) ... वर्ष-देव-पाद-विजय-राष्ट्र- (1.3) ... कृ हस्ताति। संविषय-समाप्त (1.4) ... तसे इसा। संविषय- (1.5) दु विस्त भाषायन। चंद्रदिनि। (1.6) हर्ष-नाम-चंद्राक यो-उ (1.7) विकासमाण-षयां-संहारिण भाषा- (1.8) ... कृ विशदः कालाय तथा सुद्धे (1.9) कार्यां सहस्रस्य योऽिकृत। ... चन्द्र (1.10) लिङ्क-माम-समाप्त परक्षापि। (1.11) ... संविषय- (1.12) वस्त्र-सम्पादित। न च व (1.13) वर्ष-सम्पादितं। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म (1.14) न च वस्त्रसम्पादित। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या सम्पादित। (1.15) दर्शन वस्त्र सम्पादित। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म (1.16) न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या सम्पादित। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म (1.17) दर्शन सम्पादित। वस्त्राकर्ष्या सम्पादित। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म (1.18) न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म।

**CORRECTED READING.**

चो स्थानः। प्रवचनमाण-कल्याण सो- (1.2) ... वर्ष-देव-पाद-विजय-राष्ट्र- (1.3) ... कृ हस्ताति। संविषय-समाप्त (1.4) ... तसे इसा। संविषय- (1.5) दु विस्त भाषायन। चंद्रदिनि। (1.6) हर्ष-नाम-चंद्राक यो-उ (1.7) विकासमाण ... (1.8) ... (1.10) चन्द्राकर्ष्यां सम्पादित। न (1.11) ... संविषय- (1.12) वस्त्र-सम्पादित। न च (1.13) वस्त्र-सम्पादित। न च वस्त्रसम्पादित। (1.14) वस्त्रसम्पादित। न च वस्त्रसम्पादित। (1.15) दर्शन वस्त्र सम्पादित। न च वस्त्रसम्पादित। (1.16) दर्शन वस्त्र सम्पादित। न च वस्त्रसम्पादित। (1.17) दर्शन सम्पादित। वस्त्राकर्ष्या सम्पादित। न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म (1.18) न च वस्त्राकर्ष्या भर्म।

1 Cf. above, p. 182; No. 23, note 2.
TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the increasing fortunate reign of victory of His Highness, the illustrious...varman of divine descent, in the twenty-seventh year, in figures in the year 27, [the month of] Bhādrapada, the dark fortnight, on the lunar day of the New Moon, Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Hasta, the son of the Bhaṭṭāraka the illustrious Ubhika...

...has erected [this] fountain-stone (lit. god Varuṇa) out of devotion to his parents [and] for the sake of the next world. No higher god than Varuṇa, no higher gain of penitence, no higher law than Varuṇa, is known in the three worlds. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the moon or sun an equal merit is attained as by him who erects an image of Devi or Varuṇa. Thus may it be blessed. Made by Jau-nilaka.

No. 37.—BASUĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plates XXXV and XXXVII c.)

Basuā (map Baswa) is a village half a mile to the north of Bagūr (map Bagore) and belongs to the pargana of that name, which forms part of the Curāh waṣārat. The stone on which the inscription is cut measures 2' 10½" in height and 2' 5" in width. The proper right end is missing. The upper portion of the slab contains three panels with rudely carved figures. In the centre is Varuṇa with his trident and lotus-flower; to his left are the figures of a male and a female worshipping a liṅga and to his right a horseman. These three panels are separated from the lower portion by a horizontal border of irregular design with a pair of birds in the centre. These, as usual, are placed over the spout which is flanked by two clumsy pilasters. The whole is enclosed within a double serpent border.

The inscription consists of three lines of writing, of which two, measuring 1' 10" and 1' 3½" respectively, are above and the third, 1' 6½" in length, beneath the figured panel. Presumably a few syllables are lost in the beginning of each line, where the stone is broken. The letters are so badly executed, as to render their meaning uncertain throughout. Most of them are indeed wholly unrecognizable, and only in places is it possible to recognize a few words. The first line seems to commence with parama-ḥaṭṭāraka-mahārājākhāra. The next five aḥāras must represent the Rajā’s name, the second part of which is possibly deca. Then follows the word kalpāna after which we expect rāja. The word Varuṇa in the same line is still legible and is apparently followed by the past participle thāpitaḥ (for attāpitaḥ). The remainder of the inscription is illegible. It does not seem to contain any date.

No. 38.—BATRUNDĪ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plates XXXVII d and XXXVIII)

Near the village of Batrundī (map Batrund), 1½ mile south-east of Loh-Tikri, a carved stone, evidently a fragment of a fountain-slab was found placed on a wall. The paṅhigur to which it once belonged is asserted by local tradition to have been wilfully destroyed on the same occasion as the Mūl-Kihār one, namely, at the time
of the war with Basohli in the second half of the 18th century. At present the stone is preserved in the Chamba State Museum (Cat. No. A 12).

On the fragment, which measures 3' 2" in height and 5' 7" in width, two rows of rudely carved figures are partly preserved. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Varuna seated on a couch inside an ornamental chapel. On each side a female figure, probably a degenerated river-goddess, is standing with a vessel in each hand. At the two ends of the row we find a clumsily carved horseman. Of that to the proper left only the head now remains.

Between the two rows of figures there runs a horizontal band, in the midst of which there are the two birds with interlaced necks commonly met on fountain stones. Immediately beneath, in the centre of the lower row, there is a partly broken figure of uncertain meaning, perhaps derived from an Atlant. On each side of it we find some six birds placed one over the other.1 The proper right portion of the lower row of figures consists of two panels, one with an archer and the other with two fighting soldiers armed with sword and shield. The left hand side which is missing presumably contained similar figures. The whole of these sculptures are enclosed within a double ornamental border.

Between this border and the horsemen of the upper row there are two inscribed panels measuring 1' 1" in height by 4" in width. That to the proper right, containing fourteen lines of writing, is much obliterated; on that to the left only two lines can be traced. It is apparently dated in the 7th year of the reign of some Rāja, whose royal titles can still be traced in the first three lines but whose name is unfortunately lost. For the rest, only a few letters can be read. Judging from the carvings, the Batrūḍi stone may be classed with the later type of fountain-slabs. It probably belongs to the 12th century.

TEXT.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{न्हम्-भर] (1. 2) महाराज[विपा] (1. 3) [र-प्रम] (1. 4) भो- & \\
(1. 5) विजय-र[ा] (1. 6) कृष्ण सबत १ (1. 7) & ती-ज्ञ \\
[1. 8] & \\
(1. 11) & \text{कहः} तथा (1. 12) \text{ तह} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

No. 29.—Nāl Fountain Inscription.

(Plate XXXV.)

In the summer of 1906 a fragment of an inscribed fountain-slab was discovered on the wall of a field belonging to the Rājā Phīnu at the village of Nāl immediately beneath Tisā, the headquarters of the parganā of the same name, which forms part of the Curāh sazārat. The stone probably belonged to a fountain a short distance above the field where it was found. Local tradition holds the place to have been the site of a Rāṇa's castle. The inscription is now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 17). The fragment, which measures 2' 6" in height and 2' in width, is evidently a portion of the proper left half of the original stone, which must have been of considerable size. It is carved with three rows of clumsy figures, separated by horizontal bands of decorative design. The figures are placed in sunk panels

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1 The same device occurs on a well-preserved fountain-slab at Tūpā, one mile north of Dīvārī-lēṭhā. (Fig. 11).
between dwarf pilasters. The carvings are very inferior in workmanship, and much defaced, owing to long exposure. In the upper row the figures of a horseman and a female are partly preserved. The central figure must have been Varuna seated on a couch of which one leg can still be traced to the right of the female figure. In the central row we have to the proper left two females carrying water-pots, with a child between them. The male figure to the right possibly represents an archer or swordsman. Of the lowermost row only the heads of three figures are extant. To the proper left runs a vertical serpent border.

Fig. 27. Pillar-stone of Nal.

The inscription consists of three lines incised on the horizontal rims which separate the rows of sculptures. The first halves of these three lines are lost with the proper right half of the stone. The preserved portions of the first two lines measure 16½", that of the third line 11½". The letters, which are ½" to ¾" in height, are of a cursive type. The first line evidently contained the date, reckoned from the year of accession of the ruling prince, whose name is unfortunately lost. The remaining portion reads: —देव-प्रवर्तक-क्षेत्र-विजय-राज्य. In the second line we read प्रतितार सूकः, apparently followed by the designation and name of another official. His name seems to be भासिक. Finally we have the word राज्य. The last line I am unable to interpret. From the concluding word विदितम् we may infer that it contains the name(s) of the stone-mason(s) by whom the slab was carved.
No. 40.—SIYĀ-DUDHĀR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXVI.)

Siyā-Dudhār is the name of a locality about one mile above the village of Bānhotā (map Bauthota) belonging to the Lōh-Tikrī purgāna, and at a distance of about 2 miles north of the Lōh-Tikrī kōfühl. The term dudhār indicates a piece of land newly taken up for cultivation. Siyā is the name of the ridge which separates the Lōh-Tikrī and Tisā valleys. In the local dialect the name Siyā sometimes becomes Siyā; possibly the ridge in question was originally called Sītā Dhār.

Siyā-Dudhār is about 2 miles below the ridge. While ploughing, two fragments of a large fountain-slab were discovered here about 1906. The two fragments, which measure 3'1"' in height and 3'4" in width, have been relaid and are now placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A. 14). They must have formed the proper left half of the slab. When entire, it may have measured 6' in width. A seated figure of Varuṇa, which is partly preserved over the square spout opening, must have occupied the centre of the stone. The rest is carved with ornamental bands and two lotus-rossettes placed one over the other. Between the upper rosette and the Varuna figure is an inscribed panel 93" high and 9" wide. This, however, is only the second half of the inscription. The first half, incised on the corresponding panel to the proper right, is lost. This is the more to be regretted as it probably contained the date.

