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<td>334 and 335</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
DR. F. W. THOMAS, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

Editor of the Epigraphia Indica, 1916-22

Born: 21st March 1867
at Fazely,
Staffordshire,
England.

Died: 6th May 1956
at Bracknell,
Oxfordshire,
England.
FREDERICK WILLIAM THOMAS

Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., F.R.A.S., C.I.E. (Librarian of the India Office, London, 1904-27; Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College, 1927-37) passed away at his home near Branburg, Oxfordshire, on the 6th May 1936 at the age of 69. By his sad death, oriental learning has suffered an irreparable loss.

Born at Fazely in Staffordshire on March 21, 1867, Thomas had a brilliant educational career. He obtained a classical scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and won other laurels in Classical Tripos and Indian Languages Tripos. He knew Greek and Latin as well as Sanskrit, Pali and several other Eastern languages. In 1898 he joined the India Office as Assistant Librarian and succeeded C. H. Tawney as Librarian there in 1904. This post he held for about a quarter of a century. On retiring in 1927 he became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College and continued to serve in these capacities till 1937. In the years that followed, he kept himself busy with his scholarly pursuits, inspiring younger scholars by his shining example.

The name of Dr. Thomas was held very high in the field of Indological learning. As a result of his continued hard work for over half a century, he has left an abiding mark of progressive scholarship specially on Sanskritic and allied studies. He was a pioneer in the field of research pertaining to Chinese Turkestan opened up by the explorations of Aurel Stein and others. A large number of publications (well over 200) on Indian and Oriental subjects, in the form of books and papers, stand to his credit. Some of his important works are: (1) The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (translated in collaboration with E. B. Cowell), (2) Kavindravacanasamuccaya, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, and (3) Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

In recognition of his manifold academic activities, numerous honours were conferred on Dr. Thomas. He was a member of the council of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, of which he held the office of Honorary Secretary, Vice-President and Director. In 1939, on the occasion of his 72nd birth-day, he was presented with a Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies by his friends and admirers.

Dr. Thomas visited India twice, once in 1920-21 and again in 1937-38 when he was invited to preside over the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department, Government of India. Besides, he was the editor of the Epigraphia Indica from 1916 to 1922. In that capacity, he edited Vols. XIII to XVI of this journal, Vol. XIII jointly with Sten Konow, and Vol. XVI jointly with H. Krishna Sastri. His own contribution to the pages of the Epigraphia Indica relates to certain important Prāśāthī records, viz. Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-Capital (Vol. IX, pp. 135-47) and on the Relic Casket from Kurram (Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-18).
Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., O.B.E.

Government Epigraphist for India, 1934-40.

Born: 1st July 1893
at Krishnagar,
Nadia District,
West Bengal.

Died: 19th October 1956
at New Delhi.
NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

Dr. K. P. Chakravarti, M.A., H.D., O.B.E., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at New Delhi on the 19th October 1956. By his demise, Sanskritic studies in general and Indian epigraphy in particular have sustained a great loss.

Dr. Chakravarti was born on the 1st July 1893 at Krishnagar in the Nadia District of West Bengal. After passing his M.A. examination, he entered the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali in 1917. He was awarded a Government Scholarship in 1921 for studies in Europe and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) and Berlin Universities. In 1924 he went to England and was admitted in 1926 to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. On his return to India, he entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1929 as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Octacanund. His zest for documentary and epigraphical research carried him to the post of Government Epigraphist for India in 1934. In this capacity, he edited Volumes XXII to XXVI of the *Epigraphia Indica*. In 1940, he was transferred to New Delhi as Deputy Director General and became Joint Director General in 1945. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1948.

After his retirement in 1950 from that post, his services were utilised by the Government of India in a number of ways. He was appointed Advisor in the Department of Archaeology and retired from this position in 1952. Thereafter he was appointed Officer on Special Duty to guide the artists engaged in depicting scenes from the history of the country, from the dawn of civilisation to the attainment of independence, on the walls of the Parliament House and continued in this post till his death.

Dr. Chakravarti was a member of several learned societies in India and abroad such as the Hakluyt Society, l'École Francaise d'Extreme Orient, and the International Committee on Sites and Museums set up by the UNESCO. Besides, he was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Vice-President of the Royal Society of India and Pakistan, London, and the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

The range of Dr. Chakravarti's scholarship was extensive. His inspiring address on 'Our Cultural Heritage, its Future' to the All-India Oriental Conference in 1948 and the learned presidential address he delivered at the Indian History Congress at Ahmadabad in 1954, indicating the problems and future lines of research in Indology, were greatly appreciated by scholars. As regards Indian epigraphy, in addition to his scholarly contributions to the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and Ancient India*, he edited the Sanskrit inscriptions from Java in Part II of B. R. Chatterjee's *India and Java* and contributed the section on inscriptions in Yazdani's *Ajanta*, Part III. The following learned papers from his pen were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

1. Nivina Copper-plate Grant of Dharmarājadēva (Vol. XXI, pp. 34 ff.).
2. Kharod Inscription of Ratnādēva III, Chēdi Sanhvā 333 (ibid., pp. 159 ff.).
3. Two Brick Inscriptions from Nālandā (ibid., pp. 193 ff.).
4. A Buddhist Inscription from Kara (Vol. XXII, pp. 37 ff.).
5. Bhopal Plates of Mahākumāra Hariśchandrādēva (Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.).
7. Ramah Plates of the time of Trailokyaṃailādēva, [Kalachūri] year 965 (Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.).
8. A Note on the *Halāyudha-stūra* in the Amarēśvara temple (ibid., pp. 183 ff.).
9. Rāja-prasasti Inscription of Udaipur, jointly with Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra (Vols. XXIX-XXX. Appendix, pp. 1-123).
11. Brāhmī Inscriptions from Bāndhūgarh (Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.).

1 One of the results was his *L'Udānārasya Sanskrit* published in Paris in 1930.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME XXVIII

Title Page.—For 1949-50 read 1949-1950

Page 338. line 26.—For bhavē read bhavēt

" 338, line 30.—For eight read eighth

" 338, line 31.—Read—Harikēlā, Harikēla or Harikēli in the Sylhet region; but he appears

VOLUME XXIX

Title Page.—For 1951-52 read 1951-1952

Page 1, line 6.—For west of read east of


" 8, text line 47.—For bhāvibhiš-cha read bhāvibhir-āpi

VOLUME XXX

Page 3, line 11.—Add editorial note—The discrepancy of one year in the epochs of the Bhāṭika era suggested by the two inscriptions respectively in the Vishṇu and Śiva temples at Jaisalmer, viz. 624-25 A. D. and 623-24 A. D., cannot be reconciled, as suggested by Prof. Mirashi, by supposing that the second date is recorded in a current year and the first in an expired year. The language of the inscriptions in question (cf. Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 775 and 962) shows clearly that the Bhāṭika years mentioned in both the epigraphs were current only. The year of the first inscription is Bhāṭikē Saṅvat 812 pravartamāṇe and that of the second record Pravartamāṇe-Bhāṭika 993. Besides the two inscriptions dated in the Bhāṭika era, referred to by Prof. Mirashi, nearly a dozen other inscriptions bearing dates in the same era, all found at Jaisalmer and its immediate neighbourhood, have been noticed in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1936; cf. An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1935-36, p. 111; IHQ, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 ff. It is interesting to note that 624-25 A. D. as the beginning of the Bhāṭika era suits some of these inscriptions while others suggest 623-24 A. D. The earliest date supplied by these inscriptions is Bhāṭika Saṅvat 539, Bhāḍrapada sudi 10, Sunday (corresponding to the 11th August 1163 A. D.) found in an inscription on a Govardhana about 10 miles from Jaisalmer. The era seems to have been a solarised modification of the Hijri, the first year of which corresponds to 622-23 A. D.—V. S. 679-80. It appears that the Bhāṭī kings of Jaisalmer fabricated this reckoning about the 12th century by subtracting about 680 from the V. S.
Page 295, foot-note 5.—Add note.—That Bāsa applies the name Mālava to East Malwa in his Harehacarita seems to be suggested by the fact that, in his Kādambarī, he speaks of Vidiśā on the Vētravati as the capital of the Mālava country (Siddhāntavagisa’s ed., pp. 18-19: mañja- Mālava-vilāśi... Vētravati praṅgata Vidiśa-abhidhāna sagara rājadhānyōṣī) while the same work mentions Ujjayinī on the Śipra as the capital of the Avanti country (ibid., pp. 176-83: Śipraśa parikshipa... viṣṭ-amarālauha-iyuṣ: Avantiḥ- Ujjayini nāma maha nagari). The same tradition is referred to by Yaśodhara in his commentary on Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra (VI, 22 and 24), which explains Avanti as Aparā-Mālava (i.e. West Malwa) and Mālava as Purvā-Mālava (i.e. East Malwa). It is also supported by the Shatpañchāśadīśa-vibhāga (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, pp. 51-52).

VOLUME XXXI

Page 12, foot-note 5.—For Visāla read Visāla

13, line 28.—For included read inclined

13, line 41.—For Chāndāsā read Chāndāpa

18, line 21.—For vītiya read dvītiya


28, text line 15.—For “n-mātya read “n-mātya

30, line 2.—For “in read “in

32, foot-note 4, line 6.—For identify read identity

35, text line 9.—For “ānāhi read “ānāhi

43, text line 50.—For “nyājasa read “nyāja

43, foot-note 4.—For tasmāy-ātmane nāma read tamai Dommana-nāmne

76, line 7.—For September 11 read September 10

76, foot-note 1.—Add—The tithi ku. 10 and the nakshatra Sravana ended at 03 and 02 respectively of the following day, i.e. Tuesday. See, however, N. Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chāvia of Vēṇī, p. 55.

127, foot-note 2.—For inset read inserted

136, foot-note 3.—For agrahra read agrahāra

174, foot-note 3, line 1.—Read Prishṭaśārya

187, line 2.—For 2 Plates read 3 Plates

191, foot-note 5.—For Dāṇḍimahādevī read Dāṇḍimahādevī


211, line 25.—Read Brāhmaṇa

215, line 12.—Read susūtaviye
Page 215, line 13.—Read pavatitaviyā
   236, line 35.—Read Mādhavadēva for Mādhava
   236, foot-note 3, line 5.—Read Brāhmaṇas
   264, line 23.—For Parasannamātra read Prasannamātra
   269, line 16.—For vyvahāri read vyavahāri
   269, line 21.—For first one read second date
   269, foot-note 2, lines 2-3.—Read the Anantapur District of Andhra and parts of the Bellary,
                              Kolar and Tumkur Districts of Mysore
   273, line 17.—For Kalayānapura read Kalyānapura
   273, line 18.—For Laṅkāpura read Laṅkāpura
   274, line 29.—Read āyirattu
   274, foot-note 10, line 3.—For Sittaramēli read Sittiramēli
   275, text line 4.—For āṇa read āṇa
   275, foot-note 2.—For sa read sa
   325, foot-note 5.—Omit the last sentence.
   337, foot-note 1, line 1.—Read Bombay
   335, foot-note 4, line 1.—Read cf. No. 15. Add note.—For godani-vyāpāra or madani-
                              vyāpāra, the intended expression seems to be mudrā-vyāpāra. Cf. mudrā-vyāpāraṁ
                              paripanthatyati in the description of viceroys (see Vol. XXXII, p. 182, note 2).
No. 1—TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU

(3 Plates)

B. V. Krishna Rao, Rajahmundry

Two sets of copper plates were found together at Kānukollu, Guḍiḍa Taluq, Krishna District (Andhra), about fifteen years ago, while digging the old village site for pātimāna, 'old earth'. The spot where the two sets were found lies outside the ramparts of the old mud fort which is almost in ruins to-day. The ruined ramparts and the situation of the ancient village plainly indicate that Kānukollu was an important walled town in olden days and that it lay on the highway that connected a big emporium or seaport near the northern mouth of the Krishṇā on the one hand and the important provincial town of Guḍiḍa on the other with Vengi-puram, the capital of the Śaṅkākṣaya kingdom. Even today Kānukollu lies on the trunk road that connects Guḍiḍa with Bhīmavarām in the West Godavari District. When the plates were discovered, people fondly believed them to be of precious metal and therefore quickly divided them as spoils among themselves. Actually the ring and the seal of the second set, marked here as B, were melted down for the purpose of testing the metal. It is indeed fortunate that none of the plates was destroyed or melted down. The writing on them attracted the attention and curiosity of the more enlightened amongst the villagers. And it was in no small measure due to the intervention of the village Kānapam, Mr. Vinnakota Durga Varapradasa Rao, that the charters were saved from any further damage. The Kānapam was good enough to secure these two sets for me in 1946 when I happened to visit the place. These were later forwarded by me to the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who kindly got their mechanical impressions prepared in his office.

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14

This is the earlier of the two sets. It consists of eight plates held together by a ring, the ends of which were fastened together under an oval seal. The ring had already been cut open and the plates taken out for examination by somebody even before they reached me. The diameter of the ring is about 2½ inches while its thickness is about ¾ inch. The seal is 1½ inches in length and one inch in breadth. The legend and the crest on it are completely worn out on account of corrosion. But we know that the emblem on the Śaṅkākṣaya seals is the bull.

1 I came to learn from the villagers that several gold and lead coins along with other valuable articles were picked up but that they were secreted, appropriated or destroyed. People say that even now coins are found here and there in the ruins of the village.
2 [Mention over 's has not been used in this article.—Ed.]
3 See Bhārati, April, 1890, pp. 69 ff. and Plate; JAIHRS, Vol. XX, pp. 87 ff. and Plate.
The plates are rectangular in shape, measuring 7½ inches in length, 2½ inches in width and ½ inch in thickness. The left margin of each plate contains a round hole about half an inch in diameter, which is intended for the ring to pass through. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 97 tolas; the ring and the seal weigh sixteen tolas. The hole appears to have been cut after the engraving of the inscription thereon was completed. The size of the letters which are all deeply cut on the plates is roughly ½ inch. The plates have writing on both sides with the exception of the first and the last which bear writing on their inner side. The inscribed faces of the plates are numbered with the ancient numerals of the akṣarapalli. The numbers appear on the left margin above the hole. The first plate contains the figure 1 on its reverse side, while the number 8 appears on the obverse or inner side of the last plate. The remaining plates have numbers on their reverse side. But a peculiar feature of the numbering of the plates 5, 6 and 7 is that there is a symbol on their reverse side, whose value is not clear. These symbols are not met with elsewhere.

The characters of the inscription belong to the early class of the Southern Alphabet. They resemble closely the letters of the Hirahādagali and Mayidavoli plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman and the Komānudi plates of the Brhatphalāyana king Jayavarman. Some consonants, e.g., kh, b, p, th and ḍh resemble the earlier forms found in the Bhāṭṭiprulo and Jaggyayapeṭa inscriptions. The vowels ā, i and ē also retain their archaic character. The medial signs for vowels like ā and ē differ from those of the Elur plates of Devavarman. Attention may be drawn to the sign for medial ā in kāṭāya (line 23) and bhām(i) (line 36). This may be compared with that in atichukkīna (lines 21-22) of the Mayidavoli plates. As in some other early Prakrit charters, t and n and ḍ and ḍh are written almost alike. The letter t is to be distinguished from n by a slight curve at the right; cf. t in parigahatassa (line 2), bhājāvājā (line 6), etasa (line 10), etc., and n in vacchayena (line 3), uthiyamān (line 9), etc. The slight difference between ḍh and ḍ is that the end of the lower limb of the former is slightly curved upwards. The final forms of t and m also occur in the inscription. They are written in miniature form beneath the line; cf. m in phalam (line 37), halam (lines 32 and 34) and t in ḍharet (line 32).

The language of the inscription is Prakrit prose with the exception of lines 30-37 which contain two customary imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. The orthography calls for few remarks. The word araṭṭhabāmaiśvarakā (lines 18-19) is written with i instead of y. Single consonants between vowels remain unchanged in some cases and modified in others. Thus k is preserved in bhāṭkara (line 1), ch in vacchayena (line 3), j in mahārāja (line 2, 6) and vijaya (line 1), t in nirattasa (line 12), th in ratahāra (lines 13 and 14-15) and ḍh in pūda (line 2); but modifications of kh and ḍh are noticed in pumāho (line 4) and bhado (line 6) respectively.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Piṭiha as an agrahāra by Mahārāja Nandivarman, for the increase of his merit, strength and prosperity and also for the increase of the fame and fortune of Bāṅka-mahārājakumāra Khandapotta, to a certain Chāṭiwejja of the Rathakāna caste. The expression bāḷaka-mahārājakumāra seems to suggest that Khandapotta was a son of Nandivarman. The donor of the grant is Nandivarman who may be regarded for the present

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2 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 269 ff. and Plates.
3 Ibid., pp. 315 ff. and Plates.
6 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff. and Plates.
7 [See below, p. 4, n. 1. The present inscription apparently speaks of the Chāṭiwejja (Chāṭiwejja) as a community having various gotras and charanas while the other grant from Kāṇkuli, edited below, states that the community resided at Rathakāna which was therefore undoubtedly the name of a locality. The expression agrahā-īṣṭhakāna in the present inscription seems to mean the same thing as Rathakāna agrahāra.—D.C.B.]
as Nandivarman I, though it may not be possible to reckon him as the first crowned king of the dynasty. His epithet bappahatājaraṇa-pāda-purīgāhita evidently indicates that there was Nandivarman's father who was a king and who probably preceded him on the throne. Although the family name Śalākāyana does not occur in the inscription under study, there is little doubt that Nandivarman belonged to the Śalākāyana dynasty of Veṇī. The Śalākāyanas must have been there ruling in the province or kingdom of Veṇī during the first two centuries of the Christian era, first as subordinates of the Śatavāhanas and later of the Ikshvākus. They would seem to have assumed independence and sprung into importance in the latter half of the third century. We have yet no means of ascertaining who the first prince was that assumed independence and founded the sovereign state of Veṇī. Possibly he was a predecessor of Nandivarman I.

The date is: year 14, varṣa 2, day 1. This way of dating seems to be older than that of Devavarman's grant which contains the Sanskrit form of the name of the month Pāuṣa and is dated the tenth day of the dark fortnight of that month. The mention of months and the dark and bright fortnights is probably to be assigned to a later period than that of the present record.¹

Thus Nandivarman I seems to have been the predecessor of Devavarman. The present record may be assigned to about the same or slightly later period as the Prakrit grants of the Pallava king Śivaśankaravarman. Nandivarman I may possibly be regarded as a later contemporary of Śivaśankaravarman, to whom I have assigned the period 265-275 A.D., and may be ascribed tentatively to the close of the third century.²

The āgati (Sanskrit ājapati, 'executor') of the grant was Hatthisāmi. The last sentence of the record is not quite intelligible. Probably the elicit was directed to be protected by the local officer Hadappa, son of Mahāpatra Puniṇakongala.³

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the inscription is the grant of the village as an agrāhāra to a Chāteveja (literally one who has studied the four Vedas of the Rathakāra caste. The donation is said to have been made in accordance with the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the caste of the Rathakāras. Macdonell and Keith cite a number of authorities on the social position and importance of the Rathakāras from the Vedic literature.⁴ Bühler pointed out how the ancient Vedic ritual in certain cases admitted the Rathakāra or carpenter, who had Śādra blood in his veins, to the participation in Śrāvita rites, how the Taṇṭitirīya Brāhmaṇa gives certain mantras to be recited by the Rathakāras at the Aṇgūdāhāna sacrifice, and how Bandhāyana derives the origin of the Rathakāra from a Vaiśya male and Śūdra female and explicitly allows him to receive the sacrament of initiation (upamanyasa which is meant for a devī).⁵

There is a stone record, of the 48th regnal year of Kulottuṅga Chola I, from Uyyakondān-Tirunelai in the Tiruchirappalli Taluk, which gives some interesting details about the Rathakāras.⁶ It records the decision of the learned Brāhmaṇas of the village in regard to the social position of certain castes and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain anuloma community called Rathakāra described as the progeny of a Mahāshiva by a Karaka woman.⁷

¹ On the grounds of paleography and language, the present record has to be assigned to the same age as the Ērā grant of Devavarman and to a date about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.—D.C.S.
² Cf. A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhra by, pp. 239-51. [These dates seem to be too early.—D.C.S.]
³ [See below, p. 6, note 2.—D.C.S.]
⁵ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIV, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.
⁷ Ibid., 1909, pp. 94-95.
In East Andhadesa, particularly in the Districts of Guntur, Krishna and West and East Godavari, there is a class of Viśva-Brahmaṇas who call themselves Rathakārās and claim descent from the primaeval Viśvakārmā. The orthodox among them study the Vedas, particularly the Black Yajurveda, and regard themselves as even superior to the Brāhmaṇas. They follow the Gṛihyā Sūtra of Āpastamba in their rituals which are conducted by priests of their own community although, when no such priest is available, they invite a Brāhmaṇa. The Rathakārās or Viśva-Brahmaṇas, also known as the Pañcāhaṇavīrū meaning probably the artisans who use the five kinds of tools, are divided into five groups, namely, the kūndālī, kammara, kaviḥara, bāse and vādaiṣṭiga, and follow respectively the professions of the goldsmith and silversmith, copper-smith, blacksmith, stone-cutter or mason, and carpenter. During the closing decades of the last century, the Viśva-Brahmaṇas claimed certain religious rites and privileges which, they alleged, were denied to them by the Brāhmaṇas and fought their way in civil courts quoting the authority of the Śruti. At that time the learned among them assembled in meetings held all over the land and published a treatise called Rathakārādāśikarayanam, consisting of the authoritative opinions of renowned scholars among them, based upon the authority of the Vedas. If such is the social and religious status of the Rathakārās in modern times, it is easy to imagine what it was sixteen hundred years ago in this part of the country. The subjoined record clearly shows that the Rathakārās in East Andhra enjoyed the same rights and privileges they were entitled to in the Vedic period.  

Of the localities mentioned, Vengipura is well known. Pūjila, the object of the grant, cannot be identified.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Viṣṇu-Vengipura² Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-
2 bāḍa-parīgatassā mahāraja-
3 śīr-Nandīvarṇamassā vacchāpēna Pi-

Second Plate, First Side

4 dhā-ggama muṭyada³-ppamuhō gāmo
5 saṃvakṣamga saṃva-āyoga-pesana³

¹ [See above, p. 2, n. 7. Reference to the grant made in accordance with agrahāra-Rathakārā-viḍhāna, i.e. the custom associated with grants accepted by the Chāturvaṇīya Brāhmaṇas of Rathakār-āgrahāra (cf. Chāturvaṇīya-prāma-maṇḍā in Śrī. Ins., pp. 408, 417, etc.), the epithets applied to them, viz.  idp-ānuprakṛta-svartha and taṇc-vaṭṭāyoga-svartha, and the two grants made in favour of them point to their high social position. It is difficult to believe that the Rathakārās or carpenters, even if they claimed to be Brāhmaṇas like so many other aspirants for a higher social status (cf. Sar. Sāt., p. 11 and note), could have ever enjoyed such a position in the Brahmanical society and been especially noted for their mastery over the four Vedas as well as devotion to taṇc-vaṭṭāyoge. A community like the so-called Viśva-Brahmaṇas of Andhra can hardly be described as nāma-goḍra-çarūga.-D.C.S.]

² From the original plates.

³ There is a superficial dot within the s-matra of the letter rā. Similar dots are seen also in other cases (cf. ā and rā in line 2 below).

⁴ Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1.

⁵ See Burnell, S. Ind. Pol., p. 156, n. Cf. modern sādhu used in some parts of the Guntur and Nellore Districts in the sense of a village official or servant supervising the distribution of water for irrigating rain-fed or tank-fed lands. [The reading is mutuḍa as in many other inscriptions.—D.C.S.]

⁶ Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 2.

⁷ [Cf. āyoga-piyutta of the Basin plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151) and pesana-piyutta of the Hirādāgali plates (ibid., Vol. I, p. 1). The words āyoga, pesana and āyoga-pesana are technically used in the sense of service.—D.C.S.]
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE I

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14
6  kula-putta-bhaṭa-manussa bhāṇita-vāvā

  Second Plate, Second Side

7  iha hi ambha-dhamma-āyu-bala-vaddha-
8  ṭattthā[n] bālaka-mahāvājakumāra-
9  Khaṇḍapottassa yaṣatā-satthiyanaṁ

  Third Plate, First Side

10  ichehantena maya etassa sūp-ānu-
11  ṛggha-samattthassa niṇṇa-gotta-cha-
12  raṇa-tapas-sajjhāya-niratassa

  Third Plate, Second Side

13  aggahāra-Rathā(thā)kāra-chātuvejjasā
14  esa Piḍihā-ggāmo aggahāra-Ra-
15  tha[kāra]-vidhānena saṁpadatto ["] tassa yu

  Fourth Plate, First Side

16  aggahānassa ime pariḥāre
17  ṣvitarāmī appavesam an[o]-
18  māsām a-lona-kkhātaṁ a-raṭṭha-

  Fourth Plate, Second Side

19  saṁvinakaṁ a-chollaka-kura-khaṭṭa-
20  ggaḥaṇaṁ a-harita-parīna-sāka-
21  puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghata-

  Fifth Plate, First Side

22  takka-ggaḥaṇaṁ-ādikam etehi
23  ṣpariḥārehi sesahi pi a-
24  lihiṭa-chukka-khaliṭehi savva-

  Fifth Plate, Second Side

25  jāta-pariḥārehi parihara-
26  ṣtha pariḥārepiḥcha ["] yo cha
27  khu etam sāsanaṁ appamānaṁ

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1 In place of this rā, the engraver had apparently first engraved rō and later corrected it by erasing the left-hand stroke.
2 [Better read ya saṁi-satthiyanaṁ-Sanskrit cha āṇu-avasthyanaṁ.—D.O.S.]
3 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 3.
4 The position of this tha shows that it had first been omitted and was later supplied.
5 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 4.
6 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 5.
7 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears a sign looking like a numeral.
Sixth Plate, First Side

28 kāṭūṇa bāḍha-pilāṁ janeyjo
29 1tasa kha na paritussajamha
30 tti [1*] bhavati chātra

Sixth Plate, Second Side

31 Sva-dattam-parā-dattah vā yo nṛpo
32 n-oddhared-dharet [1*] jātau jātau

Seventh Plate, First Side

33 sa pilati viśaṁ-baḥ(ahāṁ bāḥ)alaham(laṁ):
34 'halam' [1*] Bahubhir-vu(rvva)sudhā dattā bahu-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

35 bhāṁ = ch-anupālitaṁ(tā) [1*] yasya
36 *yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya
37 tādā phalam ||

Eighth Plate

38 sava 10 & vāsa 2 diva 1 Hatthisāmi
39 *śaatī mahārāja-Puṣkotkīrāla-
40 putto Hadappaggāha chhetya varojaī*

1 Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6.
2 A space for two or three letters is left blank here. One would expect some such expression as bhavati chātra Yāna-gituśa ślokaus. Mark the use of Sanskrit in this portion.
3 Near the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
4 The position of this word indicates that it had been omitted and was later supplied. The mate s, indicated by its smaller size as well as by its having been placed below the line, does not have the slanting stroke over it as the same letter in the previous line has. To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 7.
5 * [This word is unsuitable in the context. One may suggest āravain instead.—D.G.S.]
6 To the left of the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.
7 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal mark.
8 To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral 8.
9 This is a horizontal stroke marking the end of the record. The reading and the meaning of the latter half of the last line is not clear. [The expression hadappaggāha stands for Sanskrit ērita-pravāha, while the following letter is ms as found in bhāṁs in line 36. The whole passage stands for Sanskrit ērita-prakāra-ānātī-Varāča āṭī and suggests that an officer named Varā entered ēṣānī of the charters besides āṣīram. Ērita-
prakāra-ānātī (i.e. an ānātī or officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods) reminds us of the Yuktas in charge of prasna-kāra-dvayā as known from the Mudrācāra (VIII, 34) and the police officer called Chauodhakara-
rasāki in later inscriptions (Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 184). According to the author's reading of line 39, the officer serving under the Śālaśākya king was the son of a Mahārāja, named Puṣkotkīrāla whose identity has not been determined. But the reading of what has been read as Puṣa may also be puto. In that case, Varā may be regarded as a son of Kogala who was a Mahārāja-yatra, i.e. the son of the Mahārāja probably indicating the issuer of the charter. This interpretation of the passage involves a case of ekapekośa-samsara which is, however, quite common in inscriptions. There are many instances of members of the royal family being appointed to high offices of administration.—D.G.S.]
Two Salankayana Charters from Kanukollu—Plate II

A.—Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLU

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) From the victorious Venigpura; by the command of the glorious Mahārāja Nandivarman, who is favoured by the feet of his venerable father, the Mutyakas and other villagers, in the village of Piṭṭha, en masse, (as well as) all the various executive officials,1 noblemen, and wardens (bhāja-manussā) are to be informed (thus):

(Lines 7-15) "Hereby I, being desirous of increasing the dharma (merit), longevity and strength of myself, as also of increasing the fame, strength and happiness2 of Bālakā-mahānājā-kumāra Khaṇḍapotta, have given this village of Piṭṭha, in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahāra-Rathakāra (class of gift), to the Rathakāra-Chāturvaidya (the Chaturvedin of the Rathakāra class or caste) who is endowed with the capacity of cursing and of conferring boons, and is engaged in meditation and in the study of the Vedas ordained (according to rules) for the various gotras and charayas3 in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the agrahārās of the Rathakāras.

(Lines 16-30) By me this agrakārā has been granted the following immunities:—not to be entered (by royal officers without permission); not to be interfered with; not to be dug for salt; not to be interfered with by the district police; not (to be forced) to supply water-pots, boiled rice and cots; not to supply grass, leaves, vegetables, flowers, fruits, curds, milk, ghee and butter-milk. With these immunities and others that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included, (to wit), all classes of immunities, (you) shall exempt (this village) and (also) cause (it) to be exempted. Whosoever transgresses this edict or causes trouble and harassment (to the donees) shall incur our wrath.

(Lines 31-37) [Two imprecatory verses.]

(Lines 38-40) [This is dated] year 14, 2nd (fortnight) of the rainy season, 1st day. Hasthisāmi (Hastivāmim) is the executor (of this charter). Hadappa (I), son of Mahānājñ Puñjakorinaga, shall (cause this edict) to be protected and preserved.1

B.—Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

This is a set of four copper plates which were without a ring and seal when they first reached me. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on their inner sides, while the second and third have writing on both sides. The six inscribed sides of the plates are numbered with numerals like the pages of a modern book. The numbers are incised in the left margin of each plate, just to the left of the hole meant for the seal-ring to pass through. The hole is almost square in shape and measures roughly three-fifths of an inch on each side. It was evidently cut after the engraving on the plates had been executed. The plates measure 7½ inches in length and 2½ inches in width. They together weigh about 78 tokas.

The alphabet closely resembles that of the Kanteru plates of Skandavarman4 and some other charters of the Salankayana family. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

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1 [Better: noblemen and wardens is all the services. See above, p. 4, note 7. — D.C.S.]
2 [The reference here is to śāti and seniṣṭyagnas, meaning 'good fortune' and 'progress or success'. See above, p. 6, note 2.—D.C.S.]
3 [The author's translation is defective. He has taken caturvījai to be a person whereas it clearly indicates a community as suggested by the reference to sānā-gotra-churupa in its connection.—D.C.S.]
4 [The word chakkā is the same as Hindi chāk, 'error, fault, mistake, failing', and chukku-khalita may be translated as 'omitted through mistake'. —D.C.S.]
5 [See above, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.]
6 *Journal of the Telugu Academy, Vol. XI, pp. 113 ff. and Plates.*
The inscription belongs to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman. It mentions, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II, the names of three generations of the donor's ancestors. Skandavarman was the son of Hastivarman (II), grandson of Nandivarman and great-grandson of Hastivarman (I). The date of the charter, given in words, is the first day of the bright fortnight of the month Karttiika, in the first year of the king's augmenting reign. The grant was issued from the city of Veṭgi. It is possible that the donor of the present charter is the same Skandavarman who issued the Kanuru plates.\(^1\)

Mahārāja Skandavarman is described in the present inscription as a Śālaṅkāyana, a worshipper of the holy feet of Lord Chitrarathasvāmin and 'one devoted to the feet of his venerable father'. The Śālaṅkāyanas would appear to have originally been a Brahmanical dynasty. From the figure of the crouching bull on the seals of their charters, they appear to have been worshippers of Śiva. The term Śālaṅkāyana, like similar other gotra names such as Brihatphalāyana and Ananda become the appellation of the dynasty. Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas, appears to be the sun-god.\(^2\)

An important feature of the inscription under review is the pedigree of the donor. As stated above, the present inscription gives the names of four generations of Śālaṅkāyana rulers, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II. Here are the two lists for comparison.

**Kānuκollu Plates**

1 Hastivarman (I)  
   (aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karman)  

2 Nandivarman (I)  
   (sva-pratīp-āpanīt-āhita-varman)  

3 Hastivarman (II)  
   (chatur-udāhī-taranī-āṅgirīa-yāsas)  

4 Skandavarman

**Pedavegi Plates**

1 Hastivarman  
   (aneka-samara-āvāpa-vijaya)  

2 Nandivarman (I)  
   (vividha-dharma-pradhāna)  

3 Chaṇḍavarman  
   (pratīp-ōpanata-sāmanta)  

Nandivarman (II) other sons  
   (jyeshṭha)

Hastivarman (I) and his son Nandivarman (I) are mentioned in both the lists. Nandivarman (I) apparently had two sons, viz. Hastivarman (II) and Chaṇḍavarman. That both of them were crowned kings is borne out by the epithet Mahārāja attached to their names. Besides, Chaṇḍavarman's coins have been found. Since the custom was probably to name the eldest grandson after the grandfather, it may be suggested that Hastivarman (II) was the first and Chaṇḍavarman the second son of Nandivarman (I).

Several localities are mentioned in the inscription besides Veṭgi. Kompara, the village granted to the Rathakāra-Chāṭurvaidya,\(^4\) cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it may be modern Komatre, a flourishing ancient village that lies about ten miles to the east of Kānuκollu, in the Guḍavāḍa Taluk. The locality called Rathakāra is said to have been the residence of the donee.\(^5\)

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\(^2\) Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42-47 and Plate.
\(^3\) See above, Vol. IX, p. 58, n. 4.
\(^4\) See below, p. 10, n. 4.—D.C.S.
\(^5\) The personal name of the donee is not given in the inscription. He is simply called Chāṭurvaidya, i.e. Chāṭuvarśin. It is difficult to trace any connection between the Rathakāra Chāṭurvaidya of the Prakṛti grant and the present donee Chāṭurvaidya, resident of the village of Rathakāra. Perhaps the Chāṭurvaidya was a descendant of the Chāṭuvarśin of the previous grant. [see above, p. 4, note 1.—D.C.S.]
There is no village of that name known to me. Kompara is stated in the record to have been lying in the district of Kudrāhāra. Kudrāhāra and Gudrāhāra are early forms of the name of modern Guḍvāda. Both of them are Sanskritized forms of the name known from inscriptions found in the Krishna District as Gudrāhāra, Gudravāra or Gudrāna and Guḍvāda, It may be noted that Kudrāhāra was different from Kuḍūra or Kuḍūrapara, the capital of the Brāhmatpalayanaas.

**Text**

*First Plate*

1. Svasti [\*] Vijaya-Var-gāya aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karmmanāḥ
2. *mahārāja-ārī-Hastivarmanmaṇḍhprayapaurasya*
3. sva-pratāp-āpajñīta-varumanaṇḥ mahārāja-ārī-Nandiva-
4. rmmāṇaḥ paurasya chatur-udadhi-taraṅg-āliṅgita-

*Second Plate, First Side*

5. yaśasmo mahārāja-ārī-Hastivarmanmaṇḍhaputraṇya
6. *bhagavach-Ch[i]itarathasāmi-pāda-ānudyā(dhyā)tasya*
7. bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktasya Sālanakāyanasya
8. mahārāja-ārī-Skandavarnmano vachanena Kudrāhāra-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

9. Kompare grāme yakā vaktavyā asti asmābhir-asma-
10. *t-kula-yaśah-ārī-[y]ijīya-kalyāṇ-ābhivriddhaye*
11. eša grāmaḥ Rathakāra-va(vā)stavyāya Chātuḥ(tu)rvvaidyāya

*Third Plate, First Side*

12. sarvva-pariḥ(h)ārēṣa brahmadeyanā krītvā dattaḥ [\*]
13. *tad-avagamya pūrvva-maryādayā sādhu presha-
14. tābh karttavyam-api cha sarvva-niyoga-niyukt-āyuktakāś-cha

*Third Plate, Second Side*

15. tābh grāmaṁ pariharānaa [\*] prava[r]ddhamāna-ārī-viṣaya-
16. *rājya-sanvatāre prathame Kārttika-śoṣu-
17. śukla-pakṣāḥ-pratipadā datta paṭṭikā[ā] [\*]

1. From the original plates.
2. Against this line, a little lower, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 1, indicating page 1 of the charter.
3. Against this line and the next near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 2, indicating page 2 of the charter.
4. A flaw in the plate here is responsible for giving the letter a a rather peculiar look.
5. Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral 3, indicating page 3 of the charter.
6. Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 4, indicating page 4 of the charter.
7. Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 5, indicating page 5 of the charter.
Fourth Plate

18 Bahubhir-bahudhas dattas vasudhah vasudhadhipaih [1]
19 ‘yasay yasay Yad hasmi ta(mis-ta)sya tasya tad phalam ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-9) Hail! From the victorious (city of) Veṅgi; by order of the illustrious Śalaṅkāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman,—who meditates on the feet of the holy lord Chitraratha; who is devoted to the feet of his royal father; who is a son of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman whose glory was embraced by the waves of (all) the four oceans; who is a grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Nandivarman who had completely subjugated his foes by his own prowess, (and) who is a great-grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman who was well-known through his deeds (of valour) in the forefront of many a battle-field,—the villagers at (the village of) Kompara of (the district of) Kudrāhāra are to be informed as follows:

(Lines 9-15) “We have given this village, for the increase of fame, fortune, victory and welfare of our family, to the Chāturvaidya,4 a resident of Rathakāra, having made it a brahmadeya and exempting it from all taxes. Having known that, (you) should render proper services according to the old custom. Besides, all the officers-in-charge and their subordinates should leave that village alone (without collecting any kind of tax).”

(Lines 15-17) (This) title-deed has been given on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the first year of (our) flourishing, glorious and victorious reign.

(Lines 18-19) [An imprecatory verse.]

[1] On the left, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral 6, indicating page 6 of the charter.
[2] The punctuation mark at the end is indicated by a single horizontal stroke which is mixed up with the sign of the mute m.
[3] Literally, ‘one who had taken away the armours of the enemies by his own prowess’.
[4] [As in the other inscription, the word chāturvaidya should better be taken in the sense of the community of the Chāturvaidya Brahmans residing at Rathakāra.—D.G.]
No. 2—Ghumli Plates of Bashkaladeva, V. S. 1045

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The inscription under study belongs to the Ayurvedic Museum at Jämnagar. It was read by Pandit Navalsânkar, the son of Mahûmahâpâdhâya Hâthibhâti Sâstri, but was not published. The late Mr. H. R. Mankad, for sometime Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Saurashtra, Rajkot, is known to have prepared an article on the record, although this also remains unpublished. We owe to Mr. Mankad a few informations about the discovery of the record and the location of some of the villages mentioned in it. It is said that the epitaph was found in the course of digging operations at Ghumli in the former Navanagar State; but nothing more is known. Ghumli is situated amidst hills in the northern valley of the Abhâ-parâ, a summit of the Barâdâ range, about 3 miles south of Bhânavad in the Hâlar District of Kathiawar.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of two thin copper plates strung on two copper rings with loose ends. Each plate measures 8½" by 5". The thickness of a rings is ¼" and its circumference 3½". The edges of the plates were slightly raised with a view to protecting the writing from being damaged by rubbing. There are thirteen lines of writing on each of the plates. The script is old Nâgârî and the language Sanskrit. Some of the letters have been written in the cursive style (cf. s in śrēṣṭha and bē in line 4 with the same letter in Sâtalâ in line 2) while many of them are carelessly engraved (cf. a passage in line 6, the intended reading of which is Vikrama-samvat 1045 vâraâ Vaisâkha-sudi 15). The letters often exhibit additional marks of the engraver's tool. The letter b has often been used only in a few cases; it has usually been indicated by the sign for v. There are many orthographical errors in the text of the record. The sign of seâgâla has been used thrice (lines 7, 22 and 24), but wrongly in one of these cases.

The date of the charter is given in line 6. It is V. S. 1045, Vaisâkha-su 16, Monday. The date corresponds to the 22nd April, 1889 A. D.

The inscription begins with a variety of the Siddham symbol which is followed by the maâgâla: "May there be well-being, victory and prosperity!" Next follow three stanzas in the Amûh-tubb metre, the first of which is in adoration of the god Vyõmakâśa (Siva) while the following two give the genealogy of the king who issued the charter under study. It is said that there was a person named Hiranyamukha whose son was the maâh-patî or ruling chief named Jâle (or possibly Jyâla or Jâla). The son of Jâle was the powerful Sûra who was the father of the nyâsa or ruler Bâshkala, the issuer of the charter. Whether Hiranyamukha and Sûra were also rulers like Jâle and Bâshkala is not possible to determine from the language of the verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village made by Rînaka Bâshkaladeva surnamed Kushkumalâla, for the merit of his parents, in favour of a Brâhmaña. Bâshkala, whose capital was at Bhûtâmbâlî within the Mahûdurga adhikaraṇa in Jyâshṭu(shhû)ka-dâsa, is stated to have made the grant after taking a bath in the Yajñavaâta-tirthâ at a holy place called Pinâdatârâka. The word adhikaraṇa seems to be used here in the sense of an administrativa unit probably lying around the durga or fortress at Bhûtâmbâlî where Bâshkala resided. The name of the gift village was Karâlî which was situated in Jyâshû(shhû)ka-dâsa within the Navasurâshâtra mandala. The name Navasurâshâtra seems to be a mistake for Nava-surâshâtra, although the same form of the name Surâshâtra also occurs several times in the Ghûmli copper-plate inscriptions1 of the Saimhâva kings of the Jayadratha-vamśa. The donee was Dâmôdâra, son

1 Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.
of Chandālita. He is described as an Adhāvarya-Brahmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and as an inhabitant of Aśānihalpur. There is an akṣhara, intended for a contraction, before the names of both Dāmōdara and his father. It is possibly śrōti(śrōti) standing for śrōtiya. The village, extending up to its boundaries, was granted together with its trees and all income pertaining to it, but without such land as had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brahmaṇas.

Lines 16-20 of the record describe the boundaries of the gift village. They are: (1) in the east—a ghō̄tikā (obviously a boundary post)1 planted near a vaha (streamlet) in the vicinity of Varāśi contiguous or attached to Chandāpāṛāma; (2) in the south—a ghō̄tikā planted on the main road contiguous to Čāhārāṇa (apparently pronounced Čhāhāṇa)-grāma; (3) in the west—a ghō̄tikā planted in a khādi (canal) contiguous to the Paṟra-vīlākūla; (4) in the north—a ghō̄tikā planted at a place contiguous to VahakāĎa (possibly a vaha or stream called KāĎa) adjacent to Dēvāgrāma. In the description of the eastern boundary of the gift village, what has been read as varāśi may be a mistake for charasāći which in Gujarati means a narrow passage of water. It should, however, be noticed that Varāśigrāma in Surāṣṭra-mpandāla occurs in an inscription2 of Chaunukya Bhīma II, dated V. S. 1266, although it has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

The above is followed by the well-known stanza Bahlubhir—eṣadūkha bhaktā, etc., in lines 22-24. It is next said that the dūtaka (executor of the grant) was the Prati (i.e. Pratiḥ, “officer in charge of the palace gate”) Dvāndhūla. The document was written by Pārśa Tha, Āṅga. The letter ṣa in apparently an abbreviation of Thakkuru used as a title of nobility in the western parts of India. The contraction Pārśa seems to stand for Pārkh. In Gujarat, Parikh is now usually the cognomen of the banker class; but it is derived from Sanskrit Parikṣaka which is known to have been the designation of a head officer or superintendent, a judge, etc.3 Reference is next made to the witnesses of the charter, viz. Kailās, Kaṭu and others, who are described as sthāna-mahā-jana, meaning the elders of the locality, although it is difficult to determine whether they were members of a Board of Elders. The inscription concludes with the akṣhara Śri incised in bolder characters which apparently stands for the king’s signature in the original document copied on the plates. This practice of representing the royal sign-manual by the akṣhara Śri is known to have been followed by the rulers of some of the native States of Kathiawar and elsewhere.

Bāhikaṇa who issued the charter under study calls himself a Rāgaka, i.e. a feudatory ruler, without reference to his lord. It is difficult to identify this overlord of Bāhikaṇa; but it is not impossible that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chaunukya king Mūlarāja who ruled between circa 961 and 996 A. D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses the existence of a new dynasty of rulers in the second half of the tenth century A. D. at Bhūtambili (modern Ghūmli, the findspot of the record under study) which is known to have been previously the capital of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vaṁśa. Six copper-plate inscriptions of these earlier rulers of the saṃgrā of Bhūtambili,4 as the name is found in those records, have been published above,5 although their treatment suffers from a number of inaccuracies and an amount of speculation. The latest of the Ghūmli copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings belongs to the reign of Jāika II and is

1 The post was probably marked with the figure of, or was shaped like, a mare.
2 For the expression vīlākūla, see, JRAS, Vol. XL, part i, p. 12.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 112-14.
4 Of Wilson’s Glossary, s. v. parikhā, parikṣaka; above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 718, etc.
6 See Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.
dated in the Gupta year 586 which is given in the record both in words in a verse and in numerical figures of the decimal system (not in symbols, as read by the learned editor of the inscription). The date of the said record therefore falls in 915 A.D. while Bāshkaladeva's grant was issued in V. S. 1045 corresponding to 989 A.D. There is therefore a difference of about three quarters of a century between the records of Jaika II and Bāshkaladeva, both issued from the same city. During this period the rule of the Saindhavas of the Jayadratha-varna was extirpated from Būtambili and a new dynasty of rulers was established at the city. Although the name of the dynasty to which Bāshkaladeva belonged is not mentioned in his record, it is hardly possible to regard him as a later member of the Saindhava or Jayadratha dynasty because in that case he would have traced his descent from the earlier rulers of the land. It may be noticed in this connection that our inscription, the style of which is quite different from that of the Saindhava charters, mentions Bāshkaladeva's capital Būtambili as situated in Jyēśṭhuka-dēṣa which is stated to have formed part of Nava-Surāśṭrā-(shṭra)-manḍala, while the Saindhava Jayadrathavarna is claimed to have been Būtambili-Ābhidhāna-nagari-gariṣṭha-para-Surāšṭrā-(shṭra)-manḍala-manḍana. It will be seen that the Saindhava kingdom was called Apara-Surāśṭrā-(shṭra)-manḍala and Bāshkaladeva's kingdom Nava-Surāśṭrā-(shṭra)-manḍala, although both indicated the district round Būtambili in the western part of ancient Surāśṭra or Kathiawar. What is, however, more interesting is that a smaller geographical unit round Būtambili is called Jyēśṭhukakāśa in our inscription. This name reminds us of the Jēṭhvās who are among the inhabitants of the area even to this day.

According to tradition, Ghumli (ancient Būtambili-kā) was the capital of the Jēṭhvā Raṣṭra, the Rāṇās of Porbandar being their present representatives. The name Jēṭha has been interpreted by different scholars in various ways. Wilson traced its origin in the name of the Jāts while Jackson took it to be a modification of Yētha which was regarded as the shortened form of Ye-tha-i-li-to or Epithalite, the ruling class of the white Huns. According to local bardic traditions, Jēṭhi is derived from the name of Jētha who was the 95th ruler in the list of the Porbandar kings. After the discovery and study of the six Saindhava grants discovered at Ghumli, one scholar suggested that the Jēṭhvas were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhava royal family; but another scholar was inclined to believe that the name Jēṭha is derived from Jayadratha, the name of the ancient Saindhava king from whom the early rulers of Ghumli claimed descent, through Prakrit Jairath and Jaitath. All these are no doubt unwarranted speculations as Jēṭha is certainly the same as Jyēśṭhuka occurring in the geographical name Jyēśṭhukaka-dēṣa in our inscription. The present day Jēṭhvas must have been known as Jyēśṭhukas in the tenth century. Whether king Bāshkaladeva belonged to their clan is difficult to determine without further evidence, though that seems quite probable under the circumstances. If, however, Bāshkaladeva was a Jyēśṭhuka, the Jēṭhvā Rāṇās of Porbandar may be regarded as his distant descendants. This further points to the untrustworthiness of the bardic traditions as a source of history. It is also possible to suggest that the Jēṭhvas were so called because they were ruling over Jyēśṭhukaka-dēṣa. But this does not explain the application of the name Jyēśṭhuka to the land in question in the second half of the tenth century.

Among other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Karali which was the subject of the grant recorded in the inscription, cannot be traced now. But a bridge at the eastern approach of Porbandar, the famous port of Western Saurashtra on the Arabian Sea, is said to bear the name Karli-pūḷ. The village of Karali may therefore have stood in its neighbourhood. We have seen that the localities called Chaṇḍānā-grāma, Chhāṭānā-grāma, Patra-vēḷākula and Dēvā-grāma lay respectively to the east, south, west and north of Karali. Of these, the western boundary given as Pāura-vēḷākula, i.e. the harbour of Pāura, is undoubtedly the

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2 Ibid., p. 188.
modern Porbandar (literally, "the harbour of Pūr-Pātra") lying to the west of the Karli-pāl near which the gift village of Karlī may be located. Our inscription thus points to the existence of Porbandar as a harbour as early as the tenth century A.D. The villages of Chāñāñā-grāma lying to the south of Karlī and Dēva-grāma lying to its north are respectively the modern Chāñāya 2½ miles to the south of Porbandar and Dēgān about 6 miles to the north of the harbour. The village of Chañāñāya lying to the east of Karlī seems to have stood near modern Ādityānā about seven miles to the east of Porbandar.

Besides the above, there are some other geographical names in the inscription. They are Anahilapura, Pīṇḍārakak and Yajñavāla-tīrtha. Of these, Anahilapura was the capital of the Chaulkuya and Vāghela kings of Gujarat and is now called Pātān lying near Kaḍi in north Gujarat. Pīṇḍārakaka seems to be the well-known holy place called Pīṇḍārakaka in the Mahā-bhārata1 and identified with modern Pīṇḍārakaka on the Gulf of Kutch about seven miles north of Bhātiā, a station on the railway line between Jamnagar and Dwarka. There is a kuṭāja near the temple at Pīṇḍārakaka and this may be the Yajñavāla-tīrtha mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddhān*|| svasti jayō-bhyudaya=cha | Pāñcāru(tu) vō Vṛ̥makāśaya jaṭā-vañih(baṁh)-
2 dh-čhdu-ras̄aḥ(sma)jaḥ | bhānti yō Śailajā-kaṁṭha mālaṁ-maḷikā iva || 1⁰
3 Hiranyamukha-nām-ānanau tasmāj=Jāloḥ māhipatiḥ | Śūrāḥ sarva-
4 jaga-ārāhōta tasya-ātmaja-mahā[valla] | || 2⁰ Taj-jātah[h] subhaga[h] śṛ̥mān(u)mān dhī-
5 māṁ-
6 a=cha Vā(Bā)ṣhkalō nṛpaḥ | yō-ścaṁl śakalāṁ viśvaṁ yasa(śa)sā dhavallkṛttan(tam) || 3⁰
7 Śr̥-nṛpa[Vika]̃ma-saṁya[s] 1045 var[shāh] [Vaiṇā(śa) kha-nnu(āu)] di 15 Sōmā-
8 'dy=cha śr[ī]-Jyēṣhju(śhṭhu)ka=daśe Mahāśenurjgr-śhikaraṇa śr̥-Bhūtāhvi(bh)lyān̄

1 See Dey, Geographical Dictionary, s.v. 'near Golagar in Guzerat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarka'. The name also reminds us of the holy place called Pīṇḍātakā-vata in a Nasik inscription of the second century A.D. (Select Inscriptions, p. 161.)
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expresssed by symbol.
4 The intended reading is "nām=ānau or "nām=ānta.,
5 The reading may possibly be "Jalō māhipatiḥ. It is difficult to say whether "Jalō māhipatiḥ was intended.
6 Read jagach-chhreśh thān
7 Read "balaḥ or better tasya-yamajo mahābalaḥ. After la the engraver was going to incise śi but it was abandoned after only the left-hand portion of the akṣara had been completed. Probably he wanted to engrave "bala-kṣaṇa-jātaḥ for "bala-saṇja-jātaḥ.
8 Read viṣāma. The akṣara ka is imperfectly formed.
9 The intended reading is Mahāśuṛgraṇa-vata
8 raṇaka-Kurukmali(lō)1-ākhyā-śrī-Śashkaladēvēna śrī-Piṅḍatāraka-
9 yātrām-āgatyā śrī-Yajñāvata-tirthē snātvā dēvān-piṭhin saṃtarpya mā-
10 tā-pitrō(h[*]) śrīyasē yō-yām śrī-Nāvā(va)-Surāš[ṛ]a(sḥtra)-maṇḍal-āṃtāḥpāti-Jē(점)
11 ahu(shēn)ka-dēśa-madhyaavARTTI-Karali-nāma-grāmaḥ sa-vṛkṣha-mālā-
12 kulaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ sarv-adāya-samēta[ḥ[*]] pū-
13 rva-pradatta-dēvadāya-vrahyaṣāya-vāra-grāmō=yaṁ śrī[*].