The preserved panel contains seven lines of writing, 8' to 8½' long, except the last line which is only 4½'. The size of the akṣaras is about 1/2" to 5/6". By the breaking of the stone the second line has been cut into two, and a few of the letters have become destroyed. For the rest the lettering is distinct. The language of the inscription is very corrupt Sanskrit, such as is usually found in the fountain inscriptions of the Lōh-Tikrī valley. Apparently the writer had no real knowledge of Sanskrit, but merely copied some other inscription. The corrupt language renders the meaning partially obscure. Evidently the inscription records the erection of a “Varuṇa-deva” by four brothers of the Brahmanical caste of the Bhaṭṭās for the sake of their deceased brother Tyāga. Their names appear to be Phiri, Goga, Deva and Sīha. It is, however, quite possible that two of these supposed names are in reality only one name. We meet with the name Tyāga in inscription No. 32, l. 25, with that of Phiri in No. 42, with that of Goga in inscription No. 34, l. 20, with that of Deva in No. 28, and with that of Sīha1 in the compounds, Rāmasīha and Dhanasīha, in No. 27. It is of some interest that apparently the individuals mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the same family of Bhaṭṭās as the founders of the Siyā stone (No. 27) which is found at no great distance from Siyā-Dudhār. The Siyā inscription speaks of Rāmasīha and Dhanasīha, the sons of Māca, the son of Bhaṭṭa Rādha, and in the present case we have the sons of Dhanasīha, the grandson of Lādranka. The latter name may quite well be another name for Rādha. It would, of course, be more natural to connect pautra with the names Phiri, Goga, Deva and Sīha, but grammatically it can just as well belong to Dhanasīha. It should also be noted that between Dhanasīha and pautra two or three syllables are lost. In case my conjecture is correct, the

1 The word sīha is a Pāṭālik form of Sanskrit sīkha meaning “a lion.”
Siyā-Dudhār inscription would be a generation posterior to that of Siyā and consequently belong to the beginning of the 13th century.

**TEXT.**

\[\text{Sanskrit text transcribed and translated}\]

**CORRECTED READING.**

\[\text{Sanskrit text corrected and translated}\]

**TRANSLATION.**

Phiri, Goga, Deva, and Siha, the sons of Dhanaśīha, the grandson(s) of Bhatta Ladhruka have made [this] fountain-stone (lit. Varuna) for the sake of their brother Tyāga, fearing with the fear of existence, they have erected [this] fountain-stone (lit. god Varuna). Blessed be it.

No. 41.—Maṅgalōa Fountain Inscription.

(Plate XXXVI.)

The village of Maṅgalōa lies about 1 or 2 miles above the State kōthi of Loh-Ṭikri and belongs to the pargana of that name. An inscribed fragment of a fountain-slab was discovered in 1907 in the Maṅgalōa Nalā, at a distance of about 500’ above the village. It measures 1’ 2” in height and 2’ 1” in width, and must have formed part of the proper left side of the stone. It is carved in the usual fashion; we notice part of a lotus-rosette and the upper portion of a dwarf pilaster. The stone, when entire, must have contained two inscribed panels. That on the proper right with the first half of the inscription has become lost.

The upper portion of the remaining panel is partly destroyed. The preserved part consists of seven lines; but of the first line only one aksara remains, and of the second line only five are entire. The lines are about 10½” in length; the aksaras about 3/4” to 1” in height. The inscription, as far as preserved, consists of two stanzas in extremely corrupt Sanskrit. The second stanza occurs in several other fountain inscriptions.

**TEXT.**

\[\text{Sanskrit text transcribed and translated}\]

**TRANSLATION.**

Unstable are life and . . . ; unstable are wealth and youth; unstable is [the possession] of son and wife. Only the fame and glory of piety is stable. By a gift of ten millions of cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained, as by him] who erects [an image of Devi or Varuna].

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1 Cf. above, No. 23, p. 182, n. 2.
No. 42.—BENTO-PUHALI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXVI.)

Bento is the name of a puhālī or shepherd station (puhāl = shepherd), situated about two miles east of Kila in Pāngā, on the road which, following the right side of the Malvāhār Nāla, leads to Zangskar by the Sinhol Pass. The place is only inhabited by some herdsmen from Kila during the months of Sāvan, Bhādun and Asuj. In the cattle-pond a few carved fountain-slabs, probably removed from some neighbouring spring, have been set up for worship. One of these bears a rudely incised inscription, distributed over two panels of equal size (9" x 7"), each containing seven short lines of writing. The letters which are very irregular and badly formed, measure from 1/2" to 1" in height. Of the proper right panel one of the lower corners is broken, causing the loss of the first three letters of the seventh line. The missing portion can be restored with certainty.

The inscription is evidently composed by some individual, who, without possessing any knowledge of Sanskrit, vaguely remembered certain expressions from official documents written in that language. These, wrongly spelled but still recognizable, he has used at random.

We must suppose that to its author the inscription did convey some meaning, but I have not been able to gather it. In lines 5-8 we find the usual royal titles and in line 8 the word varna can be read, but it is preceded by only one syllable, which bears some resemblance to dho. The word kanya (?) at the end of the same line is perhaps meant for rājya and caiva in the beginning of the next line for saiva. The words viśaya, i.e. vishaya and kalyana, i.e. kalayana, in lines 10-11 ought, in reversed order, to precede the word rājya. In lines 11-12 we read Lalitha-deva, from which perhaps we may infer that the stone was erected in the reign of Lalitavarman of Chambē. If so, the date of the inscription would be about the third quarter of the 13th century. In lines 12-13 we find Pāṅgālī-maujale, which confirms our conclusion that the ancient name of Pāngā, as mentioned in the Sāhi inscription, is Pāṅgātī. This, as far as I can see, is the only point of interest of the record under discussion.

TEXT.

को खंडन । को न-(1. 2) को गणवति (1. 3) नम को श्री-पश- (1. 4) पञ्चा परमी विषय (1. 5) जग्य वर्ग-भर (1. 6) रिव-भराजा (1. 7) [विषय] प्रसी-(1. 8) राव-दशरथ कन्या (1. 9) चामास्त नगरी (1. 10) नं विन्यास-क (1. 11) जय नविन-देव (1. 12) व जंगल-भ (1. 13) प्रकटि श्री नारी (1. 14) विरिक-सुन (1. 15)

No. 43.—SUKOI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXVI).

In the village of Sukoi, half a mile south-east of Lōh-Tikri, the headquarters of the pargāna of the same name, in the Chānu valley, a fragment of an inscribed fountain slab was recovered in the summer of 1905 on the flat roof of a house. Presumably its original site was at a fountain close by, over which another carved stone of inferior workmanship is now placed, an evident imitation of the Bharāp.
one (No. 35). It also exhibits the figure of Varuna seated on a low bench between two standing female figures, one of which is here accompanied by a child.

As to the inscribed fragment, it measures 1' 8" in height and 2' 3" in width. When entire, the stone was probably 2' 9" high and 3' 10" wide. The panel which contains the inscription (8' 3" x 9') must have stood immediately over the waterspout, and was flanked by two lotus-rosettes. That on the proper left side is lost, together with one-half of the inscribed panel and portions of the ornamental borders.

The inscription consists of eight lines, the first four or five syllables of each of which are lost. The missing portion can partly be restored with the aid of the Bharāṭa and Lōh-Ṭikrī inscriptions which contain the same distich. Besides, the record must have mentioned the name and lineage of the founder of the "Varuna-deva," but here restoration is out of the question. It does not appear to have contained a date, but may be assigned to the 12th century, on account of its character. Medial e and o are expressed by a stroke and flourish, respectively, which are placed over the akṣara. The Sukōi inscription cannot be far removed in date from the Lōh-Ṭikrī one which was erected in A.D. 1114. The carving is superior to that of the Bharāṭa stone and the engraving of the letters is more careful. Their size averages from ½" to ¾".

TEXT.

. . . . . [च] पाक-पीत्र-हा-(१) २ . . . . यः वा मेकेन (१) ३ . .
. मेकेन (१) (४) [लोकाय वह] च देव खायितां (१) ५ . . . [अ] वां क्रृषि-मदानि-
(१) ६ य च च (७) [तुष-कलिक] द्वारम् (१) ८ न व (१) ८ न [खायितां] [१] इति यमेछु

No. 44.—BHĀṬKĀRĀ FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVIII.)

The hamlet of Bhāṭkārā is situated some three miles north-west of Lōh-Ṭikrī on the road from that place to Tisā between the villages Gāryphiri (map Garparī) and Kungdāl (map Rundaul). Here a broken fountain-slab was discovered in the summer of 1905, which I took to Chambā and have since placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. A, 15). The stone, which measures 3' 2" in height and 3' 8" in width, is decorated with three lotus-rosettes, of which one is placed over the spout-hole and two at the sides of it. Of the latter that to the proper left is missing. The inscription is cut on two nearly square panels on both sides of the upper lotus. That to the proper right, containing the first half of the record, is almost entirely defaced, only a few letters being still traceable. Of the left hand panel the first and last lines are partly destroyed and several of the remaining akṣaras injured. Assuming that the number of the lines was the same on both panels, the inscription, when entire, would have consisted of twelve lines. The letters are rather shallow, but well-defined and good-sized (1' to 2').

The preserved portion of the epigraph does not contain a date; presumably it is lost with the first half of the inscription. On account of the character I am inclined to assign it to the 11th century. The ṛṣ presents an early type and the ṛṣi

1 In the last line I read the word sthāṇīyā.
is very similar to that of Vīdatī's copper-plate grant (No. 15). The ā and ē, on the contrary, have the later shape of the 11th and 12th centuries. The medial ē is expressed by a stroke over the akṣara. The na has a peculiar form which is also found in one of the Tur image inscriptions (No. 19).

The inscription records the erection of the fountain-slab on which it is incised. The name of the "founder is apparently Dhaṇḍ which may be an abbreviation of Dhamanījaya. The word parma-(read para) mahātmanā which precedes the past participle sthāpitum is merely an epithet. The expression saṅgāra-bhaya-bhīr-rasyā is synonymous with the saṅgāra-bhaya-bhīttena of the Daḍyār and Bhakūṇḍ fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20 and 21) with which one might group the epigraph under discussion, in the absence of any clear indication of its date.

**TEXT.**

\[\text{[१]}
\]

\[\text{[२]}
\]

\[\text{[३]}
\]

\[\text{[४]}
\]

\[\text{[५]}
\]

\[\text{[६]}
\]

**CORRECTED READING.**

\[\text{[१]}
\]

\[\text{[२]}
\]

\[\text{[३]}
\]

\[\text{[४]}
\]

\[\text{[५]}
\]

\[\text{[६]}
\]

**TRANSLATION.**

This fountain-slab (lit. Varuṇa) has been erected by the son of . . . , the very eminent Dhaṇḍ, fearing with the fear of existence, with the money of his wife.