Second Plate

15 Vṛ(Brāj)dana-śrō(ṛ)4-Chaṁdāṣṭā-suta-śrō(ṛ)5-Dāmē(ṛ)darasya udakō-tsarga-
16 dēyēna4 datta-grāmō-yām samarpīś[ā]-cha | grāma[ḥ]saraśyā=ṛghāṭaḥ | pū-
17 rvata[h[*]] Chaṁdāṃgrāma-saṃsāh[ā]-varaṭi-sannidhāu vahā-samipē nikhipta-ghō-
18 tīkā11 simā | dakhṣiṇata[h[*]] Chhāhīnāgrāma-saṃsāh-rājam[ā]rō niikhīpta-
19 ghōṭikā(kā) simā | pāśchimata[h[*]] Paūra-vēḷākula81-saṃsāh-krāḍ[ṇ]yām11 ni-
20 kṣiṇa-gōṭikā simā | uṭtarata[h[*]] Dēvagrāma-saṃsāh-Vaṭhakāḍā-saṃsāh-
21 nikhipta-gōṭikā simā | uṣyā-gōṭī[ḥ]12-ōpalakṣita-grāmō-yāṁ
22 ʿamāṭ-pradatta[h[*]] pālaniyaḥ=cha | uktam cha | Bva(Ba)bhūhir-vasudā bhuktā(ktā)

1 There is an unnecessary ṛṣṭīya here at the end of the line.
2 Read brahmadaṇya.
3 The rule of Sandhi has been ignored here.
4 The letter ṛ is not properly formed.
5 Read śākharya.
6 This akṣara seems to be an abbreviation of the word śrīṛṣīya.
7 The intended reading seems to be Dāmēśārāya.
8 Better read ʿasmṛṣya or ʿarmṛṣya-bhṛṣya.
9 The intended reading may be grāmasyā-ṛṣyād or grāmavṛṣyād.
10 This is either used to mean that the two were contiguous or is a contraction of a word like samanta, indicating the same idea. In inscriptions we have generally aṣṭa or saṃbuddha.
11 This apparently indicates a post that was planted for indicating the boundary.
12 Read vēḷākula which means 'a harbour'.
13 The intended reading may be kṛṇḍaa, i.e. 'in a kṛṇḍā or creek'.
14 This seems to be an unnecessary aṣṭiṣṭā above this akṣara.
15 Read āṭṭā-gōṭī[ṛ].
16 Read 'yam-saṃsāt'.

23 rājabhīḥ Sagar-ād[ī]bhīḥ [ | *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya

24 ta[ḍā phalaṁ] [lam ] rāj-ādēśat dūtakō-śra pratiś-tī-rī-

25 khaṇān pārśv-ḥa-śā.āṃbrajāṇa pramāṇam (ṇam) || athāna-mahājana-

26 Kailāśa-Kaṭu-prabhritayaḥ sākshiṣaḥ || śriṣ ||

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* This is a contraction of pratiḥāru.

* The second of the two contractions stands for śakśura and the first apparently for pārīḥ.

* This sākhura in bigger form symbolically represents the sign-manual of the issuer of the charter.
No. 3—ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Bhubeswar

Pandit Ratnakara Gargavaṭu (ordinarily Garoṣṭru) of Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), who died in 1933, was an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy in his youth. About the year 1902, when he was engaged in studying the stone inscriptions fixed in the compound wall of the Ananta-Vaṣudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, one Ramālaṇa Bājji informed Pandit Gargavaṭu that he had seen a set of copper plates bearing writing similar to the stone inscriptions with which the Pandit was then engaged. On the Pandit pressing for further information about the plates, the Bājji came to him after a few days with the news that the Pandit’s cousin Harākriṣṇa Śaṃantarāya knew the whereabouts of the copper plates and might be of help in securing them for his examination. When Harākriṣṇa was approached, he informed the Pandit that the plates were in the possession of Mukunda Śaṃantarāya of the village of Alalpur (Alarpur of the Survey of India map, sheet No. 73-H/15) lying about four miles east of Bhubaneswar to the left of the Puri road. Pandit Gargavaṭu then saw Mukunda Śaṃantarāya and learnt from him that the plates had been found in a stone-box which had been discovered while digging the foundation for a house in the village. The plates were seven in number and were strung together on a ring bearing a seal with the bull emblem. Mukunda Śaṃantarāya was found to have put them by the side of his family deity along with which they were being worshipped by him daily. At the Pandit’s request Mukunda agreed to lend the plates for the decipherment of the inscription and Pandit Gargavaṭu carried them to his place personally, although they were very heavy. The Pandit then made a serious attempt to decipher the text of the inscription and completed his transcript of the record after some time. At that time Pandit Gargavaṭu was serving as a teacher in the Balasore School. A fellow teacher at the school, named Rādha-kriṣṇa Basu, who was a Sanskritist and an M.A., later made some corrections in the Pandit’s transcript. Soon afterwards, Pandit Gargavaṭu himself made some further corrections in his transcript with the help of the text of a similar inscription published in the Visva-kosha, s.v. Gāṇeśa.

Some time after completing the preparation of the transcript, Pandit Gargavaṭu engaged a mālā (day labourer) to carry the plates from his home at Bhubaneswar to Mukunda Śaṃantarāya at Alalpur. Mukunda, however, became full of sorrow and indignation when he found the plates, which he had been worshipping regularly along with his family deity, thus defiled by the touch of a labourer of low caste. Considering them unworthy of veneration any longer, he sold the set to a copper smith and it was ultimately melted by the latter. The inscription thus lost now exists only in Pandit Gargavaṭu’s transcript (with corrections later inserted by Rādha-kriṣṇa Basu and himself) from which we are editing it with the Pandit’s kind permission. As regards the fairly reliable nature of the transcript, it may be pointed out that there are fortunately cases where the genuineness of the Pandit’s reading can be verified. By way of illustration, we may refer to the passage śeṣa-granta-Allabanaṅkaśalamaṇaṇaṇa as read by N. N. Vasu in line 18 on the first side of plate VI of the Kendupatna inscription published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, part i, p. 266. Vasu took the word śeṣa-granta to be the same as Bengali sena-granta meaning a

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1 Considering the weight of other records of the later Imperial Gaṅga monarchs, it seems that the seven plates together with the seal weighed about one thousand vāsas.

2 Below his signature at the end of his transcript, we find the date given as the 16th of November, 1903.

3 This is the Kendupatna copper-plate inscription (Saka 1218) of Gaṅga Narasimha II published by N. N. Vasu in 1893 in the Bengali Encyclopaedia entitled Visva-kosha, Volume V, pp. 321 ff. See now above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 191 ff.

4 Pandit Gargavaṭu handed over the small book containing his transcript to Acharya in 1949. It reached Sircar in April, 1950.
person in charge of the worship of a deity in a temple. But an examination of the impressions of the plates published by Vasu clearly shows that the correct reading of the passage is *śeṣānāpyatya-Allālanāthaśarmanasya*. It has to be noticed that the same Śeṣāpati (general) Allālanāthasaṃrman is also twice mentioned in the Alappur inscription under review in lines 213 and 223 where Pandit Gargavaṭu reads the passages, no doubt correctly, as *Allālanātha-śeṣāpatyā* and *Allālanātha-śeṣāpatiā*ā. The names of the villages read by the Pandit as Hariṇṭāgrāma (modern Harianta), Chhatalgrāma (modern Chhatol), Kurūṅgagrāma (modern Kurung) and Khandalagrāma (modern Khandol) similarly point to the reliable nature of his transcript. Of course it cannot be said that the Pandit’s transcript is absolutely free from misreadings.

The plates are known to have been seven in number. Pandit Gargavaṭu numbers the line in his transcript separately according to the inscribed sides of the plates. This shows, as expected, that the first and seventh plates were inscribed only on the inner sides, while the other plates had writing on both the sides. There were altogether 228 lines of writing. The first and second sides of Plate IV had respectively 17 and 18 lines engraved on them, while the first side of plate V and the inner side of plate VII had respectively 19 and 14 lines. The remaining eight inscribed faces of the copper plates had each twenty lines of writing on them.

The record contains two dates. The first of them refers to the time when the grant was actually made by king Narasimha II, while the second falls about two years later when the document was written and the plates were engraved. The first date is given as the expired Śaka year 1215 as well as the king’s nineteenth *Ākṣa*, Kumbha-dvitiya, badi 5, Tuesday. Kumbha-dvitiya indicates the second day of the solar month of Phālguna. In Śaka 1215, however, the second day of solar Phālguna fell on Tuesday, the 26th January, 1294; but the itti on that date was Māgha badi 14 and not Phālguna badi 5. In that year, Phālguna badi 5 actually fell on Tuesday, the 16th February, which was the 23rd and not the 2nd day of the solar month of Phālguna. The date of our record thus seems to be irregular; it is either the 25th of January or the 16th of February in 1294 A.D. The nineteenth *Ākṣa* year of king Narasimha II was his sixteenth regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth and sixteenth years). This agrees with the fact known from other records that Narasimha II ascended the throne in Śaka 1200 (1278 A.D.). The second date of our inscription simply speaks of the king’s twentysixth *Ākṣa*, i.e. eighteenth regnal year (omitting the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years), which apparently fell in Śaka 1217. The grant was made when the king was staying at Remuṇā-kaṭaka, i.e. the city of Remuṇā or the royal camp or residence at Remuṇā, which was the place wherefrom the Kendupata plates of Śaka 1217 (or 1218) were also issued. In the expression *Śrī-charagana viṣayā-śamayā* used in this connection, *śrī-charagana* is an honorific expression to indicate the king and *viṣayā* has been used in its Oriya sense of ‘stay’. In the same context other records of Narasimha II read viṣayā-āvasar. The mudala (i.e. the royal order regarding the grant or its execution) passed through the Purū-Pariṅkhaṭa-Pātra Trilōchana-jēnā who seems to have been an official of a minister’s rank and was the principal inspector attached to some administrative department. The object of the grant was the increase of the king’s longevity, health, wealth and majesty. The donor was the *Kōś-aḍhyaakṣa* (treasurer) Halāyudha who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gotra having the Bhārgava, Chyāvāna, Ānupvat, Ārvura and Jāmadagnya pravara and was a student of a portion of the Kāya branch of the Yajurveda. The area of the land granted was one hundred viṣākṣas in five plots scattered in different villages.

The first plot of land comprised the village of Yanvachāṭigrāma (or Pandha2) in the Vāhattari khaṇḍa of the Kalamvō (mbō)ra rishaya, with the exception of the land belonging to the āsana (land granted by a charter) pertaining to Rāma-pratīrāja. The area of the land was

1 See op. cit., p. 271.
2 A similar sense of the word is also noticed in Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. It must have been borrowed in Oriya from Telugu.
determined according to the nala, i.e. measurement of area, done by Allāla-nāyaka, described as a ṣrī-karaṇa, i.e. a scribe. The western boundary of the village granted was the daṇḍa of Paṅgaṇā lying to the east of a river, while the eastern boundary was the western daṇḍa of Urisā-parakọṇa. The word daṇḍa means ‘a boundary pillar’ and from that ‘a boundary line’. It is tempting to equate parakọṇa with the well-known Paragāna meaning a tract of land comprising a number of villages, although Parakọṇa may have also been the name of a locality adjacent to or included in Urisā. The northern boundary of Yanvachāpatigrama (or Pandha2) was the southern daṇḍa of Urisagrama, while the southern boundary was the daṇḍ-aṛddha, i.e. a portion (aṛddha) of the boundary line (daṇḍa), of Kuṇḍalāvarga (i.e. the temple area of the deity of that name) of the Śrāmapura śīśana (i.e. the gift village of that name). The land within these four boundaries measured 24 vāṭikās, 19 mānas and 5 guṇthas. Out of this, an area measuring 8 vāṭikās and 12 mānas, which was covered by the land previously granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas and by the boundaries of a waiting place for ferry as well as gōhari and gōpatha meaning broad pathways for cattle, etc., was subtracted, leaving a total (mīravakara) of 16 vāṭikās, 7 mānas and 5 guṇthas.

The second plot of the land granted comprised the village called Kharalagrama situated in the Śālī vishaya. The southern boundary of this village was the dam or highway (bandha) at the northern limit of Kurāṅgaagrama, while its northern boundary was the southern daṇḍa of Hariōntigrama. To its west was the eastern boundary line of Chhatalagrama and its eastern limit touched partially the boundary of the tank attached to the gōli (granary) belonging to Kandhalagrama. The land within these boundaries measured 42 vāṭikās. Out of this, the area of 17 vāṭikās, 16 mānas and 20 guṇthas, which was covered by the boundaries around the maṇḍapa (temple or public building) under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and by gōhari, gōpatha, tanks, bhīka (mounds), etc., was subtracted, leaving a total of 24 vāṭikās, 3 mānas and 5 guṇthas. The calculation here makes it clear that 1 vāṭikā of land was regarded as equal to 20 mānas while 1 māna (Oriya māna) was equal to 25 guṇthas. The case is the same in Orissa even at the present time.

The third plot of the gift land comprised Gōlādalagrama, situated in the same Śālī vishaya, with the exception of the locality called Lāla-Brāhmaṇapura. The northern boundary of the village touched parts of the boundary line of the Simpaltū-Vāṅkēśvāra haṣṭa (market-place) and the southern boundary was the gōli-guṇakariṇi (tank attached to the granary) of Hariōntigrama. The western limit touched partly the boundary line of Nibhayapura, while the eastern limit was the western embankment of the tank of or at Pālaḷa in Rūḍagaḷapura (Rāṅga2). The land measured 70 vāṭikās, 13 mānas and 15 guṇthas. Out of this, an area of 33 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 1 guṇtha, which was covered by the land such as that around maṭhas (colleges) and maṇḍapas under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas of the locality called Haṭṭapurā-karmi-daṇḍa (a certain part of Haṭṭapurā) as well as by a vānīya-daṇḍa (boundaries of land granted to the local physician), tanks, ḍōḍa (canals), gōpatha, etc., was subtracted, leaving the total remainder of 37 vāṭikās, 8 mānas and 14 guṇthas.

The fourth plot of the land granted comprised Sarpadalagrama in the same Śālī vishaya. It was bounded in the north by the gambhirā-vīla-veṇa (a piece of very low land covered by the veṇa grass) of Gōlādalagrama and in the south the southern dyke of the tank of or at Jayagaṅaṅga. Its western boundary was the locality called Mālāśābhā-Tālapadiṇḍi in the village of Gōlādalō and the eastern limit was the maṇḍapa belonging to one Śrīlāva Vīśala (meaning originally ‘a village watchman’, later stereotyped into a family name) lying to the west of Rūḍagaḷapura (or Rāṅga2). Within these four boundaries the land measured 11 vāṭikās and 5 guṇthas. Out of this, an area measuring 5 vāṭikās and covering some tanks in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted, leaving a total of 6 vāṭikās and 5 guṇthas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the village called Vāṣidrīma in the Sāivira vishaya with the exception of 3 vāṭikās, 4 mānas and 10 guṇthas attached to the homestead land belonging to
the god Bhuvanēsvara worshipped at Dhārāpara. The remaining land measured, according to the sanākṛāṇa-nala, 29 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 12 guṇhas. In Oriya, the word sanākṛāṇa means 'endowed with boundary' and nala 'measurement of area'. It seems that the recognised area of the piece of land was quoted in this case without fresh measurement. Out of the above area, 13 vāṭikās and 15 mānas, which covered tanks, bāṭhas and manyopaṭas in the occupation of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving, according to the document under review, a total of 16 vāṭikās. There is, however, strictly speaking, a mistake in the calculation, as the remainder was actually 15 vāṭikās, 5 mānas and 12 guṇhas and not exactly 16 vāṭikās.

The document goes on to say that the total area of the five plots measuring 100 vāṭikās was granted as a revenue-free gift together with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The actual total area of the five plots, however, was slightly less than 100 vāṭikās. It was 99 vāṭikās, 4 mānas and 16 guṇhas, although, if the wrong calculation of the area of the fifth plot as quoted in the document is taken into account it would come up to 99 vāṭikās, 19 mānas and 4 guṇhas.

Sīnāpati (general) Allākānātha, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pātimāsha gōra and a student of the Sākala branch of the Ṛgveda, was the Sāsanādādhikārī, i.e. the head of the record department who was responsible for writing the sāsana or charter. He received, apparently as his perquisite, two vāṭikās of land consisting partly of homestead land and partly of land under water. The engraver of the plates, whose name was Panndā-ṛaṇā, similarly received two vāṭikās of land, half of which was homestead land, the other half being under water. He was apparently the same as Panndā, mentioned in the Kendupatna plates, and Panndā-mahāraṇā who engraved the Puri plates1 of Bhānu II, son of the issuer of the present charter. Raṇā and Mahāraṇā indicate family names among the artisāns of Orissa.

A number of rent-paying subjects were also attached to the present gift land which was styled Allālapura-sāsana. The later Gaṅga monarchs often gave a particular name to the land granted by a charter. Why the present charter was called Allālapura-sāsana is not clear; but it seems to have been named after the Sāsanādādhikārī Sīnāpati Allākanātha. The practice of allotting a number of rent-payers to a sāsana is also known from other records of the king. The subjects attached to the present charter were: (1) Assā who was the son of the guṭika (manufacturer or seller of sugar) Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Ucchābhāpaḍā hattā (market); (2) Māḍhi-śrīśāhthiṇh who was the grandson of Bhratī-śrīśāhthiṇh and was a potter of the Viṣṇu-paḍā hattā; (3) Kāliyā who was the grandson of Gopālalāṇu and belonged to the Saṅgaṭā navē[ra]-hattā; (4) Pārakah-śrīśāhthiṇh who was the son of Jāguḷi-śrīśāhthiṇh and was an oilman of Viṣṇu-gīpāṇa; (5) Punakāra who was the grandson of Prastōva and a grower or seller of betel leaves attached to the Jaśkhēra-Jayapura hattā; (6) Djharman-śrīśāhthiṇh who was the grandson of Kukamāchaṇḍa and was a relation of the oilman Gābhū-ṛaṇā of Uṭhali, and (7) Mākraṇa, the grandson of Mārtanda and a goldsmith of the Viṣṇu-paḍā hattā; he was made a substitute for Utjāṣ-śādhyaṅkha who was the grandson of the goldsmith Viṣṇu-mahālāka2 and belonged to the Vānaga hattā and who had been attached to the sāsana of Khōḍgāṛa-Mahāpura Yāgishandra of Ghaṭavantra; and Utjāṣ-śādhyaṅkha was attached to the present charter.

The last line of the charter says that it was written by the Sāsanādādhikārī Allākānātha-sīnāpati and that the plates were udghāṭita (probably meaning uktiṅa or engraved) by the copper-smith Panndā-ṛaṇā.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Allālapura is, of course, modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. It is, however, difficult to determine as to which of the gift villages has to be

2 The word is mahalāka, the same as mahalikā or mahalikī meaning 'a guard of the royal harim'. Viṣṇu-mahalāka was a goldsmith by caste. The word udghāṭita attached to the name of his grandson may suggest that the latter had some executive function in the market to which he belonged.
identified with the present Alalpur. Another interesting fact is that only one of the five localities granted seems to have carried the name applied to the śāsana. If the reference to the god Bhuvanēvara at Dhānapura actually refers to the present Bhubaneswar, originally named, no doubt, after a deity of this name, it may be suggested that the fifth plot of the gift land comprised modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. Rēmūṇā has been identified with the modern village of the same name situated about 6 miles to the west of Balasore. Pāngapāla may be identified with the place of that name in Pargana Barpalla in the Cuttack District. Uriśa is the same as Uriša, a village within the jurisdiction of the Jagatsingpur Police Station in the same District. The Śālō visaya may be roughly identified with the Śālō Pargana in the said District. Śāivra is still the name of another Parganā in that District. Kalambōra-vishaya, known from several other inscriptions, was apparently the district round the present village of Uriša.

Of the localities mentioned in connection with the second plot of the gift land, the villages Hariōntā, Kurāṅga, Chahatālī and Khandhala are now called Harianta, Kurang, Chhatol and Kaandol respectively. They are all situated in the vicinity of one another in the Cuttack District (see Survey of India map, sheet No. 73 H/15). The third plot of land was also situated near Hariōntāgrāma, i.e., modern Harianta. The other places mentioned in the record cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT

Sixth Plate, First Side

178 .......................... Saka-ṇripatēḥ pañchadāś-ādhikā-dvādaśa-āśa-
179 ta-samva(samva)tsarēshu gatēshu sva-rājasya-ōnāvrīmāt-āṅkē-bhilikhyamānē
Kumbha-dvitīya-kṛishṇa-paṇchamī Maṅgala-
180 vārē Rēmūṇā-kaṭakē Śrīcharaṇēṇa vijaya-samayē purōparikshaka-pātra-Trilōchana-
181 jē-śrī-śrī-narasimhadevaḥ sv-āyur-
182 ārogya-āśirvaya-sāmānī
dasa-bhuvanādhipat-īty-ādi-virāl-āvall-vinījāmanō vīra-śrī-narasimhadevaḥ sv-āyur-
ārogya-āśirvaya-sāmānī
dasa-bhuvanādhipat-īty-ādi-virāl-āvall-vinījāmanō vīra-śrī-narasimhadevaḥ sv-āyur-
ārogya-āśirvaya-sāmānī
183 Kāndvē-śākh-aika-dēś-ādhiyānā kāšādhiyakṣa-Halāyudhāya vāṭīka-sataṁ pradān-
śrīkaraṇ-Ālāla-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēṇa ētad-grāmīya-paśchima-śiśiṁ mā nadyaḥ pāra-
(a) Pāngapā-

4 From Pandit Ratanakara Gargavātu's Oriya transcript. The 103 introductory verses, also found in other
records of the king, covered 177 lines and a part of line 178 which is line 4 on the sixth plate.
1 Originally read yēnā.
2 Originally read avēntā.
3 Originally read ujravā.
4 Originally read kutē.
5 Alternatively read Vākā.
6 Alternatively read Aukāchā. An alternative reading is grāma-Rāma. The reading may be Pandhakā.
la-daṇḍām-aṭītaḥ kṛivā pūrvva-śi(s)īṁ Uruśī-parakṣaṇā-śaṣṭhima-daṇḍā-paryantēṇa uttarataḥ U-

risū-grāmiya-dakshiṇa-daṇḍā-rābhaya dakshiṇa-śi(s)īṁ Śrīrāmapura-śūsanīya-Kuṇḍa-

lośvaradāvasya daṇḍ-ārdhda-

paryantēṇa | evaṁ caṭalī-śi(s)īṁ-āvachheśāṇa guṇṭha-praṇīkā-ōttara-mān-ōnamiṣṭhīty

-ādhika-vāṭikā-cha; urvīśa(viniśa)ti-

madhyāt puraṇa-ōva-Vṛa(Brā)hmana-naḍitara-danyā-gau(gōhari-gopatā-ādhībhir-māna-
dvādāś-ādhip-āśakte(na)-vāṭi-

kūṁ(kā) va(ba)hishkṛitya sthita-niravakara-paṇeṣa-guṇṭha-ōttara-māna-sapt-ādhika-shōja-

śa-vāṭikā-mitiṁ | Sālīō-viṣhaya-

madhyā-Śyāmboramāṇī | [•*] daśiṣhitaḥ Kku(Ku)grānagāmasya-ōttara-parichehēda-

va(ba)đhāma-śi(s)īṁ Hariṁonā-

grāmiya-dakshiṇa-daṇḍā-paryantēṇa [•*] paṭschinaṭaḥ Chhatalagāmasya pūrvva-pari-

chehēda-daṇḍā-avadhī(īhi)kṛitya pūrvva-śi(s)īṁ mā

Khandhalā-grāmiya-golā-puṣkārīṇy-ārdhda-paryantēṇa [•*] evaṁ caṭalī-śi(s)īṁ-āvachheś-

(cheheśāṇa vāṭi-dvāchatavānīśa(riniśa)-madhyā-

t puraṇa-ōva-Vṛa(Brā)hmana-bhōgya-maṇḍapa-daṇḍā-gōhari-gopatā-puṣkārīṇī-ḥīṃ-

ādhībhir-guṇṭha-viniśa(viniśa)-yā-

Sixth Plate, Side Two

dvākā-māṇa-shōjaś-ōttara-saptadāśa-vāṭikāṁ va(ba)hishkṛitya vaubha-niravakara-

paṇeṣa-guṇṭha-ōttara-māna-tray-ādhika-četa-

rivīśati-vāṭikā-parimitin(tam) || tathā-eitad-viṣhaya-madhyā Gōlādalō-gṛāmam Lāla-

Vṛa(Brā)hmapurum-va(raṁ ba)hishkṛitya uttarataḥ

Śinhalō-Vaṅkēśvara-haṭṭasya paricheh(chehe)da-daṇḍ-ārdham-aṭītaḥ kṛivā dakshiṇa-

śi(s)īṁ Hariṁonā-grāmiya-golā-puṣkā-

riṅi-paryantēṇa [•*] paṭschinaṭaḥ Nibhayapurā-paricheh(chehe)da-daṇḍ-ārdham-adhi-

kṛitya pūrvva-śi(s)īṁ Rāgadalapuriya10. Pāḷhā-puṣkā-

riṅi-paṭschina-va(ba)uddha-paryantēṇa [•*] evaṁ caṭalī-śi(s)īṁ-āvachhe(chehe)dēna guṇṭha-

paṇeṣa-lāśa-māna-trayaśā-ādhika-saptati-vāṭikā-

madhyā. Haṭṭapura-karmī-danāda11-vaḥi-puraṇa-dōva-Vṛa(Brā)hṇa(hma)pā-bhōgya-

māṇḍapa-vaiḍyā-danāda-puṣkārīṇī-jūla-gōpather-anil-

1 Alternatively read Uruṣi-parakṣena.
2 Originally read “dāśa.”
3 Originally read “māṇa.”
4 Originally read “kṛivā.”
5 Originally read “khaṇḍa.”
6 Read vāṭikā which was originally read.
7 Read “kṛitā” which was originally read.
8 Originally read “khaṇḍa.”
9 The reading may be Rāṇa.
10 Originally read “karmī.”
11 Originally read “karmī.” The intended reading seems to have been “danāda.”
No. 3] ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

201 bhir-guṇṭḥ-aik-ādhikṣa-paṇčha-māṇ-ōttar-trayastraṁśad-vāṭikāṁ(kā) va(ba)hikṣṛtya-āvaśṭhita-nīravakara-guṇṭha-chaturddās-āśṭa-māṇ-ādhikṣa-

202 saptatrinśad-vāṭikā-parimitan(tam) || tathāraita-vaśaya-madhya-Sarpadalāṛāmarṇ(a(N) || * uttarataḥ Gōlādalāṛāmya-gambhirā-vila-

203 vīṇām-āditaḥ kṛtva dakṣiṇa-śī(śī)mā Jayagaṅga-pushkariṇī-dakṣiṇa-va(ba)dha-par-yantena | paścimabataḥ Gō-

204 lādalāṛāmasya Malisāhāra-Tārapadīm-āditaḥ kṛtva pūrva-śī(śī)mā Rādgā(aṇa)lāpura-

205 paśchimam-Sṛddharavīśāla-maṇḍapa-paryantena [*] ēvarān chatur-dī(śī)mūvachhē(chechhē)-dēna paṇca-guṇṭhā-

206 dhik-aikādaśa-vāṭikā-madhyāt purātana-dēva-Vṛā(ReRa)hmasa-bhūgya-pushkariṇī-ādibhiḥ pa-

207 acha-vāṭikāṁ(kā) va(ba)hikṣṛtya-āvaśṭhita-nīravakara-paṇčha-guṇṭh-ōpēta-vāṭikā-śaṭ-

parimitan(tam) || Śāśvīra-viśaya-madhya-

208 Vāsindrām-ākhyaṁ grāmaḥ Dhārapura-Bhuvanāsvara-dēvānām=vā(nāṁ vā)ṣṭu-samva-(mā)daḥ(dhā)-daśa-guṇṭha-māna-chatushtay-ādhikṣa-vāṭī-śrayaḥ-

209 va(ba)hikṣṛtya samākṛanta-nalena guṇṭha-dvīdaśa-paṇčha-māṇ-ōttar-ōṇa-trinśad-vāṭikā-

madhyayat-puskariṇī-daṃḍā-bhīṣṭhaṛpurāta-

210 na-dēva-Vṛā(ReRa)hmasa-bhūgya-maṇḍap-ādibhiḥ paṇchadāsa-māṇ-ādhikṣa-trayōdaśa-vāṭi-

kāṁ(kā) va(ba)hikṣṛtya aḥṭṭaśa-vāṭikā-pa-

211 rimitan(tam) [*] ēvarān grāma-paṇcakāṇā militia-vāṭikā-dataṁ sa-jala-sthala-matsya-

kachchha(chechhē)pa-sahitam-ā-chandr-ārkam-ākari-

212 kṛtya prādātī || * Atra śāsānē Pu(Pu)timāsha-gōrēya Ri(Ri)gyēd-āntargata-Sākala-śākh-

ādhyāyīṁ śāsānā-ā

213 dhikāriṇī Allālābhā-thēnāpataye vāṣṭu-sahita-jala-kshētrā-vāṭikā-dvayāṁ(yam) || * ētä-

tām vra(ma)-lēkha-Ya-

214 nnājīr-rāṇā-nāmē vāṣṭv-arddhaka-[sa]hita-jala-kshētrā-vāṭik-aikā || asya Allālapura-

śāsānasya-āṅgatayā

Seventh Plate, First Side

215 Uchabhdāpaḍā-haṭṭyā-guṇṭika-Na(Na)ārāyaṇasya sutō=sātī-nāmā || O || Yaitrapadī-haṭṭyā-

kumbhakāra Bhraṭīārāčaḥṭa(ahṭhi)
216 kasya naptā Mādhī-sē(ār)ēṣṭhī(ār)ēṣṭhī)-nāmā Saragaḍā-navā(va)-haṭṭīya-Gopāladānu
napta Kāliyā-sādhīṣṭakā || Vērīḍo-Gō-

217 pāpa-tailika-Jāguli-ārēṣṭhīkasya śu(su)taḥ Pārakha-sēṣṭhī(ār)ēṣṭhī)-nāmā || Jaṅkheṛa-Jaṅṣaṭa-haṭṭīya-tāṃva(ṃbu)likā3 Praṭīḍāvasya

218 naptā Punakara-nāmā || Uthalī-tailika-Gabha-raṇā-ī(ṇ-ś)ṣṭa-kutumvi(ṃbī)ya-Kukā-

māchaṇḍā-naptā4 Dhermmu-ārēṣṭhīkṛ || Vijayalakṣhmīpu-

219 ra-haṭṭīya-svarṇaṇaṭa-Mārttaṇḍā5-nāmnō naptāṁn Maikra-nāmānān Ghaṭavatīya-

khadgagṛahi5-mahāpātra-Yāgānandā-sāsanē li-

220 khitavya Vārāṇga-haṭṭīya-svarṇaṇaṭa-Visu-mahalākasya naptā(ptu)=Uṭjās-ādhvakṣhasya

parivarttanaṁ detvā(ṅtvā) griḥita-U(t-ō)ṭījās-ādhvakṣha(ksha)-nāmā || 7 ||

221-37 (The usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas)

223 Svasti śri-vīra-Narasitarhaḍēvasya dvāvirnātaty-aṅkē saṣaṇ-ādhikāri[pā*] Alālānātha-

āṅgopatiṇā likhitam-idaṁ(dam) || udghāṭītaṁ tāṃva(mns)kāra-Yannādī-ray-ākhyān-eti

|| 0||
No. 4—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

(1 Plate)

K. N. SASTRI, NEW DELHI

Of the three inscriptions under review, the first is from the Mahākālēśvara temple at Ujjain, the second is on a stone pillar in the Bhōjaśālā (now Kamālmaulī Mosque) at Dhār while the third lies in a shrine at Un in Madhya Bharat. Their common characteristic is that each of them contains an alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart (bandha) and a verse alluding to the Vīra-nāga-kripātākā-bandha of the king Udayāditya.¹

A. Mahākālēśvara Temple Inscription

This inscription is a prāasti, the object of which presumably was to record either the construction or the restoration of a Śiva temple at Ujjain. It survives in two fragments. One of them bears 36 closely written lines engraved on a stone slab built in a niche in the upper storey of the Mahākālēśvara temple. The other fragment comprises 28 lines of text and an alphabetical chart which are inscribed on a stone slab now fixed in a small chhatri in the same temple on the ground floor. Though it is difficult to be absolutely certain about their relationship, yet their mutual resemblance in style and subject matter tends to support the view that the two fragments were parts of one and the same inscription.²

The first fragment is 17" broad by 21¾" high and appears to be badly worn off on the surface. The writing on the second fragment, excluding the chart, measures 14" broad and 17" high and is in a far better state of preservation and quite distinct, though, here too, some letters are missing due to the peeling off of the surface. The characters are beautifully executed and belong to the so-called Kujula type of the Nāgarī script current in Northern and Western India in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. They closely resemble those of the Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1011³ and the Udaypur prāasti.⁴ The language is Sanskrit. Barring the alphabetical chart (bandha), the rest of the extant portion of the inscription is in verse. B is denoted by the sign for c, and the palatal sibilant by its dental counterpart in some cases.

The composer of this prāasti was well-versed in rhetorics and possessed a fine imagination. The first fragment contains nineteen verses of which the first sixteen are devoted to the eulogy of Śiva and the description of the Arbuda mountain. This is followed by an allusion to the sacrificial offering of the sage Vasishtha whose cow, Surabhī, was snatched away by Viśvāmitra. Herein the poet displays his mastery in the use of allegories, similes and other poetic embellishments which go to make a good kavya. Owing to an unfortunate gap between verses 19 and 73, the text dealing with the origin of the Paramāra family and the genealogy of its members appears to have been lost. This may be inferred from the occurrence of similar passages in the Paramāra prāasti in other inscriptions, such as the Udaypur prāasti referred to above. The genealogical account might have been brought down to Naravarman, the donor of the present record.

¹ The estampages of the epigraphs were kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
² These inscriptions have been briefly noticed by Mr. K. K. Lele in the Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa, pp. 29-30; see also Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, Nos. 2598 and 2599 (Mahākālēśvara temple inscription); 1904-05, p. 8, No. 2061, and 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, No. 2601 (Dhār inscription); 1919-20, p. 25, No. 3011 (Un inscription). Mr. Lele attributes the composition of the epigraphs to the Paramāra king Naravarman.
³ [It is likely that the two fragments form the beginning and end of two different inscriptions.—Ed.]
⁴ Above, Vol. I; Plate facing p. 124.
⁵ Ibid., Plate facing p. 254.
The next point to be considered is whether the author of this praṣasti was Udayāditya or his son Naravarman. In verse 86, Udayāditya and Naravarman have been styled ‘kings’ (mahībhujaḥ). Had the former been the author of the praṣasti, the association of his son with him would have been in the capacity not of ‘king’, but of Rajakumāra or Yuvaraja, in which case the latter could not have been styled ‘king’. It therefore follows that it was Naravarman who incised the praṣasti during his reign to commemorate either the erection or the restoration of a temple of Śiva, and associated his father’s name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. Moreover, as another act of his deep devotion and reverence to Udayāditya, Naravarman appears to have dedicated to him the chart, described as the badge of Udayāditya to be worn by the kings and the poets alike, according to another stanza (verse 85) which also occurs in the other two inscriptions. In any case, it is quite clear that Udayāditya and Naravarman, being father and son, could not have ruled the same kingdom contemporarily. This becomes all the more incredible since Udayāditya was succeeded not by his younger son Naravarman but by his elder son Lakشمadesā as king of Mālwa. He was long dead when Naravarman ascended the throne.

Though, on account of the fragmentary condition of the epigraph the date is lost, yet it can be placed within the reign of Naravarman, i.e., in 1094-1133 A.D. As indicated by the concluding portion of the record (verses 79 to 84) eulogising Mahākāla, the praṣasti was presumably dedicated to that deity; but it remains obscure whether it recorded the erection or merely the restoration of a temple for the god. It may, however, be observed that the Mahākāla-jyotirlingas at Avanti (Ujjain) is one of the twelve Jyotirlingas located in different parts of India, about which references are found in some of the Purāṇas and other works of Sanskrit literature. It is therefore conceivable that a temple of Mahākāla existed here and that it was renovated or extended from time to time by the Paramāra kings including Naravarmanadesā.

In lines 18-19 of the text, are enumerated the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet arranged class-wise, each group being followed by a nominal indicating the number of letters in it. The figure 51 at the end shows the total number of letters in the two lines. Thus line 18 contains the 14 vowels and 4 Ayogavāhas, while line 19 contains the 25 Sparīsas, 4 Antasthas and 4 Ukhkas. The total of the two lines is thus 51. Line 20 begins with five long vowels from ā to ū, followed by the fourteen Māhēvarav-sūtras which occupy lines 21 and 22. Their total number 47, arrived at by leaving out the ī consonant at the end of each sūtra and counting ha only once, is finally given at the end of line 22. The sub-totals are indicated after each group of letters. The above table is followed by three concluding stanzas (verses 85-87). Verse 85 dedicates the Varna-nāga-kriṣṇa-bandha to king Udayāditya with the injunction that the bandha was placed as a badge on the chest of the poets and the kings alike. Verse 86 says that the sword of the kings, Udayāditya and Naravarman, the votaries of Mahēśa, was ever ready for the protection of the four castes and of learning. Verse 87 states that this alphabetical Snake-Seimitar Chart of Udayāditya, [together with] the string of [poetic] gems, was composed by the ‘friend of the talented poets’ (suṣkava-bandhunā). This epithet presumably refers to king Naravarman himself, who is supposed to have been the composer of this praṣasti. Out of the three verses referred to above, the first is found in all the three inscriptions, the first and the second in the Ujjain and Dhār inscriptions, while the third is exclusive to the Ujjain praṣasti.

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1 [See note 4 below.—Ed.]
2 [The epithet mahībhuja may be justified even if Naravarman was the governor of a district of his father’s kingdom. The importance given to Udayāditya suggests that it was composed during his rule (1059-87 A.D.) possibly about the close of it.—Ed.]
3 Cf. Śiva Purāṇa, IV (Kotirudra-samhitā), Adhyāya I, verses 21-23.
4 The expression suṣkava-bandhunā is susceptible of the alternative interpretation ‘by the talented poet Bandhu’, if allowance is made for the indulgence of the poet to call himself ‘a talented poet’. [This seems to be the better of the two interpretations of the stanza. The poet Bandhu was probably a protégé of Naravarman when he was the governor of some territory during Udayāditya’s rule.—Ed.]
By the side of and below lines 18-28 is engraved the bandha, mentioned as Varṇa-nāga-kripā-manḍa in verse 85. As this expression connotes, the bandha is roughly a combination of a snake and a scimitar or dagger. The head of the snake is apparently represented by the broad barbed blade of the dagger, and its coiled body after forming a sort of hilt of the dagger shoots up making a serpentine loop representing the tail. In the broad head of the dagger and its two bars are inserted the 14 vowels from a to au, and in the thinner part below it are ha, ya, va, ra and la. Lower still, in the rhomboid portion of the hilt, which is divided into 25 squares, are placed the 25 Sparās from ha to ma, arranged according to their vargas. The triangular portion at the bottom contains in its right arm the 4 Uṣhasand at the base the 4 Ayōgavāhas, viz. the Upadhmāniya, Jārvāśi-ya, Añuvarā and Visārya. The letters in the left arm of the triangle, being badly damaged in all the three inscriptions, are mostly illegible. However, to judge from the faint survivals of some of them in the Dhār inscription, of which a at the bottom is somewhat clear, this arm probably contained kha, tra, jīva and ǰnā, with which the present day Daśanāgarā alphabet ends.1 The loop representing the tail of the snake is divided into 39 compartments, 21 of which are occupied by the noun terminations of the seven cases, viz., su, au, as, am, au, at, etc., and the remaining 18 by the verb inflexions of the two padas, viz., is, tis, anti, si, the, the, etc., and ti, ti, a, se, vā, ṭva, iva, etc. The starting point of the above two sets of terminations is the top of the loop, from where they proceed downwards in the left and the right hand arms respectively. It is noteworthy that the arrangement of alphabet given in the chart generally follows the lines of the 14 Māheśvarā-vātras of Pāṇini’s Ashṭādhyāyī. Thus ha is given twice, one before the 4 Antasthas, and again at the end along with the 4 Uṣhas, as is the case in the above aporhisms. The arrangement of the 25 Sparās, if read vertically from top to bottom, though not strictly in the order of the vātras, is approximately the same so far as their respective sthāna and prayāna are concerned.

The above bandha, containing as it does, the 14 Māheśvarā-vātras and the 39 sup and ti terminations, sets forth in a nutshell the basic elements and the first essentials of Sanskrit grammar which is entirely based on them. Again, as a sound knowledge of the Sabda-śastrā, which is synonymous with Vyākaraṇa, is indispensable for the proper understanding of the Aṣṭa-śastrā, the chart obviously stands for the entire Sanskrit literature and the learning it represents. According to a Puranic legend, Mahādeva is the originator of all literature, philosophy, etc., and he, in the beginning of the creation, propounded to the four saints, Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., the fourteen vātras, which are the germs of all knowledge and Sabda-brahma, and are therefore known as Māheśvarā vātras. The word varṇa in its duplicate sense applying to the poets was thus obviously used by the author in its wider significance of ‘learning’.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 79 to 84 Śārīravikrīḍita; verses 85 to 87 Anuvṛtta.]

1 — — ——न्रुवर्णाभिनिर्यन्तरार्थम् विवेष्यंदिकं ज्योतिषितिः —
2 मनविसर्यात्रिव्रिजः (वि) ड्यान्यमुनार्विविचारम् नासप्राप्तस्यतिष्ठुःःः.
3 कतिपये पश्य्यति यवोनितल्लुपप्राप्तिहिमादिविचारः
4 द्रवेण सताः [साम्भवम्] ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

नियम व्यापकमेकमुक्तवालवल ज्योति: सहस्रतिवसः

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1 I may also suggest that this arm of the triangle might have contained the 4 Yamas. It is worth noting that the total number of letters of the Sanskrit alphabet given in the chart is 51, whereas, according to Pāṇini, it is 53 or 64. The latter includes the 21 vowels, 25 Sparās, 4 Antasthas, 4 Uṣhas, 4 Yamas, 4 Ayōgavāhas and the duṣṭapriyāha and pluta tri-trī, the last of them being but optional.

2 From impressions. [On account of the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions of the first fragment, its text is not quoted here.—Ed.]

3 The akšaras, being worn out here, are restored conjecturally.
5 भोगेन्द्रित्सिद्धमेषुस्मिते विनियूष्टितः पत्र(पत्र) निलातुः। सान्य[व्य] मकदम्यम(व्य)।
6 कुसुमसेन्तर्यात्त विलित तद्दृष्टार्काण्यात्(धर्म) श्रवण पर्यं पुण्य सतां शाम्भवम्
   १२०।। [नालम्]।
7 केसदेरति प्रकर्षायिति न व(व) अशान्ताहितः मर्यादिनः प्रवीष्टि नादुराविति
   [वी नम्]।
8 मृणो(नी) न चाकामलि। योगस्मानर्वसस्य(शा) विवुकतविवर्ग्य(शा) सजात्यदत्तस्य
   निरहिताः-२
9 ल्या:]*] करुणाः(व) इसि स्कुरसु तजस्वयिति। सतां शाम्भवम् ।१२१।। ब्रह्मचायिति
   शायाचित्ती(त)
10 सत्ताश्मासकम्पसूचतः गुरुः(गुरु) तीनां मनसो निरौच उद्भतो योगः त योगीज्ञेन
11 ति:। विनिमयं (विनिमयं) संस्तन(संस्तन) पिताधिचिति परिचिते क्षणं नते संकुम्ते स्पृ०
   चुदू उपाधिकेतु
12 पुरजयस (पुरजयस) श्रीमूर्ष्याव: ।१२२।। भूजाकुष्चत्तोरेवहन्तुनाकर*] चिस्तिविवु-
13 स्थि (स्थि) रामूर्वारं कल्याणकारसिद्धिकारार्क: कृपाय: प्रवः । विशुद्धिविवेकाचारसिद्धिनमां
   रीत्ताङु(रीत्ताङु) प्रमार्के वस्त्रो(वस्त्रो) काराकानुभुखिनत्यु सहकालीत्तकाल सताम् ।१२३।।
14 भुजः-
15 तत्त्वं सुहवानि सत्स वसुधा साम्मोनिनिधीयते कल्यायिति न नस्ते ते न
   कुपितमयूयो-
16 रवि दयायते । ध्यायिनूर्ध्वपालस्तंबमेशुयिद्धाति (प) न प्रायत्वेते तदः स्वालमलकरो- तृतीयमञ्जोरः (स) स्मागः ।१२४।।
17 अः ला इ इ उ ओ च लू लू ए ऐ शो शो ११:
   २ ४
19 क ख ग घ ५  छ  ज  झ  ञ  ०  ०  ी  ०  ी  ी  ी
   ठ ठ  न  ट  ठ  फ  भ  म  य  र  ल  व  ण
   स(श) प  स  ह  ५१
20 आ ई  क  कु  ल  भ  इ  उ  ण(ण) [मु*] लू क(क) ।१०
   ए शो क(क) ऐ शी च(च) ह  य  व  र  द  ण(ण) अ
   २१ म  क [मु*] न  म(म)  म  शा(शा) छ  ठ  ठ  [प]  ज  प  ब  ग  ओ  शा(शा)
   २०।। ३४ क  ख  छ  ठ  ध  घ  न  क(क)
22 क  क  प  ब  श  न  स  र(र) ।१३ हल(हल) ।३३।। ४७।।
23 उदयाविद्येदेश्य वर्णानागाधिपाणिका।
24 कर्नोह तृष्णां च वेदो वाक्षरी रोपितः।।[५५।।]
25 एक्यमुयमादित्यवनसमवेश्यतः।
26 [गैर्याकामति नोच्छन्नस्यत्वा विदारिन्युष्टिका] ।। [६५।।]
27 [उदया] उद्याविद्येदेश्य वर्णानागाधिपाणिका।
28 [श्रवण्यत] नरेश्वरी सुधा सुकविवें(व) चुना।।[५७।।]

* This is only a conjectural restoration.
* Read "ङैर्यान-दृश्यन्."
B. Dhār Inscription

This consists of two parts which are engraved on two separate pillars in the Bhōjasālā (now Kamalindōlā Mosque) at Dhār. Though lying apart from each other, they are allied insomuch as they deal with the same subject of grammatical terminology. Judging from the two opening verses in Part I, which are identical with verses 85 and 86 of the Ujjain prākṣāti edited above, this inscription can be attributed to Nāavarman. The alphabetical chart in Part II is identical with its counterparts in the Ujjain and Un inscriptions.

The inscription in Part I measures 29" high and 15" broad and, in addition to the two identical verses referred to above, contains a new chart (bandha) exhibiting 180 verbal terminations (śīvabhaktis) of the ten lakāras together with 16 dhātu-pratyayas. The bandha consists of the top, the middle and the bottom portions. In the top section, the inscription is very indistinct except for the initial word atha, but it has been conjecturally restored as atha śīv-vibhakti-bandhaḥ. The middle section is a square standing vertically on one of its angles and is divided into 180 compartments by drawing nine parallel lines one way and seventeen the other way across. The space between each pair of parallel lines is alternately closed by means of projecting loops at either end along the four sides of the square, turning the sets of parallel lines into two running spirals from end to end. Inset in the five loops and the five intervening open spaces between them, in the upper left hand arm of the square, are, respectively, the initial letters of the terms denoting the different senses in which the ten lakāras are used. Thus in their serial order the letters va, sa, vi, hya, a, pa, sa(śva), ā, bha and ri respectively stand for vartamāna, sambhavana, vihī, hyastana-āti, utita-sāmānya, parokṣa, svastana-bhavishyat, aśī, bhavishyat and kriyātipatti or kriyātākrama, indicating thereby the ten lakāras, viz., la, vihī-li, la, la, la, li, li, aśī-li, li and li. It must be noted that the order of the lakāras given here is more in accordance with the Chāndāra than with the Pāṇiniya school of grammarians. In the former, they are in the order of la, vīhī-li, la, la, li, aśī-li, la, li, li and la, while in the latter the order is la, li, la, la, li, vīhī-li, aśī-li, la, li and la. Arranged under each lakāra are 18 verbal terminations half of which are Parasmatipadi and half Atmanepadi, denoted by the abbreviations Puswamai and Atmanai at the beginning of each division outside the lower left hand side of the square. Each pada is subdivided into three parts indicated by the akṣaras pra, ma and u, meaning respectively the Prathama, Madhyama and Uttarā Parasukas (i.e. the third, second and first persons), and the three terminations of each person are continuously numbered by putting the figures 1, 2 and 3 in the loops and the open spaces along this side of the square. In the nine loops and the nine intervening open spaces along the opposite side of the square, is repeated the figure 18 eighteen times, recording the total number of terminations in the row opposite it. Against every third line stands the figure 30 showing the total number of the three rows, against every ninth line is the bigger total 90, and finally the figure 180 at the end of the vertical row of numerals indicates the grand total number of terminations in the whole square.

The last section is triangular with looped corners and shows along its three arms enclosed by circllets the dhātu-pratyayas, the number of which is stated inside the triangle to be 16. It is, however, difficult to find the actual number of all the pratyayas to correspond with the given figure. Their actual number including those enclosed in the circles and one inside the triangle comes to 19. But as the right hand loop of the triangle, which is now missing, must also have contained

1 [This restoration is doubtful, as the reading appears to be atha.......dhātuḥ.—Ed.]
2 In the Chāndra Vyakarana, the lakāras are arranged according to their Sūradhātukas and Ārdhādhisthākas divisions. Thus the first four lakāras, viz., la, vīhī-li, la, and li, belong to the former division, and the remaining six to the latter. In the Pāṇiniya system they are arranged according to their fit and sit distinctions. The four lakāras given in the chart are in the same order as in the Śīvadeśāstakṣakti, while, among the ārdhā-
ādhisthāka lakāras, the sequence is slightly confused; but that does not affect the two main divisions referred to above.
at least three more, the total number of all the pratyayas would approximate to 29. I, however, think that what the author meant by the term pratyaya are the tin-pratyayas comprising the ten conjunctival characteristics (vikarana) and the twelve samadi-pratyayas.¹ These, leaving out their duplicates, are given along the three arms of the triangle. In the seven cirets along the base of the triangle are enclosed a, yan, nu, na, u, nā and ay, the vikarana of dhūtus respectively belonging to the Bhūtā, Divāti, Suādi, Rudhā, Tānādi, Kryādi and Churādi conjunctives. The Adādi, Jukotyādi and Tukotādi are not included as the vikarana of the former two are dropped in toto and that of the third is identical with that of the Bhūtā. On the two arms of the triangle are ran, ya, ay, iya, kāmya and āya, the characteristics of the sanādyanta verbs. The second of them (ya) stands for kyach, kyā, kyah, yah and yak, which, when born of superfluous parts, are reduced to ya. The third (ay) stands for the simplified form of yā and nā. Kośa is evidently not taken into account as it is totally dropped after a verb. Thus, of the twelve or ten sanādi-pratyayas only six are included in the chart. There are three more pratyayas, viz. ich, yan and in.² The first is enclosed in the loop at the left hand corner while the other two are inside the triangle. I am unable to find out their nature and function in relation to verbs; but, if they are added to the 13 pratyayas referred to above, the total number 16 is completed. Of the three cirets round the loop, the middle one is inscribed with the word kridanta or kridarta and probably refers to the two krit-pratyayas in the adjoining circles, which are ran and samu. Both, being krit-pratyayas, were probably not included in the total, and, for the same reason, those in the right hand loop, which is now missing, were also not taken into account.

G. Un Inscription

This inscription is in three parts. Part I comprising five pieces contains the Varna-nāga-kriyāṇi-banda which is identical with that found in the other two inscriptions already dealt with. This is inscribed on the wall to the proper left of a shrine door at Un. Part II is engraved on a wall of the Chaubara Dera No. 1, facing south, and contains in five lines the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. Part III, whose exact position in the temple is not given, bears the stanza noticed previously in connection with inscription A (verse 85).

The stone slab bearing this inscription appears to be of coarse grain with the surface extremely corroded, rendering the letters very faint and blurred. In style the characters are similar to those on the other two allied inscriptions, but in this case they are larger, averaging about an inch in size. Consequently, the chart covers a larger space measuring about 40° high by 26° broad. The pentagonal top of the dagger and the upper part of the serpentine loop are extremely blurred and the portions of the alphabet and the grammatical terminology inscribed therein are lost. But the same can be restored with certainty from the identical charts on the other two inscriptions.

Close to the left hand barb of the blade is a rough figure of a fish or conch shell (śrākka), which is a peculiar feature of this inscription.

¹ According to the Paññiya system, the samādi-pratyayas are twelve as given below:
san-kyach-kāmya-kyā-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya-kāmya  

² According to the Chandra system, they are known as yanādi and are ten as follows:
yan-yan-yan-yan-yan-yan-yan-yan-yan-yan

² It is difficult to say if the first two pratyayas (ich and yan) are the same as mentioned in Paññiya’s aphorisms chāteka and kāmānukṣaṁ akṣaraśāntaka. The third (in) could be śānta; but as it is a krit-pratyaya it would be difficult to include it among the in-pratyayas.
No. 5—SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA

(M. G. DIKHIT, SAUGOR, AND D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND)

The stone bearing the inscription under publication was found in the house of a Brähmaṇa resident of Sēnakapāṭ, a village in the forest area on the right bank of the Mahānadi, about two miles to the south of Sirpur (ancient Śripura, capital of Dakshina-Kāsala) in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed stone is reported to have been brought from the ruins in the western part of the village, which contains two big Śiva-lingas, each about 2½ feet in height, apparently marking the sites of two temples. To which one of these temples the inscription originally belonged cannot be determined. The stone is now preserved in the Museum attached to the Saugor University.

The inscription is incised on a large well-dressed slab of Vindhyā sandstone, rectangular in shape and reddish buff in colour. It is about 30 inches in length, 18 inches in height and 3 inches in thickness. The slab is broken into two unequal sections which, however, dovetail into each other quite well. A letter or two which are damaged in most of the lines of writing can be fairly satisfactorily made out in almost all cases. Only a few such akṣaras have to be restored with the help of the context. On the whole, the preservation of the record is not unsatisfactory. The inscription consists of 23 lines of writing which is divided into two sections. The first of these sections runs from the beginning to line 17 and the second from line 18 to the end (line 23).

The characters belong to the Northern Alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary stone inscriptions discovered in the neighbourhood, particularly the inscriptions1 of the time of the king during whose reign the present epigraph was also engraved. The record employs the initial vowels a (lines 7, 10, 11, 21), a (lines 10, 18, 20, 21), i (lines 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13), u (lines 1, 23) and ri (line 23). In some cases, there is little difference between the signs of medial u and subscript n (cf. sūnu and sanati in line 23). The medial sign of i is differently made sometimes as a śīrā-mātra, but sometimes as a pristha-mātra (cf. udevāla in line 1, Śāmyāda in line 2, etc.). The letter n has two forms (cf. samān and nāsikalan in line 12), one of which resembles in some cases a form of r (cf. riṣu in lines 2-3, bhara-nirēha in line 11) and in a few cases also of t (cf. praviratā in line 11, nityā-dhanam in line 21). The letter b has been indicated by the sign of v. The conjunct ry exhibits both its earlier and later forms (cf. r=yasya in line 12 and r=yāgya in line 18). For the final form of some consonants, cf. sāmyak in line 16 and mān in line 23. The first and second halves of stanzas are marked respectively by a single and double danda, of which the former as well as the left side member of the latter has a small projection in the middle towards the left.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory mārga, the whole record is written in verse. There are altogether 30 stanzas in various metres. As regards orthography, it may be noted that final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses has invariably been changed to āsuvara. Before s, the āsūvara has been changed to n (cf. śīrāsī in line 3, etc.). The inscription bears no date. But the king, during whose

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reign it was incised, seems to have ruled about the first half of the seventh century, although there is difference of opinion among scholars on this point.1

The object of the inscription is to eulogise the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication in favour of a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of land. It begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the maṅgala: namah Śvāya. Verse 1 constitutes a maṅgala in praise of the god Bhava (Śiva) and verse 2 of his consort the goddess Pārvati. The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the reigning monarch Śivagupta described as a member of Śtārāṇa-varṇa (i.e. the lunar dynasty) and a devotee of the god Śiva. This king, sometimes called Mahā-Śivagupta, belonged to the royal family, usually called the Pāṇḍu-varṇa of South Kōsala, and is well-known from several inscriptions of his time. Verse 4 mentions the king by his second name Bālārjuna and represents him as an incarnation of Vishnu. It is interesting to note that the Śaiva notion of Vishnu’s subservience to Śiva has been cleverly put forward in this stanza. In this connection we have further to note that Śivagupta Bālārjuna enjoyed the epithet paramamāhātava and had the Śaiva emblem of the bull on his seal while the seal of his ancestor (grandfather’s brother) Tivara (c. 565-80 A.D.),2 who was a parama-vishāya, bore the Vaishnavī emblem of Garuḍa.3

Verses 5-12 introduce the person, the description of some of whose pious activities is the object of the record. Verse 5 speaks of a Brāhmaṇa named Śivarakhita who enjoyed the status of a Rāja and seems to have been the governor of a tract called Nakṣatī-vishāya. Dēvarakhita, son of the said Śivarakhita, is mentioned in verse 6 which further says that the former was a trusted friend of king Nannarāja. This king appears to be none other than Śivagupta Bālārjuna’s great-grandfather bearing that name.4 The following stanza (verse 7) states how Dēvarakhita obtained, apparently from king Nannarāja, the governorship of the Vindhyān territory (Vindhyā-dhūr-dharaśa) as far as the banks of the river Vardā (Vardā-taṭa-parahata) and how he became well-known as Yaśōhāṃdi or (literally, ‘a store-house of fame’). The description of Dēvarakhita is continued in verse 8 which says how no change for the worse was noticeable in him even when he had received, from the same ‘king of kings’ named Nannarāja, a number of vishayas or districts either as a fief or for governing them. Verse 9 introduces Dēvarakhita’s son Durgarakhita who is the hero of the eulogy contained in the inscription under study. The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) state that Durgarakhita was the bee at the feet, i.e. a servant, of king Bālārjuna and that he was a great devotee of Paramāvara or Sambhu, i.e. the god Śiva. Verse 12 recounts the good qualities of Durgarakhita, his munificence in particular. Verse 13 states how he constructed a temple of Sambhu (Śiva), while the next stanza (verse 14) refers to a row of flags on wooden posts probably set up around it. According to verse 15, two hala measures of black-soil land in the village called Gudāśārakara were granted in favour of the god Madanārāja (Śiva) by means of a charter. This plot of land seems to be mentioned as the tala-pāṭaka of the temple in verse 26 below. The exact area of a hala of land is difficult to determine; but it seems to have originally indicated an area that can be cultivated by a single plough annually. The temple mentioned here apparently stood at modern Sēnkapāṭ. The following three stanzas (verses 16-18) introduce a Śaiva ascetic to whom the said temple was made

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2 New History of the Indian People, op. cit., p. 70.
3 The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), pp. 220-22.
4 There was another Nannarāja who was a feudatory and son-in-law of the Pāṇḍuvarṇa king Tivara, son of Nānasa (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.). But Dēvarakhita’s overlord must have been a much bigger ruler. After the present article was sent to the press, we have heard of the discovery of a grant of Tivara’s son Nannarāja II who, however, may have ruled for a short period and may not have been as powerful a ruler as his grandfather Nannarāja I. A small red-stone seal of one Nannarāja was discovered at Sirpur in February 1906; but his identity is uncertain.
over by Durgarakshita. Verse 16 speaks of the ascetic Sadyaśivāchārya hailing from the penance-grove entitled Āmardaka. Another ascetic named Sadyāśivāchārya, who was probably the spiritual successor of Sadyaśivāchārya, is mentioned in verse 17 and his description continues in the following stanza (verse 18). Verse 19 states that Durgarakshita made over the Śiva temple built by him in favour of Sadyaśivāchārya and his spiritual successors for enjoying and protecting it as long as the moon would endure. It is stated in verse 20 that the Śiva ascetic also received the grant of four hala measures of black-soil land in a village called Kōḍāśām. According to the next two stanzas (verse 21-22), two other plots of black-soil land each measuring two halas were similarly granted in his favour respectively in the village of Vīyāṇaka and in a locality called Lāṭa in Śripurāṇikāgrāma.

The second part of the inscription begins with verse 22 in line 18. This stanza and the following one (verse 23) say that the Śaiva ascetics had to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (yāga) as well as for the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith (dikṣā) which is capable of securing spiritual emancipation, the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine (samayasa vṛddhasthā) and the running of a free feeding establishment (annasaya satram) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Āśādha, Kārttiika and Māgha. Verse 24 states that the ascetics would have to stay at the place (i.e. in the temple) and that they should not lend money for the sake of interest (vidhiyartham-artham-avṛtādhibhiḥ). The next two stanzas (verses 25-26) record the boundary of the tala-pāṭaka, possibly land attached to a temple for its maintenance at the time of its consecration. Tala-pāṭaka seems to be the same as tala-vāṭaka of some records¹ and tala-vyūti of Kannāca inscriptions.² To the north of the tala-pāṭaka lay a pit and to its south the Śivasamudra, probably a tank. The eastern and western boundaries were formed by two roads. Verse 27 says that intelligent people should note the insecurity of life and protect the good work done by others, while the next stanza (verse 28) contains the prayer that the temple of Bhava (Śiva) may last till the end of creation.

The last two stanzas (verses 29-30) of the inscription give the names of the author of the eulogy and the engraver of the record. The author of the prasasti was Sumanāgala, who was the son of Tāradatta and apparently a servant or friend of Durgarakshita, while the engraver of the inscription was Vāsaṃga, son of the sūtradhrī (i.e. sūtradhrā) Rāshigā. The poet Sumanāgala is known to have been the author of some other inscriptions of the time of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna.³ Rāshigā is also known from another inscription.⁴

There are two points of considerable importance in the inscription under study. The first of these is that, while the Brāhmaṇa Dēvarakshita is represented as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍuvarahā king Nannarāja, the former's son Durgarakshita is stated to have been a servant of the latter's great-grandson Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna. Nannarāja's son was Chandragupta and grandson Harshagupta who was the father of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna. It therefore seems that the reign of no less than four generations of the above Pāṇḍuvahā kings roughly corresponded to the two generations of their subordinates. Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna issued his Lodhia plates in the 57th year of his reign.⁵ He therefore had a very long reign and must have ascended the throne at a quite young age. These facts suggest that the Pāṇḍuvarahā rulers who flourished between Nannarāja and Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna, viz. (1) Tivara and (2) Chandragupta, sons of Nannarāja, and (3) Harshagupta, son of Chandragupta, had very short reigns. The latest known date of Tivara is his

² See SII, Vol. XI, part 1, No. 115, line 29.
³ Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 96; cf. also p. 99. The recently discovered Sirpur inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bāḷārjuna was also composed by Sumanāgala.
⁴ Hiralal, loc. cit.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319 ff.
ninth regnal year; but very little is known about Chandragupta and Harshagupta, none of whose records has so far been discovered. Whether they actually ascended the Pânduvamśī throne and ruled for very short periods or ruled parts of South Kosala as viceroys of Tīvra is not definitely known. The contemporaneity of Nannarājā and Dēvarakāhita as well as of the former's great-grandson and the latter's son suggests that Śivagupta Bālārjuna ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Tīvra's death.

Another interesting point is that Dēvarakāhita, a subordinate of the Pânduvamśī king Nannarājā of South Kosala, is stated to have been ruling over the Vindhyān region as far as the banks of the Varadā, i.e. the modern Wardha which is a tributary of the Godavari. This seems to support the suggestion, based on the evidence of the Bhāndak inscription, that Nannarājā's dominions included the area about the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh. An inscription from Bhāndak situated on the bank of the Wardha in the Chanda District describes Nannarājā as having 'conquered the earth' and his younger brother Bhavadeva, also called Raṇakēśarīn and Chintādurgā, who was probably one of Nāṇa's military governors in the Chanda region, as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūryagūḍha, an ancient king of that area. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, however, believed that the Chanda District was rather far removed from the dominions of the Pânduvamśī of South Kosala in the Chhattisgarh area and tried to prove that the Bhāndak inscription, now in the Nagpur Museum, did not originally belong to that place but came from Arang near Sirpur. In support of this view, Mirashi cited the evidence of a certain Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar, who was an employee of Jenkins, Resident of Nagpur, and is reported to have seen an inscription of Bhavadeva affixed to a temple at Arang. Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pânduvamśī existed at Arang, its identification with the Bhāndak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar about the Arang inscription especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndak as the provenance of the record. The evidence of the present record showing that Nannarājā's dominions included certain areas on the banks of the Varadā now renders Mirashi's speculation absolutely unnecessary.

The inscription mentions several geographical names. The temple, to which the inscription refers and to which it must have been fixed, was built at the present village of Sēnakapāt, and the pieces of land, granted in favour of the temple as well as to the Śaiva ascetics to whom it was made over, appear to have lain not far away from the temple. The plots of gift land were situated each in the villages of Guḍaśarkarakā, Kōḷāśīmā, Viyānakā and Lāṭa in Sīparnakā. In the neighbourhood of Sirpur there are several villages called Sāṅkā, a name having some resemblance to Guḍaśarkarakā of our inscription. But while Guḍaśarkarakā seems to have been situated on or near the site of modern Sēnakapāt, the nearest village called Sāṅkā lies about 13 miles due west of Sirpur. About 2 miles further to the south-west there is a village called Kōḷāśā which may be the same as Kōḷāśīmā mentioned in our record. The Navyāśī vīkhyās, Vindhya and Varadā are mentioned in the pradāstī portion. We are not in a position to locate Navyāśī although it may have been an area within or near about South Kosala. Whether Navyāśī has anything to do with Sanskrit nanūśī in the sense of an administrative unit consisting of 89 villages can hardly be determined. Another geographical name in this part is the penance-grove called Amardaka, where the Śaiva ascetic Sadyahāvīchārya originally resided. Amardaka, which is the name of Kāḷa-Bhairava, a form of Śiva, was probably derived from the locality where the Bhairava.

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1 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.
2 After the recent discovery of a grant of Tīvra's son Nannarājā II, it is difficult to be definite on this point as his identification with Nannarājā mentioned in the present record cannot be ruled out.
3 Cf. The Classical Age (The History and Culture of the Indian People, III), p. 221.
was worshipped. A sect of Śaiva ascetics, associated with the same locality, is known from the Haddala (Saurashtra) plates1 of Saka 536. Apparently the same place is mentioned as Āmardaka-tīrtha in the Rajorgarh (Alwar District, Rajasthan) inscription2 of V. S. 1016. The name of a Śaiva ascetic is given as Āmardakatīrthaṇṭha in a record3 from Ranod (old Gwallor State, Madhya Bharat). It is not possible to determine the exact location of Āmardaka in the present state of insufficient information.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 24, 29 Vasanatilaka; verse 2 Sragdhāra; verses 5, 8, 12 Śārikāvṛtiṣṭu; verses 7, 18, 21, 27-28, 30 Āryā; verse 14 Mālīni; verses 15-17, 20 22-23, 25-26 Anuṣṭhāna.]

1 Siddham2 namaḥ Śivāya || Udvellān-ātibhara-nirbhara-hasta-shaṇḍa-chapḍ-śabhighate- rabhas-ōṇa[(a)dṛ-jaśa]h | yaḥ kandukair-iva krit-ātula-[t]āla-kilē[r]-mrīṭte va(b)a-hau sa bhavabhād-bhavatād-Bhuvā vaj || [1[*]] Nirdagdhiḥ-pya=atra nē-


rr[jita-samur[j]ita-bhakti-bhār-ībhāv-śīlīvītī-Śivaḥ Śivagn[aa]tpa-nē-


5 n[m]-aṅgaṛ[ṛ]-nām[aa] Śrī-Śivarakshitaḥ kahita-ā-dhūsā Vivasvān-abhūta(bhūt)| padm- odhāsa[na]-nirbhā-adbhuta-ru[čhir]ddāḥ-ōjjhitaḥ sarvadā sarv-vā-kāra-par-ōpaka[r]a-

karaṇa-vyagribhavd-vraghāḥ || [5[*] Tasmād-abhūd-bhuva[na]-maṇḍala-maṇḍana-śrī(śrī)]


ākhya bravā khyā-

7 tā[n]āḥ(nt) || [7[*] Assmād-eva[esa]nā-subhra-ya[sa]ṣaḥ Śrī-Nannarāj-ākhyāya viḥyātan-nara-

nāthā-n[i]-tād-lakād-[bhū]-prasād-ōḍiṣāya] | samprāṭavān-viṣhayaiṣ-cha yasya vikrit-

āṁ-āḷp-śpōbhi-śalakāḥ kamantē [hī samṛddhiḥbhīra-nya] tu mah-udārā-

ātida[r]

8 [ṛy-ā]ttakāḥ || [8[*] Tasya prāṣayasa-vikasad-guṇa-ratna-rājī-saḥraja-śivikā-la[ka]-viṣ-

khitasya | putr-ōttamā-stṣ-yama[r]-śil-āṇ[ha]-ddhan-ādiṇ[ika]-śrī Śrī-Durggrakasṭha[t]a] iti prath-

abhiddhānaḥ || [9[*] Vā(Bh)arjījum-ākhya-guṇa-mukhyā-naśāḥriṣa-sa[h]-

9 jad-aúhe-[kamal-śa[p]a]-śa[p]ād-pi keśēpya eva ya ih-ōjjhita-krīṣha-pakāha[R] pa-

[kah]iḥ sita[i]-charati [a]jōbhī-śubh-abhiddhānah | [10[*] Bhakṣyā praṣamya [na] param-

Paramāsvarasya rūpaṁ nirūpayati vēmāni ločchābhāyaḥ(bhyām)] | dhvān-ātma-

ka[i]-cha

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 190.
4 From impressions.
5 Expresses by symbol.
6 Read Śīrāsā-yamāḍa.
nayanasir-atinśicchala-śr- varyā vikalpayati śambhumayaṁ trilokāhīṁ (kīm) || [11*] Artthi-

11 gīyamānair-gṛṇair-akṣipitvān-api sarvatvāḥ praviśaret-sūrasī ṭīṭaśāh mādīh || [12*] [Tīn]-
aitaś-āyatanam-āyata-bhakti-pūra-sadāpya-āś[ t]iḥ[bhara-nirbhara-bhāva-bhāja] || antar-

12 mym-ātm-āpsāmaṇam-asāmānaṁ-aṅkāri śambhūḥ || [13*] Prachalam-avaṇipālaṁ sarvav-

13 bhavati pavana-pāṭ-āṅgolā-lōla dhvaj-āli || [14*] Guṇaśākara-grāmē [śa]śanān-āpāp-

14 m-tapōvatāṁ [tām] || Ārīmān-Ādarmadaka-khyāti-tapōvāna-vinirgataḥ || [16*] Śrīmān-

15 nyō rājatī jagatitale-[s]ta-saṁtāpaḥ || dēbh-śday[ p]-ṣa[a]man[ a]-bhīdann[ s]a[j]āna-ṣa-

16 ripāsa vaśāna bhoṅkotam-ā-chaudra-kaśānam-anupālayitum cha samayak || [19*] Tasya kriṣ-

17 k-ākhyey dvi[ h]al[ i] dhvālai tathā sa-krīṣṇa-tālai || [śa]śana-vaṁśaḥ vihitā Lati śrīpratnīka- 

18 āśadhē Kārttike maśe Maṅghe cha prativāsaratam || [21*] Paṛṇaṃaṃśayan vīdhātavā-

19 vihār-yāgaṣṭa yatnataḥ || [22*] Nirvāṇa-[da]kāha-dikṣāhī vyaḥkhyāyaḥ samayaya 

20 maṇi-manōjñāḥ || [24*] Āchārjuraṃv[ a]-maṇiḥ garttām-uttarāśa-saṁāsritātmān(tām) || 

21 sthitir-āṣṭṛṣa niyōjitā || [26*] Āyuṇ-vṛvāy-viḍvālaiḥ ni[ r]vīriti-dhanam cha-śavu(bu)-dhiḥvā 

22 pūrṇaḥ[ra]m || na bhavati yāvad-bhūvanāṃ Bhava-bhūvanāṃ tāvad-śyām-āśātām (astaṁ) || [28*] Śrī-

23 la imāṁ-akaroti-prāṣṭāṭitāṃ || [30*] Ṛṣaṅgaaṇāmaṁ saṃnāḥ sūtra dhvajītāḥ sakal-

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1 The intended reading may be kripā-pilabhadhi used in the sense of 'the bestowing of kindness'.
2 The writing ends about the middle of the line, the rest of which remains blank.
3 Space for about six abkaras remains blank at the beginning of this line.
4 The reading of the abkaras within brackets as well as the meaning of the word is uncertain.
5 Between the double dardas there is a symbol resembling the abkaras tha. Cf. Naikadharsa's, XVI, 98, 
p 218 and note 2.
No. 6—MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

(3 Plates)

V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS

These copper plates were, it is said, dug up somewhere in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District, and kept as a treasure-trove by the Sub-Collector of Bezwada, by whom they were sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The record is registered as No. 1 of Appendix A in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1917. A summary of its contents has been published at pp. 117-18 (para. 24) of the same Report. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, who placed inked impressions of the plates at my disposal.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy describes the plates thus: "They are five plates with high rims, measuring 9\(\frac{1}{2}\)"x4\(\frac{1}{2}\)"; and are strung on a ring which had not been cut when the plates reached me. The edges of the ring are deeply set in an ornamental base supporting a circular seal whose rim all round is shaped like a lotus creeper with a full-blown lotus proceeding from one of its ends and represented flat on the surface of the seal. To the proper right of this lotus is an elephant-god (ankūśa), and above these symbols is the legend Śrī-Tribhuvanānēṇa-kūśa in Chāḷukya characters. Above the legend is the running boar facing the proper left, flanked by the sun and the moon and two chaurīs."

The inscription consisting of 67 lines is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both other sides of the other four plates. The writing is on the whole well preserved; but there is difficulty in deciphering it in several places on account of defects in the plates, the mistakes and erasures of the engraver, and the corrupt language of the composition itself. The script is of the usual Vēṅgī type of the tenth century A.D. The jiśvāmāliya is found in line 61; the initial ā in lines 27, 40, 56; ō in line 67; ā in line 60 and u in line 59. The Anuvāra is marked sometimes at the top of the letter, but more often after it (e.g. line 42). Medial ā is usually marked on the top of an akṣara as in āē in sēnāpataī (line 33), but sometimes below as in lā in kauvalēna (line 41). Examples of final t are found in lines 21 and 47. Final n occurs in lines 17, 20, etc. The letter ṭ occurs in line 41, and ṭ in line 18. A consonant with rēpha is invariably doubled as in brahmacharyya in line 52, etc. The language is Sanskrit except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries, which are in Telugu. The composition is in prose, interspersed with a few verses in the Anushṭubh and other metres, which are not free from flaws. The expression is faulty in many places and even obscure at times. There is not much to say about orthography. In kaučan-dāyā in line 53, the anusvāra is changed into class nasal.

The document opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu and the usual praisal of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. Lines 7 to 21 give a list of 21 kings from Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana to Yuddhamalla II, allotting to some of them the number of regnal years differing from other records. This portion also throws some light on the war between the main line and the collateral line of Yuddhamalla. In line 21 a verse begins abruptly in the middle of the prose passage and states that Bhima III, son of Vijayāditya IV, destroyed the Yuddhamalla branch and ruled for twelve years. This is followed by another verse which states that Bhima was succeeded by his son Amma-raja II (Vijayāditya VI) and that he, after a rule of eleven years, proceeded to the Kaliya country on account of the anger of Krishna (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III) and that, in consequence of this, his half-brother (dvārakātura), Dānāravna, came to rule over the land after obtaining it.

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1 [The information furnished by this record has been utilised by subsequent writers on the subject; cf. Ganguly, The Eastern Chalukyas (1937), pp. 86 ff.; Venkataramanayya, The Eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgī (1990), pp. 31 ff. etc.—Ed.]
from Vallabha (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king). The next two verses dwell upon Dinārāyaṇa’s virtues as a ruler. In the middle of line 30 begins the prose passage dealing with the actual donation.

The charter records the gift, at the instance of a feudatory chief named Kākātya Guṇḍyana, of the village of Māṅgalu in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dommaṇa. It is addressed by king Ammaṇaṇa II (Vijayāditya VI) to the householders headed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the Nāṭavādī district and the Mantrīs, Purusā, Sīrī, Śrī, and other members of the eighteen śrīṇavaṇas.1 Kākātya Guṇḍyana is described as born in the family of Sāmanta Vaiḍī. Judging from the description, Sāmanta Vaiḍī appears to have been an eminent chief of an early generation. His descendant, Guṇḍya-Śrīrāṣṭrakūṭa, seems to have rendered great service to a Chālukya king. His son Śrīya-Śrīrāṣṭrakūṭa was a fire to the forest of enemies and an expert in the management of horses. His son by Vaiṣṇavamaṇḍa was the above Guṇḍyana, at whose request the grant was made.

The grantee, Dommaṇa, was the grandson of Chidhamayya of the Kutsa gōra, who is described as the foremost of scholars and a resident of the village of Vēḷāpura. He was the son, by Māchtamāṇḍa, of Śrīdhuvara who proved true to his name by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the god Śrīdvara (i.e. Vaiṣṇu). Dommaṇa pursued the path of the virtuous, enjoined in the Śruti and the Purāṇas, and was loved by good people. For the merit of Kākātya Guṇḍyana and with a view to secure his favour, Dommaṇa observed the Karpaṇaśrava which included early baths, continence, truthfulness and other vows.2 In return for this, Dommaṇa was rewarded with the village of Māṅgalu, which was made a tax-free atrahāna, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa of a particular year which is not specified. The boundaries of the village are then specified. As the order was addressed to the people of Nāṭavādī-vishaya (lines 31-32), it is obvious that the gift village was situated in that vishaya.

The record throws some light on the civil wars between the main branch and the Yuddhamalla line from the time of Vijayāditya V onwards. It is a known fact that this monarch ruled for only a fortnight in 925 A.D.3 and that he was ejected by Tāḷapa (Tāḷapa, Tāḷapa, Tāḷapa), the son of Yuddhamalla I of the collateral line. According to some inscriptions, Bēṭa (Vijayāditya V) was anointed as a mere child, being invested with a kraṣṭhīki.4 The Maliyapadu, Vēmalāpurpadu and Kaluchambayyur grants clearly mention the tender age of Vijayāditya V when he was deposed by Tāḷapa. Another version records his being attacked and imprisoned by Tāḷapa. That Bēṭa did not die young is, however, clear from the fact that he was the progenitor of a line of chiefs who, centuries later, ruled in the Vēḷāṉ country. We can explain these conflicting views by assuming that Bēṭa came to the throne when he was a child, that advantage was taken of this by Tāḷapa to depose and imprison him, and that he was a prisoner perhaps in the years which followed, and in which Tāḷapa, Vikramāditya II (926 A.D.), Bhima II (926-27 A.D.), Yuddhamalla II (927-34 A.D.) and Chālukya Bhima III (usually called Bhima II, 934-45 A.D.) struggled and ruled respectively for one month, one year or eleven months, eight months, seven years, and twelve years.

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1 For the eighteen śrīṇavaṇas, see the Kaṭṭilaṇa Arthakāṇḍa, I. 12; cf. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Policy, Part II pp. 133-34.
2 The Śraddhatantra describes a karpāśa as a bāhikānu and as molana tiṣṭa-vidra-khaṇḍa-dhāraṇa.
3 [The dates given in this article for the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya princes generally follow Fleet’s chronological scheme.—Ed.]
4 For the significance of the kraṣṭhīki as a juvenile ornament, see above, Vol. V, p. 138, n. 2.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 228 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 188, text line 28.
8 Of the Gundalagolanu grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 248).
9 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 226-22. It is a record of Mallapa III from Pithapuram. According to Kielhorn, it is dated the 10th June, 1302 A.D.
If Bêta was a child at the beginning of this period, he would have been about twentytwo years of age at the time of the death of Bhûma III in 945 A.D. He does not seem to have been favoured by circumstances to come to the throne of his uncle, Bhûma III, in the face of his cousin Amma II (Vijâyâditya VI, 945-70 A.D.). It is probable that Bêta died within the first twelve years (945-57 A.D.) of the reign of Amma II; for, had he lived in 957 A.D., he would naturally have become the regent of the kingdom instead of Dânârâva who, as we understand from the present record, was in charge of it on account of the misfortune that fell upon his half-brother Amma II. This seems to be the only way in which we can explain Bêta's accession in 925 A.D., his deposition as a child, and his leaving a line of descendants. The present record, which miscalls him Bêka, does not refer to his tender age at his accession.

The inscription gives some more details about the civil war between the two lines (lines 19-21). It says that, after Vikramâditya II had vanquished Tâlapa I and ruled for a year, the land was usurped for seven years by the forces of the Sûmantas (feudatories), Sabaras, Vâlabbha (i.e. Râshtrakûta Govinda IV) and others and that, in the midst of this chaos, Mallapa (i.e. Yuddhamalla II) established himself as the ruler. The Bezwada pillar inscription² says that the new king called himself Râjasalki, Râjârâya and Satyaratînâ. In some records, Yuddhamalla II is mentioned immediately after Tâlapa. This is perhaps due to the reluctance on the part of the Yuddhamalla line to recognise the main line. Similarly, the name of Yuddhamalla II is left out in some records,³ though he ruled for seven years. This again is possibly due to the reluctance on the part of the main line to recognise the rival junior line. Partisan records are intentionally defective and omit the names of the victorious rivals.

In 933-34 A.D. Yuddhamalla II was overthrown by Châlukya Bhûma III, an achievement which made the admires of the court hail him as 'the purifier of the east' and as 'the expeller of the darkness in the form of the Râshtrakûta troops'. Yuddhamalla who seems to have depended on the Râshtrakûtas, apparently died fighting, and his two sons, Bâdapa and Tâlapa (Tâla II Vishnuvaradhana), had to flee to the Râshtrakûta court. It was to the great credit of Châlukya Bhûma that he behaved like a true pacifier. From the records of Amma II we infer that Bhûma consolidated the state not only by removing the enemies of peace, but also by his considerate for the vanquished and his levy of moderate taxation. He ruled for twelve years.

In 945 A.D. Amma II (Vijâyâditya VI), the son of Châlukya Bhûma III by Lôkâmbikâ, came to the throne. His accession took place in Saka 867, Mûrgâstrâ on 13, Friday, corresponding to the 5th December 945 A.D.⁴ He was then twelve years of age, and he had been crowned four years earlier.⁵ Amma II is stated to have been born with a tissue round his neck which resembled a kauñâsikâ (ornament for the neck), and crowned at the express request of all people.⁶ 'This seems to indicate that, though but a boy, Amma II was chosen as king in preference to his half-brother Dânârâva who was the elder of the two. We can explain this choice of the younger brother on the plausible ground that Dânârâva's mother, Âûkidîvâ, was inferior in rank to Lôkâmbikâ. As for Dânârâva, he seems to have acquiesced to the arrangement and even carried on the administration in his brother's name.

The present record says that, after ruling for eleven years (945-956 A.D.), Amma II proceeded to the Kâlinga country on account of the anger of Râshtrakûta Krishña III.⁷ We know that, by 967-98 A.D., the Râshtrakûta king occupied a large part of the Chôla territory in the south and

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² E.g., the Paganavaram plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213).
⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 296 ff.
⁵ A. R. Ep., 1917-18, C. P. No. 8.
⁶ The expression Krishña-kîpâ has been interpreted as 'in wrath against Krishña' (see A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 117).

But it is better to translate it as 'on account of Krishña's anger'.

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was engaged in extensive operations in the north and defeated the Gurjara-Pratihārās of Kanauj and the rulers of Chhādi, Vīdarbhā, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. His campaign against Vēşāgi was part of this comprehensive design. It has been suggested that Yuddhamalla’s sons were refugees at his court and supplants for his favour against Amma II. It is very probable that, invited by Yuddhamalla’s sons, possibly by the Kaliṅga rulers, and by his own insatiable ambition, Krīṣṇa III invaded Vēşāgi in or a little before 956 A.D. Amma II had either to go against him on an offensive campaign into Kaliṅga, or, what is equally possible, he was defeated by the aggressor and even taken as a prisoner to his camp. A scrutiny of the known facts seems to support the theory that Amma II was, for the moment, more a victim than retaliator of Krīṣṇa’s anger.

The present record next states that Amma’s half-brother, Dānārṇava obtained the country from Vallaḥaka, i.e. Krīṣṇa III, and ruled the kingdom according to Manu’s principles. It does not say how Dānārṇava acquired the kingdom from the Rāṣṭra-Kāṭa ruler. But from the fact that Dānārṇava carried on the administration and made the present grant in the name of his brother, it is obvious that he was not a rival to the latter. As has been already suggested, Krīṣṇa III might have held Amma II as a prisoner for the time being and allowed his half-brother, either for the sake of diplomacy or owing to the pressure of arms, to rule in his name. It was while Dānārṇava was the regent for Amma II that this grant was issued.

It is difficult to say how long Dānārṇava administered the kingdom for the sake of his brother, and when the latter resumed his direct rule. All the records of the dynasty agree that Amma’s rule lasted for 26 years and therefore he died in 970 A.D. Dānārṇava obviously succeeded him then as the sole sovereign and ruled for three years (970-73 A.D.).

As regards the gift village of Māgallu, it has been suggested that it was either Māgallu or Maṅgullu in the Nandigama Taluk, Krīṣṇa District. Kopḍūr, forming its northern boundary, seems to be the modern village of the same name in the same Taluk. Nandigama was a strategic area which played a big part in history. Through the area west of the Kopḍapalli range and between Bezwarda and Sattenapalle passed the highway from the coast to Hyderabad and it formed the heart of the Nāṭavati country. This area, which abounds in pre-historic remains and Buddhist associations, became in later times a stronghold of Purāṇic Hinduism and the fighting ground between the Kannada and Telugu kings. The Nāṭavati feudalatories had close relations with either of the two parties.

TEXT

[Meters : verses 1, 3, 12-22 Anusṭubh ; verse 2 Aryādā ; verse 4 Srgadhā ; verse 5 Šārdulavi-krīṣṭa ; verse 6, 10-11 Upēndravajrā ; verse 7 Āryā ; verse 8 Vasantatilaka ; verse 9 Indravajrā ; verse 23 Śālaka.]

First Plate

1 Śrīkānta-yā-Ābjanābhaṇa namō bhū(ḥu)vana-rakhiṇē | Vikram-ādhaṭṭa krit-ātyuga-Balaye varadā-

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1 Above, Vol. IV, p. 289.
2 JAHRS, Vol. III, p. 170. But Mr. B. V. Krīṣṇa Rao misreads the events and says that Krīṣṇa III died in the invasion of Vēşāgi in 956 A.D.
3 In A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 118, the expression under reference appears to have been read as “anumanyat and-translated,” with his (brother’s) consent; but the original is clearly anuti Māna-nayat.
4 A. R. Ep., 1917, p. 119. [Munuk-nadū stated to be situated SW of the village granted is evidently Muniyēre of the modern maps. The village granted would therefore appear to be Māgallu and not Maṅgollu since the former lies close to the river on its east as indicated in the inscription while the latter lies about 10 miles west of the river.—Ed.]
5 From impressions.
6 Here and elsewhere the letter dhā resembles vā.
2 yānā [i 1°] Svasti [i°] Śrī Śrīmatāṁ sakalā-bhū(ḥu)vanasaṁstūyamāṇa-Ma(Ma)navya-
saṅgōtṛāṇī[ra]ṁ° Hārī(i)i(ti)-
3 putrāchāṁ Kauśiki(kt)-vāra-prasā(a)da-labhlha-rājyānāṁ-Māтриgaṇa-paripālitānāṁ sv(a)va-
mi-
4 Mahāśeṇa-pād-ānu(dhyā)yānāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samyā(ma)sādi-
5 ta-vara-Varaḥa-lāṁchha(chha)n-ekhāṣa-khaṣa-vaśi(s)i,krit-arāti-maṇḍalānāṁ-Aśvamēdh-ā-
6 vaḥṛitabha-snāna-pavitri(tri)kṛita-vapushāṁ Chālukyaṇāṁ kulam-alankarig(i)s(a)ñ-(s)-Sa(tyāśraya-vā-
7 labh-ēndrasya [penta Kuba-Viṣṇuśhūv-Satyaśraya-valla(ḥ)ēndrasya]² hṛtā Kuba-
 Vaṁśuvaṇḍha(rddha)-

Second Plate, First Side

8 nō[(nō)-]ḥtāda-vaś先后 Vehṅgīdēsam-a[(pa(pā)]layät | Tāt-putrō Jayaśīṇha-vallaḥbhas-
tray-
9 strīṅśataṁ(tam) | Tād-anu[j-Ē]ndraśjas-sapta-dināi | Tān-nandāno Viṣṇuvaṛddhanō-
navasam[vā]-
10 taśā[n] | Tāt-ōkam-Maṅgi-yuvarājaḥ paṁcha-viṁśakrīma(tim) | Tāt-aumaśō Jayaśīṇha-
trīyōdasa [i]°
11 Tād-vaima[d-dvaimā]tur-ānuḥ Kūkiliṁ saṁ-māśān | Tasya jyatiyē|hīḥ hō hṛtā Viṣṇu-
vaṇḍha(rddha)-
12 d埵[dmas-tam-upyā(tpā)yya sapta-trīṃśad-vaḥā(rahā)ṇi | Tadā[d-d]patyaṁ Vijayaśitya-
haṭṭa(tā)rakō-sktā-
13 daśā | Tād-ātmajō Viṣṇuvaṛddhaṇāḥ saḥ-trīṃśatāṁ(tam) | Tāt-tanujō narēndra-Vijayaś-
itya[h°]
14 ashta-chatvaṁśatāṁ(tam) | Tāt-putrāṁ(taḥ) Kāli-Viṣṇuvaṛddhaṇō-dhy-ardha-[varṣham]-
(reham) [i°] [Tād-ātmajō Gu-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 nakkēnalla-Vijayaśityaś-chatuśchatvaṁśatāṁ(tam) | Tād-anuja-Vē(Vi)kramāḥditya-sū-
16 nuś-Chālukya-Bhīmaś-trīṃśatāṁ(tam) | Tāt-putrāḥ Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayaśityaḥ sha-
17 ṣ-māśān [i°] | Tāt-su(t-sū)nur-Ammarājaś-sapta-varṣhaṁ | Tat-suto Bhēkaś-Vijayaśityaḥ-
pa-
18 kshān[ksam] [i°] Nta(Ta)jas-Tājaparājō māśaṁ(sam) | Tam jītvā Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō
19 Vikramāḥdityas-saṁvatsaraṁ(ra)m [i] Sāmanta-Śabara-Vallabha-daṇḍās-eh-ān⁻yē
20 cha bhuvam-alūpānna-ahdān [i°] sapta-āśaṁ-tarē-tra Mallaṁ-pa-nāja-kṛita(tam) paṭṭaban-
dham-a-

1 The letter ḍa is written below the line between b hashtable and saṃ.
2 The portion enclosed within the brackets here was engraved erroneously.
3 This obscurity is redundant.
4 Bhēka is apparently a mistake for Bēka.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

21 matya balat [[:2]] Mājainha¹-Vijaya-ditya-nandacō Bhūma-bhūpatiḥ | tān=samastān=sā-
22 mūkhāya dvādaś-ābdān=apād=bhuvan(vam) [[:3]] Sūnas=tasyāmmarājas-surapati-vibha-
vah paṭṭa-

Third Plate, First Side

23 buddhā dharitrī(ṛṁ) rakahann=Ākāsā=ābdān(bdān) jita-ripar=a gam[=]Kṛjahna-kopat=
Kalingā(ā)n | tasya
24 dvāmātaraḥ kahān(kshāmā) sakala-jana-mudē Vallabhād-āptā-rājyō Bhaimō Dā(Dā)=
nārṇa=ān-śē=
25 py=avati Manu-nayād=Amkikidēvī-tanūjaḥ [[:4]] Vaidagdhyam Vαca(chō)[dha]ra(va)sya
Vārīruha-
26 sarbhūtasya Bhū-dēvata grāmyā(mya)tv-ākalitam kalāu gaditaṁ vāg-arju-
27 nāyā(ā)y āpi | stri=naisalī(gri)ka-chāpāl-āśpadatāyā nindāram=īty-ādā-
28 rā[=]dū-śrēvaidagdhyan=alān kalāu sakalais=samstūtāte sajana(ī) [[:5]] Sthir-āpi
29 śāśvad=bhramati trilokīṁ jana(nā)mrāgān kurutē sit-āpi | vihitra-rūp=ētī se(sa)ā-
30-dā viṣṭē[=]jahtāv-vvihārastē kirtī-latā yadīyā [[:6]] Sa samasta-bhuvan-ātraya-ārī-Vijaya-

Third Plate, Second Side

31 ditya-mahārāja-pa[mē]vara-paramabhattārakaḥ parama-bhramaśyō Nāta-
32 vāḍi-viśhaya-nivāsinī Rāḥṣrakūṭa-pamukkẖan-kuṣunjhinā-samāhīya ma-
33 ntr-purōhita-saṅpāti-yuvā[ṛ]j-ādy-āśihṭaṁaṁ-tṛṭh-ādhyaśakham-ītīham-ā-
34 jā[jnā]payati | Śri-sambhūti-nimīti mū[=]mu(k)tāhala-purā(ṛ)ha-ratna-saṁyuktam(ktam) |
35 Śāma(nṭa)-Vṛddhi-saṁjñāṁ [ku]llam-āśīj-jalanidhi-pratinīmā(mam) [[:7]] Tad-vanāśavāri-
36 nidhi-vṛddhhikākab(ṛḥ) kar-āt-iiiddā(ṛddā)ri-chāja-bala-vi(vi)[m-bhaṭ-ā]ndhakāraḥ | āsīt=
śa(ch=ehha)[ārā]-
37 ka ga(i)va Guṇḍīya-rāsṭrakūṭas-sanṭpū(ṛ)p[=]ya sat-pa[tha]-gati-prāvan(iṇaḥ) svah(sva)-
vṛttāḥ [[:8]] Śrīmāch-Chā-
38 lukya(kubhalukya)va-vanē-ōdita-bhūnipāla-śrīdvāra-madhya-ānugataṁ praviṣā [[:9]] nanu
39 vipa[ṛ]v-dvāramama viśāmi tyakshaḥta-vāṭam gata-Vallabh-ēśaṁ(śam) [[:9]] Samasta-satya-
ādī-gu-

¹ This appears to be a mistake for Mṛtābā.
² The composition of this verse is faulty.
³ The akṣaras ya-ṛt, which were apparently omitted through oversight, have been engraved in smaller size below the line.
⁴ The akṣaras is redundant.
⁵ This letter is followed by two dasādas which are superfluous.
⁶ The letters enclosed within the brackets were engraved erroneously.
⁷ [This verse is metrically faulty and its sense obscure. If we omit śrīmat in the beginning of the first pāda, substitute n-dāyō and t=mukha for nana and sama in the third pāda, and emend "miyakhsaṣṭa into "m-stīḥ-
ṣkaḥṣaḥ in the last pāda, it may yield some sense.—Ed.]
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

Fourth Plate, First Side

40 ṣa-prapannaḥ paropakāra-pravāṇa-prabhāvaḥ | abhūḍ-at-Indhāna-vahmīr-ugraḥ ta(gras-ta)-
dā-

41 tmahhr̥-Eṛiya-rāhtr̥kūṭaḥ | [10*] Tū(Tu)ramgam-ārōhāya-kō(kau)alēna tirsahṣha(akṛt)-
ānīndita-Vatsa-1

42 tō Bētiya-nāmaphē(dhē)yas=samastu-saṃpān-nilaya-s-tadiya[h] | [11*] Tasya śrī-Va[nḍva]-
nāṁbūya[yā]ṁa-

43 bhavavatd=Bhava-saṁbhāyaḥ | [12*] samastu-saṁpān-nilayō Guṇḍyana-āta[kh]yayaḥ sut-ōttamaḥ

44 iṁ-ēti virōdhī-timir-āpahāḥ | [12*] nityam padmākara-śrādyo yasya ga-tejō-vi-

45 rōchanāḥ | [13*] Tēnā Kāktyya-Guṇḍyana-nāmadṛṣṭā(na) prārthyaśnān-asmabhīḥ | Vēlā-

46 paṛṛu-mahāgrāma-vāstavyā(vyō) vadaṭānān varah | Kutsa-gōtr-ābhisaṁbhū[15*] Chiddama-
yāyaḥ pur-ā-

47 bhavat [14*] Śṛḍhara-āṁghri-dvay-āṁbhōja-sēvī Śṛḍhara-saṁjñhayā | viśrut-s-tat-sutō-

48 tyā bhūdēva[h*] Śṛḍhara-āriyā | [15*] Tasya-ābhūn-Māchemāmbāyaṁ sūṇaṛ-Ddōmmana-
saṁjñā(jīna)-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

49 kaḥ | [1*] samastu-sū[ga]nā-saṁpanne(nna)=sat-sāḍhu-jana-vatsalaḥ | [16*] [Śruti]-[śrīmṛti*-]
asadbhāra-prapruḥโร(rå)-ō.

50 dita-vartmaṇi | durāpē(pō)-nyayasa-nair-ṃityam yasya-āchāviraḥ pravrattatī(те) | [17*] Kikarttya(ṛya)-Gu-

51 nyāyamaṇī vīram-uddāsya-āha[kh]*ppā(pa)ti-prabhāmaḥ(bham) | yēna kapp(kppa)ṣam-ābs(ddham)
t(a)-prasād-ābhī-

52 kāmkaśiṇaḥ | [18*] Prāta[a*]-saṇāmaḥ bra(pra)ṣidinaḥ brā(bra)nhāmlayy[a[m-]]khaṇḍi-
ta(m) | sanya-śdi yē-

53 n-śāchutar̥m kappā(rppra)ṭi-vratam-ādarāt | [19*] Satyamaṇī-saunya-vāyah dānam-anushtā-

54 dāra-dhīḥ | [20*] khaṇṭhis=saunjanyam-īty-śdi yad-upajñam-śiha Kalau | [20*] Tsame dōtmṇā-
nāṁmē4

55 Māṅgallu-nāma-grāma-savva(rvra)-kara-parihārēṣa udaka-pūryvam-uttarāyana-ni-

56 mittaṁ agrahārikṛty-ātta[cha]mābhīr-datta ga(i)ti vidītam-astu vah [1*] Asy-śvadhaya-
yah

1 [The composition of this stanza is imperfect and some words appear to have been omitted here while engraving. However, it can be restored as "Vaiśvarājaka satā-Māvāl-Be".—Ed.]
2 This letter is redundant.
3 This letter, which looks like te, is engraved redundantly.
4 The intended reading may be tasmāyātmanā nāma.—Ed.
5 This and the following akṣara, which is not properly shaped, are redundant.
57 pūrvvataḥ\(\text{tāḥ}\) Kēdpulūvi\(\text{ri}\) pōlarusunā Yīlindigunā | Āgnīyataḥ Kurra-
58 labāla pannasa | Dakshiṇataḥ Lāṇjayamāda sīmā | Nairṛiti\(\text{tya}\)tāḥ Munna-nadi\(\text{di}\)
59 Paśchimataḥ Pallikaṇṭi-bhāṭāraṇḍu | Vāyavyataḥ mūyulakṣṭu | Uttarataḥ
60 Kōṇḍrīri pōlarusunā chintalu \[*\] Íṣa\(\text{tāḥ}\)nataḥ mūyulaku-
61 ṭṭūna pūlagudlagunța | Asy-ōpari na \*[kēn*]chid-bādhā kartta\[vyā\] \[*\] yah-ka-
62 rōti sa paṃcha-mahāpāta-saṃyuktē bhavati \[*\] Tath-ōktam Vyāṣēna | Rā-
63 hubhir-vvasudhā dattā tahubhīś-čaśu\(\text{nu}\)pālītā | yasaya yasya yadā bhū-
64 mis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ\(\text{lam}\) \[*\] 21\[*\] Īv\-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta
   vasundhārāṁ\(\text{rām}\) \[śaśṭī-
65 [va]raha-sahasrāpi viśhā[\text{tā}]ṣṭhā]yāṁ jayatē kriṁiḥ \[*\] 22\[*\] Sarvvasāṃ-ētān-bā\(n=\)bhē-
   vinaḥ pārthivēndrān-bhūyō

**Fifth Plate, Second Side**

66 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadrāḥ \[*\] sāmānyāḥ-yān-dharmma-sētūr-mṛripāpāṁ kālē kālē
pālanīyō bha-
67 vadbhīḥ \[*\] 23\[*\] Ājñāptiḥ Kaśakarājaḥ \[*\] Pōtanabhāṣṭṭa-kṛitiḥ \[*\]
MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE III

Scale: Two-Thirds
No. 7—MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHÉDI

(1 Plate)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This is a set of three copper plates which the Tahsildar of Srikakulam received from Mr. Manda Narasimham and forwarded to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit it from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter.

Each of the three plates measures 7.8" by 3.6". They were held together by a ring with a seal containing the emblem of a fish flanked on the sides by an ankh and the crescent moon. The first and third plates are written on one side only, containing respectively ten and nine lines, while the second plate has eleven lines on the first and ten on the second side. There are thus altogether forty lines of writing. The plates, together with the ring, weigh 100 tolas, the ring alone weighing 35 1/2 tolas. The ring was cut when the plates were received for examination.

The characters belong to the variety of the North Indian alphabet normally used in the Orissan inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D.

The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in prose. It abounds in mistakes both of grammar and spelling. The use of medial i for i and s for s seems to be almost a regular feature, though both medial i and s are occasionally used. The word vyahka is written as vyahka (line 31) and vyahka and vyahka (line 29), though the correct form vyahka is used in line 27. The nasal is often changed into anusvāra before a consonant (lines 9, 10, 24). Among other peculiarities may be mentioned the use of vada for bāda (lines 8, 15, 16).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Madagrama in the Bhālaṅga bhoga in favour of two persons. The boundaries of the village are given in detail. The donor is Kāṇaka Bhimakhēdi, son of Mahāmukalika Kāṇaka Dharmakhēdi of the Kadamba family and feudatory of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramēśvara Śrī-Dēvēndravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty. Both the feudatory and the suzerain are called Paramāmukalika or devotee of Śiva, and the grant was made in Śaka 988 from Dantapura (written as Dantāpura). The record concludes with the usual imperative verses.

The suzerain as well as the feudatory rulers mentioned in the record are known from several other grants. Two of these deserve special mention, viz. the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates of Dharmakhēdi.

The inscription begins with the usual description, first of the ruling Gaṅga king residing at Kaliṅganagara and paying devotions to Gokarpāsāvāmin established on the Mahendrā mountain, and then of the feudatory ruler of the Kadamba dynasty.

The first fifteen lines of the present grant agree, almost for word, with only slight deviations here and there, with the first fifteen lines of the Mandasa plates. The rulers named and the place of issue are, however, different. The present grant was issued from Dantapura by the Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhēdi, son of Dharmakhēdi, whose suzerain was the Gaṅga ruler Dēvēndravarman. The Mandasa plates, however, refer to the Gaṅga king Anantavarman and the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhimakhēdi, who issued the grant from Jayantyapura. The Santa-Bommali plates (Simhipura grant) were issued during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, by Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhimakhēdi. The introductory

1 [On this and the author's views regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era discussed below, see infra, pp. 51, note 2, 53 ff.—Ed.]
2 JAHRS, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. The Santa-Bommali plates are also called the Simhipura grant.
4 Not Bhāma as read by the editor.
portion of the record closely resembles that of the present grant which repeats almost word for word the first ten lines of the former.

A comparison of these three grants leaves no doubt that they were issued by the same feudatory family owing allegiance to the same Gaṅga family. We may thus draw up the following genealogical table of these two families.

**Gaṅga family**

- Anantavarman
- Dēvendravarman

**Kadamba family**

- Bhīmakēdi I
- Dharmakēdi
- Bhīmakēdi II

Dharmakēdi was a contemporary of both Anantavarman and Dēvendravarman, while Bhīmakēdi II was a contemporary of Dēvendravarman.

In view of this chronological sequence in the relationship of the members of the two families, the date of the present grant, viz. Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.), is of great historical importance, as it reopens the whole question of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, though there is now a general consensus of opinion among scholars that it has to be placed during the last decade of the fifth century A. D.¹

In an article contributed to the *Indian Culture,*² I discussed the question at some length and pointed out the defect in the argument of Prof. Subba Rao who initiated the theory which has subsequently been supported by eminent scholars like Prof. Mirashi and Dr. D. C. Sircar. But my views, though so far ignored, seem to be supported by the present grant, and it is therefore necessary to discuss this question in some detail.

Prof. Subba Rao’s view was based on his interpretation of the date of the Mandasa plates which is expressed as Śākā 988 navaśataka satpa-rasa-muta. He took it to be ‘clearly’ 913, taking satpa and rasa as equivalent to seven and six, and then adding them. Later, both Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi took satpa-rasa as equivalent to sattaraśa, and read the date as 917. The resulting difference of four years does not materially affect the argument of Subba Rao and need not therefore be discussed here. He argued that, as the Simhipura grant was issued by Dharmakēdi in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era, during the reign of Dēvendravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the same Dharmakēdi also issued the Mandasa plates in Śaka 913 (991 A.D.) during the reign of Anantavarman, the initial year of the Gaṅga era would be somewhat, though not much, later than 711 A. D. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to refer to the further amplification of this theory by which the initial date of the era was fixed as 494 A.D. by Subba Rao, 496 A. D. by J. C. Ghoṣ and 498 A. D. by Mirashi.

The two main arguments which I advanced against this theory may be stated as follows:

1. There is no warrant for the assumption, so definitely made, that the date of the Mandasa plates is clearly 913 or 917. The words satpa and rasa, which actually occur in the record, undoubtedly mean seven and six, and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976, or 967 if we follow the principle aśkaśa vāmā gatiḥ.

2. There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 913 or 917, the assumed date for the Mandasa plates, nor any king called Dēvendravarman before Śaka 992, whereas we have two kings, father and son, viz. Vajrahasta Anantavarman and Rājarāja Dēvendravarman, who ruled between Śaka 960 and 999 which would agree with the date Śaka 976 or 907 for Anantavarman suggested by me.

¹ Subba Rao, who originally propounded this view, fixed the initial date of the Gaṅga era as 494 A. D., but J. C. Ghoṣ put it as 496 A. D. and V. V. Mirashi as 498 A. D. (above, Vol. XXVI, 326; Vol. XXVII, p. 192).
² See Vol. IV, pp. 171ff. References to other views are given in this paper.
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My first argument about the interpretation of the date is now strongly supported by the present grant. As Devendravarman was ruling in Saka 988, the date Saka 967 or 976 is a more reasonable assumption than Saka 913 for his father Anantavarman, particularly as Dharmakhedi was alive during the reigns of both.

In order to obviate the difficulties pointed out in my second argument, it has been assumed by the upholders of the present theory about the epoch of the Gaṅga era that all the rulers of the Gaṅga family were called, in succession, Anantavarman and Devendravarman. The assumption rests on the fact that for some generations, at a later period, the Gaṅga kings bore the said names in succession. But it is unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence. Mirashi has argued that the Penduru grant supplies such an evidence, but, as will be seen later, this is not the case.

All these assumptions are demolished by the present grant which gives a clear date, Saka 988, for Devendravarman. Subba Rao, Mirashi and D. C. Sircar all identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates with Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhima (who ruled from Saka 902 to 937) and his son Devendravarman with one of the three sons of Vajrahasta. But the last of them ceased to rule about Saka 960 whereas according to the present grant Devendravarman was ruling in Saka 988.