No. 45.—**HUNḍĀN FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION.**

(PLATE XXXVIII.)

At Hunḍān, a village 5 miles east of Kīlar in Pāngi, there is a fragment of an inscribed fountain-slab, measuring 2' 10" in width and 1' 8" in height, which is held in great veneration by the people of the neighbourhood. The fragment which must have formed the proper right half of the stone, when entire, has no figures, but the usual decoration of conventional lotus-flowers. Evidently there were three lotus-rosettes, one placed over the spout and two at the sides of it. To the proper right of the central lotus we find an inscribed panel which measures 1' 3½" in width and 4½" in height. There is reason to suppose that the missing left hand portion of the stone contained a similar panel, so that the second half of the inscription is lost.

The preserved part consists of three lines of writing. The letters are on an average 1" in size, but owing to long exposure their sharp outlines are lost, so that it is often hard to establish their true value. The language, moreover, is by no means grammatically correct. The inscription contains merely a date, but as the figure of the titi has been omitted it is useless for chronological purposes. It is dated in the 4th year of a ruler of the name of Sālvikrama.

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1 The name Dhamanījaya (spelled Dhamanījaya) occurs in the copper-plate grant of Āśya (No. 36, I. 15).

2 That Dhaṇḍ is the name of the founder follows from the preceding para. The word is to be connected with the following parmanuḥ-stuṇḍ, though the construction is hardly grammatical. We may compare in compounds like Ṛṣimahārṣya (No. 39, I. 12) and Viṣṇuvarṇa (No. 84, I. 24) in which the second member is a title.
No. 46.—GHUMSÄL ŚIVĀLAYA INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXVIII.)

The hamlet of Ghumsal is situated near Śūkhar the main village of Trāhța. It contains a small stone temple, 6' 6" high and 4' wide, which is dedicated to Śiva.

Fig. 28. Śivalaya at Ghumsal.
The object of worship is a linga. The roof of the building was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April, 1905. On the lintel over the entrance (2½" long and 3½" high) is an inscription in two lines, which measure 11" and 10" in length respectively. The letters are good-sized (¼" to ½") and distinct. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. In the first line we have to read *sthānān* instead of *sthana* and in the second line *kṛtāya* and *sūradhāra* instead of *karitāya* and *sūradhara*. The term *pajiṇi* I suppose to be a caste-name. Possibly the inscription belongs to the Muhammadan period, as some of the letters, especially the looped *da* and *ra* and the ligature *tra* with downward stroke to the right, exhibit a late type. It may belong to the 13th or 14th century.

**TEXT.**

त्रै-पञ्चभाषाकृति-स्नान (I, 2) करौत्तथा सुदर्शन पद्म गृह[७]

**TRANSLATION.**

The shrine (*sthāna* of the illustrious Pajiṇi Kukadeva, made by the stone-masons Paju and Gaṅgu.

**No. 47.—SĀHŌ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.**  
(Plates XXXIX and XL.)

Opposite the temple of Candrasēkha (Skr. Candra-sēkhara) at Sāhō there is a small shrine (8' 11" by 8' 6" outside), containing an inscribed stone statue of Viṣṇu (height 1' 8½"). The god has three faces, the side ones being those of a lion and a bear, apparently an allusion to the Narasimha and Varāha avatāras. The halo is besmeared with Ganges-sand (*gaṅgoṭṭa*). The deity is standing with two of his four hands resting on the heads of a pair of miniature chowrie carriers. Of the two remaining hands the right one holds a lotus-flower and the left one is broken. The bust of a female figurine, said to represent Lakṣmī, issues from the base between his feet. In most points the image resembles the inscribed brass statue of Viṣṇu from Fatehpur, Kānḍrā district, now preserved in the Lahore Museum. Behind the chowrie bearers a second pair of attendants are visible. The rest of the slab is carved with miniature figures, all of which are more or less defaced. The two four-armed figurines seated on both sides of the head of Viṣṇu appear to be Brahmā and Śiva, thus indicating him as the principal person of the Hindū Triad. The remaining figures I take to represent the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. To his right we distinguish the fish and the tortoise. Evidently the latter animal was not known to the artist by sight, as on the sculpture it looks curiously like a horse. But we have met with another example of such a phantastical turtle in the Chambā sculpture. Above the halo we notice Rāma (?) and Buddha to the proper right and Parasurāma and Kalki to the proper left. The other figures are too indistinct to be identified.

The base of this statue, which is carved in three facets, the central one 5½" and the side ones 1½" wide, by 2¾" high, bears an inscription of four lines. The

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(a) Image of Viṣṇu at Śāhō.

(b) Image of Śiva at Harsar.

(c) Image of Kālī at Markulā.
letters are small (\(\frac{3}{8}\)) and partly defaced, especially on the side facets. On that to
the proper right the lettering has almost completely disappeared. The inscription
was evidently dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief, as appears from the royal
titles in the first line, but his name is unfortunately lost. The name of the donor
of the statuette which I read Ukukāna occurs in the third line, and accordingly
the image itself is denoted as Ukukāna-svāmin. It is interesting to find here an
instance of the usage of naming an image after its founder, of which numerous
examples can be quoted from the Rājatarangini.\(^3\) Another point of interest is that
the image is said to have been set up — Rudra-sakhā — which apparently means "at
the temple of Rudra."\(^4\) This name no doubt indicates the temple of Candraśekh,
opposite which the Viṣṇu image is enshrined. It thus affords another proof of the
antiquity of that fame, as the Viṣṇu statuette certainly goes back to the pre-Muham-
madan period.

TEXT.

--- --- [प्रभ-] भटाकर-भटाकराचार्य-परावर --- --- (1, 2) ---
[राज्य] सवत्त 6 --- --- --- --- --- (1, 3) --- --- [मि] क-चो-उक्कारामन्दे
उक्काराम नाम-प्रति-(1, 4) [सा प्रति] हिता! तु-चिता!\(^1\)

TRANSLATION.

In the 6th year of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the
supreme lord . . . . . . . [this] image of Ukukāna-svāmin was erected by
. . . . the illustrious Ukukāna near [the temple of] Rudra.

NO. 48.—MARKULĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATES XXXIX 0 AND XL.)

One of the most famous temples of Chambā State is that of Kāli at the village
of Markulā or Udnpur (map Odapur) in Lahul. The goddess is usually indicated
as Markulā Devī from the name of the village. Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that
the Buddhists of Lahul worship the goddess of Markulā as rDo-rje-phag-mo (Skr.
Vajra-vārahī). It is interesting to know that in Nepal also this goddess is identi-
fied with Bhavāni, the spouse of Bhava (Siva).\(^5\) The idol worshipped in this
temple is an insignificant and ugly brass statuette with eyes of silver, and is 2' high
including the pedestal which is 6" in height. It represents the goddess standing on
the prostrated Buffalo-demon (Mahiṣāsura) whom she pierces with her trident.
On his body the heads and paws of no less than three lions are visible which are
evidently assisting the goddess in destroying the Asura (Cf. above p. 151, plate
XIII.) Beneath the Mahīṣāsura we notice a row of ten heads, probably the remains
of other demons slain by the goddess.

\(^3\) Cf. above, p. 172.

\(^4\) The temple is referred to by the name of Mahīṃḍra Candraśekeś in a copper-plate of Rājī Bahubhadra, dated

\(^5\) The a stroke which I read 3 resembles 8, but is quite clear in the following Ukukāna-svāmin.

\(^1\) Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismo in Tibet und der Mongolen, p. 150. Cf. Jäschke, Tibetan-English
The Dēvi has the usual number of eight arms. Two of her right hands hold a trident (Skr. trīśūla) and a wheel (Skr. ca kra). The third is stretched out in the gift-bestowing attitude (Skr. cara-mudrā), and the fourth clasps the tail of the Buffalo-demon. In her left hands she has the following objects: a mace (Skr. gada), a thunderbolt (Skr. ca jra), a strangling string (Skr. pāśa) slung round the neck of a demon, and a conch (Skr. śaṇkha). The idol of Markuḷā Dēvi, though held in great veneration by the Lahulis and neighbouring hill people, is decidedly of very inferior workmanship. A comparison with the image of Lakṣumā Dēvi at Brahmor (plate VIII), which is similar in subject, affords a striking illustration of the deterioration of Indian art during the intervening period.

On the base of the statuette there is an inscription in six lines 8½" to 10" long. The third line consists only of six akṣaras occupying a space of 2". It will be noticed that the last two lines are more carefully engraved than the rest, though the lettering is not so deep. It seems as if this was the original inscription and that the upper four lines have been added. This is the more probable, as the fifth line begins with on śvaśū. There can be little doubt that lines 5 and 6 were written by the maker himself. The rest was probably added when the idol had reached its destination. First of all, we find the name of a Thākur Himapāla (either Himapāla or Himapāla) who must have been the donor of the statuette. He was possibly an ancestor of the Thākurs of Triloknāth.

At the end of the fifth line we find four figures 1615, preceded by the akṣara sa (or sa in?). The word mālyā in the same line would suggest that those figures refer to the cost of the image. It is, however, also possible that they indicate the year in which it was made. In the latter case the number 1615 could be referred either to the Śastra era or to the Kaliyuga, the corresponding year of the Christian era being 1569-70 or 1343-4 respectively. In either case the idol would belong to about the middle of the 16th century, and this conclusion fully agrees with its debased style.

The last line contains the name of the maker of the statuette. He calls himself Pañjamānakā Jīpaka; the former word is probably a caste name. He appears further to have been a resident of the town of Bhadavāh, called Bhadrācakāśā in the inscription. This form differs but slightly from the Sanskrit form Bhadrāvakāśa, which is found in the Rājatarangini and a derivation of which Bhadrāvakāśya occurs in one of the Chambā copper-plate charters (No. 25, l. 17). The first word of line 6 Somadīrāya stands perhaps for Somadīrā. The first member of the compound I propose to connect with the tribal name Sumatika which is found in two copper-plate inscriptions (No. 24, l. 3 and No. 25, l. 2) and may be derived from a form *Sumaṭa. There is reason to suppose that this name, which survives in the place-name Sumatā, is the old designation of the Balor (Vallāpura) State. The Markuḷā inscription seems to confirm this conclusion, as Bhadavāh was from old considered as a dependency of Balor.