In order to maintain the present theory of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, D. C. Sircar has suggested that Devendravarman of the present grant was a king of the Śvētaka branch of the Gaṅga family.1 But in view of the close resemblance between the Mandasa and Simhipura plates and the present grant, already pointed out above, it seems to be an absolutely unwarranted view to take the Gaṅga king in these three grants to represent two different families. Besides, we should remember that the names of the feudatory rulers, mentioned in the three grants, establish the identity of the family to which they belonged, and it would be very curious if the father and son owed allegiance to two kings bearing the same name but belonging to two different families, particularly as the same phraseology is applied to the suzerain ruler.

We shall discuss presently the question whether Devendravarman of the present grant belonged to the main Gaṅga family or not. But there cannot be the least doubt that he must be identified with Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, mentioned in the Simhipura grant of Dharmakhedi issued in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era. We must therefore presume that the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and Saka 988 or 1066 A. D. both fell during the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. The epoch of the Gaṅga era therefore falls within x years of 1066 minus 520, or 546 A. D., x denoting half the average duration of a reign of, say, about 30 years. The Gaṅga era may therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between 550 and 560 A. D.

We may now discuss the question whether the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the grants of the Kadamba feudatories, Dharmakhedi and Bhimakhedi, belonged to the main Gaṅga family. For this purpose we have to keep in view the following genealogy and dates of the Gaṅga kings which are now generally accepted though there are substantial discrepancies, both as regards the duration of reign and genealogy, even in the different records of the kings of this family.2

1 The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. IV, p. 144.
As already noted above, king Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndrarvarman, mentioned in the Mandasa plates and Simhipura grant, were unanimously taken to be kings of the Gaṅga family, and, on the assumption that the Mandasa plates are dated in Śaka 913 or 917, Anantavarman was identified with Vajrahasta II Aniyāнакabhima, and his son Dēvēndrarvarman with Madhukāmrāṇa, though neither of these two Gaṅga kings is known to have borne these names. As I took the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 967 or 976, I identified king Anantavarman mentioned in it with Vajrahasta III who was known as Anantavarman and had a son called Dēvēndrarvarman (Rājarāja).

The present grant was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Dēvēndrarvarman. According to the accepted chronology, Rājarāja Dēvēndrarvarman, son of Anantavarman Vajrahasta III, ascended the throne in 1068 or 1070 A.D. and it is said in some records that his coronation took place in Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.). This presents an obvious difficulty in identifying Dēvēndrarvarman and his father Anantavarman, mentioned as suzerains in the grants of the Kadamba rulers, with the kings of the same names in the Gaṅga family.

There are, however, several considerations which should be kept in view before we definitely discard the identifications.

1. There is the close proximity of dates. The present grant is dated only two or four years before the generally accepted date of Dēvēndrarvarman’s accession to the throne. It must be very singular indeed, if two sets of kings, bearing identical names and imperial titles, were ruling in the same locality and at the same time.

2. The above argument is further strengthened if we remember that there are some discrepancies in the reign-periods of different kings even in the official records of the family. Such discrepancies are probably due, at least in part, to the well-known fact that the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty adopted Aśāka years for the calculation of their regnal periods, which made a substantial difference between the actual year of the reign and the number given for the same. This might easily prove a source of confusion to later writers who might take the Aśāka for actual years or vice-versa.³ In view of all these a definite date of a king found in his epigraphic record should

³ It is otherwise difficult to explain how even the reign-period of Vajrahasta III is given as 33 in one and 30 in another record of his grandson. Similarly the date of coronation of Vajrahasta III (960 Śaka) and that of Dēvēndrarvarman (992 Śaka) need not necessarily imply the beginnings of their reigns, for we know that the coronation of Kāmrāṇa took place in Śaka 1064 while his father was ruling till Śaka 1069.
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not be rejected simply because it differs by a few years from the traditional dates so far accepted. When such a difference occurs we should rather reconsider the whole chronological scheme, so far accepted, in the light of the new data. In the meanwhile, it is better to accept the date fixed by the present contemporary record, particularly when it is not in conflict with the known dates of Vajrahasta III.

3. Like the Chēla kings, the Gaṅga rulers also associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime, and this created a confusion in computing the total reign-periods of different monarchs. As an example it may be pointed out that although Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., his son Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D.

In view of all these it is a reasonable assumption that king Anantavarman and his son Dēvendravarman, suzerains of Dharmakhēdi and his son Bhīmakhēdi, are to be identified with kings Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman. It is to be distinctly understood, however, that whether this identification be accepted or not, it does not affect the epoch of the Gaṅga era, which the present grant places between 530 and 560 A.D., as stated above. On the other hand, if the identification be accepted and Dēvendravarman’s reign be placed approximately between 1066 and 1076 A.D., we may fix the initial year of the Gaṅga era within narrower limits. As the Gaṅga year 520 falls during the reign of Dēvendravarman, it must have started some time between 546 and 556 A.D. The exact epoch may perhaps be fixed within these limits by the astronomical data contained in epigraphic records.

It may now be considered how far this theory agrees with the other known data. As regards the Chacacol plates1 of Madhukāmārṇava, dated Gaṅga year 526, I have nothing to add to what has been said in my previous article. The Ponduru grant2 of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava, dated in the year 500 of the Gaṅga era, has been cited by Mirashi as a definite evidence in favour of the current view of the epoch of the era, and the identification of king Vajrahasta II Aniyanukabhuma with Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates. For he thinks that the dates supplied by the Chacacol plates and Ponduru grant establish the following genealogy, with the assumptions shown within brackets.

Kāmārṇava (942-977 A.D.)
  └ Vajrahasta II Aniyanukabhuma (also called Anantavarman), 980-1015 A.D.
       └ Madhukāmārṇava (also called Dēvendravarman), 1019-38 A.D.

But on the assumption that the Gaṅga era started about the middle of the sixth century A.D., the data supplied by the same two grants also agree with the following genealogy.

Kāmārṇava (1016 A.D.)
  └ Vajrahasta III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.)
         └ Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman (also called Madhukāmārṇava)

Mirashi’s view includes two assumptions as against one of mine.

Reference may next be made to the Kambakaya grant3 issued by Udayāditya, son of Dharmakhēdi, during the reign of Dēvendravarman, in Śaka 1103. As a son of Dharmakhēdi issued the present grant in Śaka 938 we cannot identify him with the father of Udayāditya. It has been

1 JHORS, Vol. XVIII, p. 272.
3 Loc. cit.
accordingly suggested that the date was probably Śaka 1903. This emendation makes it chronologically possible to identify Devendravarman and Dharmakṣiṇī with the rulers of the same names in the present grant. But it brings down the reign of Devendravarman to 1081 A. D., while, according to the generally accepted view, he ceased to reign in 1078 A. D. when his son Anantavarman was anointed to the throne. But as the latter ruled for 70 years we must have been anointed at quite an early age and, not unlikely, during the reign of his father. But it is useless to speculate further on a proposed emendation.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1. Svasti(sti) | [Amarapura]nukari(r)iqa[h*] sarvobhya sā(su)kha-ramaṇī-  
2. yāta(yāt) sudhā-dhavala-māl-āvirata-llaita-llayatā pa*  
3. pandī(pṇḍita)s-sakal-ālakṣīta-śri-Kali(hī)raganagar-ādh(hī)va-  
4. sakā[ś*] Mahāsīmā-āchal-āmala-kanaka-śiti(khata)pratishtama(shī)tasya sa-  
5. char-āchara-guru[h*] sakal-bhuvana-nirman-āika-su(n)tradhāra[aya*] sa-  
6. sānkhāścandā-dhamanir[Ś]-bhagavatē Gokaraṇāśūmi(mi)na[Ś*] chara[na*]-ka-  
7. mala-ju(yu)ga-la-pranaśmō(śī)dvi(dēvi)gata-kali(hī)-kala(m*)[-kō=+kī-haya(va)-sa(m*]-  
8. kū(kāhō)bha-jau(ni)ta-jaya-savaṇā[Ś]-pratāp-āvanā(na)ta-samastā-sāma(m*)ta-chā-  
9. kra-chu(chū)śamani(ni)-prabhava11-manjari-puṇja-rājji(ji)ta12-niṣṭranṣa13-dhā-  
10. rōpī12-Kalingādhirāja14-durvāra-vair(śi)-vāraṇa-ka(ku)[m*]bhastha-

**Second Plate, First Side**

11. la-dala-dal(i)ta-mukutikā14-prakara-dhvaṣt-ārāti(ti)-kul-āchal(i)-la-  
12. naya-vi(vi)yāya-ha(daijā)-dāta(ṇa)-dakshinya-sauryō-dhārāya12-satyā-tyāga-  
13. prakara-guṇa-sampad-ādhāra-bhu(hū)tōta-paramamāḥśava(śva)r-paramahāja(tā)-  
14. raka-mātā-pitṛ11-pād-ānuḍhāta(dhysta)-paramēśva(śvam)r-āgama-āmala-kula-  
15. tilaka-śrīma[d*]-Dvērādravarmmadēvasya vi(vi)jaya-rājīś śakāva-

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1. From a set of impressions.
2. Read sarvavta as in many other Gaṅga inscriptions.
3. The Mandalas plates and Simhipura grant (hereinafter abbreviated as M and S respectively) have prāśada after this.
4. Read virato-laita-lāsyaḥ.
5. This letter is redundant.
6. M and S have du(dd)rāṇḍa before rāṇḍa.
7. Read tāśānī-tādāmayaś.
8. Read ṣvādā.
9. Read prabhā.
10. S has vara-charama after this.
11. Read nīṣṭranṣa.
12. Read dhār-śapājina. M and S have dhār-śapājana-śekula.
13. Read Kalingā-dhārīja.
14. Read muktabhājī.
15. Read dākshinya-śurya-anādārya.
16. Read pīṭī.
Seal

(from a Photograph)
16 da na-sata-ash[ā]śī-samvartu1 Damāta(ta)purē sthita2 || tasya mā-
17 udal(ī)kara-paramāmāśēva(sva)-ra-Kadanv-ā(nb-ā)mala-kamala-mārtanda-sama-
18 dhigata-paṇcha-mahaśavad-āśēka-tu(tū)rya-rav-ō(ś)raśi(ś)ārāti-cha-
19 kra-māma-haṃpādali(li)karaṇa-aśri-Dharmaḥkōṭiṣya uṣa1-raṣa-
20 aśri-Bhimakhēḍi-pāda[h]1 kuśall1 paṇcha-pātra5 vidī(vidi)tam-astu
21 bhavatām Bhūrīgā-bhōgē 2Madagrama viyāpāri Prō-

Second Plate, Second Side

22 [lla]masya suta Viśhāna Reuchiya nāyakasya suta Pāṇḍava-
23 kaṁ duī bhagāṁ kṛtvā' nudaka-pravakāsā vamvra-saśanikṛtya3 prada-
24 tō-rasmābhi10 || 1a-chāta-bhata-ahārīdīrka(var)ā vardo4 Viśhānaśya bhagē Chē-
25 āsambhūvijatyā12 || Sima-līṁ(liṁ)gāna lī(lī)khyaṇē || Pa(Pū)rvā-disē14 vō-
26 hālā pāṭhara || Parata pu(pū)rva-disē sīlā15 chhēla abhyahantākri-
27 tvā hijala-vrikṣ hubs ṛōpaḥ15 sīlā || Aṇū(gn)disē gōraṃgōra
28 koṇa ṛōpaṇa sīlā || Parata nāiliki tāśakī abhi[ṛ]* jantarē
29 aṇvavriksha-taḷe ṛōpaṇa sīlā || Daksh[ī]ṇa-disēvā vātavrikṣa-
30 talē ṛōpaṇa sīlā || Parata pāṭhara pujāṁ || Parata tēntali-
31 vrikṣa-taḷe ṛōpaṇa sīlā || Nairītya17 tīrṇvura vrikṣa-taḷē

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1 Read Śak-ādēta nava-śat-āśāśī-sauvatraē.
2 In [this context, S has Jayanthāpura-vasina[A]* === Rānaka-aśri-Niyārṇasavasya suṭa, etc., while M has Jayanthāpura sthita === Rānaka-aśri-Bhimakhēḍa-suta, etc. The intended reading here therefore seems to be Dantāpura sthita === Rānaka-aśri-Bhimakhēḍa-suta, etc. The dānīs are superfluous. Dantāpura of this record is very probably a variant of Jayanthāpura which was the headquarters of the Kedambā frutadaries of the Eastern Gangas.—Ed.]
3 Read māyukhēḍa-ō.
4 Read "kēdi-sūta".
5 Read kūsāṇāḥ.
6 In [this context, S has prakritis-ārya-sīrā-sūkha-pātra-rājagajāpoṣeṣinaḥ === mānyoīk ś̄rīdākṣita
camajāṣṭiyati, while M has pātra-pātra-visara-disaprahaṇkā̃hannasa-samasta-rājagajāpoṣeṣina(nah), etc. Some letters are therefore omitted in the present record by the scribe or engraver through oversight.—Ed.]
7 [In correct Sanskrit: Madagramabhiṣa-pātra-Pratilāmasya susaṇya Viśhāṇaśya Reuchiya-nāyakasya susaṇya Pā-
8 vāmajāya cha déi-bhagāṁ kṛtva.—Ed.]
9 Read udaka-pāravakān.
10 Read tāmavākṣānākṛtya.
11 Read pradatvāe-mābhih.
12 From this point I have merely given the text without any attempt to correct it except where there is an obvious mistake.
13 [The intended readings for a-chāṣa-bhaṭa, chāndaka and vardhat appear to be respectively a-chāṣa-bhaṭa-
14 pravakāna, chānd-śrake-kālī-sāna-bāla-parvanta, and mātā-pitāram-samana-saha pung-ubhāvīdīḥhāya as suggested by S.—Ed.]
15 [This defective passage seems to suggest that a person named Če-ji had something to do with Viśhāna's share of the gift land.—Ed.]
16 Read āsīṣ here as well as in the following lines.
17 Read āsīṣ here as well as in the following lines.
18 Read āsīṣ here as well as in the following lines.
19 Read nairītīṣṭa.
32 ṛṣīḍā śīlā || Paśehi(śchi)ma bhumi parvatā śīlā(khara) || Parata durgā
dhāta ṛṣīḍā abhyantarikṛita ṛṣīḍā śīlā || Vāyavya-dīṣā kha-
dūraṇā rōmēṅga || Abhyantarikṛita ṛṣīḍā śīlā || Utra(ta)ra-
dīṣā vālmīka saṁidhi1 ṛṣīḍā śīlā || Isātē2 kōḷātaṭā-
36 ka-bhitare ṛṣīḍā śīlā3 ||
37 sarīṭa parādātāṁ vā || jō harēti vauṁśhīhrā || saṁīn va-
rīṣa sahaśraṇi || vṛishṭāyāṁ jāyaṭē kṛma || Mama vauṁ-
39 ē na jō jātā || jō bhavantī narāḍhipā || tēśāṁ pāḍallagnā
dīṣā śīlā4 || mama dataṁ na lōpeṇ5[\*]

1 This is probably for sansidhi.
2 Read Iṣṭānī.
3 [In correct Sanskrit the description of the boundaries of the gift land in lines 28-36 would read: pūrva-dīṣā-
dūraṇa Vāhāyaṁ prastaraṁ; parataḥ pūrva-dīṣāḥ śīlā-khorda(Orīya chāttā, chhēli)nāhōbhantarikṛta hījālasrīkāśe (vrīkha-talā) ṛṣīḍā śīlā; pūrva-dīṣāḥ. Gōraṅghē. Līna-rōṣita śīlā; pūrvaḥ Savāy-ūtāk-āhyanārā aṁśār-yāh-kāha-talā ṛṣīḍā śīlā; dākṣāya-dīṣāyaṁ vāṭa-vrīkha-talā ṛṣīḍā śīlā; parataḥ prastara-punjaḥ; parataḥ tīṅtī-
4 Lines 37-40 quote the well-known imprestory stanzas which abound in mistakes too numerous to be
corrected.
No. 8—Note on Madagrama Grant of Devendravarman and Bhimakhedi

D. C. Sircar, Cuttacum

In the foregoing article, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has edited the Madagrama grant which was issued in Saka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvendravarman by his Kadamba feudatory Bhimakhedi II, son of Dharmakhedi. Kadamba Dharmakhedi issued the Santa-Bommali plates in the Gaṅga year 5020 during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvendravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Mandasa plates dated in Saka navā-satāka-ṣaptarasā during the reign of Gaṅga Anantavarman. The expression ṣaptarasā has been taken by Dr. Majumdar to be a combination of ṛṣṭa (i.e. 7) and rasa (meaning 6), although such a combination of an ordinary numerical word with a word-numeral is unknown in early Orissan records, while we have taken it to stand for Sanskrit ṛṣṭadāsa, Prakrit ṛṣṭārasa, i.e. 17. The date of the Mandasa plates is therefore Saka 976 (1054 A.D.) or 967 (1045 A.D.) according to Dr. Majumdar, but Saka 917 (995 A.D.) in our opinion. Gaṅga Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates has been identified with the homonymous Gaṅga king mentioned as the father of Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates. Thus in Dr. Majumdar’s opinion the Gaṅga year 5020 fell sometime after 1054 or 1045 A.D., and therefore the era started sometime about the middle of the sixth century and not about the close of the fifth century as is now generally believed. He thinks that Gaṅga Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates is the same as the Gaṅga king of that name mentioned in the Madagrama grant of 1066 A.D. and further identifies that ruler with the well-known Imperial Gaṅga monarch Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, son of Vajrahastra III Anantavarman and father of the great Anantavarman Chōḍajaṅga. But the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Madagrama grant with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is not so easy as he has made it to appear.

In the inscriptions of Vajrahastra III Anantavarman, the king claims to have been anointed on the 30th April 1088 A.D. The same date of his coronation is quoted in the records of his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman; but they add that Vajrahastra III ruled for 33 years and that Rājarāja I was anointed on Thursday, Jyāṣṭhī-su 8, Saka 992 (20th May, 1070 A.D.). Similarly the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chōḍajaṅga state that his grandfather Vajrahastra III ruled the earth for 33 years and his father Rājarāja I for 8 years and that he himself was anointed on Saturday, the 17th February 1078 A.D. It will be seen that the period from the coronation of Vajrahastra III to that of Rājarāja I covers a little above 32 years, reckoned in the records as 33 years in round number apparently because the king ended his rule in his 33rd regnal year. Similarly the period between the coronation of Rājarāja I and that of Chōḍajaṅga covers 7 years and several months, the duration being reckoned as 8 years in the records. There is hardly any room to doubt the genuineness of these statements. Since Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is thus known to have ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., he can hardly be identified with Dēvendravarman of the Madagrama grant, who was ruling in 1066 A.D. when Vajrahastra III is known to have been on the throne.

1 Bhandarkar’s List, No. 2053.
2 Ibid., No. 1951.
3 Ibid., No. 1090.
4 JAHRS, Vol. VIII, pp. 178 ff.; No. 7 (Appendix A) of 1923-33.
5 Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1099. In some of the later records (ibid., No. 1103; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239) of Anantavarman Chōḍajaṅga, the duration of Vajrahastra’s rule is given as 30 years apparently through oversight. The evidence of the earlier records of Chōḍajaṅga and of his father must be regarded as more authentic as it is supported by the dates of the coronation of the three monarchs known from their records.

(55)
The identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant (1066 A.D.) with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman (1070-78 A.D.) is supported by Dr. Majumdar with the following arguments which are serially discussed below.

1. He points out that the two sets of rulers, viz. (1) Anantavarman and his son Dēvendravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Mādāgrāma grant, and (2) Vajrāhasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, were ruling in the same period. But the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the homonymous king mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates as the son of Anantavarman is his own suggestion based on his own interpretation of the expression saptarasā in the Mandasa plates mentioning Anantavarman.

2. Dr. Majumdar puts unnecessary emphasis on the discrepancies in the Gaṅga inscriptions without noticing that they are really between two sets of records, viz. earlier and later, of which the former are certainly more reliable.¹ He also forgets that the Anka reckoning cannot be regarded as responsible for the mistake (as he imagines) regarding the duration of Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman’s reign quoted in the records of his son and successor Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga. Firstly, this reckoning was introduced much later than the days of Rājarāja I and Chōdagaṅga. Secondly, if Rājarāja I ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. (not in 1070 A.D. as clearly stated in his own records) and actually ruled for 12 years in 1066-78 A.D., his son could not have reduced the period to 8 years only according to the Anka method of calculation. Because the period of 12 actual years would be 14 Anka years (not 8, for 8 actual years would make only 6 Anka years). The suggestion that the Kambakaya plates, assigned to Śaka 1003 (1081 A.D.), may be ascribed to Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman is unconvincing as there is little possibility of the continuation of his rule after the 17th February 1078 A.D. when his son Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga was anointed.

3. There is absolutely no proof in favour of the suggestion that the Gaṅga kings associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime. Dr. Majumdar’s belief that Kāmarṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D., although his father Chōdagaṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., is based on the wrong reading (Śaka 1064) in later records. The earlier records give the date of Kāmarṇava’s ascension correctly as Śaka 1069, i.e. 1147-48 A.D.²

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to accept Dr. Majumdar’s view, based on the unwarranted identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with Rājarāja I, that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 546 and 506 A.D.

Dr. Majumdar’s contention that no Gaṅga king named Dēvendravarman ruled before Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.) and that the assumption of the names Anantavarman and Dēvendravarman respectively by a father and a son is not noticed amongst the Gaṅga rulers of an earlier date is wrong. We have among the Early Eastern Gaṅgas at least four Gaṅga kings named Dēvendravarman who ruled earlier than Śaka 992 and at least two of them are known to have been the sons of kings named Anantavarman.³

Dr. Majumdar rules out the possibility of the identification of Dēvendravarman of the Mādāgrāma grant with the Gaṅga king of that name ruling from Śvētaka⁴ and holds that the former must be the homonymous Gaṅga king known from the Santa-Bommali plates on the ground that

¹ See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 238 ff.
² Ibid., p. 242. The correct reading of the date is found also in the recently discovered Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III to be published in this journal.
³ See Bhandarkar’s List, p. 386.
⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 65, note 3.
the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Madagrāma grant have the introductory part couched in almost the same language. This argument in favour of the identification is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The similarity of the introductory part in the three records is clearly due to the fact that all of them were issued by the Kadamba chiefs of Jayantyapur. That it is of little value in determining the identification of the overlords of those chiefs can be easily demonstrated. In the first place, the introductory part of these records has nothing strikingly in common with the corresponding part of the records of Vajrāhasta III Anantavarman and Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the kings Anantavarman and Dēvendravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Madagrāma grant. Secondly, we know that the Kauravas of Karkarēdi, who originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris and later to the Chandellas, mention, in the introductory part of their records, their overlords of both the families with the same description. It is worth noting that even certain characteristic Kalachuri epithets, such as Trikaling-adhipati and Vamadeva-pād-anudhyāta, are known to have been wrongly applied by the Kauravas to their later overlords, the Chandella monarchs.1

As regards the independent rule of certain Gaṅga kings side by side with the early rulers of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attention may now be drawn to the Polsara (Ganjam District, Orissa) plates issued in 1147-48 A.D. by Arkēsvara, son of Pramādi and grandson of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Guṇārnava.

Recently I had occasion to examine an inscription3 from Nandigaon near Tekkali (Srikakulam District) and two epigraphs4 from Paikpad in the Raigad region of the Ganjam District. These records, written in the Gaudiyā script, do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to dates about the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Tekkali inscription refers itself to the reign of king Dēvendravarman and the Paikpad epigraphs to that of Muhārōjādūṭrāja Paramēsvara Dānāṛṇava. Now, even if it is possible to identify this Dēvendravarman with Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, to place Dānāṛṇava in the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is very difficult in the present state of our knowledge. It is probable that Dānāṛṇava of the Paikpad inscriptions was related to Guṇārnava of the Polsara plates.

Dr. Majumdar’s theory offers another serious difficulty. The Chicacoale (Srikakulam) plates5 of the Gaṅga year 528 were issued during the rule of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantabrahman, i.e. Anantavarman. This suggests that Gaṅga Anantavarman’s son Dēvendravarman, during whose reign the Santa-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 were issued, was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother named Madhukāmārṇava. As Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar identifies king Dēvendravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates, was succeeded by his son and not by a younger brother, it has been suggested that Madhukāmārṇava was just another name of Rājarāja I. It has, however, not been noticed that the introductory part of the Chicacoale plates does not resemble that of any of the Gaṅga-Kadamba records referred to above or of the copper-plate grants of Rājarāja I so far discovered. The suggestion that Rājarāja I was also known as Madhukāmārṇava is again

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3 No. 90 of 1954-55.
4 Nos. 224-25 of 1953-54.
5 Bhendarkar, op. cit., No. 2054.
unsupported by any of the numerous records of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family
including his own epigraphs. It is also inexplicable why this inscription, like the charters of
the Kadambas (believed by Dr. Majumdar to have been issued during the reign of Rājarāja
I) and those of the Early Gaṅgas, is dated in the Gaṅga era while the grants of the Imperial
Gaṅgas from the time of Vajrahasta III are all dated in the Śaka era. Another difference
between these records dated in the Gaṅga era and the grants of Rājarāja I dated in the Śaka
era is that, while the former are written in the Kaliṅga script, the Gaṇḍīya alphabet has been
employed in the latter.
No. 9—SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION  

(1 Plate)  

NIRADHRIBANDHU SANYAL, NAVADVIP  

This copper plate was handed over to me on behalf of the Varendra Research Society for decipherment in 1937 by Mr. Rajani Mohan Sanyal of Naogaon in the Rajshahi District. It was originally preserved in an old wooden box for a very long time as an heirloom in the family of Namiruddin Khondkar, a Muhammadan priest of Sultanpur in the suburb of Naogaon town. The family had originally been settled in the village of Kalaikuri, about 8 miles from Naogaon town, in the Adamdighi Police Station of the Bogra District, whence Namiruddin’s grandfather came over to Sultanpur about a century ago, having inherited the ancestral property of his maternal grandfather. It cannot now be definitely ascertained if this plate had been brought to Sultanpur among other goods and chattels which he obtained by inheritance. The provenance of the plate cannot thus be exactly determined.¹

The inscription was published by Dr. D. C. Sircar first in an article in the Bengali monthly journal Vaṅgaśrī, Vaisākha, 1350 B. S., and then in English in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIX, March, 1943. He names the record after Kalaikuri. Dr. Sircar, however, had no opportunity of examining the original plate but had to depend on unsatisfactory impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters while some of them were read by him wrongly.

This is a single plate, rectangular in shape, with an oval projection (3½" in diameter) at the top, which shows a triangular hole in the middle. Evidently this was meant to fix the seal, which is now missing. It measures 9½"×5½" and weighs 52 tolas. The writing is well executed and consists of 34 lines, of which sixteen are engraved on the obverse and eighteen on the reverse. Owing to corrosion, from which the plate has suffered particularly on the right hand side, many letters on both faces of the plate are either obscure or have completely disappeared. The size of the letters varies from ½" to ¾".

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and resemble closely those used in the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription² of the Gupta year 113 and the Baidram copper-plate inscription³ of the Gupta year 128. As in the Baidram, Dhanaidaha, Damodarpur⁴ and Paharpur⁵ copper plates, medial ṛ is sometimes indicated by a hook like stroke at the lower end of the letter to the right; cf. Brāhmaṇ-ūdin (line 2), bhūgaṛy-ṛ (line 18), kulavāpur, ṛkṣa and pakīkā (line 21). The form of the medial ū in Rudra (line 3) and Prabhu⁶ (line 6) and that of the medial ū in Purāṇa (line 1) and Kumārabhūti (line 5) may be noted. The sign of ṛ may be seen in Brāhmaṇ-ūdin (line 2), etc. The rare letter ṛdha is used in Lōdhaka (line 11). The forms of the conjuncts kṣva, ṛkṣa, ṛ, ṛ, ṛ and ṛ may be observed in Lakṣmaṇa (line 9), siṁha (line 5), Brahma and bhaṭṭa (line 7). Uṣṭa (line 8), Kaṇkiṣṭa (line 9) and Gulma (line 22) respectively. Final m is seen as joined with the preceding letter slightly below the top line in

¹ [Under the circumstances, the inscription may probably be called ‘the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Plate’.—Ed.]
³ Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 73-83.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 59-94.
⁶ [See below, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]
samevait (line 34) and so is final t in the same word and in vas treasurer in line 31. The numerical signs for 100, 20 and 1 are used in line 34 and those for 5 and 2 in lines 26 and 27 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As in the Damodarpur and Baisgram plates, the suffix ka is occasionally used, as in nirddishaka (lines 16 and 24) and upanashati (line 20). Errors of the engraver may be noted in Yashavarna (line 4) and rakhyaka (line 33). The word kulyavapam is used both in the masculine (line 15) and in the neuter (line 27).

As regards orthography, the following may be noted. The letter b is occasionally used for v as in viditam-ba (line 2), kulyabapa (lines 13, 15, 16, etc.), samhyavahari (lines 23-29) and paravatam-ba (line 30). The letter k is not doubled before y in dinavikya (lines 13 and 19) as in the Damodarpur and Baisgram plates, but is occasionally doubled before r, as in Suktra (line 9), viickrayo (line 19; cf., however, line 13). The letter t is not doubled before r as in the Baisgram plate, while consonants are doubled after r, as in sarmma (line 8), Sarppa (line 9), Sarvaa (line 10), nirddishaka (line 16), saravya (line 31). Final m is retained before v in samevait (line 34).

The guttural nasals take the place of the anuvatra before k, in sirka (line 4) and upa-anvarti (line 20).

The document is dated the first day of Vaisakha of the year 121, which undoubtedly refers to the Gupta era. As such, it would fall in April, 440 A.D. The name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned; but there is no doubt that the record belongs to the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumara Gupta I, whose known dates range from the Gupta year 113 to 136. The date of the present record falls between that of the Dhansidaha plate, 113 B.C. and that of the Damodarpur plates of 124 G.E. Dr. Sircar reads the date of the record under study as "the first (1) day of Vaisakha of the year 120" and further observes, "The scratches in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure I could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 10 and 20 actually are."

Like other copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period, so far recovered from North Bengal, the inscription relates to the grant, made by the state, of uncultivated lands, yielding no revenue, with the object of creating an endowment in perpetuity. The document records that the artisan Bhima, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradasa, Devadatta, Lakshmiga, Kanti-dasa, Sambhudatta and Krishnadasa, and the record-keepers Sirinandin and Yasodaman, for increasing the religious merit of their parents, presented an application to Achyutadasa, who was the king's officer (Ayukta) in charge of the Sirgavatra vihara, and also to the local adhikara (board of administration) and the leading men and house-holders of the vihara, for the grant of nine kulyavapas of uncultivated land, yielding no revenue, distributed in the villages of Hastismedha, Vigatika, Gulgandhisika and Dhanyapalika, all within the area of Gohali, at the prevalent local rate of two dinas for each kulyavapa, for the purpose of endowing them in perpetuity in favour of the Brahmans of Devathia, Amaradatta and Mahavansadatta, who belonged to the Upadravartdhana and were students of the Vajasaneya school and were versed in the four Vedas, to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The representation was referred to the record-keepers Sirinandin and Yasodaman for investigation and report. They verified the statements made in the application as regards the uncultivated and uncultivated lands and also the local rate quoted for their sale. Having ascertained that there was no objection to the proposal, they recommended the grant, whereupon the sale was finally sanctioned. Having received payment of the sale price, nine kulyavapas of land in the said localities were conveyed to the grantees—five kulyavapas

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* [See below.—Ed.]
* [See below, p. 66, note 3.—Ed.]
* Ibid., p. 29 f.m. [For Mr. Sanyal's view referred to here, see B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, Calcutta, 1942, p. xii, note. For the reading of the date, see below, p. 66, note 3. Ed.]
to Devabhatta and two each to Amaradatta and Mahasaivasadatta. Of the nine kalyanapras, one was enclosed by an ancient stream, with the Vañi river on the north and the borders of Gulganganikā on the west, two drōṣatapras were in Gulganganikā, in its east, to the west of the first pathway, and the remaining seven kalyanapras and six drōṣatapras were in Tāpāsvapattaka and Dayitapattaka in the prānāya of Hastakriha and in Chitravasāgara in the prānāya of Vīhitakā. The transaction was then notified by the king’s officer and the local adhikarana, from the headquarters of the sīthi at Purṇapakavanikā, to the Brāhmaṇas and other residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated, for the preservation of the endowment in perpetuity by themselves as well as by future villagers and officers of government.

It has to be noted that the above application was addressed not only to the king’s officer and the local adhikarana but also to the leading people of the sīthi. It has thus been questioned whether village lands in Bengal during the period under review belonged to the people or to the State or to both jointly, subject to the respective interests of each. It is, however, well known that state ownership of land was an admitted principle of ancient Indian public law. The evidence of Megasthenes and Kautilya’s Arthasastra leaves little room for doubt that in the Mauryan land revenue system the entire land belonged to the king. Even in the Gupta period it is now definitely known that proceeds from the sale of unsettled lands in Bengal belonged to the king.

Besides, it is seen from the seal legends that these charters for the sale and grant of lands for the creation of permanent endowments were always issued solely by the local adhikarana, although the application for the purpose might have been addressed to the leading people of the locality in addition to the head of the district and the local adhikarana. It is also noteworthy that such a mode of address was adopted only in a few instances. In most cases these applications were addressed only to the head of the district and the local adhikarana. Even the head of the district (vishaya-pati) had to apply to the local adhikarana for grant of village lands. There is thus little doubt that the disposal of village lands really lay with the local adhikarana.

Adhibhiṣha means a ‘city’. Adhibhiṣha-adhikarana may therefore be interpreted as a ‘city officer’, which was meant for the administration of civil affairs of the city. It is well known that the civil administration of the city of Pātaliputra under the rule of the Mauryas was entrusted to a municipal commission which consisted of six boards. The commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning public welfare, while the departmental functions of the six boards or committees were: (1) industrial arts, (2) care of foreigners, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) retail trade and barters, (5) supervision of manufactures and their sale and (6) collection of the tithe on the price of goods sold. Even under the Maurya administration, such a comprehensive machinery, required for the administration of the complex affairs of the extensive capital city, might not have been needed in the case of smaller towns.

In the Gupta period, the administration of the city of Kāśivarsa was entrusted to one committee only under the control of the head of the district. This committee, called the adhikarana...
ādikāraṇa in the inscriptions, was composed of four members, who, besides having charge of departmental duties, worked also in a collective capacity. These members were the leading banker of the town (nagarā-śrēṣṭhīn), the chief registrar (prathamā-kāyaṭha), and the heads of the associations of arṣyans (prathamā-kulika) and traders (sārthavāṇa). The prathamā-kulika probably supervised affairs relating to industrial arts. The sārthavāṇa was concerned apparently with the regulation of trades, and the prathamā-kāyaṭha with all registration works regarding disposal of immovable property, births, deaths, foreigners, etc. It is difficult to ascertain exactly in which way the nagara-śrēṣṭhīn was useful to the committee. With his expert knowledge of commodities, his services might have been required in the adhisthān-ādikāraṇa for supervision of manufactures and collection of duties. Under the Gupta system, therefore, the departmental functions of the committee for the administration of civil affairs of a city seem to have been arranged as follows: (1) manufactures and collection of duties, (2) industrial arts, (3) trade, and (4) registration.

Regarding the functions of the Maurya commission, it is stated that the boards in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters of public interest such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours and temples. The members of the Gupta adhisthān-ādikāraṇa also might have similar departmental and collective functions. At least in the matter of sale and grant of lands it is seen that the committee gave its sanction as a collective body.

As regards the extent of authority of the adhisthān-ādikāraṇa, it was confined not merely to the limits of the city, but extended also to suburban areas. Thus, in the Paharpur copper-plate inscription, a representation is stated to have been laid before the adhisthān-ādikāraṇa for the grant of lands in certain rural areas belonging to the Nāgracca majāla of the Dakshināmukha vīhi. Similar disposals of land are referred to also in the Damodarpur inscriptions.

The constitution of a vishay-ādikāraṇa, meant for the transaction of affairs of a vishaya, seems to have been different from that of the adhisthān-ādikāraṇa. It had only a senior member (jyāsthā-ādikāraṇya)7 at the head, who was sometimes the senior registrar (jyāsthā-kāyaṭha).8 As the affairs of this adikāraṇa were probably less complex, no mention is made of a śrēṣṭhīn, kulika or sārthavāṇa as its member. Disposal of village lands was made by this adikāraṇa evidently with the approval of the head of the district. Details are not available about the constitution of the vīthy-ādikāraṇa. Its functions were probably similar to those of the vishay-ādikāraṇa and its jurisdiction was confined to a vīhi.

Another adikāraṇa referred to in inscriptions is the ashṭakul-ādikāraṇa. This has been explained as an officer having supervising authority over eight kulas, the word kula being taken to mean either a family or as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by 6 bulls. The appointment of rural officers each for supervision of eight families or a small area of

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
2 Cf. U. N. Ghosal, op. cit., pp. 203 ff. [The board of administration seems to have worked like a Paścaḥayat, the Nagarā-śrēṣṭhīn being its chairman. The Nagarā-śrēṣṭhīn (i.e. Nagarā-śrēṣṭhīn) heading the Paścaḥayat is known from the history of Rajasthan. See Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff.—Ed.]
3 V. A. Smith, loc. cit.; J. W. McClellan, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, London, 1877, pp. 86 ff.
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 76.
8 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 206, 204.
9 But see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 54-55.
10 Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 187 f.n. 2.
land in each village does not seem to be a plausible conjecture. Even if such a necessity existed in villages, the purpose might well have been served by the mahattara. Moreover, if it really signifies a village officer, whether for the supervision of different plots of agricultural lands or for the supervision of households, the number of such officers in each village must have been more than one. In the Dhanaiduba plate, the word is used as a neuter singular and seems to signify a corporate body invested with definite administrative powers rather than individual officers. Grām-āśṭakul-ādhikaraṇa thus appears to be a board composed of eight kulas for the administration of village affairs. Dr. Sircar interprets the expression as a 'Village Board' representing eight or more families. The compound mahattara-ādi-āśṭakul-ādhikaraṇa in the Damodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 3 indicates that at least one of the constituents of which the ashta-kulādhikaraṇa was composed, was represented by the mahattara. The term kula in the compound ashta-kulādhikaraṇa should thus be better interpreted as a 'community'. The other constituents of the ashta-kulādhikaraṇa must have represented other village communities, although it is not possible to ascertain at present what they exactly were.

In the said Damodarpur inscription, a notification is addressed by the ashta-kulādhikaraṇa and other people of Pālsāvārindaka to the people of Āčāyagaṇa for the sale and grant of a plot of land. It seems that the administration of the affairs of all these villages remained with the same ashta-kulādhikaraṇa which was located at Pālsāvārindaka. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these adhikaraṇas were appointed over convenient groups of neighbouring villages for transaction of their affairs somewhat like the Union Boards of the present day.

The different classes of adhikaraṇas as discussed above were instituted in accordance with the requirements of respective territorial divisions. The largest territorial division under the Gupta administration was bhūtī which was divided into a number of vishayas. A vīthi seems to have been a sub-division of a vishaya and consisted of a number of maṇḍalas or circles or groups of villages.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the procedure for the disposal of land consisted of the following: (1) presentation of the application for the purchase and grant of land by the intending purchaser to the local officer of the king, the local adhikaraṇa and the people of the locality; (2) verification of the statements made in the application by the record-keepers; (3) sanction of the sale and the grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people; (4) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price; (5) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration and the local adhikaraṇa to the residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated and to the officers of Government who were concerned with the affairs for their information and guidance.

It is difficult to form an accurate idea about the area of land which was conveyed by the document under review. Various attempts have been made to fix the area of a kula. It is now generally accepted that it denotes an area of land on which one kula of grain could be sown. One kula of grain has been interpreted by Dr. Bhattacharjya to be as much as can be contained

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1 JHq, Vol. XIX, p. 16.
3 For kula used in this sense, cf. also R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 231. [The expression Mahattara-ādi may mean that the Mahattara or village-headman was the chairman of the board.—Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 61.
in a winnowing basket. Dr. Sircar invites attention to the following measures of paddy accepted as the basis of their calculation by the Smriti authorities of the Bengal school:

- 8 mushṭis (handfuls of grain) = 1 kuṇichi
- 8 kuṇichis = 1 pushkala
- 8 pushkalas = 1 adhaka
- 4 ādhakas = 1 dṛopa
- 8 dṛopas = 1 kulya

"A dṛopa of paddy", he observes "is equal in the modern measure to 1 mrd. 24 srs. or 2 mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one kulya of paddy was no doubt called a kulyavāpa (cf. Amarakōśa, Vaiśya 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 mrd. of paddy for 10 bighās, seedlings of one kulya of paddy would require between 125 and 160 bighās. A kulyavāpa was thus originally not less than 125 bighās. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one kulyavāpa would be from 35 to 48 bighās as the rate is 1 mrd. of paddy seeds for 3 bighās."

One mushṭi or handful of paddy will weigh about 7½ tolas. One kulya of paddy will thus amount to about 10 mds. 8 srs. In North Bengal, half a munda of paddy seeds is usually required for sowing a bighā of land, and so, on this assumption, a kulyavāpa of land appears to be no less than 35¼ bighās. On the contrary, Dr. Bhattasali points out that the name kulyavāpa survives in the form of kulaivasāya, which is the name of the local standard land measure in the Sylhet District, being equivalent to 1¼ bighās only. In the opinion of Pargiter the area was far less, being only a little larger than an acre.

Whatever might be the process by which the area of land in a kulyavāpa was originally determined, it must have been definitely fixed, although it could have varied in different localities according to the prevalent custom. This area is frequently referred to in inscriptions as having been measured by reeds. In some localities its dimensions are referred to as being measured by 8×9 reeds, while in other localities by 6×6 reeds. The reeds consisted of a number of cubits, which also varied according to the lengths of the hand of individuals in different localities. Even the number of cubits in a reed might have varied in different localities. The quantity of land in a kulyavāpa was therefore not the same everywhere.

As regards the situation of the land, Dr. Sircar observes: "The Vāṭānadi of the inscription may be the present Bārānai flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rajshahi District. The name of the Śrīgāvāra vihāra seems to be preserved in that of the modern Siṅgrā Police Station in the Natore Subdivision of the same District, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānai and the Āṭrai. . . the other localities mentioned in the Kalaikuri inscription . . . may be searched for about the southern bank of the Bārānai."

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1 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 79, f.n. 2. [See below.—Ed.]
3 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 f.n. 2; also Bhāratavasaha, 1949 B. S., Vol. XXX, pt. 1, p. 384. [For the latter modifications of kulyavāpa and dṛopavāpa, see Bhāratakosmudī, loc. cit. The area of a kulpavāpa as suggested by Pargiter is impossible in view of the price quoted and the high purchasing power of a Gupta gold coin.—Ed.]
6 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 63.
8 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 90.
It will, however, be noted in this connection that the donation referred to in the inscription was made in favour of Brähmaṇas who belonged to Puṇḍravrardhana, the site of which has now been definitely identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District. It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of the grand as near the residence of the donees as possible. The lands conveyed by the document lay in Hastisīrsha, Vibhitakī, Dhānyaṭalikī and Gulmagandhikā, all belonging to the Gohāli maṇḍala of the Śrīgaṇḍa viṇā. There is a place called Śiṅgāhār about 20 miles to the south-west of Mahāsthān. Śiṅgāhār might be a corruption of Śrīgaṇḍa. About 7 miles to the east of Śiṅgāhār is a village called Gohāli. About a couple of miles to the north of Śiṅgāhār is a village called Behegaon, which might be a corruption of Vibhitaki. About 4 miles to the north-east of Behegaon is a village called Hātārā which might be the old Hastisīrha. The village of Dhānyaṭalikī appears to have stood on the bank of the Vātā. The only river in the locality is a small stream called Nāgar, an offshoot of the Kāratōyā. About 3 miles to the north of Hātārā is a village called Dhānpājā on the Nāgar river. Is it the modern representative of Dhānyaṭalikī? I am unable to locate Gulmagandhikā.

**TEXT**

**Obverse**


2. kāyāḥ Dhānyaṭalikāyām sa-Gohālishu Brähmaṇ-ādin-grāma-kuṭumbī[naḥ k]ulāsam-anuvartya bōhyunti [""] [vijitam-bō(ṭaṁ vō)

3. bhavishyaṁ yathā iha-viṁhī-Kulīka-Bhīma-Kāyaśṭha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradāsā-Dēvadatta-Lakṣmaṇa-Kāntidīva-Sambhudatta-Krishna-

4. dāsā-Pustapāla-Sīhā(Sīhā)andī-Yasōdāmabhī Viṭṭhi-mahattara-Kumāradēva-Gaṇḍa-Pra-japati-Uma-Yasārām[ā] sarmma-Jyēṣṭha-


6. Śivakunda-Vaṣuvī-Vaṁśaṅvī-Dāmarandra-Prabhūmitra-Krishṇamittra-Maghasarmma.10. Īśvarachandra-Rudra-Bhavanātha[tha]. 11

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2. [There are numerous instances to prove this assumption to be definitely wrong. There can moreover hardly be any doubt about the identification of Vātā-nadī with the present Bārānī. — Ed.]
3. [From the original plate.]
4. [Possibly Saṁghalīṣu or Saṁghalīṣu. — Ed.]
5. [Better bhavat. — Ed.]
7. [The reading is "d[ū ḍa]ma. — Ed.]
8. [The akṣara does not look like n̥. — Ed.]
9. [The reading is Prabha; cf. Prabhuchandra in line 3 and Bhavedatta in line 8. — Ed.]
10. [The rules of sandhi, which is compulsory in a compound, have not been observed here. — Ed.]
11. [The reading seems to be Rudrabha-sam[īḍhā]. — Ed.]
7 Śrinātha-Hariśarmanma-Guptaśarmanma-Susaśarmanma-Hariś-Alātasvāmi-Brahmasvāmi-Mahāśeṇa-
bhāṭṭa-Śhasthirāṃga [ma]7-Gu[...][8].
8 ṛmmma1-Uṭaśarmanma-Kriṣṇapada-Nandadāma-Bhavadatta-Ahtiśarmanma-Somavishṇu-Laksh-
maṇaśar[ma]......Dhāvaka-Kaḥēmasarmanma-Śu[...]
9 kr̥s̥armanma-Sa[rupapa]lālī-Saṅkuti-Viśvaśakara-Jayavāmi-Kaivarttaśarmanma-Himaś-
rmma-Pu[rajunda]-Jayavishṇu-Taṁk asymaṇa[...]
10 Śiṇha(Siṃha)ta2-Būnda-Nāryanat(a)dās-Virināga-Rājyāna-Guh-Mahi-Bhanavātha-
Guhavishṇu-Sārvvya-Yā[ō]viṣṇu-Taṁk asymaṇ[...]
11 Śr̥gubhavishṇu2-Rāmasvāmi-Kāmanakunḍa-Ratibhadra-Achutabhadra-Lōdhaka-Prabhu-
kirtti-Jayada[ra]12-Kā[...][...].Achuta-Naradēva-Bhava-
12 Bhavarakshaka-Piṅchakunḍa-Pravaraunā-Sārvvadāsa-Gopāla-purōgha vayam cha vijñā-
pitāḥ iha-vitthām-aapātīkara-khila-kshētra-
13 sva śāvakākālī-vatvābhāvāya-kākha-nīvyā dvi-dinārikā-khila-kshētra-kuryabā(vā)pa-vikraya-
maryādayā iciouskēmah[...]
14 prati mātā-śya rādīyāhāyā Paunāvarṣadhanaka-chāṭtarvīḍyā[...].Vajēṣanāya[...]
15 bhāṭṭa14-Amaradatta-Mahāśeṇadattanāṁ paṇeṣa-mahāyāṇa-pravarttanāya nava-kuryabā-
(vā)pān-kritavā dātva(vam) ēbhir-īvēṣya-
16 ri14-nirddhāla-krāṇēśhu khila-kshetrapī vidyanté tad-arhath-āsmattaḥ ashtādaśa-
dinārāṇ-grhīlā[...].ṣṭān-nava-kuryabā(vā)[pā]-

Reverse

17 nyānunmōday[j]itu[n] yataḥ ēśhā[n] Kulika-Bhīm-ādīnāṁ vijnāpyaṁ upalabhya Pust-
pāla-Siṇha(Siṃha)ndi-Yāṣō[ā]mā[ā]nī[...]

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1 [The rules of sandhi which is compulsory in a compound have not been observed here.—Ed.]
2 [The reading of the name is doubtful.—Ed.]
3 [The reading seems to be Kuṭi-Dhīśvēka.—Ed.]
4 [Better Viśva-Sarhara.—Ed.]
5 [The name intended may be Sinhadatta.—Ed.]
6 [The reading is Taṅka.—Ed.]
7 [The name seems to be Guhaśeṇa, the previous name ending in īsth.—Ed.]
8 [The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.—Ed.]
9 [The reading is Prabhā.—Ed.]
10 [The reading seems to be datta.—Ed.]
11 [The reading seems to be Kālaka.—Ed.]
12 [The word ichchāhāmaṇ appears to suit the context.—Ed.]
13 [The reading is chāṭtarvīṣyā.—Ed.]
14 [The reading seems to be cājāmaṇaḥ which is a mistake for cājāmanāya.—Ed.]
15 [Read ēkṣṭihīmā.—Ed.]
16 [Read “viṣṇum”.—Ed.]
18 vadāraṇaṇaḥ—āvadhiṣṭoḥ-āstvayam—dra-vātthiṣam—saptakara-khila-kōhīatraṣaya śaśvi-t-kalā
     opahāgāya-sākshayanvāya dvi-dina-
19 rikya-kuliyā-bā(ā)yaḥ-avikramya-auvītta-sad-aiyavatān m-aṣṭi virūdhaḥ kāścīd-ity-ava-
     suṭāpaṇa Kulika-Bhūm-ūddābhyo ashtādaṣa.
20 dīnārān-upasaṇhāna-saṁhāna-rakṣaṇāya Hastīśiraḥ-Vibhātyāyaḥ Dhānyapāṭa-
     līkā-[Gula]mgandhiṣa-grāmāṣaḥ.
21 dyāhā dūkṣhā-ōḍīśeṣahu ashtān kulyābā(ā)yaḥ Dhānyapāṭalāka-grāmāṣaḥ paśchim-
     ottar-ōḍīśeṣ ājīkāhāta-parikha-vēśhīta-
22 m-uttarāṇa Vātā-nadī[ṇ]aṁ paśchimān Gula[m]gandhiṣa-grāma-sūnānam-ātik kulyābāpam-
     ēkā Gula[m]gaṇḍhikāyaṁ pūrva-
23 gāyēyapathāḥ paśchima-pradēś Drūpabā{(ā)ya}-pa-dvayāṁ Hastīśiraḥ-prāvēyapa-Tāpasa,
     [pōṭṭa] ke Dayāpōṭtaka cha Vi-
24 bhītaka-prāvēya-Chitravātāṅgarē yāva[*] kulyābā(ā)yaḥ sapta Drūpabā{(ā)ya}-paḥ aha-
     śeṣu yathā-prāpnuṇē-hyā ṛvēti ṛvītṛōḥ puṇya-śīvākhyāya Bhāmaṇa-
25 dēśēsāh-śeṣān Kulīka-Bhūma-Kāyaṣtha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradēś-ādīnāṁ mātō-ṇītoṁ ṛgastū 
     bhūvīrvidhāy ī Bhāmaṇa-
26 Dēvabhaṭṭasaya kulyābā{(ā)ya}-paḥ paṃcha ku 5 Amaradattasaya kulyābā{(ā)ya}-pa-dvayāṁ
    Mahāśeṣānapatva kulyābā{(ā)ya}-pa-dvayāṁ
27 ku 2 śeṣān trayāpam paṃca-mahāyajñā-pravarttanāya nava-kulyābā{(ā)ya}-paṇi pradāttām[*]
    [[*] tād-aymuṁkarāṁ .....
28 tī likhyate cha samupasthitā-kāla-apy-anīs Vishayapataiyāh Āyuktakāh kūṭumīnī
dhikaraiṇā kāyamvasyāyāmena
29 hārīṇī bhavishyaṃ tair-api bhūmi-dāna-phaīlaṃ-avēkṣha yākṣha-nyā-ānandaṇīya [[*]
    Uktāḥ-cha Mahābhāṣatē bhagava-
30 tā Vyāṣeṇa [[*] Sva-dattāṁ puradattām-bā(ā)ttān vā yō hāระ{ta} vasundharaṁ(ām)
    [[*] sa viṣṭhāyān krimīr-bhūtvā pīṭhībhīḥ saha paṃchātē [[*] Shashṭhi(hāṭ)i-
    varaḥ-saḥastṛ[ṇi]
31 svargga vasati bhūmidaḥ [[*] akṣēptā cha-āñuma[nā] cha tāṇy-ēva naraṁ ke vasēt [[*]
    Kriśāya kriṣa-vṛttāya vṛttī-koṭhāya sida[tē] [[*] bhūmiṁ

[*] The reading is dhṛtī[ṇ]a—Ed.
[*] Read 'dibhāyoshādāḥ or 'dibhāyā ashtādaḥ.
[*] Read Vibhātīki.—
[*] Read kuliyar-pamālakam. [Rend. sāhībāpā(ā)ya-hā[न]c Vātānā[ṇ]iḥ... ... grāma-sūnānamātik (śrīmāṭe]
kuliyā[ṇ]a(ā)ya-pa[ṃ]cāḥ (ga[ṃ]c)āḥ—Ed.]
[*] The letters read āvru appear to be written on an erasure and are doubtful.—Ed.
[*] Read kuliyāpāḥ pradattaḥ.—Ed.
[*] The reading appears to be nīketu[ṇ]a[ḥ].—Ed.
[*] The reading may be kālāṃ yō-apy-anīs.—Ed.
2 upśṭikarn-datvā āśūkI bhavati kāmada[ḥ ||*] Bahubhīr-vasudhā bhūktā bhūjyate cha punaḥ punaḥ[ḥ] [||*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-[tasya ta]jaya

33 taddā phalam(lam ||) Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijāśībhvō yatnād-rakṣyasa(kasa) Yudhisṭhirā [||*] Mahīn-mahimatāṁ śrīśtha dānācch-chhṛēy-śnupa[laj]nam [||*] iti[iti] [||*]

$33^{4}$ Samvya$^{4}$ 100 20 1 Vaisākha-di 1 [||*]

1 [The reading seems to be phasma=iti || Ed. ]
2 Read saṃkrit.
3 This numeral is left out in Sircar's transcript. The sign is distinct in the original. [The reading $.1$ seems be supported neither by the original nor by the impressiona.—Ed.]
No. 10—UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati

One day about the middle of the year 1955, Mr. R. M. Nath, well-known for his enthusiasm in the discovery and study of antiquities in Assam, when he was Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Gauhati, went to see Swami Sivanandaji of the Umāchala Āśrama on the north-eastern slope of the Kāmākhya or Nilachal hill near Gauhati. This part of the hill is known as the Umāchal hill. The Swamiji informed Mr. Nath that, due to the uprooting of a very old banyan tree several years back, a huge rock bearing an inscription in very bold characters had been exposed to view near his Āśrama. The information excited the curiosity of Mr. Nath who at once examined the inscription which was found to be in a perfectly satisfactory state of preservation. The rock bearing the inscription was found to measure about 10 feet in height and 12 feet in breadth and to lie about 300 feet above the level of the river Brahmaputra. Next day Mr. Nath again visited the Umāchala Āśrama and took photographs of the epigraph as well as its impressions on blotting paper. A gentleman named L. N. Das took considerable interest in the work. The impressions and photographs of the inscription were shown to the officers of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Later a photograph and an impression of the inscription were also sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. The world of scholars is thankful to Swami Sivananda, Mr. R. M. Nath and Mr. L. N. Das for the discovery of this interesting epigraph.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 13" to 15" by 10" to 11". The first line is 12" in length and the last 16". The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet assignable to a period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. The letters m, l, s and ñ are of the Eastern Gupta type. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to a date near about that of the Barganga inscription1 of Bhūtivarman (circa 518-42 A.D.), with which it has very close resemblance in respect both of palaeography and style. The form of the letter y in the passage āyushkāmaṁ vishay-ā in line 3 of the Barganga inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in śvēmināya in line 4 of our record. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the representation of the mute m in kṛitam in line 2 and of b by the sign for v in Valamādha (line 3). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is a grammatical error in the passage bhagavataḥ Balabhadravāminā in lines 3-4, the intended reading apparently being either bhagavataḥ Balabhadravāminā or bhagavata Balabhadravāminā. It is clear that, for śvēmināya, Sanskrit śvēminē was the intended reading, although the word bhagavataḥ suggests that the scribe had originally śvēminē in mind. Of orthographical interest are the retention of the mute m before bh in the passage kṛitam bhagavataḥ (lines 2-3), the avoidance of sandhi in the passage bhagavataḥ Balabhadrā (line 3) and the change of the final m into anusvāra in guhām (line 4) which is the concluding word of the record. The use of the word guhā in the neuter, probably in the sense of Sanskrit guhā, 'cave', is of lexical interest.2

The inscription was meant to serve the purpose of a label of an artificial cave (guhā) or cave-temple constructed by Mahārājañājīya Sūrendrarvarman for Bhagavat Balabhadravāminē.