The inscription is composed in very corrupt Sanskrit, so that most of it is unintelligible. The substitution of i for e in śriya, and perhaps in Himapāla also, points to the author of the inscription having been a Kaśmirī. The fourth line contains the

1 Cf. above, pp. 128 and 219.
word Kaśmir, but it is not clear in what connection. The character is a late type of Śāradā. On the whole it is more similar to the Devāsena of the Muhammadan period than to the Śāradā proper. We notice the ta with cursive loop and the ra with triangular foot. It will also be seen that post-consonantic ra in Bhadravākāśi is expressed by a downward stroke to the right. Judging from the script, I feel inclined to assign the inscription to the Muhammadan period.

TEXT.

No. 49.—HARSAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(Plate XXXIX b and XL.)

The village of Harsar is situated 10 miles from Brahmr on the road leading into Lāhul by the Kukti Pass. The village temple contains an inscribed brass image of Śiva. The idol is remarkable in that it consists of a bust resting on a base. It is two-armed. The right hand holds a rosary and the left hand a fruit.

The inscription consists of two lines measuring 8½" and 6½" in length. It is dated in the Śāstra year 58 and, judging from the character, must belong to the Muhammadan period. It will be noticed that ra as second member of ligatures is throughout rendered by a downward stroke to the right, even in the word śṛṣṭi in which the upward stroke to the left is usually preserved. The ja has lost its wedge and the sign for the cerebral sibilant with top-stroke is used to render the dental sibilant.

The language is the local vernacular in which we find the genitive case expressed by the termination -ṛ, -ṝ, -ṝ. The word Bhagasyāṇī in the first line is evidently a caste-name. Can it be derived from Bhagṣu? In the second line we find the name of the village as Aṣar.

TEXT.

TRANSLATION.

In the year of bliss 58 the 14th of Jyeṣṭh have the Bhagasyāṇī Nathu's sons Gaṅgu and Kisanu erected this Mahādev at Aṣar.

1 The same attributes occur on the Sākhi stone. Cf. above, p. 317.
2 The stroke over ta is evidently not meant for a vowel mark, but for a virām.
3 Read āt or ātā.
No. 50.—BRAHMOR ROCK INSCRIPTION.

About 1½ miles from Brahmor on the main road leading to Chambā by way of Khāni, a rivulet known by the name of Brahmani Dēvi flows down the mountain slope and crosses the road. On a boulder at the side of this streamlet we notice some rock-cut lingas and three figures of deities. They represent the four-armed Dēvi slaying the buffalo-demon, Śiva standing in front of his bull with a trident in one and a fruit in the other hand, and Gāmeśa holding in his four hands a rosary, a hatchet, a vessel of sweetmeats and some other object. It is interesting to note that these are exactly the three deities whose idols were erected at Brahmor by Meru-varman about A.D. 700 and are worshipped there up to the present day. (Cf. above p. 138). The lingas scattered among the Brahmor temples are also represented in these rock-carvings, but we find no representation of Narsiṅgh whose temple is no less conspicuous than those of Śiva Mañimahēś and Laksāṇa Dēvi. We know from Yugākara’s copper-plate grant (No. 14) that the idol of Narsiṅgh was consecrated two and a half centuries after the three just-mentioned. From its absence on the Brahmani boulder I infer that these rock-cut figures date back to a time intervening between A.D. 700 and 950.

No. 29. Rock-carvings near Brahmor.

Over the figures, and separated from them by a deep horizontal groove, there is a Tibetan rock-inscription in one line, 3’10” long, consisting of eleven large-sized letters from 3” to 6½” in height. The letters are deeply cut and distinct, except the last one which is broken by a rent in the stone. Mr. A. H. Francke of the
Moravian Mission, has favoured me with the following transcript and translation of this inscription.

**TEXT.**

Khyi-po-jo-ru-phags-pa[s]

**TRANSLATION.**

"The august younger prince of the Garuda Lords."

---

**No. 30.** Tibetan rock inscription near Brahmar.

Mr. Francke adds the following note:

"A noble family called [suk] "Garuda Lords" is still in existence in the neighbourhood of Shigartse or Gyantse, as I am told. They derive their name from the figure of a Garuda [suk] on a rock in the vicinity of their castle. [suk] is the same as [suk], "younger brother." [suk] is an orthographical mistake for [suk]."

In a subsequent letter Mr. Francke explained that the article [suk] or [suk] for [suk] or [suk] only occurs in the oldest Tibetan inscriptions, belonging to the period A.D. 650-800. The Brahmar rock inscription may, therefore, quite well date back to the 11th or 12th century of our era. In any case, I feel inclined to assume that the inscription is later than the rock-cut figures. Over the inscription, however, there are some shallow and indistinct carvings apparently representing chortens (कल्पक, which seem to be contemporaneous with the epigraph.

I may note here that at the village of Gosan below Brahmar there are some more rock inscriptions in Tibetan. But these consist merely of the usual magic formulas (Skr. dhārava), the endless repetition of which is a characteristic of the Buddhism of Tibet. One in large letters (8” to 1”) is the well-known श्रीमयुर्जय:.

"Oṃ, the jewel in the lotus, hūḥ." Next we find an inscription of three akṣaras, measuring 2” to 3”, which I read श्री। They merely represent three sacred syllables. Finally we find in somewhat smaller letters the formula श्रीमयुर्जय: three times repeated. It is an invocation to the Bodhisattva Vajra-sattva.
In the Candrahāja valley Tibetan inscriptions are more common, but in general they contain nothing but formulas like those just quoted. An epigraph of historical interest was discovered in 1907 at Markulā by the late Miss J. E. Duncan. It speaks of a Maṣ-skul Monastery (स्मशा क्रेत्तिक्ष). From this it appears that at one time there existed at Markulā a Lamaistic convent, though it may simply refer to the temple of Markulā Dāvi which is still indicated by that name. Mr. Francke informs me that the Buddhists of British Lahul perform pilgrimages to that place as well as to Trilōkani. In his opinion the inscription referred to is not more than three hundred years old, and may be much more recent. It seems therefore that in lower Lahul Buddhism has had to recede before Hinduism.

Postscript.—Mr. A. H. Francke has favoured me with the following additional note on the Brahmar rock-inscription:—

"My researches last year have convinced me that the Brahmar inscription may be one of the most ancient (between 700 and 900) which we have in Tibet. A prolonged study of Tibetan inscriptions has shown me that, although the forms of the Tibetan dBuscon consonants have almost remained stable, the treatment of the vowel signs has undergone certain interesting changes.

In my article on a Lhasa inscription of 822 A.D. (prepared for the Epigraphia Indica), I made the following remark with regard to the o vowel sign: "The o vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant base, with the exception of ch, kh, and y, where it is joined to the middle." In inscriptions and documents of the 11th century, we find the o vowel sign only in rare cases on the left upper corner, and in the 15th century it is joined to the right upper end of the consonant base. After that time, it is generally at some distance from the consonant base.

The u vowel sign.—From the 7th to the 14th century, the u vowel sign was joined to the right lower end of the consonant base. Now it is found at some distance below it.

The perpendicular position of the subjoined y below the kh is also in favour of my view that the Brahmar inscription is of early origin. This form of the y is found only in the most ancient Tibetan epigraphs. In the 11th century, the subjoined y is between perpendicular and horizontal, and from the 15th century onwards its position below the consonant base is horizontal.

To fix the date of a Tibetan inscription on palaeographical grounds, it is of course safer, if the data required can be drawn from a long inscription. But, short as the Brahmar inscription is, its epigraphical peculiarities point distinctly to an ancient origin.

Then, what historical evidence can be adduced, to explain the existence of Tibetan princes in the valley of Brahmapura in early times? First of all, the Vamśāvali (verse 48) of Chamba speaks of the conquest of Brahmar by Kiras, during the reign of Laksñi-varman, one of the early historical rulers of the country. I feel much inclined to identify the Kiras with the Tibetans whose kings were often designated by the word khri, throne. There was a dynasty of khri rGyal, later

1 A transcript and translation of this inscription by the Rev. A. H. Francke is given in Appendix III.
2 Cf. above, pp. 80 and 92.
Khri Sultans, in the Suru valley, there were whole dynasties of Khris among the ancient Tibetan kings, and some of the greatest Tibetan conquerors, Khri-srong-de btsan, Khri-lde gtsung-mes ag-thams, and Khri-btsong lde-btsan, have the word khri in their names. This word is pronounced Khri, not Thi, by the nearest Tibetan neighbours of Chambā and Kashmir, the people of Suru and Purig. During the wars of those times, certain unspecified tracts of India are claimed by the Tibetan historians to have been conquered by their kings. Not only this, but the Chinese historians (Thangshu) when speaking of the Tibetan conquests of those times, mention a country of Polomen as having been held by the Tibetans. The word Polomen, which was identified with Brahmāpur, was believed to signify India in general. I feel, however, more inclined to identify it with the Budha valley, i.e. with the Brahmar district. I am fully convinced that Brahmapura, the ancient Chambā State, was known to the Chinese of the 7th and subsequent centuries. We not only find the name of the capital, Po-lo-hihi-mo-pu-lo, Brahmapura, mentioned in Huen Tsang, but also in other works which describe the 'Empire of the Eastern women.' According to them, this empire was situated between Khotan, Tibet, Ladak, and Brahmāpur, and grave-finds in Eastern Ladak testify to the correctness of this statement. This empire comprised Ruthog, Guge, and the eastern part of Ladak.

The name Khung-po, Garuda-Lord, points exactly to the same period of Tibetan history, when this Bonpo name was common among Tibetan officials.

That the Brahmar district was once in the hands of the Tibetans, is also testified to by the modern Tibetan inscriptions which were discovered by Dr. Vogel at Ghosan, in the vicinity of Brahmar. They were carried by Tibetan pilgrims who would not have come to this rather out-of-the-way place, if they had not some historical connection with it.

TEXT.

The first is an invocation of Vajra-sattva, as pointed out by Dr. Vogel, and the second is the ordinary Om mani padme hum formula. What specially indicates the recent date of these inscriptions, in particular, is the elaborate treatment of the nasal signs above the o and u. They cannot be more than 200 years old at the utmost. But they are probably of more recent origin."