1 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 82 ff. and Plate.
2 The word guhā, as used in the epigraph, does not appear to be derived from Sanskrit grīha under the influence of local pronunciation.
The epigraph is small; but its contents have some importance in view of the fact that Mahârâjâ-
dhârâya Śurendravarman, known from this record to have held sway over the heart of the
Prâjñâpîtha or Kâmarûpa country during the age of the Imperial Guptas, is not known from any
other source, while the deity Bhagavat Balabhadravâmin is not mentioned in any epigraphic
record of the Gupta period so far known. The construction of artificial caves and the
installation of deities therein are wellknown to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.\(^1\)
But the present inscription supplies the only instance of the kind for Assam. The record also
appears to be the earliest so far discovered in that State.

We know that, from the middle of the fourth till the middle of the seventh century, Prâjñâ-
pîtha or Kâmarûpa was under the rule of kings of a family called Bhauma or Nâraka and rarely also
Varman. This dynasty was founded by Pushyavarman who seems to have flourished in circa
350-74 A.D. His successors were his son Samudravarman (c. 374-98 A.D.), grandson Balavarman
(c. 398-422 A.D.), great-grandson Kalyânaparman (c. 422-46 A.D.) and great-great-grandson
Gaṇapativarman (c. 446-70 A.D.). Gaṇapativarman’s successor was Mahândravarman
(c. 470-94 A.D.) whose son Nârâyana-varman (c. 494-518 A.D.) and grandson Bhuṭâvarman or
Mahâbhûtavarman (c. 518-42 A.D.) were both performers of the horse-sacrifice. The Barganga
inscription, which, as already noticed, seems to be slightly later than the record under review, was
incised during the reign of the said Bhuṭâvarman. It therefore appears that this Umâchâl rock
inscription was engraved during the reign of one of the said rulers of the Bhauma-Nâraka dynasty.
It has to be remembered that the Umâchâl hill lies within a short distance from Gauhati where
(or, in the vicinity of which) the capital of the Bhauma-Nâraka kings is believed to have been
situated.\(^2\) The question is therefore whether Śurendravarman of the present record was identical
with one of the above kings or he was a usurper. In the latter case, we have to determine whether
he was a scion of the Bhauma-Nâraka dynasty or belonged to a different family. None of these
questions can be settled satisfactorily in the present state of insufficient information. Since,
however, in ancient India kings often enjoyed a number of different names, it may not be unreason-
able to identify Śurendravarman of our inscription with one of the known rulers of the Bhauma-
Nâraka dynasty, who flourished about the fifth century. Since again, in ancient India, kings
were sometimes mentioned by synonyms of their names, Śurendravarman may be tentatively
identified with Mahândravarman of the Bhauma-Nâraka dynasty who flourished in c. 470-94 A.D.
The names Surândra and Mahândra both indicate Indra, the lord of the gods.

As regards Bhagavat Balabhadravâmin, for whom king Śurendravarman is stated in the
record to have built an artificial cave or cave-temple, it may be argued that he was a saint
held by the monarch in special esteem. It is, however, more likely that Bhagavat Balabhadravâmin
of the present inscription is no other than the wellknown Vaishnava deity variously called Balâ-
bhadra, Balâdēva, Balarâma, Saṅkaraḥśaṇa, etc. He was one of the five deified heroes of the
Yâdava-Sâtvata-Vrishni clan, the others being Vâsudēva (Krishṇa), Pradyumna, Aniruddha and
Śamba. Of these, Vâsudēva, Balabhadrâ-Saṅkaraḥśaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be
worshipped as the four Vûhakâ by the followers of the Bhâgavata or Pâñcharâtra form of early
Vaishnavism, although Balabhadrâ-Saṅkaraḥśaṇa and Vâsudēva were the more respected among
the four. There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadrâ in the
period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The inscriptions of the
Gupta age do not refer to his independent worship although the Vûhika doctrine finds a prominent
place in the Pâñcharâtra Saṅhîtā, some of which were composed between the fourth and
eighth centuries. The Amarakośa, composed during this period, speaks of all the four Vûhakâ.

\(^2\) Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, Kâmarûpakshamārvâ, Intro., pp. 6; 22; above, Vol. XXX p. 292,
A modified form of the Vyāha doctrine is also noticed in the joint worship of Balabhadra, Kṛishṇa and Ekañapātī (or, Subhadrā), their combined image being referred to by Varāhamihira in the sixth century A.D. Gradually Balabhadra came to be regarded as one of the Asatāras of Viśnu.\(^1\)

The importance of the Umāchal rock inscription therefore lies in the fact that it testifies to the independent worship of Balabhadra in Assam about the fifth century A.D. Thus it appears that, even though the independent worship of this Vaishnavite deity was no longer popular, it did not die out in the Gupta age.

**TEXT**

1 Mahārājādhirāja-ēri-
2 Surēndravarmamapā kṛitam
3 bhagavataḥ Valabhadra-
4 svāmināya\(^a\) idam guhāṇ(\[^\ast\]\)

**TRANSLATION**

This cave (i.e. cave-temple) of the most worshipful Balabhadravāmin is constructed by the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Surēndravarman. (Or—This cave-temple has been built by the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Surēndravarman for the most worshipful Balabhadravāmin.)

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\(^1\) For the worship of Balabhadra, see History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II (The Age of Imperial Unity), pp. 447 ff.; ibid., Vol. III (The Classical Age), p. 418.

\(^a\) From impressions.

\(^\ast\) Read either Balabhadravāminab or bhagavatī Balabhadravāminī.

\(^\ast\) In correct Sanskrit: iṣām guhā.
No. 11—TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELIA TRAILOKVAYARMA, SAMVAT 1264

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered in 1943 by Pandit Govind Sitaram Harke of the Lakshmipura Mohalla of Saugar, Madhya Pradesh, while he was digging a pit in his house. Tehri (old Tihari) whence the grant was issued is associated with Banapur and called Tihari or Tehri-Banapur by the local people. It was formerly included in the Orchha State of Bundelkhand, but now forms part of Vindhy Pradesh. It is situated at the eastern end of the State near the borders of U. P. The plate now belongs to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, very kindly sent me at my request its photograph and permitted me to edit the inscription in this journal. Dr. Patwardhan informs me that, when the plate was received, it was bent vertically in the middle and had to be straightened before its impression or photograph could be taken. Except a small portion of the metal broken off on the left lower corner, the plate is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The inscription was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII (1947), pp. 46 ff., from an inked impression supplied to them by Sattase Vaidya of Saugar. But their treatment of the record is not quite satisfactory.

The single plate, which is engraved on one side only, is very thick and heavy. It measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{2}$ and weighs 275 tolas. In the centre of the plate, at the top, dividing the first four lines of the inscription, is engraved the figure of seated Gaja-Lakshmi which is found on all Chandelia records so far published. There are small holes at the edges on all sides of the plate which show that a small copper band was rivetted round it to protect the writing; but it has fallen off. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that, in another plate of TrailoKVavaran, a similar copper-band rivetted on the four sides of the plate has been found intact. This method of providing protection to the writing appears to have been in use from time to time instead of the one of raising the edges. The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the plate where it was bent, thereby damaging or deforming them in the area affected by the bend. The letters are not of the same size throughout. The first six lines are written in large letters, each measuring about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch; but from the seventh line the letters become smaller and in the last two or three lines they are reduced almost to half the size. As much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The characters are Dēvanāgarī of the thirteenth century. The forms of $v$ and $ch$ are similar, as in Chandrārēga and vamśa in line 1. The consonant $b$ has been indicated by the sign for $v$. There are in all 19 lines of writing. As for orthography, the consonants $d, g, v, l, p, $ and $m$ following a superscript $r$ are generally doubled, as in Madanavarmanmādēva in line 3 and Paramarddīdeva in line 4, etc. Anuvāra has replaced the class nasal in Narēndra and chandrā (line 1), but not in māndira (line 15) and elsewhere. The text has comparatively few mistakes as contrasted with other Chandelā grants.

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1 [The inscription should better have been named either as the Saugar plate after its find-spot or as the Mādāra grant after the gift village.—Ed.]

2 The epigraph is noticed in A.R. Ep., 1946-47, p. 2.

3 The names Saugars, Vasudēri and Mādhārā in line 1 have been read respectively as Sinadadvi, Vātudri and Mādhāri (pura). The Gaja-Lakshmi figure on the plate has been wrongly taken to be the god Siva in cīddhānāna.


5 For some of the Chandelā grants full of mistakes, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 129, 133 and 135.
The epigraph opens as usual with the praise of the Chandrâtrâya or Chandella royal family. After making a reference to Jayâsakti and Vîjaya-sakti, who are known to have been the real founders of the Chandella power and after the first of whom the Chandella kingdom was called Jôjâkabhuiki, the grant describes three Chandella kings, viz. Madanavarman, Paramardidêva and Trailûkyavarman. Paramabhattarakâ-Mahârâja-dhîrâya-Paramêvara Trailûkyavarman is described as Paramamâhêvara and Kâla-nâjâr-âdhipati (lord of Kâla-nâja). The name of Yasa varman, who, according to the Bahâdvar inscription, was father of Paramardidêva, is omitted here as in records like the Garra plates of Trailûkyavarman and Mahoba plates of Paramardidêva.

The charter was issued by Trailûkyavarman when he was residing at Tihari and records his gift of the village Mârâura, situated in the Vandârâ váshaya, to Nâyaka Kulêsarman who hailed from the village of Raikaura. It seems that the announcement of the grant was made at the Sihaçaupi military camp (Sihaçaupi-saiñê). The grantee was the son of Nâyaka Gayadhara, grandson of Rûta Siha and great-grandson of Rûta Naugraha. He belonged to Vatsagûtra having five pravaras, viz., Vatsa, Bhraga, Chavyana, Aurvva and Jâmâdâgaya, and was a student of the Vâjasañeya lâkhâ.

The epigraph cites the following date both in words and numerical figures: V.S. 1264, Bhâdrapada-vádi 2, Friday. If the year is taken as expired, the details of the date correspond regularly to the 29th August, 1238 A.D.

The earliest date of Trailûkyavarman known from the Garra grant is Friday, April 22, 1205 A.D. He appears to have ascended the throne shortly after the death of his father Paramardidêva in April 1202 A.D. during the siege of Kâla-nâja by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. There is no agreement among Muslim chroniclers regarding either the date or the course of events of the siege of Kâla-nâja. I am in favour of accepting Monday, the 20th Rajab (Hisâhi), 599 A.H., corresponding to April 15, 1202 A.D., as the correct date of the capture of the fort by the Muslims. Paramardidêva was dead before the fort was captured by the Muslims and the peace with the invaders was then concluded by his son and successor Trailûkyavarman.

Shortly after his succession, Trailûkyavarman seems to have launched an attack upon the Turks, with whom, according to his Garra plate, a battle was fought at Kaka-padha, in which Rûta Fâpâs, an officer of Trailûkyavarman, was killed. This is confirmed by an Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Viravarman dated the 14th April, 1261 A.D., which states that Trailûkyavarman was 'like Vishnu in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas.' Trailûkyavarman had also to face an attack from a certain Bhôjïka, who, according to the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhôjavarme, 'seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two.' This Bhôjïka was defeated and killed in a battle by Vâsîka, an officer of Trailûkyamalla whom the latter claims to have made 'again the ornament of princely families.'

The last known date of Trailûkyavarman, according to the Rewa plates of Hariâjadêva, falls in V.S. 1238, Mâgha (January-February 1241 A.D.), if the Trailûkyavarman of this grant is regarded.

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2 Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff.
3 Ibid., pp. 9 ff.
4 [The language of the record shows that Sihaçaupi was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated.—Ed.]
9 Ibid., p. 337.
10 Loc. cit.
as identical with Chandella Trailokyavarman. It seems, however, that he was the king who, according to Minhaj, fled from Kalanjar when it was attacked by Nusrat-ud-din Taish in A.H. 631 (1233 A.D.) during the reign of Iyamish. According to Minhaj, the king of Kalanjar was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit.1 If this account of Minhaj is taken as correct, Trailokyavarman of the above Rewah plates cannot be identified with the Chandella Trailokyavarman.2 Barring this record no inscription of the time of Trailokyavarman bearing a date subsequent to 1213 A.D., the date of an Ajayagarh inscription,3 has so far been found.

The following places are mentioned in the charter: Vaadavari-vishaya, Tihari, Mandaura, Sihadauni and Raikaura. Vaadavari appears to be the same as Vaajavada, mentioned in the Garra plates of Parnardideva,4 or Vaadavari of the Semre grant.5 It has been identified with Bedwad in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhansi District of U.P.* Tihari is the same as modern Tihari or Tehri-Banapur, near Tikamgarh. Mandaura is modern Madora in the Lalitpur Sub-division. It is 28 miles south of Tikamgarh and Tehri and almost at the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. Sihadauni is the same as Sivaou of inscriptions, identified7 with Siron Khurd nearly 10 miles west-north-west of Lalitpur. I am unable to identify Raikaura.

TEXT

1 Om svasti [*] Jayaty=aadhlayan vii=viwan Visvetara=ii[r]=dhri=al Chaindrtra=ya=nare
2 Tatra pravardhamane virdni-vijaya-bhrjayana=Jayaasakti-Vijayaasakty=-adi-vir-virbhadva
dil=va-
3 re paramabhattra=aka-mahaurajdhiraja=paramesvara-sri-Madanavarmmad=eva=pad-anudhyata
4 bhattra=aka-mahaurajdhiraja=paramesvara-sri- Paramaridid=eva=pad-anudhyata-paramapha
5 harijdhira=ja-paramesvara-paramanusha=vara-sri-Kalanjar-uddipati-srimat-Trailokyavarn-
6 jayi [*] Sa =cha durvippa(cha)hatarat-pratapa-tapita=sakalasripu-kulah kulavadhum=iva
7 vikala-vivika=nirmalikrita-matil= Sihadauni=sainy= Vaadavari=vishay=anta=patia=Marin
daura=gram-opagat=Vra(Bra)=man=anyunikha(=cha)
8 manyan-adhirkrit=an-kutumvi(mbi)-kayastha-duta=ve(vai)dyahattaran=Mada-Chandja=lan
9 ti cha=astu wa=hanv (sauvi)ditam= yath=opari=khito=yati=grama= sa-jala-sthalah sa-sthavara

3 ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 56.
5 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137.
6 Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 274.
7 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 192. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this reference.
8 Expressed by symbol.
10. rddhvē bhūta-bhavishyad-varttamara-na(nih)sēsā-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratishhiddha-chāṭ-ādi-pra-
vēśa-ah-sma bhīṇā Tihari-śamāvāśe Chatuṭṭhahashty-adhi-
11 ka-sa(ān)ta-dvay-śpēta-saha[ṣra]tanē samva(samva)tsarē Bhādrapada-māsi
kriṣṇa-pakṣē dvitīyāyaṃ-tīthāv-anākatō-pi samvata(sarīvat) 1264 Bhā-
12 dra-vadī 2 Su(ṣu)kra-vārē Raikura-vinirgatāya Vatsa-gōtrāya Vatsa-Bhārgava-
Chyavan-Aurumma(rvva)-Yā(Jā)madagnya-pañcha-pravarāya Vājaasa(sa)nēya-ākā-
13 dhvāyinē Rūṣaka-Naurāhaṇa-prapautrāya | Rānta-Ṣīṣṭa-pantarēya | Ṛṣyaka-Ṣayādhara-
purtreyya Ṛṇyaka-Kulāsamanē Ṛṇa(Bṛā)hmanēya śā
danāh kṛitvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir-ājñā-śravanā-vidhēyair-bhūtvā bhāga-bhūga-
pasuv(ṣu)-hiraṇya-kara-sulma(kā)di-saruvam-asmai sampanētavyam(ṛyam │
15 Tad-śam-asya grāmān sa-mandira-prākāraṇ sa-nirgama-pravēṣaṇ sa-saruv-ḥāsan-ekahu-
karpasa-kusū(ṣu)ma-sa(ṣa)ṇ-āmra-mahāk-ādi-bhūruha[ṁ] sa-vana-kha-
16 ni-nilānāṁ sa-loha-lavāṇa-triṇa-parilā(ṛnā-ā)dy-ākrarā sa-mrīga-vihaṅgama-jalacharān
sa-gōkulaṃ-aparair-apī sāṁ-āntargattair-vvastubhiḥ sahit[ā]ṁ
17 ā-svā(ḥ)hy-abhyantar-ādāyaḥ bhūṁjānasya na kōn-āpi vādhā kāryā │ Atra cha rāja-
rājapuruḥ-ādibhiḥ svāṁ svam-ābāhyayāḥ pariḥartāvyah(ṛyam m-idaḥ-eh-śmad-dāma(na-
18 m═ānāchchhādyaṃ-anāhāryaḥ eh-ṣtē bhāvibhir-apī bhūmipālaḥ pālaṇīyāḥ(ṛyam) || Uktiḥ-
cha || Shashtijī varsha-sahasrāpi svarggī vacati bhūmidaḥ | ācchhēta(tā) v-anumanta(na) 
cha tāny-ś.
19 va na[ṣa(kā) vaśēta(śe)] || Bhūmīṁ yah pratigriṅñāti yas-tu bhūmīṁ prayschchati | ubhau 
tau punya-karmā[ṇau] niyataṁ svargga-gāminau ||[*] Sva-hastō-yam rāja-ṛṣi-Trē-
(Tra)lokāyavarmma[ṇa]ḥ ||[*]

*The ṛṣeṇa is superfluous.*
No. 12—KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

This copper-plate record\(^1\) was secured by Mr. G. C. Chandra, ex-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1940, when he was touring in the Guntur District. It was in the possession of the Taktilath of the Palnad Taluk, to whom it was handed over by a farmer of Gunthala, who is said to have discovered it while ploughing a field. Mr. Chandra made over the set of plates to the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy. I edit it below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India with whom the plates now lie.\(^2\)

The set consists of five plates, each measuring 8 ½" by 2" with a hole (1" in diameter) at their left margin, through which passes a circular copper ring, ½" thick and about 3" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a mass of copper shaped into a circular seal about 1½" across, which bears on its flattened surface the legend Śrī-Viṣṇuvasiddhi in a single line embossed in bold characters over the figure of a lotus in relief. Above the legend is a crescent, also embossed in high relief. The seal is similar to that of the Nāgāra plates, except for the difference in the legend which in the latter reads Śrī-Sarvasiddhi. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 110 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern variety and may be assigned to a date about the end of the 7th century A. D. The inscription is neatly engraved and is fairly well preserved except for some portions damaged on the last plate. Of the individual letters, the vowels a, ā, i, ē and ū occur, a in lines 4 and 6, ā in line 45, i in lines 2 and 39 and ē in line 33. The medial sign for short i is indicated by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter as in ē in viśramasya, and its length is denoted by a sharp inward curve of the loop on its left side as in ē in line 2 and ki in kṛtti in line 6. The aspirate ph is distinguished from p by a sharp inward bend of the right hand shaft of the letter, as in phala in lines 17 and 44; b is of the closed type throughout; the Dravidian ḷ occurs in lines 5 and 15 and ṛ in lines 29 and 38. The final ṃ is written in a diminutive and cursive form and is shaped like an inverted interrogation mark with its right arm stretched upwards, as in pratīṣṭha (line 3) and rājāṇām (line 4). The rēpha is denoted by a short vertical shaft attached right over the letter as in āudārya and gāmbhirya (lines 1 and 13); but when it occurs in conjunction with the sign for i which is denoted by a circle attached to the top of the letter, it is written in two ways, viz., with the circle enclosing the shaft as in viśramasya (line 6) and with the circle attached to the top of the shaft as in ṛddhi in viśparādhi (line 15).

The language of the charter is Sanskrit composed in prose throughout except for the minatory verses at the end of the document. As regards orthography the consonant after the rēpha is generally doubled except where the rēpha occurs due to sandhi as in āyur-bala (line 30). Minor errors in syntax (duly corrected in the body of the text itself) are met with in lines 22, 29, 33, etc.

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\(^1\) C. P. No. 39 of 1940-41.
\(^2\) I am indebted to my colleagues Messrs. M. Venkataramaya and P. B. Deo for a number of useful suggestions they offered while I was preparing this article.

**Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 85.**
The charter commences with a prayer invoking longevity, health and prosperity of the king and success in the attainment of his desires. In the delineation of his forebears of the parent line, the record omits the name of Pulakēśīn I after Raigarāga although he appears to have been accorded honor. Again, while describing the relationship of Kiritivarman with Raigarāga, the expression Ṛṣapāṭi has been used wrongly for Ṛṣapāṭa. Vishnuvardhana II, the donor, is correctly described as the prapūtra, i.e., great-grandson, of Kiritivarman.

The object of the grant is the gift of the village of Vepēki in Patilirāṣṭra by Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana, the son of Indravarman mahārāja who is described with such epithets as Vaj yiśdēvan, Vīgrahāsiddha, Siṃhavikrama and Rājunātāra and as the brother of Jayasimha-varālāha. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha for the longevity, success and prosperity of its issuer, i.e., king Vishnuvardhana (line 30).

It seems to have been committed to writing about eight months later, on the date recorded at the end of the grant, viz. regnal year 30 of Jayasimha, Asvayuja su. 10, Monday, Śravāṇa-makṣaṭtra (lines 44-46). The recipient of the gift was Vidūṣarman of the Pārśara-gastra, Āpāstamba-gastra and Tāṣṭiriyaka charaya, the Bōya of Kandēru and a resident of Ātukukru. He was the son of Mahāśānakarman who is described as a scholar of repute in the various branches of learning and being exalted as the very Vararuci of the present day for his erudition in the exposition of the Vaiśeṣika. Having received the gift village, Vidūṣarman seems to have divided it into 120 shares and distributed them in turn among fifteen persons whose names are not specified in detail. Of them, the first four, namely Vīṣṇuvarman and his son Mādhvarman as well as Mahāśānakarman and his brother Dāmadevarman figure as the principal donees each getting 20 shares apiece, while the rest who figure as the bōyas of specified villages are assigned shares in varying degrees (text line 31).

The king then enjoins not only upon the future rulers of his line but also upon the officials who were in charge of the village produce (gaṇiva-maṅgha-vadikṛṣṭā) to protect the gift. These Rapōpīn are specified as Dhanāṅjaya and others of the Agyayaa lineages.

Of considerable interest in the record are the details of the two dates, possibly specifying the respective occasions on which the gift was made and the deed registering the gift, subsequently committed to writing. A lunar eclipse in Māgha marked the occasion of the former and Asvayuja su. 10, Monday, Śravāṇa, in the 30th year of Jayasimha marked the latter. The matter, it may be noted, was the auspicious occasion of Vaiṣṇakṣari. This rare citation of a double date, in a way, serves as an aid for arriving at the precise date of the record and therefore of the exact year of its commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule which, according to Fleet, is 615 A.D and according to the latest calculations 624 A.D. Since the charter is dated in the 30th year of Jayasimha, i.e., throughout the 47th year from the commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule, counting 17 full years of reign for Kūbja-Vaiṣṇuvardhanas; the eighteenth regnal year being his last and perhaps also the first year of the reign of his successor Jayasimha, it would fall somewhere between 662 and 671 A.D, according as the initial year of the Eastern-Chālukya rule is taken as 615 or 624 A.D. In the range of years 662-671 A.D., that year in which a lunar eclipse  

1 Of the four epithets, Vaj yiśdēvan and Siṃhavikrama are already known whereas Vīgrahāsiddha and Rājunātāra are introduced for the first time by the present record.

2 The date of Vararuci is disputed. Some scholars assign him to 300-350 B.C. and some place him in the Gupta period. The epithet adyaśanta-Vararuci applied to the donor's father Mahāśānakarman indicates that Vararuci belonged to a remote past at the time of Jayasimha I, i.e. the 7th century A.D.

4 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 49; A. R. Ep., 1945-46, p. 3.
occurred in Māgha and the tīthi 10 of the succeeding Aśvayuja was a Monday would be the date of our record. During the period in question lunar eclipses in Māgha occurred in the years 668, 669 and 670 A. D. Leaving out of consideration the year 668 as improbable for the other date, viz., the date on which the record was committed to writing (the 10th day of the bright half of Aśvayuja), the month Aśvayuja of the year 668 having preceded Māgha in which the grant was made, we have to see whether the tīthi of the succeeding Aśvayuja in the year 669 coincided with a Monday. The English equivalent for the details in this year works out to September 11, Monday, on which the nakṣatra Śravaṇa was also current. This much therefore can be said that on the date the grant was committed to writing, namely 11th September 669 A. D., the 30th regnal year of the king was current. Whether the lunar eclipse in Māgha in the preceding year, i.e. 668 A. D., also fell in the same regnal year, it is not possible to determine. The year 669 A. D. being thus the 30th year of reign of king Jayasimhavallabha, his initial year of reign will be 669—30=639-40 A. D. Deducting 17 years covering the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana from this, we get 639-40—17=622-23 A. D. as the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule.

A point arises here as to how Vishṇuvardhana II, with the title of Mahārāja, could issue a charter under his own royal seal bearing the legend Vishṇusiddhi, during the very reign of his uncle Jayasimha. We know for certain that his own father Indrarvanman, whom he succeeded to the throne, ruled as king, although for a very short duration, and issued the Koṇānaguru grant. Vishṇuvardhana II calls himself the son of Indra-bhaṭṭāraka in his Pamiḍimukkala plates (second set) which he issued in the 3rd year of his reign; but in another, viz. his Pamiḍimukkala plates (first set), which is undated, he is described as the son of Jayasimha. Some of the Eastern Chālukya grants assign to Jayasimha a reign of 30 years while the majority of them state that he ruled for 33 years. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that the plates under review belonged almost to the fog end of Jayasimha’s reign. It is not improbable that, at this period of his life, the king associated in the regal duties, his nephew, Vishṇuvardhana with full authority even to issue royal grants as the one under review under his own seal. In lines 22-24, the record enumerates a number of officials who were all notified of the gift by an order of the king. Among them the mention of the Talavara is noteworthy. This reminds us of the Mahātalavara known from such records as the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions. Among the village officials in South India, the Talāri or Talavari holds even today a responsible post.

The village of Koṇāniki, is stated to have been situated in Palli-rasṭra. It can be identified with the village Koṇāniki, not far from Guražāla in the Paliṇā Taluk, Guntur District. There is another village of the same name in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the same District. But as this village is far away from Guražāla, the findspot of the plate, Koṇāniki in the Paliṇā Taluk seems to be the village intended. Palli-rasṭra, in which the gift village lay, appears to be the ancient name of the modern Paliṇā. In inscriptions the name occurs variously as Paliṇāṇḍu, Paliṇāṇḍu or Paliṇidēśa, and it is referred to as a 300-division. In Telugu literature, some chāhu verses ascribed to Śrīnātha (c. 1385-1475 A.D.), the court poet of the Reddi kings, give a graphic picture of this tract variously called Paliṇādu, Paliṇā and Paliṇidēsamu. It may be

1 In calculating the details of the date I have followed the method suggested by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in An Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part i, pp. 133 ff.
2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.
4 Ibid., C. P. No. 14 of 1916-17.
6 A. R. No. 334 of 1930-37.
7 A. R. No. 18 of 1941-42.
91V Prabhakara Sastri, Śrīṣṭi Śrāvyaham, pp. 237-238, 240.
KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

incidentally noted that pañc̄ connoted in Tamil literature, a place of worship, especially of the Buddhist or Jaina sect.

The donees are all associated with the names of villages, of which they are stated to be the Bōyas. This expression, supposed to be a corruption of bhāgika, also occurs in another Eastern Chālukya charter belonging to the reign of Indravarman. All the villages mentioned in the record with the exception of one can be located, as shown in the table below, in the Pālnad and adjacent Taluks of the Guntur District.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Village mentioned in the plates</th>
<th>Its modern name</th>
<th>Taluk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kandēgu</td>
<td>Kantēru</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ātukūru</td>
<td>Andukūru</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mādokūru</td>
<td>Mātukūru</td>
<td>Pālad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Koṭḍaśāmi</td>
<td>Koṭḍarpūṇḍu(?)</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pāṭi</td>
<td>Pāṭibhaṇḍa</td>
<td>Sattenapalle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kumuṇārū</td>
<td>Kōṇurū(?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Naḍukūru</td>
<td>Naḍikūṇe</td>
<td>Pālad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kanparu</td>
<td>Kanpara</td>
<td>Naṇasaraṇapet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Iruktūru</td>
<td>Ikkuru</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Veḷucaṭa</td>
<td>Veḷlicherla</td>
<td>Bapatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Re [... ]</td>
<td>Rēṭurū (?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Śrī[r]-vijayatām [[*] Mahāra[ja][ya][ya] [āyu]ṛ=ārōgyam=aiśvāryyaḥ=ch=ābhifvarddhahat[ām]
[[*] Isṛtha-sampad[ast]=uttā[ūtta]rōttarā[ḥ[ḥ]] kr[ya]=sa-
2 mpadya[ntām [*] [Śrī]mad-Asanapür-ādhisihthānu(na)-vāsi(at) Śrimad-bhagavat-svāmi-Ma-
(Ma)haṇeṇa-pādānudhyātā-
3 nāth[na] triḥbhuvana-mātri(tri)bhir=abhirakhatānām Ma(Mā)nava-yanaya-ya[trṣtrānām Hārīt-
putrāṇām Ko(Kau)jī[ki]-
4 vara-prasāda-labda-rājya(nām(nām) chatur-udadhi-paryanataḥ(ta)-prathita-ya[sa]sa(sām)
Aśvāmṛda(dha)-
5 yājinām(nām) Chajukya(nām)=anvaya=unnamayituma(tuḥ) Sakraddana(Saṅkrandana)-
bhūta-Raṇarāgasya

**Second Plate, First Side**

6 prapāt[h]ā(ḥ)[puṭh]* asahya-vi[=ma]ya vipula-kirttē[ḥ[ḥ]] Kṛttivamma(rmra)[na[ḥ]* prapautra-
[ḥ[ḥ]] ākṣettraya-vasikr(kri)="va-kā-

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2 From the original plates.
3 The scribe had written something below 4 and scored it later.
4 A length mark appears to have been wrongly added to the subscript 4 in 46.
5 The syllable sa is redundant.
6 For prapāt[h]ā read napt[h]ā.
Second Plate, Second Side

11 tā-prasūta-yaśaḥ-prasūtāmōda-ga[ndh-ā]dhivāśita-sakala-digmanḍalasya[nā]-ānāstra-ā
12 bhyās-āpabhihita-nīśita-vimala-buddhēḥ tyāg-āudāryya-gāṁbhīrya-dhairyya-kānti-pra-
13 jā-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-āla[m*]kritisya trailōka(īśa)-vikram-ō(d*)d[yōdī(ī)ta-sakala-lōk-āśraya-
14 bhuja-yu-
15 ga[i]la-bala-namīt-āśeṣa-rupu-nṛpi[,]pativa-makuta-taśa-ghaṣṭit-ānēka-masi-kiraṣa-rāga-raḥi-
16 ta-charau-āravinda-yuga[,]jasya vi viṣa-dvaj-ōpāta-[Śakra[f*]]d[di]-visparōdha-vibh[ī]tē=re-
17 ānēk-āhi-

Third Plate, First Side

16 ta-sara-vara-sīraḥ-karōti-kā-vitā[na]-vikhyāta-yaśasā ḍēva-dvija-guru-yaśadhi(yaṭy-atithi)-
17 nūjī(ji)vi-sambandhibhir-anavara-prakām-ōpabhōgaḥ-bhujuvānā-vividha-puṣya-phalas-
18 radhīnāḥ śīl-a-vitā-bhur-bhur-bhur-vimukta-śiśita[na]-ramān-andhōḥ śīl-
19 godānuḥ[nāḥ] śakti-traya-saman-ā(n)mēka-vidyā-viśāra[daḥ]dasya ripu-maṇḍalēṣhv-apī-
20 Vyagrasaddhi(īḥ) śiṃha-
21 vikrama-nay-ōpāta-vā[tm*]rājālōkāśraya-ērimad-Indravarm-mahārājasya-putra[f*]

Third Plate, Second Side

21 nānā-śa{s}[s]str-āśīyās-ōpā[t-t-ā*]nēka-vidyā-viśāra[daḥ] Vīṣṇuvardhhdha-mahārājasya-
22 rājāḥ Paḷlī-ṛaṣṭrē Konē[k]i-
23 nāma-grāma[m*] samradattäḥ(dāya) grāmēyakān rājapuruḥa-tala[-vā-sa]ndanāyaka-
24 rāṣṭrīka-
25 dōta-bhāṣa-nāṭa-[a]chāka-parichāraka-nīyukt-ādhya[k]ah-praśastri-sa[ṃhär]tī-sā-
26 nāya-kās[ō]ch(kām{s}-ch)-ājñapayati [f*] Śrōṭriyasā sakala-dig-anta-prathita-yaśasō yajana-
27 yā-
28 jan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpama-dāna-prativraha(ḥ)-niyama-nirata-sā sava-āgama-vi-

Fourth Plate, First Side

26 śēṣa-prratipādanatvād-adyakāla-Vararuciḥ-itī vikhyātasaya Mahāśeṣāśaṃarima[f]ujāh]
KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

27 putrāya Vidoṣamāṃ(rma)ṇaḥ(ṇē) brahmaṇa-sūtra-mantra-tantrā-ōpanisha[t*]-prabhūritya- naka(ty-anēka)-vidyā-vidyu.

28 śē Parāsara-gōtra(trā)ya sarvva-satv-ā(ttv-ā)nukampita-maitri(tri)-chīrrtā(ttā)ya Taitrika- (ttīryaka)-chara-

29 [pā]ya Āpastamba-sūtraya Kandēru-Bōya-Brāhmaṇa(ṇāya) Ātukuru-va(vā)stuvyasya(vyāya)

30 Māgha-ṛ̱ṣe sōmgraṇhaṇa-ka[la] asmad-āyur-bala-vijaya-bhōg-aśvaryya(ryy-ā)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

31 vardhaha(vriddha)yē sampradatta dēvabhāga-hala-varja[/*] Mamān=vayajā yē kṣichd= anāgatē kā-

32 lē bhūmipā[la]ḥ[/*] sarvvē grāma-sa[r]khaṇaṁ kurvvantu grāma-sambhav-śāhikri(kri)- tā[/*] sarvvē Ayya-

33 ṣ-anvaryajā Dhanaṅjaya-prabhūrtyadas-tat-purushāḥ(ṣhāḥ-cha) [/*] śtasya [骧mē(masya)] sōttara-śtēśhav-atm-

34 ēśahu Vishnusarmmaṇa viṁśatī[h*] atēsakāni(kāh) [/*] tasya sununā(śūna) M[ā]diśarm- mmaṇe viṁśatī[h*]

35 Mahāśeṣaṃarmmaṇe viṁśati[h*] tasya cha priy-[ā]nujasya(jāya) Dāmaśarmeṇe viṁśa(śa)ti-[h*] Mudokura-

Fifth Plate, First Side

36 Bōyasya(yāya) Gaṇaśārmaṇaṇ(a)ḥ śataḥ [/*] [Ā]tukuru-Bōyasa(yāya) Vishnusārmaṇa paṇcha [/*] Kondāsāmi-Bō-

37 yasya(yāya) paṇcha[/*] Pāṭi-Bōyasa-y(yāy=ai)ka[h |/*] Kūmunūru-Bōyasa(yāya) Mādi- sārmanṇaṇ(ṇē) charvātri(raḥ)……………[i-Bō]*

38 yasya(yāya) dvē(dvau) [/*] Nāduku-ra-Bōyasa(yāya) Sarvvasārmmaṇe dvau [/*] Velu[cha]jī- Bōya]-Pe(ṭṭa)-

39 saṃarmaṇa(ṇē) dv[j]au [/*] Rē.[Bōya]sa(yāya) dvau [/*] Kānpat-Bōyasa(yāya) Maṇḍa- sārmmaṇa(ṇē) dvau [/*] Rēvaśarmmaṇ(ṇē) dvau [/*] Iru-

40 kuṭ[u]ra-[Bōya]sa(yāya) dvau [/*] Yo-sūm(a)ma(ch)-chhāsanam[a[dhi(ti)kramya(ti*) sa pāpō(ṣaḥ) śāriṁ danḍam-arhati [/*]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

41 Bhūmi-dān[ī]-paran-dā][na]*ṇa nbhūtan-na bhavishyati[/*] [Tasy-āpa]haṛaṅgap-pāpan- 

na bhūtan-na bhavishya-

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1 The implied reading appears to be [sahas grāmaḥ] sampradattaḥ dēvabhāga-hala-varja iti.
2 This expression is written over an erasure.
3 The letter t is introduced above the line between sa and the following letter.
4 The letters pāncha are written over an erasure. The prominent circle above pā has to be ignored.
5 Three or four syllables are completely worn out here and the medial sign alone of a letter preceding bē is visible.
6 The tēphs over bē is redundant.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

(Lines 1-2) Invocation.

(Lines 3-21) From his victorious capital Asanapura, king Vishnudvaradhana-mahārāja, the son of Rājakāśyapa. Indravarman-mahārāja, entitled Tyāgadēnu, who was the younger brother of Jayasiṃhavallabha-mahārāja, who was the son of Vishnudvaradhana-mahārāja, who was the younger brother of Satyārāya-Priyadhvarbha (i.e., Pulakesin II), and the great-grandson (praṇaptu) of Kirtivarman who was the great-grandson (praṇaptu) of Raṇarāja.

(Lines 22-40) Having granted the village Koṇekika in Paṭi-rāṣṭrap, orders the officials grāmēyaka, rājapuruṣa, tajavara, daṇḍanāyaka, rāṣṭriya, dūte, bhāja, nata, chētaka, parichāra, niyukta, adhyakṣa, prāśāstra, samāhāra, and nāyaka (īhū) to Vidusārman, the ruler of Parāśara-gūtra, Taṃtiyika, Charana, and Āpamanta sēṣṭa, the Bōya of Kandēru and a resident of Ātukuru, well-versed in the various branches of learning such as the Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, Mantra, Tantra, Upanishad, etc., and benevolently inclined towards all living beings, who is the son of Mahāśeṣaśarman, a śrēṣṭhyaka, who is conversant with the Vedic, whose fame is widespread and who is constantly engaged in yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhīyana, dāna, and pratiyāka, who is well known as the very Vararuci of the day for his erudition in expounding all the āgamas—(to him, i.e., Vidusārman) is given (the village) Koṇekika with the exclusion of the devebbhoga land, on the day of the lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha, for the increase of our longevity, strength, success, enjoyment and prosperity. "In future let all the rulers of my lineage, and the hereditary village officers, Dhanāñana and such others of the lineage of Ayyaya, protect the village." In this village, out of the hundred and twenty shares, twenty are for Vishnusārman; twenty for his son Mādiśarman; twenty for Mahāśeṣaśarman; twenty for his dear brother Dāmaśarman; six for Gaṇaśarman, the Bōya of Mudokuru; five for Vishnusārman, the Bōya of Ātukuru; five for Koṭṭaṇaim-bōya; four for Mādiśarman aliya Pāṭi-bōya, the Bōya of Kumunuru; two for... bōya; two for Sarvavāraṇa, the Bōya of Nājukuru; two for Peṭṭaśarman, the Bōya of Veluchali; two for Rē... bōya; two for Manḍeṣarman, the Bōya of Kāmpaṭu; two for Revaśarman and two for the Bōya of Ārukutūra.

(Lines 40-44) Imprecatory and minoratory verses.

(Lines 44-46) This order was engraved by the artisan Gaṇagīvajī in the augmenting year 30 of the reign of king Jayasiṃhavallabha-mahārāja in the month of Aṣṭavuya. ūkla-paksha, daśaṁ, Šravana (nakṣatram), Monday.

1 Read "praṇaptu".
2 The descriptive epithets, etc., of the kings are omitted in this abstract.
3 Kirtivarman was actually the grandson of Raṇarāja and not his great-grandson.
KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA (II) - PLATE II

SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 13—JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V. S. 1191

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

Shēr Shāh Sūr, the celebrated Afghān emperor of Delhi (1539–45 A.D.), is accused by Bādāmī and other Muslim historians of wanton callousness in destroying old cities for founding new ones on their ruins after his own name.¹ On this point Nūr-ul-Haq says in his Zubdat-ul-Tawārīkh: “Shēr Khān founded many cities after his own name, as Shēr-gaṛh, Shēr-kōṭ . . . .”² There are numerous places bearing such names in different parts of Northern India even to this day, one of them being Shēr-gaṛh representing a fort in ruins and a town (now almost deserted) standing on the river Parwān (a feeder of the Kālī-Sindh which is a tributary of the Chambal), about ninety miles to the south-east of Kōṭah in the District of that name in Rājasthān. On the 16th of January 1953, I visited Shēr-gaṛh from my camp at Kōṭah in search of inscriptions in the company of Mr. P. N. Kaul, then Commissioner of the Kōṭah Division of Rājasthān, and Mr. R. N. Hawā, then Collector of the Kōṭah District. I take this opportunity of thanking both the officers for their kindness shown to me and the interest they exhibited in my work. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. K. Mājumādār of the Herbert College, Kōṭah, who accompanied me to Shēr-gaṛh and helped me in various ways.

On a careful examination of the inscriptions at Shēr-gaṛh, it was found that three of them had been previously published. One of these three is a Buddhist inscription supposed to be dated in V. S. 847 (790 A.D.).³ This is incised on a slab of stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs to the proper left of the gate of the deserted town and is a prākṣasti (eulogy) recording the construction of a Buddhist temple (mandīra) and a monastery (vihāra) to the east of Mount (giri) Kōśavardhana by a Sāṁanta (feudal chief) named Dēvadatta.

The second published inscription from Shēr-gaṛh, which bears dates in V. S. 1074 (1017 A.D.), 1075 (1018 A.D.) and 1084 (1027 A.D.), is built into a front line pillar of the local Lakṣhami-Nārīṇyāna temple, although there is no doubt that it originally belonged to a different religious establishment.⁴ The inscription actually consists of three distinct documents. The first of these records a daily grant of one karaka of ghee as unguent to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka-āśīr-Nagnaka while the other two speak of several grants in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Bhaṭṭāraka-āśīr-Nagnaka of this record with the Śiva-bhaktā-Saiva called Nagnaka-bhaṭṭāraka, mentioned in the Dhanop (old Shāhpur State, now a part of the Udaipur Division of Rājasthān) inscription⁵ of V. S. 1063, although there is also a view that ‘since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon exist, it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka-Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person ’.⁶ It seems to us that Bhaṭṭāraka-āśīr-Nagnaka was a

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² Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its Own Historians, Vol. VI, p. 189.
³ Bhandarkar, List, No. 21. The record was edited by Hultszch first in EDMG, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 547 ff., and afterwards in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff. For the date of the inscription, see also Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 351, and Vol. XXVI, p. 162.
⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 175
⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 133 note.
Śaiva ascetic in charge of the temple of Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) and that the grant was made in his favour but was meant to be also enjoyed by his successors in the charge of the temple in question. We have numerous grants made permanently in favour of an individual since they were meant to be enjoyed also by his descendants. The above Śaivite establishment is stated to have included, besides the temple, a considerable area of land styled Sōmanāthadēvā-pallīka.

The third of the published inscriptions from Shērgarh is engraved on a stone slab now embedded in the front wall of the Lakshmi-Nārāyana temple, although, like the other inscribed slab in that temple, it must have belonged originally to an older temple of Śiva called Sōmanāthadēvā. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the copy of a copper-plate grant of the Paramāra king Udayāditya (known dates: V. S. 1116 = 1059 A.D., V. S. 1137 = 1080 A.D., and V. S. 1143 = 1086 A.D.), none of whose copper-plate charters has so far been published. It is, however, a matter of regret that some parts of the record, including the passage containing the date, cannot be made out owing to damages in the stone and to its lower end being built into the wall. The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Paramāra king, when he was stationed at Kāneta-drāma and took a ceremonial bath on the occasion of the Damanaka-panam, in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēvā (Śiva) of the Kōsavardhana durgā (fort) which, as noted above, is called gīrt (hill) in another of the Shērgarh inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kōsavardhana was the old name of modern Shērgarh and that the temple of the god Sōmanāthadēvā, now untraceable, lay in an old hill-fort at the place.

The published inscriptions from Shērgarh (ancient Kōsavardhana), it will be seen, reveal the existence of two religious establishments, one Buddhist and the other Śaivite. Amongst the inscriptions traced by me at the place, including the above, there are two epigraphs disclosing the interesting fact that, side by side with the Buddhist monastery and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jains also flourished at Kōsavardhana in the early medieval period. Another unpublished inscription at Shērgarh also interested me considerably. Unfortunately all these three records are preserved unsatisfactorily, the pieces of stone on which they are engraved being mutilated.

The stone bearing the last of the above three unpublished inscriptions was found within the fort. The record in four lines contains two verses, numbered in figures, and the date at the end. But the left half of the epigraph is broken away and could not be traced. The third line of the extant portion of the inscription (5 inches by 12 inches) containing the end of the first verse in the Sāndulakapādam Śiva metre and the beginning of the second in Anuśṭubh, reads: ya Gaṅgādhāra māndūta || Dṛgham nira-grīhāṁ bhaveṣvāṁ kriyā[rām]. While the date in line 4 reads: Samaµvat || 1285 || varṇa[ya]. There is no doubt that the first verse of this epigraph, dated V. S. 1285 (1228 A.D.), invokes the god Śiva under the name Gaṅgādhāra (i.e., the bearer of the Ganges) in the matted hair on his 'head') and the second records the construction of a nira-grīha by an individual whose name is lost. The expression nira-grīha literally means 'a water-house' and the invocation, in connection with its construction, of the Gaṅgādhāra-aspect of Śiva is easily intelligible. But the nature of this nira-grīha can hardly be determined although it seems to be the same as Persian abdār-khānah, abdār being a person entrusted with the charge of water for drinking.

The first of the two Jain inscriptions referred to above was also discovered in the fort. It is engraved on a piece of stone that was found embedded in a wall. The stone was so dressed as to leave a broad border on the sides of an excavated bed meant for the incision of the record. The border was apparently meant for the protection of the writing. The inscription covering a space, about 20 inches by 20 inches, is beautifully engraved on the said bed. It contains 34 lines of writing.

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1. Ibid., pp. 132 ff.
2. The reference may also be to repairs done to an older structure.
3. The building referred to seems to be different from a prapt-mandapa (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 328, text line 13).
Unfortunately a piece of the stone about the middle has broken off taking away with it portions of many of the lines. As the record could not be completed on the bed prepared for it, the concluding lines, numbering two only, were engraved on the lower raised border; but the letters of this part are almost completely lost.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that a squarish space, measuring 13 inches by 12\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, in the centre of the excavated bed in the stone was created by disturbing the continuous writing of lines 6-28 for the accommodation of a Padma-bandha design. While lines 1-5 and 29-34 of the epigraph contain about 46 letters each, lines 6-28 have each only about 20 letters, half of them to the left of the central square and half to its right. The pericarp of the padma is made by a circle with a diameter of about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, which is surrounded by another concentric circle having a diameter of about 2 inches. The oblong petals, 12 in number and each about 11 inches in length, spread out from the outer one of the two central circles. The outer edge of all the so-called petals is covered by another concentric circle about 13 inches in diameter, which touches the four borders of the central square, in their middle. There are again four concentric circles within this outer circle, which cut the oblong petals and create four circular spaces each about \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch in breadth. In the outer one of the above circular spaces, beginning from the left end and moving upwards, are put at the end of the upper six petals the numbers 1 to 6 against the beginning of six feet of 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) stanzas in the Śārdūlavikriḍita metre, their tenth syllable which is common to all the six being placed in the inner circle or the pericarp of the padma and the following nine syllables being continued on the opposite petals on the other side of the double circle at the centre. Some letters of the last two feet of the second stanza in Śārdūlavikriḍita are placed in the second inner circular space between the petals, the corresponding spaces within the petals being occupied by the first and last syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas engraved before, so that all the letters incised in this circular space have to be consecutively read to make out the third and fourth feet of the second stanza. The third inner circular space contains only the second and penultimate syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas referred to above; but they do not appear to yield any sense if read in the circular way.

It is, however, interesting to note that the letters in the fourth inner circular space which contains only the third and seventeenth syllables of the six Śārdūlavikriḍita feet were intended, when read in the circular way, to read śrī-Varasēna-muniṁ kritam-iddam (i.e. ‘this is composed by the illustrious monk Varasēna’), in which only the final m had to be added at the end as a part of the last syllable. There is no doubt that the above Padma-bandha points to the skill of the author of the stanzas in question as a versifier. Unfortunately a break in the stone, referred to above, stands in the way of deciphering the stanzas completely.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by a double danda and the passage Oṁ namaḥ Śivādityā. Then follow 14 stanzas in the Vasantaśataka metre, all of them in eulogy of the Jina. The three lines at the bottom of the excavated bed in the stone, which contain the end of the last verse of the pralṣṭi and were continued on the lower rim of the stone, read as follows:


1 Metre: Vasantaśataka as already noted above.
2 Metre: Dīghaśa.
3 Metre: Vasantaśaka.
4 Metre: Anushṭubh.
In the portion of the inscription quoted above, verse 15 discloses the name of the author of the praśasti. He was the same Jain monk śrī-Vaśasīna-muni who composed the stanzas in Śārdulavikrīḍita, arranged in the Padma-bandha style, and is referred to above. Verse 16 says how a mahāteṣava (great festival) of the Jain Tirthankara Neminātha was celebrated at the new Chaitya on the seventh of the bright half of Madhu (Chaitra) in V. S. 1162 (1105 A.D.) The year is given in the words doś (2), shat (6), kāśāka (1) and ēka (1) which have to be read in the usual reverse order. The praśasti was apparently composed and engraved on stone on the occasion of the said festival. Verse 17 seems to disclose the name of the engraver of the record, who was Rāghava, son of Baladāva. The verses quoted above show that, although the author was a skillful versifier, his language was greatly influenced by Prakrit. He has not only used such forms as kahanitvayam (for Sanskrit kahanitvayam) and janeti (for Sanskrit janayet), apparently for the sake of the metre, but has also coined the expression tilīkata (the same as Sanskrit bhram) according to Hēmāchandra’s Grammar which equates Prakrit tilīkata with Sanskrit bhram from a Prakrit root. The inscription is therefore of considerable lexical interest.

The second Jain inscription which forms the main subject of the present paper was found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tirthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shērgarh. The three Tirthaṅkaras represented are Śānti (Sāntinātha), Kunthu or Kunthānātha and Ara (Aranātha). As early images of the Tirthaṅkaras Kunthu and Ara are rare, I examined the inscription with considerable interest.²

The inscription is written in eight lines and covers a space about eighteen inches in length and five inches in height. But the stone on which it is engraved is mutilated and some letters in lines 1-3 are broken away and lost. The characters are Nāgari and the language is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by Prakrit. The record is written in verse with a passage in prose at the end. This passage gives the date of the inscription, which is also found quoted in one of the verses. The record exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of both the scribe and the engraver. It bears the date: V. S. 1191, Vaiśākha-sudi 2, Tuesday, which corresponds to the 29th March 1134 A.D.; but the week day was Thursday and not Tuesday as given in the inscription.