1 Huen Tsang (St-pu-las transl. Real. Vol. I. p. 168) locates Po-lo-hihi-mo-pu-lo 200 li or about 30 miles north of Hardwar, which would take us in the upper valley of the Jamuna. Brahmar lies about 250 miles or 1600 li to the northwest of Hardwar. It is possible that Huen Tsang refers to Brahmapura in the Kshara valley, but then it must be admitted that his distances and bearings are singularly inaccurate. Cunningham (Ancient Geography pp. 355 f.) identifies Po-lo-hihi-mo-pu-lo with Chighvāl and Kunam, which lie east of Hardwar; but there is no place of the name of Brahmar is known to exist.—[J. Ph. V.]
APPENDIX I.

LIST OF ŚĀRĀDĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

(Excluding those found in Chamba.)

A.—Kāŋgrā (Trigarta).


Stone slab inscription from the pujārī's house in the temple of Baijnāth at Baijnāth, now Lahore Museum No. 163.


Pillar inscription in the temple of Śiddhānāth at Baijnāth.


B.—Kali (Kulū).


Copper-plate inscription in possession of Panḍit Mohan Lal of Chamba, now loaned Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, B 10. It is dated Śastra-saṅvat 33 (A.D. 1539), Kārttika śū. ti. 11, in the reign of Bahādur Singh of Kūḷī and records a grant of land to Panḍit Ramāpāti, the son of Panḍit Surānanda and guru to the Ṛajā of Chamba. Cf. A. R. A. S. for 1903-04, pp. 261 ff., plate LXXI.

Rock inscription in two (?) lines near the gate of the dharmāśāla of Nirandā on the Satluj. The character is doubtful.

C.—Panḍī State.

Stone slab inscription in the temple of Triloknāth in Old Panḍī opposite Panḍī City. It is dated Śaka-saṅvat 1442, Kali 4928 (A.D. 1529), Bhadrapada . . . . . . . and records the foundation of that temple by Suratāra-Dēvī (Sūlţān Dēvī).
Säkö pillar inscriptions at Mağdī City, the earliest dated Saṅvat 13 (A.D. 1637); they contain the dates of the death of the Rājā of Mağdī. Cf. Cunningham, A. S. R. Vol. XIV, p. 183, pls. XXIX and XXX.

Copper statuette of Śiva in the palace of the Rājā in Mağdī City. Undated.

D. - Kaśān and Jambū.

Fragmentary stone inscription from Śrīnagar, now Lahore Museum No. 10. It is dated Śāstra-saṅvat 68 (A.D. 992–3) in the reign of queen Diddā.

Stone inscription (20" by 20" by 4") from the house of a Bṛhman at Arikūm (Skr. Hādigrāma), gurgams Nāgām. It records the construction of a brick vihāra of Lokanātha (Avalokiteśvara) by Rāma-deva the son of Kula-deva, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by King [Jaya]-śīlākha. It is dated [Śāstra]-saṅvat 78, Mārga śu. ti. 5 which, if referred to the 5th century of the Lokakṣaṇa, would correspond to Sunday, the 16th November, A.D. 1197. Cf. Kenz, Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, No. 46, pp. 300–302.

Stone inscription (20" by 20") at Śrīnagar in the wall of a merchant's house below the second bridge. 15th (?) century. Cf. Marshall, Note on archaeological work in Kashmir, p. 17.

Stone inscription1 at Śrīnagar below the third bridge. Marshall, Note, p. 17.

Stone inscription at Khummā at the Bhuvasa earthquake spring. It is dated Kali 4330, Śāstra-saṅvat 4 (A.D. 1428), Mārgaśīra śu. ti. 5, Friday, in the reign of Šulgān Zaim-l-bīdīn and records the building of a hermitage (ṣārana) which was consecrated on that date. Cf. Marshall, Note, pp. 18–20.

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khummā, dated [Śāstra]-saṅvat 54 (?), Pahālaguna, śu. ti. 7.

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khummā, dated [Śāstra]-saṅvat 59, Vaiśākha śu. ti. 7.


Stone inscription from Viśvūr (Bij Bihāra) in the northern wall of the mosque of Naṣibū-d-dīn Auliya. It is dated Śāstra-saṅvat 58, Śrītīyā, śu. ti. 10 in the reign of Yaskara-deva. Cf. Marshall, Note, p. 32.

Cave inscription2 at Lodū not far from Sar. It consists of three lines and is undated. It mentions a sāka-pāta-puta and ends hato aparab.

Stone inscription at Fēreūp, 7 miles from Kruca. It appears to be dated Saṅvat 523, Vaiśākha šu. ti. 15.

Stone (?) image inscription at Lāṣīyāl, 1 mile from Kruca. It is dated Saṅvat 54, Vaiśākha śu. ti. 3.


Defined śāga stone inscription at Kaṣṭavār or Kṣyāvār (Skr. Kṣṭhavāga).

Two image slab inscriptions in a cave near Bhadravāla (Skr. Bhadravalkāsa).

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1 It is uncertain whether this inscription is written in Śrādi.
2 According to Professor Kielhorn saṅvat 60 stands for Śāka 1405, in which case the date would correspond to Friday, the 9th July, A.D. 1484.
3 For information regarding this and the following two inscriptions I am indebted to Dr. Kenz, late Epigraphist to the Government of India.
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E.—Ladakh.1


Maitreya (Byams-pa) image inscription2 near the village of Dras. It is dated in the 7th year, probably of the Sāstra era, and consists of fifteen lines partly obliterated. Cf. Cunningham, ibidem.


Two rock inscriptions, containing only the word Śrī, at the bridge near Khadate. Cf. Francke, Z. D. M. G. for 1907, pp. 595 ff.

F.—Labul.

Stone image slab inscription at Chos-skor near Siwa in the Gandā Valley (British Lahul).

G.—Gaudāvara.3

Rock inscription from Ghagat, north-east of Budhwan in Swät, now Lahore Museum No. 94. It is dated [Śastra]-saṅvat 9 (A.D. 1033), Jñāśīna, in the reign of Humaira4 (Masūd, the son of Mahmūd of Ghazni).

Stone inscription from Dal Mahāt on the Indus bank beyond Tarbela, Hazāra District, now Lahore Museum No. 108. It is dated [Śastra]-saṅvat 34, Śravaṇa va. śi. 5.

Defaced stone inscription from Barikā in Upper Swät, now Lahore Museum No. 119. It is dated in the reign of Jayapala.

Stone inscription from Rānigat (?) in Khudakhel territory, now Lahore Museum No. 35 A.

Defaced rock inscription from Tarwa in Maidān Banda and not far from Kātā on the right bank of the Panjāb, now Lahore Museum No. 76.

Defaced rock inscription from Jalālıḳād (?) in Afghanistan, now Lahore Museum No. 158.

II.—Punjāb Plaius.

Fragmentary stone slab inscription from Salā de Piād, near the village of Miṣāni, Shāhpur District, now Lahore Museum No. 159.

Stone slab inscription from a well at the village of Pālam, 12 miles south-west of Delhi City, recovered at Bahaq, Bokāt District, and now placed in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Cat. No. B. 3). Only the concluding vernacular portion of the inscription (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) is in Śrāvāni. The rest, composed in Sanskrit, is in Nāgarī. The inscription is dated Vikrama-saṅvat 1037, Śravaṇa va. śi. 13, Wednesday, corresponding either to the 20th June A.D. 1280 or to the 18th August A.D. 1281, in the reign of Sultan Ghaythūd-din Balkhan. Cf. Śrāvāṇa-saṁvatād. Canviron, 1904, last chapter, pp. 75 ff.; Thomas, Chronicles of the Patha kings of Delhi, London, 1871, pp. 132 ff.; J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIII (1874), Part I, pp. 104 ff., with facsimile, and Delhi Museum Catalogue, pp. 18 ff.

APPENDIX II.

THE RĀJĀS OF BALOR (VALLĀPURA).

The following list is drawn from a Pedigree (A) or Bansaúli (Skr. saṁkṣhālī) in the possession of the descendant of the family priests of the Rājās of Balor, which I had copied at Bathūli in October 1906. In some cases I have added between brackets the names as they occur in another...

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1 In various places of Ladak cremation tablets with the Buddhist creed in Śrāvāni have been found.
2 A third stone carved on four sides has an inscription in five lines in a character which I am unable to identify.
3 Under this name are comprised the Punjābwar district and surrounding hill tracts.
4 Humaira (i.e., Anūl) is the title by which Mahmūd of Ghazni is indicated in the Rājāstāvakā, but it is also used for his successor. Cf. Stein, Rājā, VII, 47, footnote.
Pedigree (B) obtained from the same source. The Bansaulli in question is in the vernacular, but appears to have been rendered—probably by an ignorant person—from an original in Sanskrit which has become lost. This I infer from such forms as Guṇadhāya and Traiḍadhāya in which the second member is evidently the word ākhyā (ume). I have omitted the first portion of the pedigree which is mythological and derives the origin of the Balaurī Rājās from Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. They belong, therefore, to the lunar Race. The document gives in general the mere names but adds in a few cases particulars which will be noted beneath:

1. Paṭīr Paṭi.
4. Tribhuvan Paṭi.
6. Thān Paṭi.
9. Viśūh (Viśūh ?) Paṭi.
10. Soj Paṭi.
11. Satyadhik (Paṭi), 2nd Rūdhik.
12. Laksmaṇ (Paṭi).
13. Śaṅkya Paṭi.
14. Maṅ Śakya (B. Māṅ Sakat), 2nd Śūm Paṭi.
15. Dēṅ Śakya (B. Dēṅ Sakat).
16. Bhūg Śakya.
17. Apar Śakya.
19. Traiḍadhāya (B. Traiḍ Ray), c. 1628-9 and 1641 A.D.
20. Kala Paṭi (or Kalaś Ray), c. 1681-88 A.D.
21. Tunḍ Paṭi. 2nd Toṣ Paṭi.
22. Thūkan Paṭi.
23. Mahi Paṭi.
24. Arun Mal (B. Raṅ Mall), c. 1160 A.D.
25. Ajay Paṭi (B. Ājē Paṭi), c. 1160 A.D.
27. Malāśati Paṭi (B. Mahī Paṭi),
29. Vini Paṭi.
30. Uday Paṭi (B. Ude Paṭi).
31. Siddh Paṭi (B. Sindhu Paṭi).
32. Bhūg Siṅgh (B. Bhūg Siṅgh).
33. Jaynarth Paṭi (B. Jumūrīt Paṭi),
34. Aṅeṇa Paṭi.
35. Bhuval Paṭi.
36. Duṅāt Paṭi.
37. Gajendrī Paṭi.
38. Kinga Paṭi, 1595 A.D.
40. Bhūpati Paṭi (B. Bhumvat Paṭi), 1508 A.D.
41. Sangrām Paṭi, c. 1616, 1627 (?), 1640 (?), 1648 A.D.
42. Handūl (or Hindūl) Paṭi, brother of No. 41.
43. Kṛpaṭi, 1685 (? A.D.
44. Dhūrīg Paṭi (B. Dhūrīya Paṭi), 1708 A.D.
45. Medīnti Paṭi.
46. Jīr Paṭi.
47. An̄paṭi, 1774 A.D.
48. Bījāi Paṭi, 1782, 1789, 1791, 1796, 1806 (?) A.D.
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49. Mālandar Pāl, 1806 (?) A.D.
50. Bhūpandar Pāl.
51. Kalyān Pāl, died about 1838 A.D.