The first half of the first verse of the record, which is considerably damaged, speaks of the wife of a person named Māhilla who was probably residing at a pattana or township called Śuryārāma (literally, a hermitage associated with the Sun-god). The second half of the stanza says how Śrīpāla and Guṇapāla (Guṇapāla), probably two sons of the said Māhilla, migrated to Mālava. The first half of verse 2 says that a son named Devapāla was born to Śrīpāla while nine sons, viz., Pūni, Martha, Jana, Ithuka and others were born to Guṇapāla-ṭhakura’s son whose name was probably Śānti. The second half of this stanza says how all these persons caused to be made the Ratna-traya (i.e. images of the three Tirthaṅkaras, viz., Sāntinātha, Kunthānātha and Aranātha) at Kōśavardhana or at the base of the hill-fort of Kōśavardhana (Kōśavardhana-tale). The first half of verse 3 quotes the date of the inscription while its latter half records the obesiance of Devapāla’s sons, viz., Māhū, Sadhānu and others as well as Nēmi, Bharata, etc., who were the sons of Pūni and Śānti (possibly a brother of Pūni), to the gods, Śānti, Kunthu and Ara, who (i.e.

² B. C. Bhāskachārya observes, “Hitherto no image of Kunthānātha (seventeenth Jina) ... has come to light” (The Jain Iconography, p. 74) and speaks of “one or two images of Aranātha (eighteenth Jina) that have been found out so far in Northern India” (op. cit., p. 76), although “the images of Sāntinātha (sixteenth Jina) so far discovered are not a few in number” (op. cit., p. 73). He probably means images belonging to a date earlier than the late medieval period. Sāntinātha’s symbol is the deer, Yaksha Kīṃpurṣa (or Garaḍa), Yakṣaḥpi Mahāmasṭa (or Nirvāk), chowrie-bearer king Purushottama and Kēvala tree Nandī. Kunthānātha’s symbol is the goat, Yaksha Gandharva, Yakṣahpi Bāla (or Vījyā), chowrie-bearer king Kuṭāla and Kēvala tree Tīlaka. Similarly Aranātha has as his symbol a fish or the Nandīdvarca (a type of Sāvatī), Yakaḥpi Yākṣhendra, Yakṣahpi Dharapū, chowrie-bearer king Ğōvinda and Kēvala tree Chyūta (mango tree).
No. 13] JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V.S. 1191

whose images) had been installed. Verse 4 contains an adoration to the three Jinas, whose images are stated to have been made by the mason (śūradhāra) Silāśrī (possibly Sanskrit Śūlāśrī) who was a son of the mason (śūradhāra) Dāndī. It is interesting to note that the son of a father having the uncouth name Dāndī enjoyed such a poetic name as Silāśrī (literally, ‘one who imparts beauty to stones’), so true to his profession. The next stanza (verse 5) mentions Dēvāpāla’s son Ilhuka, as well as Gōshṭhin, Vissala, Lalluka, Mānuka and Hariśchandra, and also Allaka, son of Gāgā, all of whom may have been associated with the installation of the Jinas.

The inscription mentions only three geographical names, viz. (1) Sūryāśrama, (2) Mālava and (3) Kōśavardhana. Of these, we have already seen that Kōśavardhana was the early name of Shērgarh, the findspot of the inscription. Sūryāśrama cannot be identified; but the apparent inclusion of Kōśavardhana (Shērgarh in the heart of Rājasthān) in Mālava is interesting. The Mālavas originally lived in the Punjab and later settled in the Jaipur region of Rājasthān. But the application of the name Mālava to the ancient janapados of Avanti (with its capital at Ujjayinī and comprising the present west Mālwā) and Ākara or Daśārṇa (with its capital at Vidiśā, i.e. modern Besnagar near Bhilsā, and comprising the present East Mālwā) is not much earlier than the early medieval period. It was, however, widely accepted during the age of the Paramāras. We know that the inclusion of the Shērgarh region in the dominions of the Paramāra king Udayāditya of Mālava is indicated by another Shērgarh inscription noticed above.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1-3 Śādulavikrīdita; verses 4-5 Anushtubh.]

1 — — — — — — [nē šrita] — — Māhilla-bhāry-sāntimā — — — — — [sajya tilakā
Sūryāśramē pa[tta]nē ] Śrīpālō Guṇapālakas-ccha vipu-

2 [lē] Khaṇḍī — — — — — — — [sūya(rya)-charindramasaśiv-ānv(avab)ratalē praḥtau kramān-Mālavē
| 1 || Śrīpalād-īha Dēvāpāla-tna(tana)yō dānena chintāmaṇi(h) Śa-

3 [ntē śri]-Guṇapāla-thaku(kku)ra-sutād-rūpeṇa Kām-ōpamāt [tē] Pūr-Martha-Jan-Āhuva-
| prabhivat(a)ñah putrāgra(ś-chah) yē=grā nava tēḥ(tāh) sarvāvai-sapi Kōśavardhana-

4 lē Ratna-trayaḥ(yanī) kārita[mē] || 2 || Varahai Rudra-ātē(tai)r-gataih su(āu-
| bhatamair-ēkā- navatya-āhikair-Vaisākha(khē) dhavalo dvitiya-divasē dēvān-
| pratishtā-

5 pitān | vandante nata-Dēvāpāla-tanayā Māhū-Sadhānva-ādayāḥ Pu(Pū)ṇī-Sānti-sutā-s-chah
| Nēmi-Bharatēḥ śrī-Sānti-sat-Ku(rū)jehv-Arānē |

1 From impressions.
2 This is apparently the name of a family. The intended reading may be Khaṇḍilavādē.
3 The name Sānti is not beyond doubt.
4 The author uses ēkā-natvi for ēka-natvi for the sake of the metre.
5 The idea was apparently Nēmi-Bharat-ādayā.
6 As the usual form of the second name is Kuntaka or Kuntu the addition of sat at the beginning of the name of
this Tīrthaṅkara was apparently for the sake of the metre.

41 DDA/55
6 \[3 \] Dāṇḍi-sūtrādhār-ōṭpañnāḥ(nna)-Silāśīr̥-sūtrādhārīṇāḥ \[\text{(*)} \] Śānti-[Ku]dhūthū(θ-v-A)ra-
nāma(mā)nō jayantu ghaśītā Jīnāḥ \[4 \] Dēvapāla-su-
7 t-Elhukaḥ Gōshṭhi-Visāla-Lallukah(kāḥ) Māukah Hariśchandā-lāḥ Gāgā-ava(su)putra[\*]
Aśākhaḥ \[5 \] Sarīvat 1191 Vaisāha\[3\] -sūdi 2 [Marh]-
8 gała-ḍīnē pratishṭhā karapitā \[\text{[[]]}\]

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1 The correct form of the name may be Śilāśīr̥.
2 The language of this verse is not quite satisfactory.
3 Read Vaiśākha.
4 Read kārītā.
5 A visarga-like sign is placed between the two double danda.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

Scale: Five-Twelfths
No. 14—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

(1 Plate)

A. S. GADDE, BARODA

Śālihunḍam is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State, about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam, the District headquarters. It is on the banks of the Vem-
śadharā which joins the Bay of Bengal some five miles further down. The hills of this place have
yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been briefly described in this journal.1 Earlier excavations at the place have been fully described in the Annual Report of
the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1919-20.2 When I visited the place in October
1953, I came across an inscribed casing slab of stone.

The slab bearing the inscription formed part of the top frieze of stones on the exterior surface
of the Mahāchaitya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognized from the fact
that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription, can be seen on the inscribed stone
itself.3

The inscription reads:

Dhanmam(m) Raño Asokasirino4

This fragmentary record refers to the religious edicts (dhaṁma) of the illustrious Asoka.
According to the Āryaṁaujūśrimukalpa,5 Dharmāśoka, i.e. the Maurya emperor Asoka, set
up stone pillars (śilā-yashṭis) at Chaityas as human memorials. Asoka himself is said to have
visited the sites. Very probably the Mahāchaitya at Śālihunḍam is a creation of the Mauryan
times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to Asoka's religious records in
this inscription inscribed at a later date by devotees.6 An inscribed pot, discovered at this place,
has been assigned by Sri T. N. Ramachandran on palaeographic grounds to the first century A. D.
at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have
preceded it. As our stone forms part of the Mahāchaitya, it is apparently of an earlier date.

Some scholars are inclined to read the first two words in the inscription as Dhanmaraṁośa
(Sanskrit Dharmanāsya) and take it to be the epithet of Asoka.7 In support of this reading
attention is drawn to certain inscriptions referring to kings as Dharmanāya, Dharmamahārāya,
etc. I differ on this point. According to Buddhist literature the epithet Dharmanāya was applied

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133 ff.
3 The record does not appear to be fragmentary. On the stone slab on which the space occupied by the
writing is 22” by 22” (an akṣhara being 1¾” in height), there is no space for letters before the record in ten
akṣharas while there is what looks like a damaged punctuation mark after it (cf. the symbol at the end of the
Musaņagara brick inscription, above, Vol. XXX p. 120, n. 5).—Ed.
4 Macron over ε and o has not been used in this article.
5 K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India (1934), p. 12; Sanskrit Text, p. 27, vv. 370-374.
6 It is likely that the slabs of the entire top frieze of the stūpa or of a part of it were inscribed and the inscription
went round the drum of the stūpa in one line. All these slabs are, however, unfortunately missing barring
the one under review. [See note 3. above.—Ed.]

(87)
to the Chakravartins and we find it often applied to the Buddha.\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}} A\'soka has no place in the Buddhist scriptures as a Chakravar\'tin. In his inscriptions he styles himself Dev\'an\'a\'priya\'h Priya-\ndar\'i r\'a\'j\'a and not Dharmar\'aja. The present inscription similarly refers to him as R\'a\'j\'a A\'soka\'sri.\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}}

Some scholars are inclined to assign the inscription to a date about 100 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that, on palaeographical grounds, it is assignable to a period between the 2nd and the 1st century B.C.\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}}

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Pali-English Dictionary, P. T. S.,} p. 174.

\textsuperscript{2} The word \textit{Chakravar\'tin} means \textit{an imperial ruler}. In the Buddhist works, A\'soka is represented as a \textit{deva-chakravar\'tin}, i.e., as the lord of the entire Jamb\u{a}-dv\'ipa. See Buddhaghosha\'s \textit{S\'amantap\'asadik\'a, P. T. S., Vol. II,} p. 309. The epithet Dharmar\'aja suits Maurya A\'soka, called Dharm\'asoka, admirably. Indeed he was the ideal r\'a\'j\'a \textit{chakravar\'tin dh\'armiko dharmar\'aja} of Buddhist conception (cf. \textit{P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v. chakravar\'tin and dharmika}).—Ed.]

\textsuperscript{3} The palaeography of the inscription has been discussed by me in \textit{Proc. IHC, 1933,} pp. 79-80. [In our opinion, the palaeography of the inscription points to a date not much earlier than the second century A.D. Although it is not quite easy to explain the purpose of this interesting record, it may not be impossible that an ancient tradition ascribing a Buddhist structure at S\'all\'ih\'up\'ham to Maurya A\'soka was current in the locality and that this label referring to it was affixed at a later date.—Ed.]

\end{footnotesize}
No. 15—PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This is a set of three plates discovered in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house at the village of Pedda-Dugam in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. The record was published by Mr. V. Bhanumurty, who secured the plates for examination through the Collector of the District, first in the Telugu monthly journal Bhāratī, March 1955, pp. 86 ff., and then in JAHRS, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. His reading and interpretation of the epigraph, however, contain many errors. The plates1 were received in July 1955 for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, and were returned, at his request, to the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.

The set consists of three thin plates each measuring about 7" by 2.7". The first plate bears writing only on the inner side while the others are inscribed on both the sides. There is a hole (about 4" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through in the left margin of the plates. The oval face of the seal soldered to the ring is so completely defaced that no legend or emblem is visible on it. The three plates together weigh about 50 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is about 17½ tolas. The plates are numbered on the reverse side in late Telugu-Karnada numerals, apparently not inscribed at the time of the engraving of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to a date roughly about the fifth century A.D. They closely resemble the script of such other records, belonging to the said age and discovered in the same region, as the Ningondi grant edited above.2 But, as will be shown below, the internal evidence of the inscription under study seems to support its ascription to a date not much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The sign for \( v \) has been used to indicate \( b \) in some cases (cf. \( Vṝāmaṇa \) in line 5), although \( b \) also occurs in the record (cf. \( Brāhmapāḍaḥ \) in line 7). The numeral 9 occurs in line 23. The language of the record is Sanskrit, though there are many grammatical errors in the text of the document. With the exception of four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end of the charter, the whole record is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the age and area in question. Interesting is the use of the \( jhiṇānūlīya \) in \( yak-kriya \) in line 14. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with \( r \). Final \( ṇ \) has been wrongly changed to \( ansuvāra \) at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, while final \( n \) has also been similarly changed in \( mān \) in line 16. Among other errors of spelling, attention may be drawn to \( sīkha \) for \( sīkha \) (line 1), \( aṅśu \) for \( aṁśu \) (line 16), \( sambataro \) for \( sainvataro \) (line 22), etc. The date of the charter is given as the tenth day of the month of Ṭañcika in the year 9, apparently of the reign of Śatradamaṇa and not of his overlord referred to in the record. The absence of any reference to the \( paks ha \) may suggest that the month was solar.

The record begins with the symbol for Siddham. The charter was issued from the victorious Sinhapura by a Maharāja who is described as bhagavato Damanēsvarasvarāmaṇaḥ pāda-ānudhyātāḥ and Bhāṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrahitaḥ. Bhagavat Damanēsvarasvarāmaṇa was apparently a deity whom

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1 This is No. 7 of A.R.Ep., 1955-56, App. A.
2 See Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff. and Plates. For some other inscriptions of the type, see above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 35-36, etc.
the issuer of the grant held in special esteem while the Bhaṭṭāraka was a monarch to whom he owed allegiance but whose name has not been mentioned. The name of the Mahārāja is given as Śatrudamanadēva. Whether the deity Damanāvāra, worshipped by him, was named after himself (cf. the latter part of his name) or after one of his predecessors named Damana cannot be determined with certainty.

Mahārāja Śatrudamana's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was issued to the villagers (grāmān in the sense of grāmāyakān), headed by Brāhmaṇas and others, residing at the three localities called Duhāgrāma, Vasuviṣṭaka and Gōvāṭaka within what is called the agrākāra (revenue-free area in the possession of Brāhmaṇas) of Giri-Kaliṅga-Vardhamāna (i.e. the Vardhamāna agrākāra in the Giri-Kaliṅga district). As the gift villages are stated to have been situated in an agrākāra, the present grant may be regarded as a reallocation of the localities, which were already revenue-free, in favour of the donees of the charter. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas named Bappāsarman and Śarvasarman who were the sons of Yajñāsarman and residents of Paṭṭuvaṅgrāma. They belonged to the Kaṭvaṇya gōtra and were students of the Taittirīya school of the Yajurveda. The gift villages were made a brāhmaṇa-dēya and granted to the donees as a dvija-bhoga. The three villages constituted three vṛtis or shares, two of which were granted to Śarvasarman and one to Bappāsarman. The villagers were enjoined to receive orders from the donees and follow them as well as to pay them whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (pratyāga), produce of the fields (mēya), etc. The above is followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas in the Anushṭubha metre in lines 14-22. Next comes the date of the charter, already discussed above. The name of Vaidya Krīṣṇadatta, who was the dāta or executor of the grant, occurs in line 24 with which the document ends.

There are several points of interest in the inscription under study. It reveals for the first time the existence of a king named Śatrudamana who ruled from Sinhapura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikkulam. It is well known that this city is mentioned as the capital of the Kaliṅga country in the Ceylonese chronicles and that many Mahārājas enjoying the title Kaliṅga-ādhipati or sakala-Kaliṅga-ādhipati, who flourished about the fifth century A.D., issued their charters from the same place.1 We also know that the history of Kaliṅga about the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pīṭhapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in South Kaliṅga and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Sinhapura.2 Kings Umavarman and Chaṇḍavarman of the Pīṭhibhaktta family had one of their capitals at Sinhapura. The Māṭharas, who originally ruled from Pīṭhapura, appear to have ousted the Pīṭhibhaktas from Central Kaliṅga. The Ragolu plates,3 issued by the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman from Pīṭhapura, record a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Sinhapura, while the Ningondi and Sakunaka grants4 of Prabhaṅjana-varman and Ananta Śaktivarman, respectively the son and grandson of Śaktivarman, were issued from Sinhapura itself. The Vāśishthas of Dēva-rāṣṭra in Central Kaliṅga, i.e. the modern Yellamanachili area of the Visakhapatnam District, appear to have extended their power over the Pīṭhapura region and extinguished the Māṭharas sometime about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Śatrudamana of our inscription appears to have ruled earlier than all the rulers mentioned above as having issued their charters from Sinhapura.

An interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that, while the other Mahārājas of the age and area generally claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga and were apparently independent

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2 See The Classical Age, loc. cit.
3 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
monarchs, Mahārāja Śrātrudamaṇa acknowledged the supremacy of a Bhāṭṭāraka or paramount ruler. The style Bhāṭṭāraka-pāda-parīghita applied to a Mahārāja reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors.\(^1\) We also know that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Āśvamedhā sacrifice, enjoyed the title Mahārāja and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhipatī.

The feudatories (including those enjoying a semi-independent status) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title Mahārāja and were often called Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-āṇudhyāta, i.e. meditating on or favoured by the feet of the overlord. The expression pāda-parīghita also occurs instead of pāda-āṇudhyāta in the same context in epigraphic records in the description of certain subordinates of the Gupta emperors.\(^2\) It is therefore very probable that the overlord of Mahārāja Śrātrudamaṇa was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the Mahārāja of Sinhapura could have possibly owed allegiance in the age in question while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka about the middle of the sixth century.\(^3\) The absence of the name of Śrātrudamaṇa’s overlord in the charter under study and its date given in his own regnal reckoning instead of the Gupta era appear, however, to suggest that the king was enjoying a semi-independent status at the time of issuing the grant.

The Allahabad pillar inscription\(^4\) of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions certain rulers of the Kaliṅga region, who were defeated by the Gupta monarch but were reinstated by him in their respective kingdoms. Whether the rulers of that area acknowledged Gupta supremacy as a result of Samudragupta’s expedition cannot, however, be determined although that is not improbable. We have also to note that the ruler of Sinhapura is not mentioned in the list of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and that the city may have become prominent after the third quarter of the fourth century when the said epigraph was engraved. One of the rulers of the Kaliṅga region mentioned in the list of Samudragupta’s adversaries is Damana of Erandapalla. This king can hardly be identified with Śrātrudamaṇa of Sinhapura because not only are the names of the rulers but also those of their capitals are different. In any case, the combined testimony of the Pedda-Dugam plates of Śrātrudamaṇa and the Sūmandala plates of the time of Prithivivigraha would point to the hold of the Guptas on parts of the Kaliṅga country. If the area in question did not come under Gupta influence during the reign of Samudragupta, it may have been subdued by his son Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) or grandson Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) as the later members of the Imperial Gupta family do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the conquest of such a far off tract. But the Mahārājas of the Sinhapura region must have thrown off the Gupta yoke considerably before the end of the fifth century not long after Śrātrudamaṇa’s reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Sinhapura has been indicated above. Duhāgrāma seems to be no other than modern Pedda-Dugam (literally, ‘the bigger Dugam’) which is the find-spot of the record. The identification of the other two villages is uncertain though they appear to have stood in the same neighbourhood. The location of Paṭṭuvagrama cannot be determined. The Vardhamāṇa agrahāra is stated to have been situated in Giri-Kaliṅga which seems to be the name applied to a hilly district of Kaliṅga. In ancient times, usually the Godavari (sometimes even the Krishna) was regarded as the south-western

\(^1\) Cf. IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.
\(^2\) See Sel. Ins., pp. 283, 285, 310, 324, 328, 338.
\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
\(^4\) Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.
boundary of the Kaliṅga country. About the fifth century A.D., as we have seen, 'the lords of Kaliṅga' were ruling from Pishaṭpura in the south and Simhapura and other cities in the Srikakulam region. With the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, often styled 'lords of Kaliṅga', a: Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam’ near Srikakulam) about the end of the century, the name Kaliṅga gradually came to be exclusively applied to their kingdom. The Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa, which formed part of the ancient Kaliṅga country at least down to the sixth century, became later known as Tōsali after an ancient capital of the land identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District.1

TEXT:

First Plate

1 Siddham1 [\*] Vijaya-Siṅha(Siṅha)purād-bhagavatō Damaṁśvara-
2 svāmīnaḥ pād-ānudhyātō Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigri-
3 hītō mahārāja-ātī Śatrudamanadēvaḥ Giri-
4 Kaliṅga-Vardhamāṇ-āgrahārē Duhāgrāmī Vasuvātakē

Second Plate, First Side

24

5 Gōvāṭakē sa (cha) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purīgaḍ-3 grāmāṇa-diddi-kuśalam
6 svāp(pri)pri[ṣṭi]bhikṣati-astī-yātayā grāmākā [\*]tmanah[ḥ] punyā-ā(ṇy-ā)pyāyana-
7 nimittaṁ Brāhmaṇanāṁ(bhīyāṁ) Paṭṭuvagrāma-vāstavyāya(bhīyāṁ)
8 Kaṇḍinyasa-sagottāṇya(bhīyāṁ) Taittirīya-savrana(brahmāhārēnē(bhīyāṁ)
9 Yajñaśarmanṇāṇaḥ puttra(ttrābhīyāṁ) Vappasiṣarmanṇāya Śarvaśarmanma-

Second Plate, Second Side

24

10 nāya cha triṇy-api’ grāmākā dattā ṅaḥya[ḥ] vṛṇa(brā)maṇa-dēya[ḥ] kṛitvā
11 dvīja-bhūga visṛṣṭas-tad-yuṣmābhiḥ[ḥ]\* sṛtavyamāṅ-ājnā cha kartavyā ([\*]
12 attra cha Śarvaśarmanṇāya(ṇē) vṛittī-dvaya[ḥ]\* Va(Ba)pṛṣarmanṇāya(ṇē)
13 cha vṛttir-ēkā [\*] sṛavāv cha samuchita-ग्रामाण[ḥ] pratyāya-
14 mēy-ādim[\*] upanśaya(asya)tha [\*] bhavanti cha attra ślokā[ḥ]\* Yāh-kriyāṁ dharmma-
15 sa[ḥ]yuktāṁ manas-āpy-abhinandati [\*] vardṛdhatē sa yath-ṣṭēna (ṣṭēna=cha)

1 For the geography of Kaliṅga, see my article on ancient Orissa, in JIH, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 263 ff.
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The figure, which is a modern Telugu-Karnada numeral, stands in the margin near the beginning of line 6.
A similar figure for 1 is found on the blank side of the first plate.
5 Read purīgaḍ. The word grāma appears to have been used in the sense of grāmāyaḥ or grāmāṇaṁ.
6 Read Bhāgāśarmacānti Śarvaśarmacānti cha or Bhappāśarmac-Sarvaśarmacābhayāṁ.
7 Read trāpya yi.
8 Better read sṛtavyā. The word anūpyā is understood in this sentence.
9 Better read grāmāṇaṁ samuchita-pratyāya-mēy-ādi. The word abhyām is understood here.
Third Plate, First Side

16 sūkla-pakṣē śiv-vvāṃśumān || [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvāṣuddhā dattā¹
17 vasūdhā⁴ vasūdh-adhipaiḥ [**] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 tasya⁴ tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [2*] Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātihṛtyo
19 yatnād-rakṣa Yudhiṣṭhirā | mahī-mahīmatāṁ ārṣīṃtha
20 dānācḥ=ch hrēyo-nupālanaḥ(nam) || [3*] Shashtiḥ varṣha(ṛsha)-sahas-rūpi

Third Plate, Second Side

21 sva[ṛ*]gga mōdati bhūmidaḥ [[*] ākṣheptā ch=ānumantā cha
22 tāny=eva naraka vasē[[*] || [4*] ity=sēvaḥ likhitā-samba(saṃva)tsrō
23 navamō 9 Āśāḥ-māsa-divāsō dāsami
24 dūtō vaidyā-Kṛishṇadatta[h ||*]
No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGLA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(T Plate)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Arulâja Perumâl temple at Little Kâñchipuram, Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The language as well as the script of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The object of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of Uûaiyâkâmam in Antarudra-vishaya by Sûmalâdevî-mahâdevî, for offerings and worship, to the god Allâjánâtha while she was at Abhinava-Vârânapâvi. The inscription is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Mahârâjâkârâja Râja-paramâkârâna Anantavarmanâhârâdeva who is stated to have belonged to the Gânâ family. The king is farther described as the son of [the god] Purushottama and a Paramavishaya who regularly observed the ekdimi-visatsa and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the mahâvâkiya. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., Mina sùrî, Wednesday, Râvaî. As the year of the commencement of this king's reign is known to be 1211 A.D., the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the titki quoted having ended the following day at -02. The nakshatra Râvaî is misquoted for Rûhî.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by Kâliâyîvara Aniyân-kabhimadâva-râhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumâl. The sthâmattar of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjarâja III and contains the following astronomical details: Âjî 12, Saptamî, Monday, Aûvâtî, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gânâ inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly, on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kâñchipuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gânâ king's wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chôla king Râjarâja III, the second is dated in the latter's 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gânâ inscriptions are found at Kâñchipuram. It would appear that king Aniyân-kabhimâ III (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

1 A.R.E., Nos. 444 and 445 of 1919.
2 Abhinava-Vârânapâvi has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with Abhinava-Vâranâsî-kaîaka (modern Cuttack in Orissa). Aniyân-kabhimâ III issued from that place a number of grants in 1230-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-258; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). Antarudra-vishaya, in which the village Uûaiyâkâmam was situated, has been identified with the modern Antarâdha Pargana in the Sadar Sub-division of the Puri District of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 2).
political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chola king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of over-grown and disloyal Chola vassals like the Kādavarīya chieftain Koppenuṇiṣṭa. The reign of Rājarāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh trouble for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Māgarvāmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājarāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Hoysala king Narasimha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kādaṉu chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (mēchchadēśa) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamanagalam (Sāndamanagalam). When Narasimha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kādavarīya and restored Rājarāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyakabhāma III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kādavarīya chieftain but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chola kingdom. Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kādavarīya chieftain or actually sent his army to the Chola country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoysala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāṇchipuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoysala Narasimha II: "His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kādavaas why should I describe? Describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikaliṅga forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequalled valour." Another contains the following details: "The king Vira Narasimha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chōla king who sought refuge with him and, having seen the god Allājanāth, stationed there a body of the bhēruṇḍas (the name of a regiment) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Ratnakūṭa capital, was at peace. Then the body of the bhēruṇḍas, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāṇchipuram. And having seen the lord of Kāṇchipura, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allājanāth, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of vira-bhēruṇḍas."

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1230 A.D. Among the many achievements attributed to Hoysala Vira-Narasimha II in the first of the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to, mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikaliṅga forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vira-Narasimha invaded the Kaliṅga country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāṇchipuram it was defeated by the Hoysala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāṇchipuram by the army of Aniyakabhāma is further indicated by the second Hoysala inscription which categorically mentions Vira-Narasimha's invasion and uprooting of the Magara kingdom (Magara-ṛṣiyān nirālūya), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōla king who had sought

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1 See below, pp. 99 ff. - Ed.]
3 Ibid., p. 211.
his protection (śaraṇāgata-Chōla-rājasaḥ pratisbhāpya) and his stationing at Kāñchipuram of the army of the bhūruṣkaṁ for uprooting evil-doers (duṣṭa-nirmulam-ārtham tatra bhūruṣkaṁ varggam sthāpyai(ud).)

One does not know what the duṣṭa element at Kāñchipuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikalīnga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Maγaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem region), or the Kājavarāya chieftain whose hostile activities against Rājarāja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the duṣṭa element at Kāñchipuram being the Trikalīnga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the bhūruṣkaṁ vargga after remaining at the place for sometimes went forth and conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhyā mountains (nirγgatyā tasmāt parabalam-atulai Vindhyam-adhrin viṣītya) The para-bala (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāṅkabhima, which was the duṣṭa element at Kāñchipuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.¹

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaishṉava temple in the heart of the Chōla kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chōla king Rājarāja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance, though the document could have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Rājarāja III was then a prisoner at Śendamaṅgalam with his vassal Köpperūṇīṅga, and the Chōla country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchipuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was put an end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.²

Though the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kāñchipuram in the course of 1230 A.D., Kaliṅgēvara Aniyāṅkabhima’s devotion to the god Allājanātha of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumāl, for which the sthāṇattār of the temple agreed to measure a nālī of ghee by the Ariyēnasai-lālī. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chōla Rājarāja III. It suggests that, after Rājarāja’s release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyāṅkabhima III recognised him as the Chōla king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chōla country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kaliṅga king was at Kāñchipuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant in absentia from Abhīnava-Vārāṇavādi itself in the same way as his wife Sōmalādevī had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.¹

Inscription No. 1

TEXT²

1 Svasti [*] Chatu[*]dada-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrī-Purushottama-charaṇ-ādēśa(dā)ṣṭ [*] Samaramukha-ānēka-ripu-di(da)rpa-marddana-bhujabala-parākrana-⁴

2 ma-paramavaishṇava-paramābhaṭṭāraka-jāganāmūla-kāraṇa-śrī-Purushottama-putra-traivānu-

sundhara-samundha(ddha)raṇa-prabha(cha)ṇḍa-dō-

¹ [See below pp. 99 ff.—Ed.]
² EC, Vol. V, Cn. 203 and 211.
³ From an impression.
⁴ This name is redundant.
⁵ This ra, which was first omitted by the scribe, seems to have been later engraved on ps.
TWO EASTERN GANGA INSRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

Scale: One-fourth
Hail! At the command of (the god) Purushottama, the lord of the fourteen worlds; in the 19th year of the increasingly victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamesvara Ananta-varma-rāhutadeva, who has destroyed by the prowess of his arm the arrogance of the enemy in many a battle, who is a Paramavishvaka (and) Paramabhattrakara, who is the son of (the god) Purushottama the original cause of the universe, who is the veritable primeval Great Boar that raised high the three worlds, who by his observance of ēkādaśī the best of all the vratas is free from the slightest touch of the black evils of the Kali age, who has attained the supreme bliss of Brahman by constant devotion to and practice of the meaning of the Mahāvāyu, and who is the pillar supporting the family of the Gaṅgas, on Wednesday, Mīna-śukla-pañchami, Rāvati, while staying at Abhinava-Vaṅgavāśi, Sōmaladevi-mahādevi grants, with libation of water and for as long as the moon and sun endure, the village of Udaiyakāmam in Antarudravishaaya, for worship and offerings, to the god Allālanātha. (Thus) I, Sōmaladevi, (give). (This is) the writing of Vishvaksena.

**Inscription No. II**

**TEXT**

8

8 kku(ku) yāḍu 20 Kaliṅgāvaran-āyuḷa Apīyāṣakabhirnadeva-rāhutaṇ Ādī-
māsattu 12[n]tiyadi sapatiyummun 3 Tiṅga[t]-kki(ki)la-

10 maiyum peṛa Aśvati-ṇā Ppe(Pe)rumāḷukku vaitta tiruṇandavilakkakku nālukku Ariyēṇa-
vallā-ṇāḷiyāl ney nājikku vi-

11 ū(t)[t]a pala-vargattu ppāl-ppa(ppa)āru-pattu-nālum polimurai-nāgumkē-čiṁai-ppātuvum
uruē-āru-pattu-nālum āga uruē 128 ri-

12 shabha-nālu-kaiṁkōṇu i-tīrūr-nandavilakkakku nālum ō chandir-āḍi[t]avarai chelutta-
kkadavōm Perumāl kōyir(yil)-

13 sthānattōm ārī [ | *]

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1 The punctuation mark is denoted by the sign known as pīḷḷaiyēr āḷi.
2 This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 1.
3 Thus n is redundant.
4 This m is redundant.
5 The word uru is not used while mentioning the other group of 64 cows above.
6 This ś is redundant.
TRANSLATION

In the 20th year of Rājarājadēva, on Monday, Ādi 12, saptami, Aśvati, we, the sthānattār of the Perumāl temple, agree to supply (daily) as long as the moon and sun endure, a nāṭī of ghee measured by the Ariyēnavallā-nāṭī for burning four perpetual lamps before (the god) Perumāl, for which purpose 128 cows made up of 64 milch cows and 64 heifers and pregnant cows and four bulls were given by Aniyākabhīmadēva-rāhuta.
No. 17—NOTE ON TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In the foregoing article, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam suggests that the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anangaabhima III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chōla territory as a result of the temporary imprisonment, in 1230 A.D., of Chōla Rājarāja III (1215-46 A.D.) by the Kādava king Koppuruṇjīga I and that for a time the Eastern Gaṅga army entered Kāñchipuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chōla king’s relative, Hoysala Narasimha II (c. 1220-35 A.D.).1 He further contends that, since one of the Kāñchipuram inscriptions bears a date in the regnal reckoning of Anangaabhima III, the locality must have been for the time being under the Gaṅga king. But the suggestions appear to be unwarranted in view of certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question, which Dr. Mahalingam has ignored totally.

In the first place, about a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari,2 Krishna,3 Guntur,4 Kurnool,5 Cuddapah6 and Nellore7 Districts prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chōla dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatiya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.), a contemporary of Chōla Rājarāja III.8 That the Kākatiyas were expanding their power towards the south is proved by two of Gaṇapati’s own inscriptions, dated 1250 A.D., at Kāñchipuram itself.9 It is interesting to note that Kādava Koppuruṇjīga II, son of Koppuruṇjīga I, claims in his Drākṣaraṇa inscription,10 dated Śaka 1184 (1261-62 A.D.), to have been ‘the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-mahārāja’, i.e. a subordinate of Kākatiya Gaṇapati. The Eastern Gaṅga army therefore could not have penetrated as far south as Kāñchipuram without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatiya territory and there is absolutely no proof to show that Anangaabhima III was ever engaged in a successful war with Gaṇapati.

Secondly, as Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has shown, Hoysala Narasimha II assumed the titles ‘establisher of the Chōla kingdom’ and ‘destroyer of the demon Kādavarāya’ after an engagement with Kādava Koppuruṇjīga I in 1224 A.D. and that he had defeated the Magada (Maṇḍapa) chief and the Pāṇḍya king and planted a pillar of victory at Rāmāsvaram by Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A.D.) prior to the said engagement.11 Most of the achievements of Hoysala Narasimha II, referred to by Dr. Mahalingam, have therefore to be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A.D. to which he is inclined to ascribe them.

1 For a discussion on the question of Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñch., see also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 19 ff.
2 Bangachari’s List, Nos. Gd. 72, 84A, 118, 125, 317, 323.
6 Ibid., Nos. Cq. 540, 654, 850, 905.
7 Ibid., Nos. Nq. 85, 87, 129, 587, 590-01.
8 Cf. Sewell, Hist. Ins. & Ind., pp. 133-34, n. v. 1216 and 1218 A.D.
10 SI, Vol. IV, No. 1341, 1342, 1343.
Thirdly, Hoysala Narasimha II is known to have been ruling on March 10, 1229 A.D. from Kâñchipuram which was the eastern limit of his possessions, while a number of Hoysala generals are mentioned in the Kâñchipuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Râjarâja III, i.e. between 1230 and 1240 A.D. No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammanâta at Kâñch on the 26th February 1230 A.D. (14th regnal year of Râjarâja III, Mina-su 1, Monday), while No. 404 of the same year to that of another Hoysala general named Goppayya in the 15th regnal year (1230-31 A.D.) of Râjarâja III. It has to be noticed that it was these Hoysala generals who were responsible for the defeat of Köpperuñâlgâ I and the consequent release of Râjarâja III. Between 1229 and 1231 A.D. therefore it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kâñchipuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anaṅgabhima III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Dr. Mahalingam's identification of the dushâa element at Kâñchipuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

A Vriddhachalam inscription, dated in the 14th regnal year of Râjarâja III, corresponding to 1229-30 A.D., records a benefaction of a person who was the chief of the body-guards of Kâḍava Köpperuñâlgâ I. Hence the capture of the Chaḷa king at the hands of the Kâḍava chief seems to have occurred at a later date. We have also inscriptions of the reign of Râjarâja III dated the 16th and 17th February, 6th May, 3rd July and 5th August of 1230 A.D. The date of the capture of Râjarâja III is placed by scholars in 1231 A.D. or 'a little earlier'. In Dr. Mahalingam's opinion, Râjarâja III was in captivity for a short time in March-April 1230 A.D. and the Eastern Gaṅga forces entered Kâñchipuram exactly at that time. A strange coincidence indeed!

It will be seen that this time factor is the very basis of Dr. Mahalingam's theory, although the fact cannot be ignored that the equation of the 19th year of Anaṅgabhima III with 1230 A.D. is by no means certain. We know that none of the other records of this Eastern Gaṅga king is dated in his regnal reckoning. They bear dates only in the Śaka era and the Aṅka reckoning. If, considering the style of dating favoured by the Eastern Gaṅgas during the period in question, the date of the Kâñchipuram inscription, viz. the year 19, is referred to the Aṅka reckoning, it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anaṅgabhima III and to 1227 A.D. But it should also be remembered that the date of the king's accession, generally believed to have taken place in 1211 A.D., is itself uncertain. Thus Dr. Mahalingam seems to stand on an extremely shaky foundation.

Fourthly, Dr. Mahalingam forgets that Kâñchipuram was a place of pilgrimage and that at other holy places also there are records dated in the regnal reckoning of kings who were not really the rulers of the kingdom to which the areas in question belonged because the pilgrims responsible for them may have been their officers or subjects. It may also be noted in this connection that sometimes partisans of a king who had ceased to rule over a territory continued to mention him as the lord of the land in preference to the new ruler of the country.

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1 Ep. Carn., Vol. XII,Tp. 42. The date quoted in the record is Saka 1152 (current), Yiṟōdhī, Chaitra-su 19. Saturday. For Bṛiha-vāra meaning Saturday, see A. Venkatasaubhiah, Some Saka Dates in Inscriptions, pp. 60 ff.
6 Cf. Sewell, op. cit., p. 140.
7 Cf. ibid., p. 140.
8 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 200-01.
9 Cf. J.A.S. Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 45 ff.; The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II), p. 131. It has also to be noticed that, while the first inscription seems to have been drafted at the Gaṅga capital, the second was apparently drafted by the priests of the temple at Kâñchipuram.
Attention in this connection may be drawn to three inscriptions at Drākhārāma in the Godavari District, which is known to have formed an integral part of the Kaśatya empire during the reigns of Gaṇapati (1190-1261 A.D.) and his successor Rudrāmba (1261-91 A.D.). These are Nos. 193, 206 and 262 of 1893, respectively bearing dates in the 72nd (Śaka 1211), 37th (Śaka 1175) and 6th (Śaka 1144) years of the reign of a king named Rājāhrāja. There is no doubt that he cannot be identified with any of the Kaśatya rulers whose dominions comprised the Drākhārāma region during the period in question.

A similar case seems to be offered by No. 201 of 1905 found at Tripurantakam in the Markarpur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra State. This record is dated in the year Raudri (1260-61 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Chōja king Rājāhendra III, although there are numerous inscriptions of the Kaśatyas showing that the area formed a part of the Kaśatya empire.

An inscription has been recently found on a stone built into the wall of the granary in the Raṅganaṭha temple at Srirangam. It mentions a Pradhāni of Hoysala Vishṇupardhana I and is dated in the year Kharā (1111 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Hoysala king. There is no proof to show that the Hoysalas were in actual occupation of the Srirangam area during the life time of the Chōja emperor Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.).

A Drākhārāma inscription records a donation of Jayanakṣaḍaḥodi, queen of Ananta Varman Chōḍa-gaṅga of Kalīkī, on the ekaśpādaya day of the month of Simha in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.) without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, it may be concluded that the Drākhārāma region formed a part of the empire of the said Gaṅga monarch. But we have several other inscriptions at the same place bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of Vishṇupardhana.

As has already been shown above, it was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there. In the twelfth century, the Kadamba chief Jayakēśa II of Goa is known to have granted a village in the Dharwar District in favour of the god Śoma-nātha in Kathiawar, apparently without visiting the temple himself. A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta refers to a grant of land made by an inhabitant of a village in North Bengal, in his own locality, in favour of two deities worshipped apparently at Varāhachhatra (Varāhakēśa) in Nepal, although it is uncertain whether he had visited the holy place.

The real significance of Hoysala Narasiṃha's claim of success against the Trikāriya forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it may be as empty a boast as his other claim regarding the conquest of the Vindhyān region.

It has been suggested above that Śomalādevī, wife of Gaṅga Ananda-bhīma III, was a sister or daughter of Rājarāja III, although her name may point to her birth from a Kannadā

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1 Rangachari's List, No. Gd. 88; SII, Vol. IV, No. 1019.
3 Rangachari, op. cit., No. Gd. 167; Sewell, op. cit., p. 138. The dates have been wrongly read in SII, op. cit., No. 1118.
4 Rangachari's List, No. Kt. 194.
5 SII, Vol. IV, No. 1194.
6 See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 5. For evnd ordinary people performing pilgrimage by proxy, see Sreenivasa-Char
Corpus of Inscriptions, Nos. 50-61.
8 See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 4.
princess. We know that the name of a queen of Hoysala Narasimha II was also Sōmaladevī† and that the said Hoysala king gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Chōla king, Rājarāja III. As the practice of naming grandchildren after their grandparents was a popular one, it is not impossible to think that Sōmaladevī, wife of Anāgabhima III, was a daughter of Rājarāja III by the daughter of Hoysala Narasimha II through his queen Sōmaladevī. If such was the case, the presence of the inscriptions, edited above by Dr. Mahalingam, at Kāñchipuram can be easily explained.

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† Pd. 153; Sastrī, Tēlē Čākṣa, p. 191.
‡ Sewell, op. cit., pp. 135 (a. v. 1220 A.D.), 341
* A daughter of Eastern Chāluṅga Rājarāja I was named Kundavā after his own mother. See also Geiger, Cēla-vastu, trans., Part I, p. 211.
No. 18—SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA*, YEAR 7

(1 Plate)

S. L. KATARE, NAGPUR

The charter consists of three plates, of which the first is damaged, nearly half of its right portion being broken off and lost. The plates were first noticed by Hiralal in the revised edition of his Inscriptions in the O. P. and Berar.* They were then in the possession of Ramratanlal Agrawal, Talukdar of Sirpur, but seem to have been later on acquired by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur. The Pandit sent the inscription for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India who noticed it in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46. It seems that, when the plates were with Ramratanlal Agrawal, they were taken out from their original ring bearing the seal of Mahasudavara and were misjoined to a seal which must have originally belonged to some charter of Mahayavara. Each of the plates has in it a round hole (about half an inch in diameter) at a distance of about an inch from its left edge. Each plate measures 5.5" x 3.2"; and the three plates together weigh 46 tolas. The plates are smooth; their edges are neither thickened nor given protection to the writing. Though a portion of the first plate is broken away and lost, the writing of the record is well preserved. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, while the second and the third are inscribed on both the sides. The third plate has only one line of writing on its second side. There are altogether 25 lines of writing. The average height of the letters, which are well-formed and carefully engraved, is about 1/4.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls the Central India alphabet, in which the charters of the Sarabhapura kings were engraved. It may be pointed out that the letters on the plates of the Panchavarni rulers, Tirandeva and Mahasivagupta, particularly those on the Bardula, Lodhia and Mallar* plates, are angular and elongated in comparison with those on the records of the Sarabhapura kings. The top horizontal bar of the box-head in the letters is also slightly projected on both the sides in the case of the former. The language of our inscription is Sanskrit and, except the beneficary and the imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. The upadhmaniya has been used in gopradah-paramabhagavato in line 3 and dhiyah-

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* [The real name of the king was Sudava. Mahasudavara is similar to Sudavamaharaja.—Ed.]
* See p. 106A, No. 177(b).
* See p. 12, No. 52. [The text of this inscription was published by Pandit Pandeya in Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers, Vol. II, 1937, pp. 42-43.—Ed.]
* This conjecture of the author is not easy to prove as we have several other instances of a king's charter being endowed with the seal of his predecessor. See JBORS, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 164.
* The name of Sudava's predecessor was really Jaya. The legend (in two lines) on the seal reads:

Pravanna-kata=edam vikramrika-vakhata-vidvisha[b | *] krivad Jayarajaya tasanam ripu-lavan[th][nakam [kam]].—Ed.]
* [His real name was Sivagupta.—Ed.]
* Above, Vol. XXVII, Plate between pp. 290 and 291.
* Ibid., Plate between pp. 324 and 325.
* Ibid., Vol. XXIII, Plate between pp. 120 and 121.
pravardhini in line 15. Attention may also be drawn to the doubling of k followed by r, as in vikrama in line 1; the doubling of the consonant preceded by r in many cases; and the doubling of v in savat (svavat) in line 24. There are a few mistakes of spelling, e.g. tāmbra for tāmra in line 11.

The charter was issued from Śarabhapura by king Mahāśudēvaraśāja, described as a para-mahāgavāta, on the 10th day of the second Bhaḍra in the 7th year of his reign and records the confirmation of the grant of a village, the name of which is lost in the broken portion of the first plate. The village was formerly granted by the venerable Naṅna to Kāraṇiki Kansippa-svāmin of the Pārasara gōra and the Taittirīya tākhā. The resident agriculturists of the village were informed that the grant was being renewed by the king after making the village a-čhāja-bhata-prāvēṣya (not to be transgressed by regular and irregular troops) and savva-kara-visarjita (free from all taxes). They were further enjoined to pay to the donee his due share.

This is one of the three charters of Mahāśudēvaraśāja issued in the 7th year of his reign, the two others being the Āranga8 and the Kauvāṭal10 plates. Of the six copper-plate grants of his time so far known, five, including the one edited here, were issued from Śarabhapura and they were engraved by Drōpasinīṇa. The sixth, viz. the Kauvāṭal plates, as well as the Thakurdiyā plates of Mahā-pravararāja, both of which were issued from Śripura, modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, were engraved by Gōlasinīṇa. This shows that Mahāśudēvaraśāja had Drōpasinīṇa as his official scribe at Śarabhapura and Gōlasinīṇa at Śripura.

Mahāśudēvaraśāja belonged to the dynasty of the so-called Śarabhapura kings whose history and chronology have been a matter of controversy among scholars. The names of the kings of this family so far known from the inscriptions are: Narēndra, son of Śarabha4; Mahājayarāja, son of Prasanna6 who is also known from a number of gold and silver coins4 on which his name occurs as Prasannamātra; Mahāśudēvaraśāja who was the son of Mānāmātra (descended from Prasanna according to the Kharia1 and Āranga1 plates) or of Mahādurgarāja1 according to the Kauvāṭal10 plates; and Mahāpravararāja, son of Mānāmātra11. The real name of the father of Mahāśudēvaraśāja, as revealed by the Kauvāṭal plates, was Mahādurgarāja. Mānāmātra was therefore his secondary name. Whether Prasannamātra was also a similar secondary name is not possible to

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1 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22, n.4.
2 Ancient India, No. 5, p. 40; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 53 and Plate.
3 [The real name of the king is Pravara.—Ed.]
4 IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 145. It has been suggested (cf. also The Vākṣṭaṇa-Gupta Age, p. 86; The Classical Age, p. 219) that this Śarabha is identical with Sarabharaja, maternal grandfather of Gopārāja of the Eran inscription (Gupta year 191) of the time of Bhāṅgugupta (CII, Vol. III, p. 91). There is nothing to substantiate this identification except the common names. [The identification seems to be quite satisfactory in the present state of our knowledge.—Ed.]
6 IHQ, Vol. IX, pp. 595-96; Vol. XV, pp. 475-76; The Vākṣṭaṇa-Gupta Age, p. 87, note 3; JNSI, Vol. XII, pp. 8-10.
8 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 22.
9 [His real name was Dura.—Ed.]
11 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.
say at present. Another king who apparently belonged to the same family and is known from a number of gold coins of the same type and fabric and with the legend in the box-headed characters of the 'scooped out' or 'closed' variety, as found on the coins of Prasannamātra, was Mahāndrāditya. He seems to have ruled before Śarabha and may have been a contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A.D.), who claims to have defeated king Mahāndra of Kōsala. The suggestion, offered on the strength of the seal of the Khariar and Ārāng plates, that Mānamātra was the son of Prasannamātra is doubtful. Scholars who think that the said seals represent Mānamātra as born in the family of Prasanna appear to be right. The older view that Mahāpravararāja was the younger brother of Mahāsudāvarāja was based upon the possibility of Mahāpravararāja having transferred his capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura, which he himself may have founded, is now disproved by the Kauvātāl plate issued by Mahāsudāvarāja from Śrīpura in the 7th year of his reign, in which year were also issued the present charter and the Ārāng plates. This shows that both Śarabhapura and Śrīpura were seats of the government of Mahāsudāvarāja. This also disproves the conjecture, based upon the above hypothesis, that the need to shift his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura was felt by Mahāpravararāja as he had 'extended his kingdom in the west'. Consequently, the suggestion that the dynasty of the so-called Śarabhapura kings came to an end after Mahāpravararāja as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍava king Tivaradēva of Kōsala can no longer be sustained, as it is not possible to say which of the two brothers, Mahāsudāvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, was the elder and which of them was defeated by Tivaradēva.

Nanna, who had formerly granted the village, and which grant was being confirmed by Mahāsudāvarāja by the present charter, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The respectful manner in which he is spoken of in the record shows that he was of some consequence. He may have been a predecessor of Mahāsudāvarāja or an officer like Rāhudēva of the Pipardēla plates of Narānḍra.

1 JNSI, Vol. X, pp. 137 ff. The first coin of Mahāndrāditya was published by Mr. Prayag Dayal in Numismatic Supplement, No. XLIV, No. 309, and he assigned it to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. Mr. A. G. Ghose (ibid., No. XLVI, p. 22 n.) thought that it was probably a coin of Kumāragupta of the Bālīra mint. A fresh hoard consisting of one gold coin of Mahāndrāditya and 11 gold coins of Prasannamātra was recently discovered at Bhantara in the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh (cf. JNSI, Vol. XVI, p. 216). This is the first hoard which contains the coins of both Mahāndrāditya and Prasannamātra and all the facts taken into consideration lead to the conclusion that Mahāndrāditya of the coins was a king of Kōsala and belonged to the house of Prasanna and that he flourished before Prasannamātra. Pandit P. P. Pandeya suggested his identification with Mahāndra of Kōsala who was defeated by Samudragupta and is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (ibid., Vol. XII, p. 9 n.1). Mr. Rode, who published the Khariar hoard of Mahāndrāditya's coins, assigned them to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. X, pp. 137-39) and Dr. Albeck, while commenting on the article of Mr. Rode, thought that the coins were issued by some ruler of Mahākōsala, who had adopted the bīruda of Mahāndrāditya (ibid., p. 142). Prof. Mirashi in a long note on these coins, differed from all others and made an ingenious attempt to identify Mahāndrāditya with the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 108 ff.). I have examined the coins of both Mahāndrāditya and Prasannamātra in the Nagpur Museum and have no hesitation in saying that Mahāndrāditya of these coins was a king of Kōsala.

* (This date is too early for Mahāndrāditya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 83. The aaditya-ending names, which appear to have been popularized by the Guptaes, is not expected in other families so early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. Mahāndrāditya of Kōsala seems to have been named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahāndrāditya.—Ed.)

* Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 263. [The passage Prasanna-dvanga-sambahita-Manavatma-adu means to say that Mānamātra was born from Prasanna just as the moon is born from the ocean. The moon's birth from the ocean is indicated by its epithets like arsana-dvabha, satidhava, etc. It is thus almost certain that Mānamātra was a son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra.—Ed.]

* Above, Vol. XXII, p. 17.

5 (There is some reason to regard Pravarar as a successor of Sudāva because the earlier kings are known to have ruled from Sārabhapura, Sudāva from both Sārabhapura and Śrīpura and Pravarar only from Śrīpura which was also the capital of the Pāṇḍuvahās who succeeded the rulers of this dynasty.—Ed.)

and Prabhāra Bhūgilla of the Āranga² plates of Mahādēvarāja, each of whom had granted a village which was later confirmed by a charter by the kings in question.

The kings of Sarabhapura³ appear to have been, in the beginning, the feudatories of the Guptas and Sarabha, father of Narēndra, like Goparāja of the Eran stone inscription⁴ of the Gupta year 191, was probably governing one of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad pillar inscription⁵ of Samudragupta speaks of Mahāendra of Kōsala as one of the kings defeated by him. This bears a clear testimony to the extension of the Gupta influence in South Kōsala. The successors of Sarabha had the status of sāmanta and are praised in their records as sāmanta-makuta-chūḍāmanī.⁶ They had their seats of government at Sarabhapura and Sripura. Towards the end of the Gupta rule when the empire was plunged into confusion because of the Hūṇa inroads, these kings appear to have assumed an autonomous or semi-independent status. The suggestion that the Sarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākṣṭakas⁷ does not rest on a sound foundation. The use of the box-headed characters by these kings could not necessarily be due to Vākṣṭaka influence or domination when it is known that the box-headed characters of the ‘scooped out’ or ‘closed’ variety were used in the Eran inscription⁸ of Samudragupta and the Udāyagiri inscription⁹ of Chandragupta II. The statement in the Balaghat¹⁰ plates of Prithivishēga II that the king of Kōsala was a feudatory of Vākṣṭaka Narendrasena and that of the Ajanta inscription¹¹ which describes Hariśēga, probably, as the conqueror of Kōsala along with several other countries need not necessarily be taken to imply that the Sarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākṣṭakas. Kōsala appears to have had much wider extent than the territories governed by the Sarabhapura kings.¹² There is nothing to suggest that they ever ruled over the Chanda District or even the whole of the Bilaspur and Bastar Districts of Madhya Pradesh.¹³

**TEXT¹³**

**First Plate**

1 Čh.¹⁴ svasti [i⁹] Sarabhapurād-vikram-śpanata-sāmanta-ma[kuṭa-chūḍā-maṇi]¹⁵—
2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhauta-pāda-yugalī ripu-vilāsī[ṇi]-śīmānt-dōdharaṇā.]¹⁶

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² For the identification of this city with Sarpagarh in the former Gangpur State in Orissa, see above Vol. XXIII, p. 17; Vol. XXVI, p. 229, fn.2. Hirala favoured Sipur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 186, n. 9).
⁴ Ibid., p. 7.
⁵ The author has misunderstood the meaning of the epithet vikram-śpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chūḍāmanī-prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhauta-pāda-yugala which suits independent rulers only.—Ed.
⁷ CII, Vol. III, Plate II-A.
⁸ Ibid., Plate II-B.
⁹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 269.
¹² The Bhandara (Chanda District) hoard of gold coins containing one coin of Mahāvidyā and 11 of Prasamamamitra need not be taken as evidence of the extension of the territories of the Sarabhāpura kings over the Chanda District as it is likely that the coins travelled to that place which was not far away from the Sarabhapura dominions.
¹³ From inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
¹⁴ Expressed by symbol.
¹⁵ A portion of the first plate is broken off. Thus six letters of line 1, seven of line 2, eight of line 3, and nine each of lines 5 and 6 are lost. But the lost letters can be restored with the help of other charters of the king.
SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

Scale Nine Times.
SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

3 hētur=vvas=vasudhā-gopra=para=भाग[वस्तो मती-पित्र-पाद-अ]1
4 nuddhyāta=ṣri-Mahāsudēvarāj[āḥ] vu[..........]3
5 vākē pratīvā-kutumbinas=saṃjaśī[payati | viditam=astu vō]1
6 yathā=saṃbhīr=ayaṁ grāmasṭrī=s=tri)daṇapaṭi-sa[dana-sukha-pratīṣṭha-karo]

Second Plate, First Side
7 yāvad=ravi-ṣaṭi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghōr-āndakaṛāḥ jagad=avatīṣṭha-
8 tē tāvad-upabhōgyas=sa-nidhis=s-śpanichir=a-chāta-bhaṭṭa-prāvēyas=sarvva-ka-
9 ra-visarjita[ḥ*] pūrvaṁ Nanna-pādais=Tattīrya-Pārāśara-saṅkṣetra-Brāhma-
10 ṇa-kāraṇika-Kaṇsippavāmin(ṇē) datta idānum=apy=saṃbhīr=api
11 mahādevi-rājakuṇāṁ vijñāpyastāmbra(t-tāmra)-sāsanikṛitaḥ tē yūyam=ē-
12 vam=upalabhyā=syā=ṣījā-śravaṇa-vidhōyā bhūtvā yathā=ōchitam bhōga-bhaga-

Second Plate, Second Side
13 m=upanayantas=sukhaṁ prativātaya(sa)tha [[*] Bhavāṣanatas=cha bhūmipān-anu-
14 darśayati | Dānād=viśiṣṭam-anupālanajñāḥ purāṇā dharmāmśu nischita-
15 dhīryāḥ=pravadanti dharmāṃm(mam) | Tasmā[ḥ] dvijāya suvīśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattāḥ
16 bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=eva goptu[m*] | Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=ēśā dattir-anu-
17 pālayitavyā [[*] Vāyā-gītāṁ=ch-ātra slōkān-udāharanti [[*] Agnir=apatyān prá-
18 thaman śuvaraṇaṁ bhūr=vvāshipāvī sūrya-sutās=cha gāvah [[*] dattās-trayas=tē-

Third Plate, First Side
19 na bhavanti lōkāḥ(kā) yaḥ=kuṭchananaṁ gāṁ cha māhī[ṇ] cha dadyāt [[*]1 Shashti-varsha-sa-
20 hasrāqī sarggē mōdati bhūmīdaḥ [[*] āchohhettā ch-ānumanta cha tāny-ē-
21 va naraka vasēt [[*]2 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhīs=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [[*] yasya
22 yasya yadda bhūmih ta(mis-ta)ya taṣya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [[*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā
23 yatnād=raksha Yuddhisṛṣṭhā [[*] Mahītma(m-ma)himistāṁ=chhṛēṣṭha dhānāṁ=chhṛēyō=nupañā-

1 See p. 106, note 15.
2 This portion of line 4, which is broken off, contained the name of the village and probably also the district in which it was situated.
3 Metro : Vasantaṭilakā.
4 Metro : Indravīhā.
5 Metro : Avastuvākhā. For this and the following two stanzas.
24 nam-itib [["l Sva-mukhā ājñayā pravarddhamāna-vijaya-savva(samva) 7 dvi-Bhādra-
di 10 ["]]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 Ukti(tkt)rogaṃ Drāṇaśinghēga(sirihēna) ||
No. 19—ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

(5 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A set of inscribed copper plates was discovered about the beginning of 1919 from the house of a Santal inhabitant of Pargana Asankhalie in the Mayurbhanj State, now the District of that name in Orissa. The Santal is said to have found it several years earlier. U. N. Chakladar, a Tahsildar in the Mayurbhanj State Service, submitted the plates to Kamakhya Prasad Basu who was then the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mayurbhanj. The officer tried to decipher the inscription with the help of Nagendra Nath Vasu who was then serving as Honorary Archaeologist to the Mayurbhanj State, and actually prepared a short note on the record, although it was never published. I am grateful for the above information to Mr. P. Acharya who also supplied me with an extract from the unpublished article by Kamakhya Prasad Basu. The plates are now the property of the museum at Baripada, chief city of the former Mayurbhanj State and headquarters of the present Mayurbhanj District. In 1941-42, the plates were received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several sets of their impressions were prepared by the office mechanic. I am editing the inscription from one set of these impressions.

In the manuscript note on the Asankhalie plates by Kamakhya Prasad Basu, the set is described as follows: “Its weight is 18 seers. It has seven plates containing 14 pages, of which the 12 inside pages are inscribed. These seven plates are secured by a stout ring of copper which passes through the perforations of the plates at the top. The plates are each 14" × 9". The copper ring has a lotus attached to it, on which is found a seated bull. There are the mystic symbols of the trident, jambūsvari, and half moon on the lotus on both sides of the couchant bull.” The impressions at our disposal show that the record was engraved on six plates. Of these the first and the sixth are inscribed on one side each, while the second, third, fourth and fifth plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 212 lines of writing on the plates. Of these the inner sides of the first and sixth plates contain 20 and 17 lines respectively. The first and the second sides of Plate II as well as the second side of Plate IV have 29 lines each, while the first side of Plate IV and the two sides of Plate V contain each 21 lines of inscription. The two sides of the third plate have no less than 23 lines each. Five of the inscribed plates are consecutively numbered. In the margin behind the ring-hole on the inner side of plate I is written gain I. The second sides of the following four plates have similarly in the margin gain 2, gain 3, gain 4 and gain 5 respectively. The sixth plate, only the inner side of which is inscribed, contains no such number. The letter gain seems to be a contraction of the name of the deity Gānghāśvaradēva, the foremost amongst the recipients of the land granted by the charter under discussion. The Kendupatna plates of Narasinha II, dated Saka 1217, are also similarly numbered; but in their case the numbers are preceded by the letters kuma (only kū in one case) which seem to be a contraction of the official designation of Kumāra-mahāpātra Bhūmadēvāsarmaṇa donee of that charter.1

The palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of the inscription under discussion are the same as those of the other published records of Narasinha II. They resemble very closely the characteristics of the palaeography and orthography of the Nagarī copper-plate inscription of

2 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 188 ff.
Anaṅgabhīma III, which have been fully discussed above. The consonants p and y are undistinguishable. Similar is the case with superscript n and superscript t, with subscript v and subscript ḍ, and sometimes with s and n and r and ch. The conjunct n̄h is in some cases written like r̄h (cf. lines 209-10) and r̄n is often like r̄n. The final forms of t and n occur many times in the record. In many cases such half consonants have been used instead of joining them with the following consonants in conjuncts. V and ñ are indicated by the same sign. In a number of cases, medial ē has been written as in Nāgari and not in the usual Bengali or Oriya fashion. Of initial vowels, au occurs once in line 198; but a, ē, i, u and ē occur in a number of cases. As already noticed, the inscription employs the numerical figures from 1 to 5. It is interesting to note that the figure 2 resembles the shape of an English or Telugu 3, while 3 is written almost like the present Nāgari and Bengali 2. This is also the case with other medieval Orissan records such as the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II (Śaka 1217), the Puri plates of Bhāmu II (Śaka 1234) and the Polasa plates of Arkaśvara (Kaliyugādha 4248). The letter j occurs in line 192.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. The rules of sandhi often remain unoberved even in verses. There are a few cases of sandhi where a sibilant has been preferred to a nisarga (cf. suraśa-saha in line 135). Often the last consonants of the vargas have been changed to anusvāra in sandhi. The reduplication of some consonants after r is found occasionally (cf. both rwa and rwa in line 138). Final m has in all cases been changed to anusvāra at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1225 and in the Anka year 31 corresponding to the 25th regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth, twentieth, twenty-sixth and thirtieth years) of the Gāṅga king Narasimha II (circa Śaka 1200-27, i.e. 1278-1305 A.D.). The actual date was Mēśa (i.e. Vaiśākha)-badi 6, Tuesday. The date is irregular. If the Śaka year is taken as current, Vaiśākha-badi 6 would fall on Wednesday, the 24th April 1302 A.D., but, if it was an expired year, the date would fall on Monday, the 8th April 1303 A.D.

The introductory portion of the charter consists of 105 verses with a number of stray names between verses 6 and 7. This part is also found, with slight variations, in the other records of king Narasimha II who issued the charter under discussion. It has been shown that the later monarchs of the Imperial Gāṅga family copied the introductory part of the records of their predecessors and added to it a few verses about their own reigns composed by their court poets. Thus, of the introductory portion of the charters of Narasimha II, the earlier part down to verse 79 is also found in the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III, great-grandfather of Narasimha II. It has been fully discussed above and need not be dealt with here. Verse 80 of our record says that king Anaṅgabhīma III died after a reign of 34 years. According to the Anka reckoning, adopted by the later rulers of the Imperial Gāṅga dynasty, 34 Anka years would correspond to 28 actual years. The king is usually believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.) and ended his rule in circa Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A.D.). Verse 81 introduces king Narasimha I, son of Anaṅgabhīma III from the queen Kāsturādēvi. Verse 84 says that, as a result of the exploits of Narasimha I, the waters of the river Gāṅga became as black as that of the Yamunā owing to the collyrium in the eyes of the Javana or Yavana women of Rādjā and Varāndra being washed by their tears and mixed into the waters. This refers to the success of the Gāṅga king against the Muhammadans of Bengal. According to the Tagāt-i-Nāgiri of Minhāj-uddīn Sirajī, the Rāi of Jājnagar (i.e. the Gāṅga king of Orissa) commenced molesting the Lakhanaṇḍa territory (i.e. the Musalim

1 Ibid., pp. 236-37.
2 Cf. ibid., p. 64.
3 Ibid., pp. 240 ff.
kingdom of Bengal having its capital at Lakhamanavati near Gaur in the Malda District) in Hijra 641 (June 21, 1243, to June 9, 1244 A.D.). In the month of Shawal (March 13 to April 10) of that year Malik Tughrul Tughan Khan, ruler of Bengal, led an expedition against the Jajnagar kingdom and reached Kataisin (on the Mahanadi, lat. 20° 32' N, long. 84° 50' E) within that kingdom. But the Muslim army was completely defeated by the Jajnagar forces and Malik Tughrul Tughan Khan retired from the place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhanavati. In order to avenge the attack on Kataisin, the Rāi of Jajnagar invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bengal next year and on Tuesday, the 13th of Shawal, Hijra 642 (March 14, 1245 A.D.) the army of Jajnagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanavati. The Oriyans are said to have been led by a general called Sabhantara (Sambantarāya, which was really a title and not a name) who was the son-in-law of the Rāi (king Narasimha I). He drove the Moslem forces as far as the gate of Lakhanavati. The forces of Jajnagar, according to the Muslim author, had, however, soon to return to their own country. The success of Narasimha I against the Muhammadans of Bengal is also referred to in Vidyadhara's Ekavali. There is possibly a reference to the performance of the Tulasipurasamahādana ceremony by Narasimha I in verses 85-86. Verse 86 refers to the fact that the king constructed the temple of the Sun-god at Konākāna (modern Konarak), although the magnificent building is humbly mentioned as a kutiraka or hut. According to verse 88, Narasimha I ruled for 33 years (i.e. Aoka years, corresponding to 27 actual years). As Narasimha I is believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A.D.), he may have ended his reign in cīrūc Śaka 1186 (1264-65 A.D.). The next verse says that his successor was his son Bhānu I born of the queen Sītādevi who was the daughter of the king of Mālava. Queen Sītā's father must have been a rular of the Pārmāra dynasty of Malwa, although he cannot be identified with any amount of precision. Verse 90 refers to king Bhānu's 16 Pātras or ministers and verse 94 to the 100 sāsanas (areas of land granted as revenue-free holdings) created by the king. Verse 95 says how Bhānu I died after a rule of 18 Aoka years (15 actual years). This would place his reign between cīrūc Śaka 1186 and 1200 (1264-78 A.D.). Verse 96 speaks of Jākalladevi, who was the queen of Bhānu I and the mother of the next ruler Narasimha II, issuer of the charter under discussion. Verse 97 says how the reigning monarch was the destroyer of enemies and the saviour of his family, while verse 99 refers to the 100 sāsanas that he granted at the request of his mother.

The grant was made when king Vira-Narasimhadēva, endowed with a string of titles beginning with ‘the lord of the fourteen worlds’, was staying at the Bairavapura kaśāka (city, camp or residence). The passage Gaṅgādevī-mandir-āntar-sviyag-āvasarā used in this connection suggests that the occasion of the grant was a royal visit to the temple of the goddess Gaṅga at Bairavapura. In the passage quoted above, the word viyaga has been used in its Oriya sense of ‘staying’ and viyag-āvasarā means ‘while staying’, ‘at the time of his stay’. The epithet chaturdāsā-bhuvaṇ-ādhipati is really intended for the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Purī, whom the Gaṅga kings regarded as their overlord since the dedication of the kingdom in the god’s favour by Anāgābhīma III in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Byabbreviating an epithet originally meaning a subordinate of the god in the above way, quite familiar to students of Indian history, Gaṅga Narasimha II seems to have attempted to endow it with an equivocal meaning just as a semi-independent feudatory of a weak imperial ruler often did.

1 JASB, 1903, p. 124.
2 Ibid., p. 120.
3 She is stated to have been born in the Chātukya family; but her father cannot be identified.
4 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff. For the epithet chaturdāsā-bhuvaṇ-ādhipati applied to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha, see the Kanchipuram inscription edited above, p. 96, text line 1.
5 See ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 79.
6 Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 186.
The *mudala*, a Telugu word meaning 'an order' and here indicating the royal order in regard to the grant itself or its execution, passed through the *Purū-Pariksha-Pātra* Raṅgū Vājapēyin. The word *vējapēyin* indicates 'a performer of the Vājapēya sacrifice', although later the epithet was claimed also by the descendants of a *vējapēyin* and became stereotyped as a cognomen of the family. It is difficult to determine whether in the present case Raṅgū himself or one of his ancestors was the real performer of the sacrifice. *Pātra* indicated an officer of the ministerial rank, while *Pariksha* (same as *Parikshaka*) possibly meant an inspector attached to some administrative department. The word *pura*, prefixed to the official designation, may be the same as Sanskrit *pura* and the inspector may have been attached to the capital city; but it may also be the same as Sanskrit *puras* suggesting that the officer in question was the chief of his class. The order of execution of the grant seems to have been given in the presence of three persons, *viz.* Viśvanātha, Mālā and Vidyādhara. The grant was made on behalf of Hirādevī who was a queen of king Nara-singha II and the mother of the king's son (cf. *taj-jaśya suva-kumārasya*). Gaṅgarājadēva. This prince having apparently died a premature death, his bereaved parents (king Nara-singha II and queen Hirādevī) were willing to make in his name a grant of 341 *vāṭikās* of land in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas so that the merit accruing to the pious act might lead their dead son to heaven (cf. *svarga-prāptaye*). There were altogether five plots of land which was granted to a deity named Gaṅgēśvara radēva and to no less than 104 Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*. The writer of the document, who was the king's record-keeper (*śāsān-ādhikārin*), as well as the engraver of the plates also received their perquisites in land.

The first plot of the gift land was an area originally covered with jungle which had, however, been cleared before the grant was made (cf. *krit-āroṣya-bhābhāga*). The area of this piece of land, situated in the Vanāśodāchaura *svāhaya* (district), was determined according to the *naṭa* ('measuring rod' from which in Oriya 'measurement of area') of the *Purū-Pratikha* Allāladāsakaraṇa. Allāladāsā was a karana or scribe or more probably a Karana by caste as the scribe is usually styled in the records as the *ēra-karaṇa*. In the designation *Purū-pratikha*, the word *pratikha* means 'a representative'. It seems that Allāladāsaka Karana was the chief amongst the representatives of the principal officer in charge of the measurement of lands. The eastern limit of the above piece of reclaimed forest land touched the west of the Vanāśodā road, while its western boundary was marked by a *sāla* tree. To the south, it touched the northern limit of Vanāśodāgriṃa and in the north a plot of land belonging to two persons named Vidāi and Ravi. The land within these boundaries measured 54 *vāṭikās*.

The second plot of land was also a reclaimed forest area similar to the above and situated nearby. It had its eastern boundary touching the west of the Vanāśodā road, while the western limit was marked by another *sāla* tree. In the south, it touched the northern fringe of a piece of land belonging to two persons named Gōvinda-kara and Koṇāi and, in the north, the southern fringe of the land of a man named Kitiāi or Kitāika. The land within these four boundaries measured 55 *vāṭikās*.

The third plot of the gift land consisted of a locality called Gaṅgēśvarapura which is described as homestead land. It was also situated in the same region and was bounded on the east by the highway (*rājapatha*) to the west of the Vanāśodā road and on the west by a *sāla* tree. It is again said that, in the west, it touched a piece of land in the possession of two persons named Gōpāla and Chamjodāsā, while its eastern limit is said to have been a *sāla* tree. It will be seen that, in the

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1 Technical terms like this also occur in other later Gaṅga records. For a discussion on them, see *J. A. Lec.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 36-56 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 187-88.

2 He was possibly different from the *Purū-irikaraṇa* Allāla-nāyaaka mentioned in the Alapur copper-plate inscription of the same king (above, pp. 17 ff.). It is, however, interesting to note that this person was also similarly associated with the measurement of land.
case of Gaṅgēśvarapura, the eastern and western boundaries are separately and differently mentioned, but that the northern and southern boundaries of the place have been omitted. The enumeration of the boundaries in the other cases would suggest that the reference to the western and eastern boundaries in the second instance actually means respectively the southern and northern limits of Gaṅgēśvarapura which thus seems to have been bounded in the east by the rāja-patha near the Varānśāda road, in the west by a sāla tree, in the south by the land of Gopāla and Champadāsā and in the north by another sāla tree. This piece of land called Gaṅgēśvarapura measured 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas.

The fourth plot of the gift land touched, in the east, the western limit of the Kumārabhūgya haṭṭa (market-place) lying to the east of the land belonging to two persons named Gaṅganārāyana and Punakōṇī. The western boundary was marked by a sāla tree. In the south, the land reached an åśvatha tree standing at the end of the land of Vidāi-Pāniyagrāhī, while its northern boundary touched a field in the possession of Gopāla and Champadāsā mentioned before in connection with the third plot of land. The expression Pāniya-grāhī (modern pāniyagṛhī which is a surname among Oriya Brāhmaṇas) means 'a recipient of water' literally, but 'a recipient of a grant' actually. This is because, according to Indian custom, a ceremonial gift of land, etc., was solemnised by offering water in the hands of the donee. When a grant was made to a large number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief among the donees seems to have been called Pāniyagrāhī especially. In the present record, though all the donees are referred to as Pāṇi(ṇi)yagṛhī-mahājana, their list is headed by a Brāhmaṇa with Pāṇi(niyagṛhī as his surname. The plot of land in question measured 68 vāṭikās and 4 mānas.

The fifth plot of land comprised the locality called Kumārapura. It was bounded in the east by the highway to the north of Kumārabhūgya (the haṭṭa or market-place of this name mentioned above) and in the west by a sāla tree. Its southern boundary touched the northern limit of the land of Gopāla and Champadāsā mentioned before in connection with the third and fourth plots, while its northern end was marked by a bijjala tree. The land within these boundaries measured 65 vāṭikās.

Thus the five plots, measuring respectively (1) 54 vāṭikās, (2) 55 vāṭikās, (3) 103 vāṭikās and 8 mānas, (4) 68 vāṭikās and 4 mānas, and (5) 66 vāṭikās, made a total of 346 vāṭikās and 12 mānas. Out of this area, land measuring 5 vāṭikās and 12 mānas was subtracted for covering gohāri, go-patha and go-prachāra. The word go-prachāra means pasture land, while both gohāri and go-patha indicate broad pathways for cattle. The remaining land measured 341 vāṭikās out of which an area of 100 vāṭikās was granted in favour of the god Gaṅgēśvarādeva. Whether this deity was installed in the temple of Gaṅgēśvarādeva at Bhairavapura referred to above or at the locality named above as Gaṅgēśvarapura and whether he was named after the dead prince Gaṅgarājādeva cannot be satisfactorily determined. Of the remaining 341 vāṭikās of land, an area of 208 vāṭikās was allotted to 104 Brāhmaṇas, each one of them having a share of 2 vāṭikās. The list, however, contains 101 names and 3 names appear to have been omitted inadvertently. That the omission was not detected was possibly due to the fact that often several persons had the same names. To a deity to be installed in a temple in the kāśana (land granted by the charter under discussion) was granted land measuring 4 vāṭikās. Two colleges for Vedic and grammatical studies to be started in the kāśana received respectively 7 and 10 vāṭikās. For making (or covering periodically with thatch) a maṇḍapa (public building), a grant of 5 vāṭikās was made. Another grant of 5 vāṭikās was made for the excavation of a tank in the kāśana. The kāśan-ādhikārin Kāmadēvasārman who

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1 Cf. Agni Purāṇa, ch. 209, 49-50: Dravyaṅga nāma grīśṭhyād-dadām-iti tātāt vaddā | kāśan dadyāk-dadātē
dānē dāntē śāntī śānti iṣṭa-vaddā ||
was a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Pūtimāsha gōtra received 2 vaśikās. The bāsan-ādikārin was apparently the head of the king’s record department, who seems to have written the document. Kāmadēvasarma, as suggested before, probably received the piece of land as his perquisite. He no doubt succeeded Allālanāthaśarma, known from the earlier records of the king including the Alalpur inscription edited above, and appears to have been a member of the same family, as both are said to belong to the Pūtimāsha gōtra. Another area of 2 vaśikās was allotted to the śrīkarana (i.e. scribe) Nāgū-ṇāyaka, who seems to have engraved the plates or drew the letters on them to facilitate the work of the engraver. Thus altogether 341 vaśikās of land were granted to gods, Brāhmaṇas and others with the hope that this meritorious act would lead the king’s dead son Gaṅgarājadēva to heaven. The bāsana was styled Gaṅgarājadēvapura after the prince and was made a perpetual rent-free holding endowed with the right to enjoy land and water as well as fish, tortoise and old trees. Seven traders belonging to different markets were attached to the grant as rent-paying subjects. But their names are not specified.

A mention of the names of the Brāhmaṇas donees, called pāṅgīrāhī-mahājana, as well as their gōtras and titles is necessary as they, along with the other personal names mentioned in the charter and referred to above, throw some interesting light on the social history of medieval Oriya. The expression pāṅgīrāhī is no doubt the Oriya corruption of Sanskrit pāṇi-grāhin explained above. The gōtras represented by the donees are Bhāradvāja, Átreya, Vatsa, Gautama, Vaśishtha, Kaṇḍinya, Pārashara, Śākapāla, Aṅgirasa, Kṛṣṇārīya, Kaṇsika, Śākhāya, Māṇḍavya, Bhārgava and Aupamanyava. With the exception of Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, who are mentioned at the beginning and at the end of the list, the names of the other gōtras are the only ones mentioned and are followed by the names of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to each one of them. The Brāhmaṇa heading the list of the donees is called Gopāla-pāṅgīrāhī; but the names of the other donees are invariably preceded by a title or surname. The expression put before the names of most of the Brāhmaṇas is Pāṭhin meaning a student of one Veda, while the expressions Pāṭhin and Tripāṭhin (student of three Vedas) are prefixed to the names of some. One name is preceded by the word Upāsani and two by Vābhī. The word upāsani, from which upāsani is derived, generally means ‘worship’ and ‘religious meditation’; but according to the Yajñavalkyasūtra, III, 45, it also indicates ‘sacrifice’ and ‘sacred fire’. Upāsani in the present case may be the same as Agrasānir indicating ‘a Brāhmaṇa maintaining the sacred fire’. Upāsani is known to be a surname among the Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāṣṭra even today. The word vābhī is hard to explain; but, considering the similarity and confusion between the forms of v and n in some cases, one may suggest the reading nābhī possibly indicating the head of a community. Besides Gopāla-pāṅgīrāhī, the other donees bore the names: Ananta, Gurudēva, Sahadēva, Raghudēsa, Kēsadvadēsa, Haradēsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Jalēsvarasa (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Jagnātā, Gaṅgásvarasa, Sashṭhidēsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kūrmadēsa, Vāsudēsa, Vidyādhara, Chāmpadēsa, Gōvinda (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chāndēsa, Saṇḍi, Chitrakara, Lakshmīdhara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vişhṇudēsa (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Ravi (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kirttinātha, Mitāi (borne by five Brāhmaṇas), Gōvindrathasa, Śvayambhū, Chōdū, Utsavakara, Ramāi, Brāhmaṇadēsa, Āpti (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Priyäkara, Dānōdēsa, Mānigasa, Ganū, Vṛddhī, Nārāyana (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kanū (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Alāli, Mantāi, Māḍhavakara, Nākū, Viśvapūrī, Koṇāi, Bhāṇukara, Gupkara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chānū, Hari, Brahmi, Sivakara, Rādēsa, Gauridēsa, Sarvēsa, Jāgāsvara, Sātū, Ānandā (Ānapūrī, borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kacū (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kādu, Hridayakara, Deśidēsa, Jāi, Dharmū, Nāgū, Rudrakara, Bhāskara, Champāi (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vasundāra, Purushottama, Vānadēsa, Ratnākara, Kālidēsa, Māṇikadhara, Śrīśṭī, Śaktadhara, Kitāi, Dīsāi, Ruārū, Gaṇapati and Kirttipā. The popularity of names like Mitāi, Kacū, Champāi, etc., is interesting to note.
Of the geographical names mentioned in the introduction, some have already been discussed above\(^1\) in connection with the Nagari inscription of Anaṅgabhima III. Rādhā and Varāndra, described indirectly as the land of the Javanas (Yavanas or Muhammadans), have to be identified respectively with South-western and Northern Bengal, while, as already noticed, Kāpakōṇa, where the temple of the Sun-god was built by Narasimha I, is modern Konarak in the Puri District. The Bhairavapura kṣatka cannot be satisfactorily identified. But Vaiṣṇāḍāgrāma, as Kamakhya Prasad Basu rightly suggested, is apparently the present Basta which is a railway station on the South-Eastern Railway in the Balasore District. The Vaiṣṇāḍāgrāma viśaya, in which the five plots of the gift land were situated, was no doubt the district round this locality. Basta seems to be a corruption of Vaiṣṇāḍa through the intermediate form Bāndā. There is a place called Band-a-Sadanandapur near the Basta railway station. The rājapatha near Vaiṣṇāḍāgrāma, mentioned in the introduction, seems to be the old Puri road running half a mile to the west of the present Puri road built in the thirties of the nineteenth century by Rājā Sukhamay Rāy and Rājī Šāṅkari Dēvi of Calcutta. The old Puri road passed via Jalesvar, Khunta, Basta, Rupsa, Ramachandrapur and Rēmuṇā. According to the Bengali works on the life of Chaitanya, the saint reached Rēmuṇā after crossing the Suvarṇārākhā via Jalesvar and Band-a. Of the intermediate stations mentioned in this connection, Amarda is a village in the Mayurbhanj District (former Mayurbhanj State) and Ramachandrapur is a village near the Haldipara railway station.

**TEXT\(^2\)**


**First Plate**

1 ṇ [n]ajmō Nārāyaṇāya || Lakṣmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam-adāḥ śēyā[r]ai dāśīṣṭa vaḥ
prāphūrja[r]a[n]\(^*\)-nakha-raṣmī-

2 kēśara-satā[tā]-bhasvan-nakh-āli-dalaṁ ||(lam) vispaṣṭa[r]aḥ prativimvi(bimbī)taḥ prana-
manaiḥ kriṣṇ-āparād-h-ōdbhavaḥ Kṛishṇo ya-

3 n-nakha-diptiṣuḥ bhramaśatān-dhattē sa [La*]kṣamī-priyaḥ || [1*] Kaṁhī-avāḥ(bhḁ̄)-r
mmathitāt sur-āsura-gaṇaḥ prādurbhavanti Rāmā Śamb[h]u[.]

4 Vra(Brahma-Purandara-prabhītiṣuḥ prakāḥ(khyā)ta-kṛitiṣhv=api || ((pa)ṣyatiṣv=Amvu(bu)ja
nābham=lam-avṛpiṇī-lōka-tray-āhūdinaḥ bhṛṅg-āli sahaKarā-

5 m-ētī hi va[n]ē phullā[y]=nya-sākhīny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhi-saraśrūḥ-ōdbhava-Vidhēr-Atrir-
vṛav(r=bb)bhūv-āmūdā Ca(tas-Cha)ndras=chandrikayā prakāś-

6 ta-jagat sambhūtāvān-nētreyōḥ || ((trailōkya-grasan-aika-dakha-timira-grāśītva-sāmyā=-pi
yō lakṣma-vājāyādadhat-tahā prā-
7 tivapuṣ śṛṛīṇy-ākṣhikō nīrmalāḥ || [3*] śṛṛīṇy-śōdaratvād-śamṛittar-sakhataya kalpa-vṛkṣh-
āṇjatvāīl-īōk-āntand[ār]* vidhātā ti-
8 mira-viśha-haraḥ sarvvaśa-āiv-ōpabhōgyā || (||) tat-tat-sa[ṛ]īsarggā-lābhātt-tad-adhigata-
guṇāṇ sv-āṃgha-nīśa[a][na]=dadhānāḥ svasaśa[ay=a]tān-nīrmma-
9 latvān jagatī vijayātī darśayaṇ-nīnām-nīṭh[ṛ]ūḥ || [4*] Vairāṇa tasya narāvarāḥ samabhava-
vana(van) tēśaṁ guṇ[na]mṛchcha[nās-chha]nasadās[ā] pṛṭphulil(lā)
10 iva [ya]=purāṇa-mataçāḥ ta(gās-ṭa)tr-āpi nō sammitāḥ ||(||) tanta(t-ta)t-kāśhva(vya)-
-pi(pa)thā-śṛtās-trī-bhuvanē muṛt[ṛ]ttīn-dadhā-
11 nā iva [bhrāmya]nt=iva sa-chētana[ḥ]* śrutī-grihē viśramya viśramya cha || [5*] Pra[ty]kaṁ 
śaśī-vaṃśa-bhūpati-bhuja-
12 vyāḍāra-sam[k]ṛ[ṛ]ṣanāṁ(naṁ) kartuṇa-ka[k] [kṣa[h]matē khītāu va(ba)hu-mukhō yatra-āṛju-
naḥ(na)s[ay=a]vā hi ||(||) dōḍra(r-da)ārd-āritā-k[ṛ]ṛ[ṛ]ṛ[ṛ][ṛ]t[ṛ]ī-varṇ[a][na]=para[n*] tad-Bhā-
13 rataṁ prabhavata-samaśānāh vāsaya-mātrama(m-ā)di-nipati-ārēṣī-kramāl-likhyatē || [6*] 
tathā hi Chandrāc-Vu(d-Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhāḍ-Ānalaḥ | Ana-
14 lāt-Purīravāḥ | Purūravāṁ Vāa[Vā]yūḥ | Vāyōrc-Naghu(hu)jaḥ | Naghu(hu)ṣaḍ-Yājā-
(yā)tiḥ | tatas-Turvvasuḥ | tātō Gaṅgāyāḥ | ta-
15 tō Vīrōhanaḥ | tataḥ Saṃvē(Śaṃvē)yaḥ | tātō Bhāśvān | tātō Dattasaṇaḥ | tataḥ 
Saunyāḥ | tātō(ṭaḥ) Aṣvadattaḥ |
16 tataḥ Saurūṅghaḥ | tasmāc-Chitrāṅgadaḥ | tataḥ Sīrāḥvajah | tataḥ Dharmmaśīḥ [] tataḥ 
Parikṣhīt | tātō Jayasa-
17 naḥ | tātō [Vijnayaṇaṇaḥ | tataḥ Vṛiṣahdvajah | tataḥ Pragalbhah | tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ 
Kāḷahalaḥ [] sa ṣv-a[na]ntava[ṛmā]
18 abhavaḥ || Dhana-kanaka-saṃpiddhi Gaṅgavāḍh prasiddhah sakala-viṣhaya-bhūtah svargg-
varg-ōpabhōgyāḥ | tad-adhipa-
 tadd-ādyāḥ || [7*] Kāḷahalaḥ samara-m[ṛ]ṛdhhi tātō nī-
sura-sadma-tulyāḥ tasmin kramaṁ nipatiḥbhū-ṛvva(r-bha)bh-

Second Plate, First Side
21 bhū-ṛvva(r-bha)bhuve || [8*] Rājya-śri-bṛhitī Nārasīrṇha-aripatau jyeṣṭhē kim=āt-āśmahē 
dōr-dāṇḍ-ārjita-bhū-tal-ōṭhitā-Ramā-kaṇṭha-grah-ānandīnaḥ | kim
22 ch-āśmākam-iyaṁ bhuj-āśī-latikā sambhēṣṭtatāṁ vē(vai)riṇāṁ kaṇṭha-āranyāṁ=īyaṁ cha 
kiṃti-lālīkā dyān-nas-samārōhatu || [9*] Bhrāmyadbhīḥ

1 The daṇḍa is superfluous.
2 Rūḍāḥ was originally engraved.
3 Elsewhere (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240) we preferred the reading Sarupavat-saka suggesting that Anantavarman’s chief city named Sarupa became famous as Kāḷahala. But the idea seems to be that both Anantavarman and his capital (not named) became famous under the name Kāḷahala.
4 This is, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.
23 vi(bhīr-vijīgīṣhayā kshiti-taile kv-āpūrip(dvīshad-vanditaṁ kv-āpi dvēshi-kulapramāthibhir-api prāptāṁ Kālingāṁ kila || (1) taṁ
24 Kāmārnāva-pañchamairī-nripa-varaṁ-yuddhaṁ Kālingaṁ samarhaṁ prāptāṁ drashtaṁ-
īv-ārpaṇāvād-udagamata Kūrma-avatārama Harana || (10) || [Ku].
25 rmas-svāmini sākṣaṁ Trinayanaṁ tasmin-Mahendram gato Gokarnaṁ-pi mahādadhau
vīyatī vā suṛyāṁ tathāṁ śaṁtāṁ-śaṁ ∥ || (11) || Kā-
26 liṅgaṁ-bhūvam-eharaṁ-bhūvam(bhūva)klād-ānaṁ-śrīpanu(bhū)ktāṁ chirah lakṣhvam v-ṛṣṭya-sthā
kaśutṛ-vvada taṁ Gaṅgā-ānvasya-āhavē ∥ || (11) || Tatrā-śaṁd-vanśa-ka-
27 rtt-śāsau Kāmārnāva-mahāpatiṁ [*] yāsy-aitat-putra-pauตรāyaṁ rājānaṁ khyāta-vi-
kramāṁ ∥ || (12) || Śāstra-ārtha-nischetita-matiṁ-dvīṣhaṁ-anta-kaṁ [sa].
28 rva-ṛṣṭhī-varga-paritāṣhāna-ḥēttu(va)-va[rī][gga]hḥ ∥ || (1) || aṣṭaraṭoṁ-muni-puṇagava-mārgga-
chāṅi tasmāṁ bāhūṁ-nripa-varo bhuvī Vajrahastaṁ || [13] || Nāma(Na) nāma-
29 taṁ kēvalaṁ-arthataṁ(to)-pi sa, Vajrahastaṁ Trist(eva-stri)kālingaṁ-ṇāthaḥ ∥ || (1) || kō Vajrahastād-
āparaḥ prithīyaṁ vajraṁ pataṁ/taddaṁ vāravīyopuṁ samartāḥ
30 || [*] || Vyāpte Gaṅga-kul-śtamasya yāsasya h(i)k(k)chakravālē śaśi-prāyēpñē-mālī(ē)na yāsyā bhūvana-prahāda-sa-
31 mpādīnā || (1) || sindūrain-ati-sāndra-pañka-patālaiṁ ka(ku)mha-thali-patākāshv-aślimpate
punaḥ punaḥ ca hari-
32 tām-sādhoraṇaṁ vāraṇaṁ ∥ [15] || Mahīśh Naṅgamaḥ tasya Pārvatā-iva PĪnākīnāḥ ∥ || (1) tasmāt-
tasyāṁ-abhūd-vaṛō Rājaraṁ-
33 ja-mahāpatisaṁ || [16] || Sa Rājarājō dvija-rāja-kāntirbhū(ś)bhujangā-rāj-ānanaṁ-varṇya-
kirttiṁ || || (1) || śrīmattā-yādhaṁ krīta-rājarājō svā-vikramaṁ-nyasā[k]kritis
34 dēva-rājaḥ ∥ [17] || Tasya-āpra(grā)-mahīśh rājō nāmn-abhūd-Rājaśī(ś)ndari || Lakṣhmaṁ-
Naṅgamaṁśaya-eva tu Kōhīna || [18] || Tatas-tasyāṁ-abhūdv-ēva-vaṁ Chō-
36 svatam-śṛtya-v(ā)bālakataṁ śrī-Chādāgōṁ paṁyaḥ ∥ || (1) || tādṛg-Vāda-matīḥ kathāṁ
nipūntā śrīśrīvāṁ śrī-Chādāgōṁ paṁyaḥ ∥ || (1) || tādṛg-Vāda-matīḥ kathāṁ
37 niśānā śrīśrīvāṁ śrī-Chādāgōṁ paṁyaḥ ∥ || (1) || tādṛg-Vāda-matīḥ kathāṁ
38 niśānā śrīśrīvāṁ śrī-Chādāgōṁ paṁyaḥ ∥ || (1) || tādṛg-Vāda-matīḥ kathāṁ
39 niśānā śrīśrīvāṁ śrī-Chādāgōṁ paṁyaḥ ∥ || (1) || tādṛg-Vāda-matīḥ kathāṁ
40 yā iva ∥ || [22] || Pātriḥaṭa-kara-śastra-śrīhata-śrī-śrī-karunā-dharmav-avani-nishthāṁ
bhāvat-yat-tad-sāva || ujja-kara-śrī-hīla-śastra-śrībhīṣaṇa answering

1 A śrīrṣa sign, originally engraved after rasi, is scored off.
2 a Ṛṣa has been written over an erasure.
3 A śrīrṣa, originally engraved after śas, was penned through.
41 [bhima-ṣaṅga|m-]ṣṭāna-sakrīta dharana-ṣaya[m-[n]-dvanda-yauddhē[sa]Gaṅgāḥ || [23*] Yat-

tējāḥ-paṇbhuṭa-satru-nagara-prabhūta-dhūm-śodgamiyr-bhūyāḥ. Khāṇḍa[va]-

nāḍa-śakṛṇya vārttām-iva praṇūdhin-tasya nuva[nī]

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44 r[āhob-vajj[ṛ-]daga[ṇa] ||(i) mat-sa[mya] jalad-āgama-pratinidhān jētu[m] pra-

vrttēta kaḥ śūr-p-īti vada[m]ś=Trilōchana-v[i]bhur=va[r=ba]dhō=munā saṅga-


kaṛti-sudhākara[ṛ] prathutama[m] lakahāṃ-ṛ-dhāraṇyā sama[ṛ]|mam | māyād-dant-

46 sa[va-]niyutaṁ rataṃya-asa[ṃ*-k]hyāṇi vā tat-sindhōḥ kim-imāma prakāraḥ sarthā vā vṛt[ā]-

m[sa]-tad-unmāthiṇaḥ || [26*] Pādau yasya dhar-āntarikṣaṁ-akhi-

47 la[m] naḥḥi-cha sarvā disāḥ śōtṛē nētra-yuga[m*-] rav-Indu-yugalām mūrdhā-śpi cha
dyaur-asau (||) praśādaṃ Purushottamaṁasya nripatiḥ kō nāma kartu[m]

48 kahamaḥ ta[mas-ta]ay-śty-śadrā-ṇripair-upēkṣitam-ayaṁ cha khaṛē-tha Gaṅgā-śavaraḥ || [27*]

Lakṣnī-jaṁa-γrihaṁ payōndhir-asau pa[sa]-mbhāvitasya sthir-tīndhā

49 m[ṛ] śvasu[sa]ṛasya pu[pū]ṛjya iti kṣhīr-āvṛdhī[boḍhi]-vāsā[d*-dhruvaṁ][vam ||] nirvī-

qāṇāḥ Purushottamaṁ pramuditaḥ ta[tas-ta]-d-dhāma-lābhāḥ-Ram-śpy-śtād-bha[r*-]bṛt-

49 grighaṁ [vara*m]-ritgrighā-

50 ta[t] prāpya pramōd-ānvītā || [28*] Tva[m] Kū[ṛmm-ś]dhipa nīchāla tvam-spi bhō vyām-

ē[ṛ-]ndra dhaurīyam-vahāṅ| tva[r]ḥ* prīvī(ḥvi) sthīna(ra)tāṁ bhaja tvam-śadhumā vṛa-

(bṛ)hmāḍa gāḍaṁ[ḥ] llama[m]=bhāva (||) śrī-

51 Gaṅgā-ādhīpa-va[ba]ddhā-simha-visaraṅga[ḍ-g¬ḥ]sāyā{jagad-vyāpīno dīg-nāgēṣu bhāyāḥ=

chaḷauṭa jāgaṭi kampēta vā yat kramāt || [29*] Āryamā-nagarat-Kaliṅga-

52 ja-[ba]la-pratyagha-bhag-śvṛti-prākāṛ-āyata-tōraṇa-prabhṛitiḥ Gaṅgā-ṭaṭasthā[ṛ*] tataḥ |

Pārth-śrāta[stra]i=yo dhī jariṝkṛita-namad-Rādhā-

53 ya-gāṭā(tr-ākṛitir-Mandār-ādhīpani[ṛ]rgaatō raṇa-bhuvō Gaṅgēśvar-āṇudrataḥ || [30*]

Vra[Bra]hmāṇḍāva[m-]da[ba]-hī=stasya kṛittī(ṭṭi)-ṛpa[pa]-va-

54 sā līpāt̄[ṇa na vā bhāvinē dattaṁ=ḥ-āṛti-janāya hēma-nichayaḥ saṇkampā[pi]-nai[nā] vā va[ba]-huḥ | nirdadagnī-arī-puraṇas tī cha

55 bhāvita-navas-tasya pratāpi[pai]r-ana vā kīm vā nō kṛtavāṇ-asayam stuti-pādaṁ arī-śo-

dag-āśvarāḥ || [31*] Varāhaṁ

56 saptatiṁ vīraḥ khaṇḍi-sambhōgaṁ-ācha[ra*]t | dig-nāyakān pratīhāy[r]ṇ=vidhāy-āśāsu

sarvavātaḥ || [32*] Kīm prāptā mahiṣī ta-


Kastūrīma[kh]amōdīni | n-a-Vishṭaḥ(shuṇaḥ) prithi-

1 Read dhāiraṇa vah.

2 A visarṣa, originally incised after ra, was later penned through.
58 vi-patih prabhavat-ity-asmin Harau va tu(bhu)v raksh-ārtham dhru-ja-manai svayam- 
asu Lakshmiṃ prasūt-āthā vā || [33*] Tasyaṃ-tatō-jani
59 jagat-tritay-aika-vīrya Kāmarṇavaah tri(vas-tri)-jagadēśu ēśahā | sūryāṃ pratāpa-
vībhāvāna jagat-pr[rasiddhā]-kṛttīthā
60 śāśāṅga(aikā)ma-adhārikṛtavān-viśuddhyā || [34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-sūnā-vvīyubu(dh)-āśrayasya 
drīpya[di]-dvīya(sha)d-varāña-viśvēdē-sakṭēh | Kāmarṇava-
61 sya(sy-a)jaya Kumārakaiva na nāmataḥ kēvalam-arthatō-pi || [35*] Prāpy-ōdaya[ih] | 
śāśāṅkasya varddhatān nāma vārdhihi | va[r]*ddhatē
62 kṛttī-chandra-yās[t]* chitraṃ Kāmarṇav-ōdayē || [36*] Vēd-ārtvuru(rttu)-vyōma-
chandra-pramita-Śaka-samā-prāpta-kālē dīn-ēśā chāpastē-hā-
63 grah-augē bha(ava)vatī ripushu prakshayaṃ prāpta-vatsu ||((i) asmin-mūrddhē-ābhishhiktē 
nṛpa-vara-tanayā sarvā-lok-aika-rā(nā)tha(thē)
64 śrīmat-Kāmarṇav-ēśe jagad-abhavad-idaṃ tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇam(ṛṇam) || [37*] Kshir-
ārṇavād-ajani chandra-kal-ēti vā[r]*ttā Kāmarṇa-

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65 [vā*]nau tu sakal-ēndu-dīkār-ābham(bham ) kṛttī-pratāpa-mithunāṅ sahakārī lōkē 
śīrya(shya)tv-ēśā para-nṛpān-anu-rāga-śānyān || [38*] Yasyaśāi-nirvāra(rddāli-
66 ta-vairi-kāndā-kumbha-nirmukta-mauktika-phalāny-asru(apī)g-uksiśhāni ||((i) 
Kāmarṇavaśa ripu-saṅgha(samḥa)-ti-hētv-ē śa-ka-kāḷa-la-sa[hr]dhyā-prabhāta-bhagaṇa ī-
67 va bhānti yuddhō(ddb) ||[39] Dripya-d-vairi-chamū-r-mayā kavalitā n-siva[th]ē may-
śāvādēt-ēy-anuyām kalaha tu(tu) nīrṇaya-vidhāv tuḍga-prata-ēcchhhāyā ||((i) 
mādhyaśhthāyā
68 ṇ-gamit-ēva ni(r)mamalārā kṛttīr-yaḍiyā vra(brabl)īmy-ālē(lō)chy-ēsah mahadbhir-īty-
upagāt śhāttu(tu)b śrutī chādrāt ||[40*] Aṣrakṣhīt sa Hira-
69 nyagarbham-aparam(tē) lōkāṃ(kē) Mahēśah pur-ēty-s(tu)panva(nna)ṁ pravadantē yē 
v(aha) vādā-vratō niruddhō-dhunā ||((i) tēśhān yat-tu hiraṇyagarbham-ākara-
70 t-Kāmarṇav-ēsas-tataḥ sampannaṁ janitām jagad-yata iha pratyakṣahataḥ prāśaṅ(dā)ṁ(nām) || 
[41*] Saptām-bhūdchā-vaḥantī kṣhitir-a[ti]-tarālā
71 nāga-kūrm-ēsvaṃśaṃ sāhāya(yya)m vāṃcchhha(ḥha)t-ēyān tād-apī punar-ayaṇ kal-
pitā ta(tas-ta)tā bhrāh | Dhātā Kāmarṇav-ākhyāḥ sa cha nīs-tu(tu)-
72 laṅām nīdasaya-vārṇaḥ-arāair-bhīyō bhīyōs-tula-yān sthita iti dharaṇēr-bhārā-ābha- 
halāyam-aśtum(pata) || [42*] Hṛiṣṭa-puṣṭi-jā-ākṛṭṇam vidvaj-ja-
73 na-maṁōharam(ram ) dāśa-āvid(bh)īla-arkādō-ārajan Kāmarṇavamahipatiḥ || [43*] Aśī 
Chōḍaṅga-ṇṛpataṁ-mahāhīś tatō-nīyā tasya-Ēndīrā

Read 'jagad-ēkā-varadāyā-
1 A śīvaḥ had been originally engraved after dāḍa but was afterwards deleted.
3 The letters bha had been at first engraved after sans and then deleted.
4 Śi was originally engraved; but the medial s sign seems to show marks of erasure.
74 ravi-kul-śāhavā-rāja-putri ||(1) y-ādy-āpi Dhāt(tu)r-va=paṁ-śjani sundarīṇā[ī]n* s-ēyaḥ

75 gati-varṇanāyā prāśuddhā dhīshānta-bhūd-Gir(r-Gir)risut-ēty-śtī-vāda-dōṣaḥ [(*) n=
ōṣty-ēva chaṇḍa-ruchi-kā-

76 ma-haro yad-stra tāṁ-Indinām-udavaha(d-du)vi Chōdagaṇaṁ ||[45*] Tasyān-tataḥ
samajani kṣhit-i-nātha-nātha-

77 ḫ śrī-Rāgahavā para-narāśvara-darpa-mardi [[(*) yat-paṭa-va(ba)ndhana-viḍhī-śravaṇa-
prabhītāḥ sarvve niṇāṭi sva-hṛi-

78 di kampam-avāpattavantaḥ ||[46] Śrī-Rāghavā rājana chitram-ētat-ṭejo-viṁśaḥ kabilit-
pāla-paṅgaḥ ||(1) tat-pāda-sēvā-kṛita-dēha-si-

79 dhīr-mitrabhavyat-svā samasta śahā ||[47]Frauḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāchanda-
mantrita(bha)varddo(ḍi-ḍo)raṇḍa(ṇḍ-ō)paṇmi-pragībha-viṣayaḥ prāg-bhū-

80 tavān-Arjunaḥ ||(1) sa[mpāl]yš-aḥava-raṣga-saṅgata-ripu-śrī[ṇ]-śrī-ahuv-ananda-krīḍ-āśakta-
bhujāḥ śar-āsana-bhūtāḥ chitr-ōpamā Rāghavāḥ ||[48*] Jagati Va(Fa)raṣu-

81 rāmaḥ prādurśādī-dviṣīyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hāntā sv-ājīyaḥ-aṇcchhana-lōkaḥ ||(1) kshit-
ivitaraṇa-diksh-āsakta-hastaḥ pratāpād-āpi daśa-

82 satā-vā(ba)ha(hur)=yaşa śatrur-viṁśe ||[49*] Bhedaṁ bhēdam anīti-kuṇjara-gatā-
kaḥoḥ[r]dha-paṃkti[īn*] ranē pāyan pāyam-asṛk-paṇīảś va(ba)huddhi śrī-Rā-

83 ghav-ās[ī]* khaṇḍaṭa(nāt) | subhram śubhram=śv-ōdvahad-viyayatō kirtti-pratānam=
paraṁ paraṁ Chandras-chandīkāya prapūṣapataravya sa[īn*]eśyamān-ākriti(mīṭh)

84 ||[50*] Durggeśku dāva-dahanāḥ kṣitibhṛṣṭu vajraṁ mādyat-kar-īndra-gatana-viḍhi-
sīṁha ēṣaḥ ||(1) vidvāshi-bhūmi-patayō nivanta yatra śrī-

85 Rāghavāḥ kṣiti-patir-vvitaratḥ(ta)-prabhāvaḥ ||[51*] Śrī-Rāghava-hārādhiśaḥ kahōṇ-pāla-
śīrōmaṁ | akarōc-ṛjyaṁavad(bda)nam=uddā-

86 mō daśa paṁcha cha ||[52*] Tasya śrī-Chōdagaṇa-kṣiti-valayat-patir=vaṁśa-santāna-vall-
kaṁda-śrī-Chandranī(ō)khā aśphuṭam-Aditir-iva pā(prā).

87 yasya Kasya(śya)paśyā ||(1) tasyām-uddāma-dhāma-kṣayaṁ-dīnāmaṁ-ja[j]nāṁṣa(n=Rā)-
jarājō rājanyā-kahōḍa-m(l)l-tali-kī.