It is definitely stated in the Bansauli that Paity Pāl was the first to assume the cognomen Pāl. For this reason I start the list with him, though there is nothing to prove that either he or his seventeen successors were historical persons. The names ending on Sākya (14-17) particularly suspicious.

It is said that Mahi Pāl, the son of Paity Pāl, ruled at Mayāpur near Prasidhar and Alīpur. Thān Pāl left Mayāpur for Kūlā and Bhūg Pāl settled at Balor, so that he was in reality the first of the Balaurā Rājās.

Satyādik Pāl had a younger brother named Radhik who established himself in Bhadavāh. Sūn Pāl, the younger brother of Man Sākya, settled at Sumārtā and became the ancestor of the Sumārtā Rājās. Man Sākya himself is said to have removed his capital to Śrīkōli (or Bisōli), after having killed a Raṇa Bisō who apparently had been the ruler of that place.

So far the information has been drawn solely from the Bansauli and sam, therefore, only be accepted with the greatest reserve. It is possible that originally the Rājās of Balor were related to the ancient rulers of Kūlā who likewise were distinguished by the cognomen Pāl. It is equally plausible that Bhundavāh was at one time governed by a younger branch of the Balaurā house, as later on is also stated with regard to Bhaṭḍu. The mention of Sumārtā and the Sumārtā Rājās is of special interest, as we may connect those names with the Chamba copper-plate inscriptions (Nos. 24 and 25) among the opponents of Śēkilla-varman. These references make it very probable that Sumārtā was the ancient name of the Balaurā State. The locality is also mentioned in inscription No. 47 in connection with Bhundavāh.

Next follow three names which we may assume to be historical, though their order requires correction. In the course of the present work (pp. 71 f.) I have pointed out that the Trailokākāhen of the list may be identified with a ruler Trailokāya-deva in whose reign three Chamba fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20, 21 and 22) are dated and who must have lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. It may be inferred from those inscriptions that his rule extended over Cūmbā.

Kalaś Pāl or Ray (No. 29) whose name follows that of Trailokāya, must be the same as Kalaśa, the son of Tukka who is twice mentioned in the Rājayamūrgī (VII, 220 and 588) and is called lord of Vallāpura. Ananta of Kaśmir (1058-1083), while leading an expedition against him, appears owing to his rashness to have got into a difficult position from which he was saved by the cunning of his minister, Haladiya. (Cf. also VII 270.)

Apparently as a result of Ananta’s expedition, the ruler of Vallāpura had to acknowledge the supremacy of Kaśmir. For we find the same Kalaśa the son of Tukka mentioned among the hill chiefs who visited Śīrāgar in the winter of 1087-8 in the reign of Kaśša of Kaśmir. Elsewhere it is stated (Rājayat VII 856) that Hariṣa the son of Kalaśa had married a granddaughter of king Tukka, named Supūla, who endeavoured to poison her husband, when he had been thrown into prison by his father Kalaśa in A.D. 1088.

It follows that Kalaś Pāl lived in the second half of the 11th century which agrees well with the date found for Trailokāya. The question, however, arises why we do not find the name of Tukka as that of Kalaś Pāl’s predecessor. This difficulty, I believe, can be removed by assuming that Tukka’s name occurs in the Bansauli as Tung Pāl (No. 21) immediately after Kalaś Pāl and that those two names have been reversed.

The Bansauli records that Tos Pāl, the younger brother of Tung Pāl, was the first ruler of Bhaṭḍu and consequently the first of the Bhājuval Rājās. The tradition that the little principality of Bhaṭḍu was ruled by a younger branch of the Balaurā house is most probably correct. It existed as a separate State till the end of the 18th century.7

We have pointed out (p. 75) that Arup or Raq Mall (No. 24) is probably the same as Raṇapāla mentioned in one of the Deity-kōṭī inscriptions (No. 31). Unfortunately its date cannot

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1 In 1 we find the names Karan Bāl and Tukka Rāj between Trailokāya and Kalaś; but we may safely assume that they are due to interpolation.
2 Cf. Feulner, Journey, pp. 272 and 280. The descendants of the Bhājuval Rājās live now at Tīlāpur in the Kānpā-
district and receive a pension from the Indian Government.
be fixed, but it cannot be far removed from A.D. 1160. Ajay or Ajé Pal I have proposed to identify with the Ajaya-gāla of the Sai fountain inscription (No. 83) which is dated in the Kali year 4270 corresponding to A.D. 1169. (Cf. above pp. 76 f.)

Here I may mention that the Rājata-mārgi gives the names of some other ancient rulers of Vallāpura, but none of them occurs in the Bausauli. They are Padmaka and his son the Yuvarāja Ananda-rāja, who espoused the cause of the pretender Bhikaśāra (VIII 539, 542 and 547; cf. 623). Jajjala of Vallāpura, on the contrary, assisted Sussala in the defence of Srīnagāra in A.D. 1148 (VIII 1086, cf. above p. 108). Among the queens of Sussala who burnt themselves at his death we find Jajjala from Vallāpura (VIII 1444). Finally it is stated (VIII 2452) that Sussala's son and successor Jayaśimha deposed Vikrama-rāja of Vallāpura and replaced him by Gulkha. These references, in any case, prove that the Lohara kings of Kaśmir exercised considerable influence in the affairs of Bālor.

As regards the Bausauli, it does not supply any additional information until we come to Daulat Pal (No. 30). His name (Arabic dawlat = wealth, fortune) indicates that we have now entered the Muhammadan period. About him it is stated that he had eight sons who are all mentioned by name including one Sastōgū by a woman of the Thakur caste. The eldest son Gajendrā Pal succeeded, and the seven others were presented with jāpīyas.

His grandsire Kṛṣṇa Pal is mentioned as "Rāj Krishna Balāniyā" among the thirteen hill chiefs who were subdued by Zain-Khan Koka and appeared at Akbar's court with valuable presents in the 25th year of his reign (A.D. 1535). It will be seen that 429 years had then elapsed since 1169 the date of Ajay Pal. For this period the Bausauli has only twelve names which would give an average of 354 years for each reign. This circumstance as well as the evidence of the Rājata-mārgi leaves no doubt that for this period the Bausauli is incomplete. For the following two centuries, on the contrary, the Pedigree is reliable and contains a great deal of additional information than in the preceding part. Besides, several data are supplied by documents in the Chamba archives, and by copper-plates both in Chamba and in the former Balor (Bābūli) State.

It is not known, when the capital was transferred from Balor to Bābūli on the Ravi. According to the Vaiṣṇāvali this event took place several generations before Trilokya and Kaḷāśā. This is clearly impossible, as in the Rājata-mārgi the State is invariably referred to under the name of Vallāpura, i.e., Balor. We know, moreover, from Alberūṭī that in his time (c. A.D. 1630) Balor was situated on the route from Kanauj to Kaśāra. The ancient palace at Balor has architectural features (cupped arches) which show that it was built during the Muhammadan period. The gate and towers which remain of the old fortifications of the town are ascribed to Kṛṣṇa Pal, who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Akbar.

Above the palace there is a masonry tank which, to judge from the style of decoration, also dates back to the Mughal period. It was completely rebuilt some twenty years ago. It is said to have contained a Nāgarī inscription with a date expressed in the Śaka era, which was lost during repairs.

Balor possesses also a stone temple which, although very ruinous, is still used for worship. It is dedicated to Śiva under the name Bilvaśevar or Harīhar. The temple faces west and consists of a mandapa and a sanctum, the latter containing a stone liṅga. Of the mandapa only the north and part of the west wall are still standing. On the east side a rough low wall has been constructed of the old materials. Among these will be noticed a square slab with lotus rosette which must have been the central portion of the ceiling. Originally the roof of the mandapa was supported by four pillars with plain round shafts, of which only that on the north-east is still standing; of the other three the bases are still in situ.

Nothing is known about the history of this temple. It is ascribed to the Paṇḍavas and is said to have been destroyed by the troops of Bābūli. But according to others, it collapsed some hundred and fifty years ago in the reign of Bhīpāndar Pal. It is undoubtedly of great age.

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1 Bausauli it mentions a Vikramaśīt but places him between Kaḷāśā and Raṣī Mall.
2 The text says that he had eighteen sons, but enumerates only eight.
5 On Balor, cf. Drew, Jainsc Res., p. 84.
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Bhūpāti (or Bhurvat) Pāl, the grandson of Kṛṣṇa Pāl is said to have been an exceedingly brave and powerful man. In proof of his physical strength it is alleged that he was able to rub out the letters of a rupee with his fingers. He conquered Kaśyapā and brought from there the līgha of Nihkaṇṭh which is still worshipped at Basālī. He planted at Kaśyapā “reversed cedars” which were still extant at the time when the Bansiūli was written. It is stated that, owing to the back-biting of Jagat Singh of Nūpur, Bhūpāti Pāl was kept a prisoner by the kings (patsāh) of Delhi for eighteen years. On his return he made Basālī (or Bīsālī) his capital, after having slain a Rāṇā of the name of Bīsā who held that place. The name Bīsā is probably invented to account for the name Bīsālī, but it is interesting to find here also a reference to a conflict between a Rāṇā and a Rāṇā, such as is met with in the history of every hill state of the Panjāb. The chronicle asserts that Bhūpāti Pāl also plundered Nūpur which perhaps means that he joined the imperial troops in one of their expeditions against that principality.

Bhūpāti Pāl had two sons, Sangrām Pāl and Handal (H. Hindol) Pāl. The chronicle says that Sangrām Pāl, like his father before him, was imprisoned at Delhi and even ordered to be killed in consequence of the slander of his neighbour Jagat Singh of Nūpur. Quite possibly the tradition in both cases is only based on a compulsory stay of the two Bahāūrī Rājās at Delhi as hostages, according to the policy initiated by Akbar. It is explicitly stated that Sangrām Pāl’s imprisonment took place when he was still young. In this connection the following anecdote is related. The līgha, having heard the report of Sangrām’s beauty, entreated the Emperor to allow him to enter the Harem so that they might be able to see him. The Emperor gave his permission on condition that he should be blind-folded. To this the līgha objected as they wished to see his eyes also. The Emperor at last gave his consent and Sangrām Pāl was presented by the imperial ladies with jewels.

This account certainly does not point to a very rigorous confinement. The only pity is that exactly the same story is related of Pṛthvī Singh of Chambā, the contemporary of Sangrām Pāl.8

The chronicle further records that Sangrām Pāl conquered Kaśyapā, Guler and Kahīr (i.e. Bīsāpūr on the Satlūj) and that he “pocked their realm from the Chambāṅs.” We know that a controversy between Bahāūrī and Chambā did arise regarding the possession of the pargānā of Bhūlāī. But this dispute was decided in favour of Chambā by an imperial delegate on the 5th March A.D. 1648,9 as appears from a Persian document in the Chambā archives. In another document, undated, we find that Sangrām Pāl had built a fort in Chambā territory which was made the cause of a complaint before the imperial authorities. We shall do well, therefore, not to accept too readily the account of Sangrām Pāl’s victories related in the local chronicle. The same authority holds, that he fought twenty-two battles and married twenty-two times.

The Tūrmīā-i-Jahangīrī1 contains the following passage regarding one Sangrām, undoubtedly Sangrām Pāl of Basālī, for which I am indebted to Mr. William Irvine:

“The news of the killing of Rājkī Mān reached me (i.e. Jahangīr) at this place. I had appointed him to head the army that had been sent against the fort of Kangra. When he arrived at Lahore, he heard that Sangrān, one of the saṃkātāra of the hill-country of the Panjāb, had attacked his palace and taken possession of part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out, he went against him. As Sangrām had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession and took refuge in difficult hills and places. Rājkī Mān pursued him there, and in his great pride, not looking to the means by which he himself

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8 The same, as we saw above, is said of Mīnā Śākya, but there is reason to assume that Bālor was still the capital in the first part of the Muhammadan period.

9 Chambā Gazetteer, p. 66.

10 Another date is supplied by a copper-plate issued by Sangrām Pāl apparently in the year 16 which would correspond to A.D. 1640. The reading, however, is uncertain. I may mention here that Mīnā Durgā, a Bahāūrī Rājā who lives at Bālor, communicated to me the following date said to be derived from copper-plate inscriptions. Bālor Pāl 76 (A.D. 1398), Sangrām Pāl 3 (A.D. 1327) and Khābul Pāl 61 (A.D. 1355). I have not examined the charters from which these dates were obtained, but they fit in well with the established dates of their reigns. Mīnā Durgā is descended from Chambāṅ Pāl, a younger brother of Bhūpāti Pāl.

11 Tūrmīā-i-Jahangīrī translated by A. Rodgers, edited by H. Beveridge, p. 381. The event related here took place in the 11th year from Jahangīr’s accession or A.D. 1615-16. Rājkī Mān was perhaps Mīnā Śākya of Guler.
could advance and retreat, came up to him with a small force. When Saṅgrām saw that he had no
way to flee by, in accordance with this couplet—

"In time of need when no [way of] flight is left,
The hand seizes the edge of the sharp sword."

A fight took place, and according to what was decreed, a bullet struck Rāja Mān, and he delivered
his soul to the Creator thereof." His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The
remainder, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms, and with a hundred alarms escaped half-dead."

Saṅgrām Pāl died without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Hundal Pāl. The
latter's son and successor was Kṛpāl Pāl, who in his turn was succeeded by his son Dhīraj Pāl.
The Chambā archives contain a treaty in Tānikari between Dhīraj Pāl and Udal Siṅgh of Chambā. It
is dated the 31st Amūj sāhībat 84 corresponding to A.D. 1708.

The Bansani relates that Dhīraj Pāl's personal charm was so great that the daughter of Nawāb
Dīna Bēg fell in love with him. When the Nawāb, while in his kachhārī, ventured to mention the
fact to the Rājā, the latter drew his sword and caused all present to turn pale. The story is
of some interest as an illustration of a Balaurī Rājā's pretensions in matrimonial matters.

Dhīraj Pāl had two sons, Medīnī Pāl and Ratan Pāl. The former who succeeded is mentioned
in a Persian sanad dated in the 6th year of Jamīrī II (A.D. 1748) and issued under the seal of
Adina Bēg. In this document it is said that the pargānā of Jūndūh with its seventeen castles was
originally in the possession of Chambā, but had been made over to Medīnī Pāl Balaurī owing to the
unfaithfulness of Rājā Ugar Siṅgh of Chambā. It was now restored to the Chambā Rājā Umēl
Siṅgh. It does not appear from the document whether Medīnī Pāl was still alive at the time when
it was issued.

Medīnī Pāl had two sons, Jīt Pāl and Bikram Pāl. Jīt Pāl succeeded and was in his turn
succeeded by his son Amūr Pāl. From about the middle of the 18th century the Bāsūlī State
became more and more dependent on Jamān, then a rising power. It is interesting that this fact
finds expression in the local chronicle which mentions that Jīt Pāl "used to assist" Mahārājā Dhīrub
Dēv of Jamān. Further on it says: "Amūr Pāl reigned by the grace of the illustrous king of
kings Raṇjīt Dēv [of Jamān]. Mahārājā Dhīrub Dēv [and] Mahārājā Raṇjīt Dēv wrote with
their own hand on a copper charter that it was a duty of their own house to maintain the rāj
of the Balaurīs, taking Gaṅgā and Yamunā [the sacred rivers Ganges and Jamna] as witnesses.
It is not known whether the plate is still extant. Thus the Balaurīs were from old favoured
(kṛpāpatra) by the Mahārājas of Jamān and obedient (tāhaḍaṛ) to them." Amūr Pāl married a daughter
of Mahārājā Raṇjīt Dēv who was the real founder of the modern Jamān State. It is further stated
that Amūr Pāl obtained Bhūna through the favour of Raṇjīt Dēv and also the pargānās of Jūndūh
and Bhulāi from Chambā, and Kāthār (?) and Basantpur from Bāsūlī. Local tradition adds to
this: Nāpur as far as the Cakki including Shāhpūr, and a part of Jāsūṛā, namely, Lakhāpur,
Basantpur (already mentioned) and Thārum, all on the right bank of the Rājā.

How far we may accept the account of Amūr Pāl's conquests, it is difficult to say. This much
is certain that he invaded Chambā during the minority of Rājā Rāj Siṅh and for a time held a
large portion of that State, apparently including the capital. A copper-plate exists issued by him
to the astrologer of the Chambā Rājā in the Vikrama year 1831, Śaka 1806 (A.D. 1774). Amūr
Pāl's invasion of Chambā territory is also testified to by two of our inscriptions (Nos. 34 and 88)
which were wantonly destroyed on that occasion.

The Bansani describes Amūr Pāl as an ideal ruler. "He protected his subjects like his own
children. He made Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, Rājūtas and Vaiśyas persevere in their sanāṭyā prayers
and persevered himself in sanāṭyā prayers, worship and sacred duty (dhārm). The four castes took
their food in the cowū. When the women came out of their houses and happened to meet a man,
they at once turned their back to him." In this strain the chronicle praises his reign as the golden
age.

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1 Quotation from Sādāsī's Gelukāri, 1st story.

2 Chambā Gazetteer, p. 90.

3 Cf. above, pp. 224 and 293 f. The exact date of the copper-plate now in possession of Jyotīś Chandra Mahāpat is Vikrama
year 1831, Śaka 1806, Vaiśākha pūrṇima, Vraja, pr. 18, corresponding to Wednesday, the 25th May A.D. 1774.
It appears indeed that the Basohli State enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amrit Pal's sovereignty—a fact which, however, was probably less due to the uncommon virtues of that ruler than to political circumstances. It should be remembered that the authority of the kings of Delhi in the Panjáb, already weakened by the rise of the Sikhs, was crushed by Nádir Sháh's invasion in 1739. In the same year in which Nádir Sháh was assassinated (A.D. 1747) the Durrani king Ahmad Sháh made his first inroad in the Panjáb. The Mughal emperor now lost all power in the Land of the Five Rivers, which henceforth became the scene of the deadly struggle between Afghan and Sikh which lasted till the end of the century.

The unsettled state of affairs in the Plains made traders to Kaśmír select the safer route through the lower Hills of the Panjáb. The petty hill chiefs levied toll on the merchandise carried through their territory and it is to this circumstance that both Basohli and Jamná owe their rise about the middle of the 18th century.

The ruined palace of the Balarain Rájás at Basohli—a building of a size excessive as compared with their limited territory and political power—still testifies to the prosperity they enjoyed in those days. It is ascribed to Amrit Pal and indeed the debased Indo-Mughal style of the edifice points to the 18th century as the period of its construction. It is well described by Vigne in the following lines: ⚠ Basohli contains a large but slovenly-looking bazaar; and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the Baronial appearance of the palace of the old Rájás, which I thought the very finest building of the kind that I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and front-like, presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jamná, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower range, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst, with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position incomparably superior. ⚠

The Basohli ends the long account of Amrit Pal's piety by recording that, after an astrologer had foretold the day of his death, he made over his State to his son Bijaí Pal and left in the midst of the Holt festival for Benares where he died at the age of thirty-two.

After his death the fortunes of Basohli declined. The Sikhs, not content with ravaging the Panjáb plains, now penetrated into the lower hills and blackmailed the petty Rájás whose prosperity doubtless had stimulated their cupidity. Ranjit Dëv of Jamná managed for a time to save his State by his wise policy, but under his son and successor Ranjit Dëv the town of Jamná was conquered and sacked by Hákitán Singh Kanheya and Mahá Singh Sukherrá.

Basohli met a similar fate, but here it was Ráj Singh, the warlike chief of Chambá who took the leading part. He had to avenge the insult suffered by Amrit Pal during his minority. He invaded and conquered Basohli in 1782, burnt the town, and restored the country only on payment of a lakh of rupees. The date of the conquest of Basohli is recorded on a stone set into the pavement in front of the temple of Lakṣmí-Narâyán at Chambá. It reads: साह. 55 Cét pr. I Basenlí da shaker fata kíta, “On the last Cét of the year 55 (A.D. 1782) the town of Basohli was conquered.”

Shortly afterwards, the traveller George Forster passed Basohli on his journey through the lower hills which he performed in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader. He crossed the Rávi on the 10th April 1788. “In the ferry-boat,” he says, “were two Siéques going to the fort of which a detachment they belonged to, had taken possession, in consequence of being called in to the assistance of the Bisooly [viz., Basohli] chief. Though this be the Invariable result of every connection made with the Siéques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A boldering chief [Ráj Singh of Chambá] had invaded the Bisooly districts, plundered the inhabitants, and burned their villages, before any opposition was made. The Siéques

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were called in to repel the enemy, and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation, and refused to relinquish it." On his further journey through Basohli territory Forster was painfully struck by the dismal appearance of the country owing to the recent war.

The bone of contention between Basohli and Chamāb was the territory of Bhalai and Jūndh, situated on the border of the two States. The Chamāb archives contain a letter in Tānkāri in which Brajraj Dév of Jammā conveys to Ráj Singh, on condition of service, these two parganas together with Bhalal, Kikār and Dyuhr which evidently had remained occupied by Basohli since Amrit Pal's invasion of Chamāb. It is dated the 16th Bhadon of the Śāstra year 57 (A.D. 1781). In another Tānkāri document of the 18th Bhadon of the Śāstra year 59 (A.D. 1783) we find the same statement. A third letter from Brajraj Dév dated the 20th Śāvan of the same year enjoins the officials of the pargana of Jūndh to be obedient to Rāj Rāj Singh. From these documents it appears that in those days both Basohli and Chamāb regarded Jammā as their suzerain.

Notwithstanding this, we find that after Rāj Singh's death in 1794 Bijai Pal again made inroads into the frontier districts of Bhalai and Jūndh with the result that Jit Singh of Chamāb, who had succeeded his father, retaliated by invading Basohli and, after conquering the country, restored it on payment of war indemnity. A Tānkāri letter dated the 5th Śāvan, Śāstra 72 (A.D. 1796) in which Bijai Pal promises Jit Singh to pay by instalments the amount due to Chamāb probably relates to the facts just mentioned.

In this connection I must also mention two copper-plate grants issued by "Vijayapala, the son of Amrapala" and now preserved at Basohli. One is dated Vikrama 1546 or Śaka 1711 corresponding to A.D. 1789 and the other Vikrama 1548 corresponding to A.D. 1791. They are in the possession of Pandit Hiru of Basohli.

Bijai Pal was succeeded by his son Mahendra Pal who concluded a compact with Jit Singh of Chamāb in the Śāstra year 52 (A.D. 1800) which is preserved in the Chamāb archives. It is noteworthy that in it the Basohli chief has only the title "Mīn" which perhaps indicates that his father was then still alive.

He was succeeded by his son Bhupendra Pal whose son and successor Kalyān Pal—the last of the Bahaurīs—died childless at the age of twenty-two years. Vigne notes that, when he first passed through Basohli,1 the Rājā was dead. One of his Rājs, a Mankoji princess, who survived him, lived in the palace for thirty years after his death, receiving a pension of Rs. 1,500 a year from Jammā. The ancient Balor State was included in the ājūlap of Śuket Singh, the Rājā of Rāmnagar and younger brother of the Jammā Rāj Śuket Singh. At present Basohli is the head-quarters of a Tāshildār. The only monument of the by-gone glory of the Bahaurī princess is the old palace which their rivals and final conquerors, the Rājās of Jammā, have allowed to fall into ruins. Sic transit gloria mundi!

In the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum the Bahaurīs are well represented, as it contains portraits of Bhupati Pal, Handal Pal, Kypal Pal, Medini Pal, Jit Pal, Amrit Pal, Mahendrar Pal and Bhupendar Pal.

APPENDIX III.

MARKULA SLAB INSCRIPTION.¹

By the Rev. A. H. Francke.

Text.

(Transliteration)

1. སྤྲིག་པ་ རྩོ་བྲིས་བ་ རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
2. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
3. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
4. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
5. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
6. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
7. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
8. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
9. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
10. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
11. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
12. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད) རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)
13. རྩོ་བྲིས་ (བོད)

Notes.

1. 3. rgyon, instead of classical gyon; 1. 2. the instrumental wrongly instead of the genitive case; 2. sgyas, instead of ordinary case; 7. rgya instead of classical gya; 11. Rupkosa, the name of the Triloknith temple, means 'high hope.'

No exact date can be given to this inscription; but it may be said for certain that it cannot be more than three centuries old.

Translation.

1. Hail! The peacock vestments of the gods are of white colour; Perfection is
2. the head ornament of Buddha. Look mercifully on [all] creatures! Reverence to
3. Arelokita! Clothed in purity, he sits on the lotus throne, one face,

¹ The inscription which is cut on a slate slab is here edited from a rubbing and a hand-copy, both prepared by the late Mrs J. E. Duncan. Doubtful readings are placed between brackets.
APPENDIX.

4. six hands, feet. Reverence to the image of the august Avalokita, which arose of itself.  
5. and which draws upwards to heaven the six kinds of creatures which are still performing the circuit of transmigration. — To the victorious Vajravarahi.
6. the august great mother, the conquerress of the three times, of fierce form, to the lady who gives two-fold relief to all the dull, solitary, and insecure, be reverence and praise!
7. 8. . . . . . as an opportunity for virtue.
8. . . . . . nine thousand mani (Oka mani padme hūn) were raised (carved) on unchangeable stone.
9. Well, besides these, at the august Rāphag (Triloknāth), and at Mar-skul, at both Mani wheel...
10. raised. At the monastery of Mar-skul, a new monastery was raised (or was raised anew, renovated).
11. May all beings obtain Buddhahood quickly through this virtue!
12. Hail!

APPENDIX IV.

SUPPOSED COIN OF ĀṢĀṬĀ OF CHAMBĀ.

Mr. V. A. Smith has advanced the hypothesis that a rare silver coin of a debased bull-and-horseman type might be ascribed to Āṣāṭā, the chief of Ćampā.

Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., has favoured me with the following note on the subject: "My suggestion is that for Āṣāṭā we should read Amṛta, and I would assign it to the Amṛta-pāl of the inscription found near Budānā (Budana district, United Provinces). Smith's Catalogue of the Indian Museum, plate XXVI 6, shows a fair specimen."

"You will see that the first letter is clearly a not ə. The second letter might be read, at first sight, as ša or ma. Close examination shows that the right hand perpendicular line is curved at the bottom to the right. If you will compare this coin with No. 20 on the same plate, you will see that there is quite sufficient ground for taking the curve as the vowel r. For the symbol just above the quarters of the horse is universally admitted to be I[r]. I would similarly read "mr."

"Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, says that these coins are rare, and Smith repeats this. As a matter of fact, the coins are fairly common between Meerut and Bareilly. I have seen more than one find. One came from Meerut District, and the other from some place in Rohilkhand. Delmerick, who spent a long time at Budana, said he considered the coins common. It was this circumstance which first led me to connect the coins with the line of rulers referred to in the inscription, and eventually to recognize the letters mr, hitherto misread śr."

"Lastly, Smith does not account for the change from ša to ta, the clear reading on the coin."

"The inscription may reasonably be dated early in the 12th century, which would suit the coins."

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1. This refers to the belief that the mumia image of Triloknāth is not made with hands but is self-created (Skr. self-made). Cf. above p. 16.
3. Hero Kāśī, the goddess of Mekhāli.
6. The correct spelling would be Budānā.
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Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Holland.
Royal Institute of Netherlands, India. The Hague, Holland.
Imperial Academy of Sciences (for the Asiatic Museum), St. Petersburg, Russia.
Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.
University Library, Upsala, Sweden.

Christiania, Norway.
British School at Athens, Greece.
La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

AMERICA.

American Oriental Society, 255, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.
Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U. S. A.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

BRITISH COLONIES.

The Museum, Canterbury, New Zealand.
Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.
Melbourne Library, Melbourne.
University Library, Sydney, New South Wales.
Victoria Public Library, Perth, Western Australia.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore.
North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Museum of Arabian Art, Cairo, Egypt.

FOREIGN COLONIES.

Directeur de l'Ecole française d'extrême Orient, Hanoi.
Batavische Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia.
Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo, Egypt.
Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II—INDIA.

(1) IMPERIAL.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.
*Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

* Director-General's Report, Part II.
II.—INDIA—contd.

(2) PROVINCIAL.

MADRAS.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.
University " Madras.
Public " "
Presidency College "
School of Art "
Government Central Museum, Madras.
Christian College Library "

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.
University " "
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
School of Art, Bombay.
The College of Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.
University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.
Presidency College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.
Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 37, Park Street, Calcutta.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, P. W. D., Allahabad.
University " Allahabad.
Public Library, Allahabad.
Provincial Museum Library, Lucknow.
Sanskrit College, Benares.
Thomason College, Roorkee.
Archaeological Museum, Muttra.

PUNJAB.

Secretariat Library, Public Works Department, Lahore.
Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
Museum Library, Lahore.
University Library, Lahore.
Government College Library, Lahore.
Delhi Museum and Institute, Delhi.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Secretariat Library, Peshawar.
Museum Library, Peshawar.

BURMA.

Secretariat Library, Rangoon.
The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.
The Phayre Museum, Rangoon.
II.-INDIA—concld.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.
Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

NATIVE STATES.

Hyderabad.

The Resident's Library, Hyderabad.

Central India.

Library of the Agent to the Governor General, Indore.
The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.
Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajmer.
College Library, Ajmer.
The Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.