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88 ta-mahima-vyāpta-dik-khārvālaḥ ||[53*] Tasmin-dig-vijaya-prāyāṇa-rasiko saṁrumbaṁ-
śumbhaṃ-čham-śaṃkaṇha-kahiti-va(cha)kra-pāṁśu-patala-

89 prāg-bhrāvartya=avma(ma)bho | bhū-samsparśa-gṛhiṇa vaśād-dinarna(ma)pṛer-uchchayaḥ[ī]
plā(plu)taṁ saptibhiḥ sv-ābhayaṁ sura-pi(s)ndu(ṇdhu)ṛēsā dharāṇ-ṛaṭṭē rad-ōdgaṭṭa-

90 naṁ(naṁ) ||[54*] Chōdagaṇa-narāḍrasya sunur-uddāma-vikramaḥ | Rājarāja iti khyātō
rāja-rājō mahipatiḥ ||[55*] Viśvam kṛṇorayati pralabha-vayasi prāḷe-

91 ya-śaśāya(du)yau yad-yad-śaḍpiḥ-abhūd-abhūṭaḥ (ta)-sādiṣaṁ santas-tad-ākarpūya-
tāṁ[(tām)] dhāṭri piṭhatri(ṭi)ṁ lingati svar-achalaḥ prāśātī tvad-yāśo diṁ-nāthāh prati-

1 T4, which was originally omitted, is written above the line in a small size.
2 Tribhūṇaḥ had been originally engraved; but ka was afterwards deleted.
93 ma(mañ)ti yasya paritaḥ sarṣṭaḥ padā[r]* śṛṅgam[ī]* ānandaṃ viddhāti chōstasi bhavata-
(vai)-kṛttirṛgga(r-ga)ga-grāhi [yaśa]-śūtē dōhadam-ārtkinaḥ(naḥ) su-manasi ārī Rājarā-
93 ja dhruva-ravam[ai] | [s-cēyana karaṇā-patī[ra] śaṃtē hriyāyate vairinā[r] sv-
ātmē(m-1)-chehān-anuvidhāyinā[m]*] na ni ni jō bhāvaḥ kvacchi[d]* dṛśyate [mm*] étasyā[r]*
94 bhuvi paṁča-viśāti-samāḥ kshaṁ-śāla-lakṣmī-ḍhavaḥ kriyā jitvā- %[cō]-[hṛpa]-[cō]-stäpāh[ha]*
96 ni-paḥ [mm*] Tasya-śaṇujo ni-pati-ṛa-jā-pade-
97 bhishktaḥ u-śāk-śatī paraśiḥ pa-raśiḥ[pa][ha]ś[pa]-prasātiḥ [m*] prthvi-[pa][tha]h kalī-
98 mōj[i]-jī-ḥa-dharma-sudhāha kārya-kshambha prabhū-
99 r-śaśv-Âniyaś-kaḥ-bhīma[r] | [mm*] Viś-ādhisṭhita-saṅgar-ādri-śikherā Śaṅkha-svan-
99 śaśād[ai]-śūtē kund-pōdhbhina-mah-ēbha-kumbha-mod-galā-(lī)-
100 dī[ra]-jā-sāmak kila [mm*] chaṃchadāva[d]-dī-bau-va(ba)lēna saṅgara-bhuvi tvat-khaḍga-
100 dhārā-jalij-jātah tv-a(ta)-t-a(a)-ahta(dig)-lēvārā-
101 t(n) prthu-yaśa-chaṃdara-ḥaṃs[sa]săm[i]-nāṃgati [mm*] Yat-prayāṣa-śaṃ[i]-mu(dhūta-rajaḥ-
101 samprūtea [mbe]r [m*] abhūtāt-viruda-vājaśyaī dhīli-mada-
102 chīta tanu[h] [mm*] Daśa varṣha-pīrī-sau nirjit-rāti-ṃañḍalaḥ [m*] Anāṅgabhimā-
103 bhūpālo dhartrīṃ samapālayat [mm*] Praudh-ānarragala-vikra-
104 maḥ kula-grihaḥ yō daṇḍa-nīti-śriyāḥ satya Śa-čāra-viḥ śa-čāra-chaṛa-charaḥ puṇya-aika-
104 pārśvaṇaḥ [mm*] tasya-asid = Ânīya-kshambha-nipatē-
105 r-ārdh-kīa-la[kshmi]h[sa]* svayaṁ sācchāya =ātisāyēṇa paṭṭa-mahāhī Vāghalladēvī bhuvi
105 | [mm*] Tuv(Tuv)ītī-pūtī-ṛhggu(a)-sahugh sūnum-āpi(sā) adupūyā(ṣāyā) nirai-
106 āyita-bēja yauvan-āvāta-rājaḥ [m*] praṇaṭi(ta)-ni-pati-chūḍā-ratna-rociḥ-[pi]*jaṅg-
107 -kṛita-chaṛa-śa-rōjō Rājarājō ni-pā-
108 laṅ [mm*] Yasya-ṛdyad-vāja-vinda-prakṣati-khara-put-aṅgō-hara-nālakṛttī-hr-va-s[ma]* bhūtaṁ
108 bhūvi(ri)-bhūṣavata-kara-nīkara-sagā(m)ṣapu(ṣyā)ta-sādṛkṣa(na)ṛ ṛṣyānē [mm*]
109 viṣṭṛṇa[m]* karaṇa-tāl-āhatibhav-saṃtvat-sānē-gajānām-anśa-hā(a(h)astā[m]* dig-
109 gajānā[m]* mukha-paṭa-ṛtu(tu)lanām-sādcaḥ dhūli-jālan(lam) [mm*] Yā-
109 smūt saṃsaṭi saṣṭi-aṁ-nika-rē śaṃyaka(myak)-samud-āmva(masa-ra)[ma]* prthvī[mi]* pāṛthīva-
110 paṅgavē nayā-gunā[ha] śrī-Rājarājō ni-pē [mm*] chakrā-
110 Mādhava eva taikṣuṣyam-adhīka[ma] kaukṣa-yākē chintanaḥ śaṣṭi-ābhyaśa-vidhau vidhau
110 cha ādāntā kāḷē kāḷiḥ śrī(ṛ)jaya[ma] [mm*] Yat-kirūti-du-
110gṛha-jaladhīr-bhuvana[r-ā]-uṭaraṇa sa[r-[ma]*] tāṁ śṛṣṭa-śruṣṭa-rueḥ gaganē sama-
111 nät sükṣham-ātisükṣhama-tara[lā] iva visphuranti || [88*] Tyāgā śauryāḥ cha satyāḥ [cha*]
   Karṣu-Arjuna-Yudhishthirāḥ | sadṛśo-yaḥ mahā-virā Rā-
112 jārājō nar-ādhipāḥ || [69*] Rājāraja narapati-rddāsa sapta cha tvva(tsarān || ( || bhuvir
   rājya-āriyāṇaḥ bhuktvā śvāryāya prasthaṭvān
113 || [70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūṭa vēlā saundryya-vārīdhēḥ hēḥ | nāmā Mahānaḍēv-ṣtī
mahīhi tasya bhū-pāṭēḥ || [71*] Taṣyām-abhūd-abdhā(dhūja) vikra-
114 ma-śrīḥ śrīmān-ayauḥ bhū-bḥrid=Au nu ānagabhirnaḥ | virajāte kṛtti-sudbhā-taṅgārām
dāhantāsa dig-bhittihu yat-prāsātāḥ || [72*] Yasya=a-
115 narggala-dōr-vvīlasā-lahari-lāvanya-vairī-vrāja-krandat-pauṛa-vadph-viḷo[cha*]a-pu(pa)-
yāḥ-purāir-dāharā dantaūrah | kim[ci]-
116 t-[tyaṃ-tyaṅga-ta(bba)gī-kaḷanāiḥ pāthōdhī-ya[n]-ōtsavād-vṛtī-vaṅktī-kandharāḥ sa
   bhagavān=mēa[n]-māny[e] pu[rā]jō mrī[ma]ḥhā || [73*] Ka-
117 s-tvambhaḥ (m-bhōj) Kalīr-asmī kinnū(ṣu-nu) vimanāḥ kasmī nivēyō-śtmanāḥ sōk-
   ambhōdhim apāharāmi kalāyā kim vētsi nō mān Ha-
118 rinī[rim ] yady-śvāna kalay-āṃsadiya-samay-ō[ṣṭ]* kṣēphāya Gaṅ-ānvayō jātāḥ śrīmad-
   Au nu ānagabhirnāma-ṇripatiḥ sō-narthā-bhūtō mama || [74*] Dhyān-a-
119 va(nu)va(ba)ndhi-ni[vī)[bi]-a praśara-pramōda-mādhvika-mugdha-māṣīnant hriday-āravin-
   dani(hadam) | de vāh purāṇa-pururṣah(ṣah) parirabhya yasya rola[ṛ]-
120 va(ba)-ḍamva(mba)ra-kalā[ṁ] kalayāṃcha[kāra || [75*] Lakṣāmi-rākṣaṇa-sauvidallā-
   padavi[rī]* pratyarthi-prathvibhāj[ṁ] prā[n]-
121 karšaṇa-rajju-viḥhrama-ttu(tu)lāṃ[pi]+ possamam-anandayan || ( || saṃgrāma-sāthala-kēl-
   tāṇḍava-kalā-paṇḍityam=a-
122 manḍayan || yasya=a[ṛ]* jagad-abbhūt-aika-viśat-kṛdā-naṣṭāḥ sāyaḥ || [76*] Yasya= 
   ānarggala-vikram-a-
123 rījita-yaśāḥ-ṣhīr-ōda-dān-ō[r]mmbhir=dātāraḥ kila Kāmog-prabhṛtitaḥ prōtārītā
   dūratāḥ | kim ch-āyaṇaḥ cha hirnya-
124 garbhā-kaḷanāvaidagdhyam-ākāraṇaḥ lalita-lōla-chatur-mukh-ākshi-yugalo manyē mahān
   Padmadbhūḥ || [77*] Yēn-ābhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-
125 trayeṇa nītaḥ tu(tas-tu)lā-prusha-dāna-kal-ānuva(ba)ndhaḥ || ( || lavdha(bdh=a)pi
   na[ḥ] kṣhitir-amuchya mudē tath-ābhūt(bhūd)-yādgī-ukī-jana-sāsana-dā-
126 na-kēlīḥ || [78*] Ākaraṛāta hṛdayayāṃ-eṇa-viṃchanānāṃ-ādhunvataḥ cha paritaḥ prati-
   pārthivānāṁh[ṁ] | (nām | arthe-ānvayā(ya)-praṇayinā kritīnā-
127 m=Ānu ānagabhirma-prasiddhih=amunāḥ vidadhēṇī pṛipēṇā || [79*] Jagāma dhāra-dēvanāṁ sa
   dēvaḥ sēvaka-priyāḥ | bhuktvā bhū-pṛapṭēṇā
128 oḥatuḥ-tri(tas-tri)ṁsit-samāh kahamāh(māṃ) || [80*] Śrī-Ka[ṛ]|ārīdvya=a Aditaṇ tasmāḥ-
   cha Kāṣyapa-urvyāṃ[vyā|m | ] jagad-uddhārtum jātaḥ pātaka-hantā vīra-[Na]-

1 The danda is superfluous.
2 Nā had been originally omitted and was written in the lower margin of the plate with an indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in line 6 counted from the bottom of this side of the plate.
No. 19] ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

129 rasimhah [][81*]
Asur-endra-somita-nivisa-visra(aru)-apani-shay-aiva vaha-dana-viribhi [karam-atmanas-tam-adhunam-visha-

130 dhaha[na*] Narasingha sha jati sphuto-bhavat [82*] Sveth-atapatra-si(ta)-chamara-chura-murti-drig-danti-danta-paarakshala-manasha-

131 sya [][a] Anek kritha(sya) suta-bhavanaya Bhavanyasa indh-sasan jayati yasya padam sad-
aiva [83*] Raghava-Vardhara-Ja(Ys)van-nayan-anja-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

132 n-astru-purusa dura-viina(ni)vista-kalima-srihi | tad-vipra[la]mbha-ta(ka)rau-abhuta-vi(ni)-staragga G[ug-ap(i) p(i) n(nam-samunam Yamun-adhun-abhut ][84] Bhuja-

133 bhuvir girayoh-abhau yasya bhoom-indra-bhartti kshiti-bhara-na-samarthih kii-cha diku-njar-endri[ ] atulyad-aha sa svachche(chi-chet) tulapurbhena [kva]


135 dana[i] sathau suraisesaha mahat-kalavairi(yatra) Kona[ko]-ku[trirakam-achikarad Ushanara[moh] [86*] Ash[ti]-aasa-chakravala-thrama[va](ra)a-

136 mah-ayusanaanbhavita-kshat kshar-ksh-udanvada(d-asy-oapamitam-apiv vama ghayitvav sur-avdhim(bddha) sarpih sarasarpad-adyu[dadhi-madhu-

137 ram-ath-avadya dugdhena tripta yat-kirtti kanta-murttih sa(sa) lila-nilhim-ath-asa-kamam-sachamat-lva [87*] Krittva nirnmathita-dvishan vasumat-


139 pama[ ] praptah kala-pata[ga]-pa[nga]va-vasu[sa] [yatas-sa nirvanatuh(tam) ][88*] Tasya sriman su-dina-vdhanay Malaav-endm-atmajayah[nu*] S[l]-


141 ni-bhrin-mauli-vinva(nya)sta-pada[ ] [89*] Pratyuishana kara[na(jama)na:padas jah yaha-yaha-,nayga-ardh-ardhita[phala-


143 mar[as] mahita mahamahama-bril-Lakshmpatser-angga[jaya][90*] Va(Ba)ddha-mu[htir-ap[ i nirbharat-dueta ve[pano[pi same-

144 r-aika-dhurip[ah ugra-murt[tri-ap krishna-a[arif r[ata y[arta kalita karavala[ ][91*] Pya[na pya[na havir-aviratan am prastuta ya-

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1 The fourth foot of the verse, the metre of which is Giti, is short by one syllable. To rectify this defect we may read सर्व for सुर्व.
2 Read bhaṃ. After this, the akṣara dāh had been incised and afterwards deleted.
3 Tu is written below the line.
4 After ti, the akṣara vi had been engraved and then struck off.
5 This danda is superfluous.
syā yaṁga(jā) jātē-jirṇē Harir-atitarā́ṁ yāti nirdrāṁ samudrāḥ (((( dhūm-ōdgārī lavaṣa-salīlaṁ piyāte vājāv-gnīb prō-

tya(dyaḥ)-chhūlaḥ samajani Śivāḥ kilakīṭ-āsanō-pi | 92* Vṛū(Brū)ma[h] kim-asya tulānā-laghaṭ-ōpañita-tat-tat-paraḥ(ra)-kṣhitibhyṛataḥ ki-

la dāna-sauryanī(ryam | sadbhyō-padśa-kaṇak-āchala-kāma-dhēnu-kalpa-drumā-liṣita
dirjita-sampadas-tān | 93* Ā-chandā-rākka-phāl-ōpa-

bhūga-sulabhāny-āty-uchheva saudhā-āvali-śōbhā-visphuritāni śāsana-satāny-ēsha kaham-

ādhīśvarah | su-chchhāyāni rasāla-ōpu-

gadala-prayaḥ(yai)s-taru(rū)yāṁ gaṇaḥ kṛtvā tāmra-vilśkhitāni vidhibav sah-ōhṛē-

driyēbhyō dadav | 94* Chintānuṇāṣau sura-mahī-

ruha-kāmadhēnāva(nvō-s)hūlaś-ākam-adhitibhyāni Bhā[n]ujēve (| ) jyēyān-amīśu bhavītā katamō mam-ōti dhūtūr-vičhāra-vāsa-

gō nripatirvā(r-ba)bhēva | 95* Chālukya-kula-sa[rn]bhētā ārimaj-Jākalladēvīkā (| )

Lakṣhmī-Nārayāṇasya-śeva Bhānūdevāya tā-

[drjī]u | 96* Tasyā[rn] sūnur-ahōhl-virāḥ ārī-Nrisirīn-ha-mahīpatī | Gaṅga-vahśa-

samudhārīttā hā[r]ṛttā vairī-mahītalā(ī)n(lam) | 97* Yath-ā[r]*ju-

nas-tathā kāstrē kāstrē Vīchārpatir-yathā | dānē Karṇāḥ va(ha)lē Bhīmaḥ saundaryē

Kusumāyudhāḥ | 98* Tēna dattanā ḍvijā-

Fifth Plate, First Side

154 tībhyaḥ śāsanāṁ ga(sa)ta-saṁkhya-kānaṁ(kam | ) mahā-dānāṁ dānāṁ Śrīman-mātur-

ānujāyā | 99* Vra-Śrī-Narasinḥahōdvā-nripatau śīṁhā-

155 san-ādhisethitē bhūmi-pāla-kirētā-kōti-kīrēṇ-pradyṣṭit-śāṅgurī-śvaye | pratya[rth]-kāśhitē

avidīrṇa-hṛidayā tī(ḥ)hētē

156 praṅḍa-śrīyaḥ prāga-ṛgaṇa-ḥānabhaḥ pritve-dhā-āvasinaḥ | 100* Yaśmin-

-prāśati bhūvain kula-bhūdhār-ōndrē-

157 h | 101*. Vṛī-Śrīnāṁ saṁudhīṣthatī kuṇājąnāṁ vīrō vahēnd-raṇa-

āhurāṁ bhūvī kō-tra nāma | indr-āyū ṃha-

159 prabha-[bhul]ja-dvaya-sadvīṭīyē kampan-tanōṭi karvāla-lū(la)st-āpi yatra | 102* Yaḥ

kaḍga-chanḍa(sa)[ma]hasā rīpu-ṛajākānāṁ-āhṛīṭya

160 samjād-suṣmartya-tarōḥ samānāṁ(nām) | bhū-dēva[s]dakṛtā bhūtāla-bhūṣāpōna dān-

āśīśhās[a[r]-dṛîtīt-kara-pallavēnā | 103* Tasyā-śtha kāhīt-

161 pāla-mauli-vadhāh-śīva-pāḍ-āṇuv(bhū)jasyāhō hanta kim-uḍhyatē-dya mahīmā

kirttī[ṛ*-]nripa-śrī-ḥrītāḥ | yad-[gl]ṭīṇi ki-

162 la Kinnari-gaṇa-mukhāḥ-dig-dantināṁ śu[ṛ]-jyvatāṁ rōlamva(mā)-madam-ōpda(ha)nti
nibhitāṁ niṣka(niṣka)rṇa-tālē mukhē | 104* Yasyasyāṣ(ṣy-after)(sh-tā)-

1 The dānās are superfluous.
2 Śyā was originally engraved.
163 sa să-dṛiṣṭha-vratasya vijanī vandayaḥ pratapāya paramaḥ śach-chhūla-kriyamāṇa-tapta-tara sa-prakhyāya kula

164 kahāmbhityaḥ śēlā-pākam-upāśrayanti cha yataḥ-chatvāraś ev-āvrdha(bhad)c yonig-trāg(bhur)aṃīn bājatē yač-maśva(ma)ra-maṇi

165 r-nāṭhasa sahasra-triṣhāṇaṃ(ham) || [105*] || Svasti [||] Paśchavitiṣaḥ(virṇātya)-ttara-dvādasa-saṭa-Saka-vatasaṛa || caturddasa-bhuvan-āḍhapa

166 t-īty-ādi-virud-āvali-virajamānaḥ | praṇāha-pratāpāṇāla-paripla(plu)ahārārati-gahanāḥ | āśi-vīra-Narasimhadē
d

167 va-mahīpiṣṭiḥ sva-rājasya-aikatriṣaḥ(triṣaḥa) d-anukē-bhilikhyamanē Mēsha-krīṣhna-shashthīyaṃ Mangalavārā | Bhairavapura-kaṭakē Gaṅgādevi-mandir-ānta-

168 r-vijaya-āvasāre Viśvarāṇa-Mālā-Vidyādhara-gōchar-avadhārita-purū-paraikha-pātra-Raṅgū-vājayopanu-mudalēna sakal-āṅgana-guṇa

169 samudātyāyē mahādēvyā śēlāhiṣṭaḥ bhaktyā śāṃviridh-ānugraha(tayā) taj- jasa sva-kumārasya Gaṅgārajadēvasya svarga-praptayē dēvēbhūyē Vṛū(Bṛā)-

170 hmapēbhāyaḥ tan-nāmā dēvēbhūyē Vṛū(Bṛā)mapēbhāyaḥ sāsānitrītya ek-chatvārīṇāśa-(triṣa) adhika-bhūmi-vāṭikā-sātā-traya-pradaṇāya Vaṇēḍ(Vaṇēḍ)dāchauravīha-

171 ya-madhyaṃvartti-krīṭa-śrāya-bhū-hāgaṇa(gam) | purū-praṭhast-ā[lī]ladēśa-karaṇa-nalapramāṇa | stāchchēś(t)ma m ā pūrsvataḥ | Vaṇēḍa-vartma-paśchima-avadhī
d

172 me-svadhikritāya sāla-vīkṣaḥ-avacchhinnā-paśchim-avacchhadāṃ(dam) | dakhaṇītaḥ | Vaṇēḍa-dṛgāmīyi-ṛtt-avadhīm-ādikrive Vidāi-Ravī(h) nāṃnār-bhū paryant-ś-

173 tār-āvacchhīdām-śvān chatuḥ-śī(ś)maṃ-āvachchhinnaṃ chatuḥ-paṇcāśad-vāṭikā- parimānta(tam) | dvītya-khaṭpayān c ha | pūrvvataḥ | Vaṇēḍ(Vaṇēḍ)dā-vartma-paśchima-avadhim-ārābya sa-

174 la-vīkṣaḥ-āvachchhinna-paśchima-māyādāṁ(dam) | dakhaṇītaḥ | Gōvinda-kā-Kōgai-nāṃnār-bhūmēr-uttar-avadhim-ārābya Kītāikasya bhuvō dakhaṇī-sī(ś)ma-ś

Fifth Plate, Second Side

175 tāra-māryādām-śvān chatuḥ-śī(ś)ma(m)-śīv(ā)vaḥ-avachchhinnaṃ paṇcā-paṇcāśad-vāṭikā- parimita(tam) | Gaṅgēsvarapur-ābdhēna-vāstū-bhūmēḥ śī(ś)ma m Vaṇēḍ-

176 śēdā-vartma-paśchima-rājapathāṇaṃ pūrvv-avadhikriṇyā sāla-vīkṣaḥ-avacchchhinnaḥ-paśchima-simānanḥ(simānām) | paśchimānāḥ | Gōpāla-Champādāsyōṛ-bhū-ma-

177 rāyādām-ādikritte sāla-vīkṣaḥ-avacchchhinnaḥ-pūrvv-avacchchēdām-śvān chatuḥ-śī(ś)maṃ- avacchchhinnaḥ mān-ahāḥ-ōṣṭa-trayō(try-u)tārā-vāṭikā-śat-aikāṃ(kam) ||

1 The doṣa is superfluous.
3 There is an ornamental flower design between the double doṣas.
4 Purīkāśa is a local modification of Purīkāśaka found in some records.
5 These two letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indications that they should be inserted in their proper place in the sixteenth line on the face of the plate in question.
6 The two words, dēvēbhūyē Bṛāmāsūbhavanē, are redundant.
7 A circle incised after yē was afterwards deleted.
178 Gaṅganārāyaṇa-Purakṣaṇa[1] -nām-nē-bhuvah pūrvva-Kumārabhūya-āṭṭasya paśchimam pūrvvāvādhiṇītīḥ sāḷa-vṛkṣa-paśchimhaṁ-māryādam (dam) | dakshina-

179 taḥ | Vidāś-pāṇīyagrāhīṇaḥ | kasēṭra-āḷ(s)aṁ-āśvathathā-vrikṣham-avadhikrītya | Gopāla-

Champadāsavyāṁ-bhū-पaryant-ottara-āḷ(s)aṁ-mānam-evaṁ-chātuḥ[2].

180 āḷ(s)aṁ-avachoḥhinnaṁ | chaṭur-mān-āḍhik-āśaṁ-shaśṭi-vāṭīkā-parimitam (tam) | Kumārapura-āḷ(s)āṁ | Kumārabhūya-ūgya-ūttara-rājapatha-pūrvvāvadhikrītya | sāḷa-

vṛ-

181 kṣ-avachoḥhinnaṁ-paśchim-avachoḥhēdaṁ (dam) | dakshinataḥ | Gopāla-Champadāsavyāṁ-

bhūmēr-uttar-avadhīṁ-ārābhīya hihija-vārikṣ-avachoḥhinnaṁ-ōttara-māryādam-ē-

182 vaṁ chaṭuḥ-āḷ(s)aṁ-avachoḥhinnaṁ | saha-shaśṭi-vāṭīkā-parimitam (tam) | ēvaṁ khaḍa-

paṇčaṅkāśeṇa | mliyā | [dvā́ḍa-saṁ-āḍhika-shaṭ-chaṭvāṁśa (riṁśa)-duttrā-vāṭīkā-

śaṭa-traya-

183 madhyāta (dhyāṭ) | gōhari-gopaṭha-goparachāra-śvādaśa-mān-ōpēta-paṇča-vāṭīkā va(ba)-

hieḥkṛitya niṛava(kar-ōna) | chaṭvāṁśa (riṁśad-u)-uttara-

184 vāṭīkā-śaṭa-traya-madhyē | Gaṅgēśvaradēvīyā | vāṭīkā-śaṭ-akāṁ (kam) | ētach-ohhāsanā-

[pāṇīgrāhī]-mahājaṁ | Bhāravāyā-sagō-

185 tra-Gopāla-pāṇīgrāhī | paṇḍita-Ananta | paṭṭhi | Gurdāsa | paṇḍita-Sahadeva | paṇḍita-

Raghunāda | paṇḍi-

186 ta-Kīśavādāsa | paṇḍita-Haradāsa | paṭṭhi Jalēvara | tripāṭhi | Jaganmātha | paṭṭhi Gaṇē-

vara | paṭṭhi Shashṭi-

187 dāsa | paṭṭhi | Kūrmnadāsa | paṭṭhi Vāsudēva | paṇḍita-Vidyādhara | Āṭṛya-sagōtra | paṭṭhi Chāmpadāsa | paṭṭhi-

188 Gōvinda | paṭṭhi Shashṭidāsa | paṭṭhi Chaṇḍidāsa | paṭṭhi Sannū | paṭṭhi Chitrakara || Vatā-sagōtra | upāsani Lakshmikāra[3] | paṭṭhi Vīshṇudāsa | pā-

[1] The letter ś is written in the upper margin of the plate with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the fourth line on the face of the plate in question.
[2] Vrikṣam-avachoḥhinna was originally engraved. The intended reading seems to be sāḷa-vṛkṣa-paśchimhaṁ-māryādam.
[3] The akṣara ś is incised and deleted after taḥ.
[4] The letters dāniṁ are engraved in the upper margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the sixth line on the face of the plate in question.
[5] The akṣara deś is engraved in the upper margin with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the eighth line on the face of the plate in question.
[6] The letters karīṇa are engraved in the upper margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the ninth line on the face of the plate in question. But the correct number is chaṭvāṁśa-kariṇa and not caṇa-chaṭvāṁśa-kariṇa.
[7] This word is written in the lower margin of the plate with indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in the tenth line on the side of the plate in question. The correct expression is of course pāṇīgrāhī (cf. line 179).
[8] The names are written without vīśhaṭṭi and are separated from one another by a single dāsā like a hyphen in English. The name of the pāṇīgrāhī is put at the beginning of the list and is sometimes preceded and followed by a single or double dāsā. The expression used in some cases is pāṇī in but in others sagōtra. Some of the names exhibit considerable Prakrit and local influence.
[9] Ra was originally engraved.
No. 19] ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II. SAKA 1225 127

190 Ravi | Kāyapa-sagōta(tra)-pāṭhi Jalēśvara | pāṭhi Vṛ(ṇa)-hmanḍāsa | pāṭhi Āpti | pāṭhi Pariyaśekara | pāṭhi Dāmodara | pāṭhi Āpti | pāṭhi Mitā-

191 i | pāṭhi Māṇika | pāṭhi Ganū | pāṭhi Mitāi | pāṭhi Vṛiddhi | pāṭhi Nārāyaṇa | pāṭhi Kanū | pāṭhi Mitāi | pāṇḍita-Vishnudāsa | Gautama-

192 sagōtra-paṇḍita-Alāśū | paṇḍita-Ravi | pāṭhi Maatāi | pāṭhi Mitāi | pāṭhi Mādhavakara | pāṭhi Nākū | pāṭhi Viśvapāni | pā-

193 thi Köṇāi | pāṭhi Bhūnukara | pāṭhi Viṣṇudāsa | Vaśi(ṣi)aḥtha-gōtra-pāṭhi Gunākara | pāṭhi Chāndū | pāṭhi Hari | Vṛ(ṇa)-hmanḍāsa | pā-

194 thi Gōvinda | pāṭhi Śīvakara | pāṭhi Gunākara | Kauḍinīya-gōta(tra) | pāṭhi Ravi-

dāsa | pāṭhi Gauridāsa | pāṭhi Sarveśvara | [pāṭhi Jagāsvarā] ?[pāṭhi] pā-

195 Sātū | Pārāśa(ṣa)ra-gōtra | pāṭhi Āṇandī | pāṭhi Kachū | pāṭhi Kāḍū | pāṭhi Hṛdayakara | pāṭhi Āṇandī | Śaṅdaṇḍīlīya-sagōtra | vā(ṇāḥ)bhi Nā-

Sixth Plate

196 rāyana | [āṁ]ḥgirasa-gōtra | pāṭhi Kachū | pāṭhi Dōvidāsa | Krishṇaḥṭaya-sagōtra | pāṭhi Jai | pāṭhi Dharmanū | pāṭhi Nāgū | pāṭhi

197 Rudrakara | pāṭhi Bhāskara | Kauḍika-sagōtra | pāṭhi Champāi | [Śa[n]khyān-

gōtra-pāṭhi Vasundhara | Māṇḍavya-gōtra | pāṭhi Champāi | Bhā-

198 rggava-gōtra-pāṭhi Haradāsa | pāṭhi Purushottama | pāṭhi Vāmadēva | Aupamanyava-

gōtra | pāṭhi Ratnākara | Bhāradvāja-sagōtra | pā-

199 thi Kālidāsa | pāṭhi Māgikadhara | pāṭhi Lakshmidhara | pāṭhi Jalēśvara | pāṭhi Śriyāh | pāṭhi Saṅkhadhara | pāṭhi Kūṭai | pāṭhi Dīśa-

200 ni | pāṭhi Ruāru | vā(ṇāḥ)bhi Kanū | pāṇḍita-Gaṇapati | pāṭhi Kirtiśāgī | pāṭhi Kachū | ēṭēbhyaś-chatuṣṭ-adhikā-śat-aikēbhyaḥ Vṛ(ṇa)-hmanḍēbhyaḥ

201 pratibhāgau vāṭikā-dvaya-yyavasthayā asḥ-ṛtara-ṣaṭa-dvaya-parimitam(tam) || ētaḥ-

ejjhāsana-dvēyā vāṭikā-chatuṣṭāyanāḥ(yam) | vēda-māṭh-āṛthaṁ sapta-

202 vāṭikā|h*] | vyākaraṇa-māṭh-āṛthaṁ daśa vāṭikā|h*] | maṇḍapa-chohha-danāyā vāṭikā-

trayaḥ(yam) | pushkarīṇy-āṛtham paucha-vāṭikā|h*] || Pāṭimāśa-gōtra-

203 ya ṣāṇa-ādhikāri-Kāmadēvasamānṛṛa vāṭikā-dvayaḥ [Śrīkaraṇa-Nāgū-nāyaka(kāya)| vāṭikā|h*]-dvayaḥ(yam)] || ṛvr(ṇa)-hmanḍēbhyaḥ Kumāra-Gaṅgārājadē-

204 vasya su(sva)rga-prāptaya anyēbhyaḥ [cha|h] prasādikṛtya jala-sthala-machchhā(taya)-

kachchhapam-purātanavriksha-sahitam-ā-chandr-āṛkka-

1 Cf. J. in the Oriya part of the Bhubaneswar bilingual inscription (JPASB, 1924, Plate I).
2 These letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be insetted in their proper place in the twentieth line on the face of the plate in question.
3 These letters are incised in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be insetted in their proper place in the eighth line on the face of the plate in question.
205 m=akarikṛitya prādāta(dāt) |||| āttatu(sya) Gaṁgarājadvapura-śāsanaśy-āṅgatayā nāṇā- 
haptī(ṭṭi)ya-

206 nāṇāvidbhāṅ sapta praśa api prādāta(dāt) ||0| Mad-dāna-phaļa-siddh-arthāṁ taḍ-rakṣā- 
phaļa-siddhayē | mad-dharmaṁ pa-

207 ripāyō=ya[r½] bhūpair=ā-chandra-tāraṇha(kam) ||[106*] Mā bhūd=ā-phaļa-śamkā tē 
para-dattēti pārthiva | sva-dattād=adhikāṁ puṇyaṁ para-da-

208 tt-ānupālanah(nam) ||[107*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(tāṁ vā) yatnād=rakṣa 
Yuddhiṣṭhira | mahā[r½] matimatāṁ śrēṣṭha dānaṁ | śrēyo=ānupālanah(nam) || 
[108*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(tāṁ vā) yō ha-

209 rētt(a-tu) vasundharmah(rām) | sa viṣṭhāyaṁ kriṣṇi=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatē 
||(109*) Nirjānē prāntātē dēśē śuṣkka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ ||( ) kriṣṇa-sarpa hi jāya-

210 nā yē harantī vasundharmah(rām) || [110*] Gaṁ=ēka(kā)m sva[r]onam=ēkaṁ mvā(vā) 
bhumē=apy=ardham=āṅgulam(lam) | haran=[n]arakam=ūpto(pnūti yāvad=ā-bhūta- 
saṅplavaṁ(vam) ||[111*] Śatrūṛ=āpi kṛto
dharmmah pālaniyō manishibhiḥ ||[ ] satrūṛ-ēva hi śatrūṛ syāt(syād)=dharmmah 
śatrūṛ-nna kṣayachit || [112*] Mad-vanā(śanā)jāḥ para-mahispāti-vaṁsājā vā pāpā-
212 d=apēta-manasō bhuvī bhāvi-bhūpah [*] yē pālayanti mama dharmmah-idaṁ 
samastan-ūśāṁ mayā viracito-śalitēśa mūrdhdhi || [113*] ||0 ||

1 There is an ornamental flower design between the double doṣaṇa.
2 Read dandaḥ=chhaṭṭyō. 
3 There is another ornamental flower design between the double doṣaṇa here. There is a passage engraved 
below the second half of line 212; but it was meant for insertion in line 203. See p. 127, note 2.
No. 20—THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I
(2 Plates)
M. Somaekhara Sarma, Madras

The three sets of copper-plate grants, edited below, come from Guḍiḍa, a village in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. When, how and where these plates were discovered originally is not known. For a long time they have been carefully preserved in the house of Mr. Pericherla Peddiraju, a landlord of Guḍiḍa. My friend, Mr. G. V. Raghavamo Pantulu, a pleader of Yellamanchili, having come to know of the existence of these plates, secured them on loan for a short time from the owner, who happens to be his client, and kindly sent them on to me for decipherment and publication. I cut the rings of the sets for study and for taking impressions of the plates. All the three charters register gifts of localities presumably associated with Guḍiḍa.

A.—Grant No. 1, Year 18

This set consists of three plates, each measuring 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) long and 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" broad. The plates are held together by a circular copper ring, 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. The ends of the ring are joined at the bottom of a circular seal, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. When the plates came to me, the lower part of the seal was found broken away. On the top of the seal there is an arc-like curve in relief with its ends turned upwards, probably representing the moon. In the middle of the seal is found the legend Śri Sarvasiddhi in relief in Eastern Chālukya characters. The plates are considerably thick. The ends of the plates are not raised into rims; yet the writing is well preserved, the letters having been engraved deeply. The outer faces of the first and last plates are left blank, and the remaining faces of the plates bear each six lines of writing.

The characters are of the early Telugu-Kannada type, commonly styled the Vēngi script. They resemble those of the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Of the individual letters, the forms of final \(\text{i}\) (line 1) and \(\text{m}\) (lines 13, 18, 21, 23) are noteworthy. Dravidian \(\text{i}\) occurs in Pākki (line 10) and in Kujivāṭaka (line 16). The numerical symbols for 5, 8 and 10 occur in the date of the grant in the last line. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. As usual with the early grants, consonants are mostly doubled after \(\text{r}\). The doubling of \(\text{dḥ}\) before \(\text{y}\) in pādivuddhyātah (line 9) is noteworthy. The expression punnāgadraṇavastādasiṁ in line 16 is unintelligible.\[1\]

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of the western portion of the village called Ādīvāṇa in Pākki-vihāra along with some of the fields of Kujivāṭaka, having converted the whole into an agrahāra by making it immune from taxes.\[2\] The gift was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor was the Eastern Chālukya king, Prithivi-Jayasimhayavallabha I, son of Vishnuvardhana and grandson of Kṛtivarman. He had the title Sarvasiddhi, as found on the seal. He issued this grant from his residence at Kallira. The donees were Vinayaśarman and

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\[1\] [See A. R. Ep., 1945-46, No. 1 of Appendix A.—Ed.]
\[2\] [See below, p. 133, note 2.—Ed.]
\[3\] [The correct interpretation of the passage (lines 15-18) seems to be that Punnagapadra which was a hamlet of the village of Ādīvāṇa was populated and a portion of Kujivāṭaka was added to it. This new unit forming the western division of Ādīvāṇa was made an agrahāra and granted to the donees.—Ed.]

(129)
Vishnuśarman, sons of Vasuśarman and grandsons of Kumaraśarman of the Maudgalya gotra. They were students of the Kauthuma-Chhandogya (a śīkṭha of the Sāmakya). The jñapti of the charter was Paramesvaravaranma.

This grant does not furnish any historical information beyond what we already know about the Eastern Chālukyas of Vērga. Its main interest lies in the date it furnishes. King Jayasimha-vallabha made this gift on the day of a lunar eclipse and the 15th day of the 8th fortnight of Hemaanta in his 18th regnal year. This is the second grant of Jayasimhavallabha I to be dated in this manner, viz., in the seasons, fortnights and days, the first being his Pulimbaru grant2. This method of dating is similar to that of the Prakrit grants both of the Sāmakṣajas and the Ikshvakus. It shows that this early custom of dating grants persisted till the middle of the seventh century. According to this arrangement, the year was divided into three seasons of four months each, namely, Grisha, Varsha and Hemaanta, a season being subdivided into eight paskhas or fortnights. Since the grant was made at the time of a lunar eclipse, the eclipse in question must have occurred on the 15th day of the bright fortnight or purnima-tīthi, evidently of Phalguna, the last month of the year. This enables us to understand that, according to this ancient method of reckoning, the months were pūrṇimānta and not amanta.

In a way, the English equivalent of the date of the grant under review can be ascertained. The date of the Kopparam plates4 of Pulakeśin II is held to be 631 A.D., both by Hultzsch and Sewell on the assumption, which I think is correct, that Prithivivardarāja, the jñapti of the grant, was no other than Prithiviyuvardarāja, i.e. Kujja Vishnvardhana I. On the date of this record, Vishnvardhana was the dvacarāja, i.e. yuvrajya. It is to be presumed that some time after that date he proclaimed his independence and ruled the kingdom in his own name. The grant recorded in his Chipurupalli plates5 was made, on the 15th tīthi of Śravaṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in his 18th or last regnal year. If his independent rule began some time in 631 A.D. itself, his eighteenth regnal year would correspond either to 643 A.D., if current, or to 649 A.D., if expired. During the period between 631 and 651 A.D. there were four lunar eclipses in the month of Śravaṇa, one in Saka 554 or 632 A.D. and the others in Saka 563 or 641 A.D., Saka 572 or 650 A.D. and Saka 573 or 651 A.D., respectively. One of these four years must be the 18th regnal year of Vishnvardhana I. The first may be ruled out as it is too early to be his 18th regnal year. One of the remaining three may be taken to have been the last year of his rule. The grant under review helps us in determining this date since Jayasimhavallabha I was the son and successor of Vishnvardhana I.

The 18th regnal year of Jayasimhavallabha I, either current or expired, when counted from any one of the three aforementioned years, should have a lunar eclipse on Phalguna-su. 15. According to S.K. Pillai's Indian Ephemeris there were lunar eclipses on Phalguna-pūrṇimā in Saka 579 or 657-58 A.D., Saka 580 or 658-59 A.D. and Saka 598 or 676-77 A.D., within the period from 650 to 680 A.D. Of these, the last date need not be taken into consideration as it would be very late for Jayasimhavallabha's 18th year. Hence, either Saka 579 or 657-58 A.D., or Saka 580 or 658-59 A.D., should correspond to the 18th year of Jayasimhavallabha I. Of these, Saka

vardarāja may be a prince of the Ananda family, see K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Three Lectures, p. 53.—Ed.]
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.
580 or 658-59 A.D. proves to be the 18th year, current, of Jayasimhaballabha I, when counted from Śaka 563 (i.e. 641-42 A.D.), the 18th year of his father Visnugundha I. Thus the date of the grant under review is 659 A.D., February 12, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the regnal years of the Eastern Chālukyaas were current and not expired. Since the 18th year of Visnugundha I happens to be Śaka 563 or 641-42 A.D., it may be definitely said that his rule over the coastal region of the Andhra country, or in other words, the starting point of the Eastern Chālukya chronology proves to be the Śaka year 546 or 624-25 A.D.\(^1\) It is thus evident that by the date of the Kopparam plates the conquest of Veṅgi by Pulakaśin II and the establishment of the Chālukya rule there were already accomplished facts. Visnugundha's independent rule must have begun sometime after 631 A.D. But he seems to have counted his regnal years from the beginning of his governance over the coastal region in 624-25 A.D.\(^6\)

The localities mentioned in this grant are Kallūrvāsaka, Kuḷivāṭaka, Ādīvāsa or Ādīvāsā and Pākki-viṣhaya. I am unable to identify Kallūr. Kuḷivāṭaka is also mentioned as Kuḷivāḍa and Kuḷivāṭa in the following two grants respectively. Kuḷivāṭaka is the present village of Guḍivāḍa. I am unable to identify Ādīvāsa or Ādīvāsā. But its situation is not difficult to guess. It must have been adjacent to the village of Guḍivāḍa (Kuḷivāṭa of the grant), since some fields of the latter and the western portion of the former were joined together and constituted into an agrahāra.

Pākki-viṣhaya is mentioned in the Rāmatīrtham plates\(^4\) of Indravarman of the Visṇugundha dynasty and in the Chhipurupalli\(^4\) and Timmāṇpuram\(^4\) plates of Visnugundha I of the Eastern Chālukyas dynasty. The name occurs as Pākki in the first two records and as Pālaki in the last one. The villages granted in the Rāmatīrtham and Timmāṇpuram plates are Pēruvāḍaka and Kumulūr respectively. Both these villages remain unidentified. The gift registered in the Chhipurupalli plates was made by king Visnugundha I from the town of Cheulpūra in Pākki-viṣhaya. Thus, altogether we come to know of four villages situated in the Pākki or Pālaki viṣhaya, namely, Pēruvāḍaka, Kumulūr, Cheulpūra, and Kuḷivāṭaka. Cheulpūra was identified by Fleet, though with some doubt, with Chhipurupalli,\(^8\) the chief town of the Chhipurupalli Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, since these plates were said to have been found near the village of that name. This identification is not correct as will be shown presently.

If Kuḷivāṭaka is identified with Guḍivāḍa in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk, the other villages also have to be located in the same Taluk or in its vicinity. There are two villages by name Chīnna Gummulūr and Pedda Gummulūr in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk. One of these may be identical with Kumulūr of the Timmāṇpuram plates. Timmāṇpuram, the findspot of these plates, is also in the same Taluk. As to Pēruvāḍaka, I have no doubt that it is identical with Paravāḍa in the south-eastern portion of the Anakāpalli Taluk which is adjacent to the Sarvasiddhi Taluk.

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\(^{1}\) B. V. Krishna Rao rejects both the identification of Prithividuvbāra, by Hultzsch and the date 631 A.D. of the Kopparam plates as suggested by Sewell. He does not approve of Fleet's scheme or my scheme of chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. Yet it is interesting to note that he arrives exactly at the same date as the above, i.e. 624-25 A.D., for the initial year of Visnugundha I of Veṅgi. Vide 'The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas', \textit{JAHRS}, Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp. 1 ff. [See also JOR, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

\(^{2}\) [This dating does not solve all the problems of Eastern Chālukya chronology. Cf. N. Venkatarananayya, \textit{The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi}, p. 56.—Ed.]

\(^{3}\) Above, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff. The name of the district was wrongly read as Pākki.

\(^{4}\) \textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XX, p. 16.

\(^{5}\) Above, Vol. IX, p. 318 ff.

\(^{6}\) \textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XX, pp. 16 and 96.
If these identifications are correct, it may be concluded that the Pлакки or Pаяки vishaya comprised at least the contiguous portion, if not the whole, of the Sarvasidhi and Anakапalli Taluks of the Visakhapatnam District. As such, Cherupуra must also be looked for in the same region. There is a village called Chipurupalli in the Anакапalli Taluk, which may be identified with Cherupуra. I think that Kубja-Vishнуvardhana's plates were found near this Chipurupalli and not near the other village of the same name. Both the grants of Vishнуvardhana I issued from the coastal region of Андра thus appear to have been discovered in the Anакапalli-Sarvasidhi region which was known in early times as the Pлакки or Pаяки vishaya. The й in Pлакки and Pаяки was later changed into й and the name became Prакki which was applied to this territorial division in later times.

TEXT*

First Plate

1 Omsvasti Śrимат-कल्यः-वसाकि स्वामिब्हात्तरaka-पाद-पद्म-प्रसाद-ाः
2 vāpta-rūjyānāṁ Hārītī-प्रिया-पुरटानि Mānava-सगोत्रीपाध-ाः
3 mēda-yājināṁ Chalukya-śa-कुल-जलाश-समुद्भुत-राज-रत्न-ाः
4 sya sakala-jagād-ārtti-hara-karmaṇaḥ Śrī-Kṛttivarmanmaṇaḥ priya-āḥ
5 naptā sva-pūtara-anūna-guna-γα-ठ(ā)dyoṭita-rūchishōn-śaihyunigha-Ma-ṇa-
6 hāviaḥgōḥ Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ

Second Plate, First Side

7 pravardhamāna-pratāp-ōpanamita-ripu-nripati-makuta-taṭa-gaṭa-ṁa-ṇa-āḥ
8 ni-mayūka-maṇjarī-puṇja-piṇjarita-charan-āravinda-yugalaḥ para-
9 ma-brahmāṇyo mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Śrī-Pri(Pri)thivī-Jayastimha-ṇa-
10 vallabhaḥ mahārājaḥ Pлакki-viśhayaḥ-ahāvīsahāṇaḥ kuṭumbināḥ
11 samājāpayati [*] Yathā Mandgalya-sagotraṣya Kauthuma-Chhandō-
12 ga-sabrahmachārināḥ Kumārasarmmaṇaḥ pautrābhyaṁ Vasuvarmmaṇaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

13 putrābhyaṁ(bhyaṁ) Vinayāśa[rma]-Viṣṇuṣarmmabhyaṁ[ṁ] Trisahasra-pāragabhyaṁ(bhyaṁ)
14 saha-j-karma-maṇiratābhyāṁ asmad-āyur-ārōgya-jaya-yaś-ūti-
15 vṛiddhayāḥ Sōma-grahaṇaḥ udaka-purvavam kṛitvā Ādivāsā
d

* The village of Sarvasidhi after which the Taluk got its name was, in all likelihood, founded by Jayasimha-vallabha I who had the title Sarvasidhi.
* From the original plates.
* Expressed by symbol.
* The expression more familiarly found in such contexts is yast-bhiriddhayāḥ.
* This may be read as Ādivāsī also, since there is little difference between द and й in this period.
B.—Grant No. 2

This grant also consists of three plates which do not have raised rims. Each plate is 7.7″ long and 2.1″ broad. The plates are strung together on a circular copper ring (3.1″ in diameter) which passes through a hole (5″ in diameter) at the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1.7″ in diameter. On the upper and lower portions of the seal are engraved in relief a crescent moon and a lotus respectively, the middle portion being occupied by the legend Śrī-Sarvasiddhi. The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both sides. Of the inscribed sides, the first three have each six lines of writing, the last one containing seven lines.

The characters belong to the Southern Class of Alphabets, being normal for the period and the area to which the inscription belongs. They are similar to those found in the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Final ū occurs in line 1 and final m in lines 14, 15, etc. The consonants d, t, m and n after r are doubled as in the early grants. Dravidian r occurs in line 12 in Pfaikkī and the jhūvāmīlīga in line 16. The initial vowel ai, which rarely occurs in inscriptions, is met with in line 5. This ai resembles khā in line 17 divested of its medial ā sign. The form of kh in line 1, s in lines 2, 14 and 19 and kṣ in lines 4 and 17 are noteworthy on account of their peculiarities. The letters kh and ch are almost alike.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the last two imprecatory verses, it is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Prithivi-Jayasimhavallabha I of the Chālukya family, who is described as in the previous charter. It records that the king, having created (made provision for) a dwelling place in Kuṭjivāda, granted thirtytwo navartanas of land, separating it from the village of Kundūra and constituting it into a separate agrahāra by freeing it from all encumbrances. The donor were two Brāhmaṇa brothers, namely Svāmīyangas and Vīshnuyāsas who were the students of the Chhandoga and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra. They had studied the Veda, Vedaṅga,

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1 The meaning of the phrase is not clear. Could it be Punnāgā-pavana-griha-sthānam?

2[The intended reading of the passage in lines 16-18 appears to be Punnāgāpadraṇa vasatiṁ kṛtvā Kuṭjivāaka-kahēra-suhitāḥ pāśchima-khaṇḍaḥ . . . . . . savayatanaḥ.—Ed.]


4[The correct interpretation of the passage seems to be that the village of Kuṭjivāda was populated and, having been constituted into an agrahāra with the addition of thirtytwo navartanas of land taken from the adjoining village of Kundūra, was granted to the donees.—Ed.]
Ithāsā, Purāṇa, Mimāṁsā and many other Śāstras, were proficient in the Trishtubhavādīyatha and performed the Agnishaṁsaka sacrifice. They were the sons of Vīshpyayasās and grandsons of Mitra-yāsas. The king issued his order from his residence at Asanapura and addressed it to the elders and officers of the district of Plakkhi and to the ryots of the village of Kundūra in the Plakkhi vishayya. A ninth portion of this village was again given by these donees to their own sister's son, Vīshpyuśarman, who belonged to the Gavishmi gōtra and was a student of the Bahvycīcha.

The ājñapti of this grant was Bhimaśarman who is described as a great devotee of Vīshpyu and performer of the Vojapēya sacrifice. This officer is not known from any of the grants of Jayasimha I published so far.

Of the localities mentioned in this record Plakkhi-vishayya is already known from the previous charter. I am unable to identify Kundūra. It must, however, have been in the neighbourhood of the present village of Guḍivāḍa, since some land from the boundary of Kundūra was separated and added to the former village. Both the owner of the plates and my friend Mr. Baghavara Pantulu inform me that there are some Harijana in the village of Guḍivāḍa who have Kundūra as their family name. Guḍivāḍa is Guḍivāḍa itself.

Asanapura is unidentifiable. It appears from the grants of Jayasimha I that it was an important town in the early Eastern Chālukya times. Kṣitiśarman, the donee of the Nīñgbara grant of Jayasimha was a resident of Asanapura and is described as ghaṭikā-saṁāṇa. Evidently Asanapura must have been a ghaṭikā-sthāna. Rudrasarman, the son of Śivaśarman of the Gautama gōtra and the donee of the Pulimbūra grant of Jayasimhavallabha, was also a resident of Asanapura. Originally, his father Śivaśarman was an inhabitant of Kundūra in Kṛma-rāṣṭra and was the recipient of the agrahāra village of Pulimbūra from king Madhayavarmak of the Vishnukundān family. During the rule of Jayasimhavallabha, Śivaśarman's son Rudrasarman emigrated from Kundūra to Asanapura. Asanapura thus appears to have been one of the educational and cultural centres of the early Eastern Chālukya times.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Ōṁ svasti [[*]] Śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakāśa sva-sakti-mukha-dalita-danuṣa-pati-mahāśeṣṇena
2 Mahāśeṣṇena-abhiraddhi-rddhi-tānāṁ Māti-gaṇa-paripālita-tānāṁ Mānava-yug-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-(ti)-purāṇāṁ(pān)
3 m-Aśvamedha-yājināṁ Chājaikyanāṁ kula-jalanidhi-samuddhi-rāja-ratnasya sakala-jagad
4 d-ṛtti-hara-karmmanaḥ śri-K(i)ṛttivaṃśaṇaḥ priya-naptāḥ(ptāḥ) saty- api Kaliyugē
5 Kṛtyāyuga-iva
6 Prajā-paripālana-ārtham-avatārita-manushya-janmanaḥ aidāṁyugēna-Mma(Ma)hāvishṇor-
Vishvvarddhanam-
6 Mahārājasaśra priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamānaḥ-pratāp- ḍhanatamā-saṃsata-saṃsata-maṇḍalāḥ

1 I am informed that Brāhmaṇa well-versed in this lore belong to the Madhyandina āśrama of the Kāśiva sect.
It is the same as Trishtubha mentioned in line 13 of the previous grant.
2 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 56 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff.
5 From the original plates.
6 Expressed by symbol.
Second Plate, First Side

7 sva-śakti-traya-trīśūl-śvabhinnā-para-narapati-sakala-bala-chētanaḥ anēka-samata-sah-
ghaṭṭa-vi-
8 jay-āvāpta-yaśō-viśēsa-bhūṣaṇāḥ pratidinam-anēka-sāmanta-maṇi-prabā-prabā-
9 prarēha-parinājita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ Yudhiṣṭhira-iva dharma-parāyaṇaḥ Brā(Bri)haspati-
iva
10 nayajēṇaḥ Manu-iva vinayajēṇaḥ Airāvata-iva-anavara-dān-ūchha-hastaḥ svaja-
11 na-parijana-vatsalāḥ paramabrahmanyō(ṇyo) māt-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyātaḥ ārī-Prī(Prī)dhi-
(thi)vi-Jayasiṣṭhapa(sīrṣa)...
12 vallabha-mahāraja(jaḥ) Pjākki-vishayē vishaya-vriddhān-adhikarīṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭ-
umbinaḥ-cha

Second Plate, Second Side

13 samājñēpayati[*] viditam-asti vō yath-āsāṃbhīs-śatvarvyāś-pāragasāḥ Mitrayaśasāḥ
14 pautrābhīyāṃ(bhyēṃ) sva-pitṛ(ṛ)i-guṇ-ālaṅkṛitaśya Vishṇuyāśasāḥ putrābhyām saṭ-
karma-ḥarmacchāṃ-ānuṣṭhāna-
15 parābhīyāṃ(bhyēṃ) Vēda-Vēdaṅg-Evi(ti)hāsa-Purāṇa-Mīmāṃsā-ādy-anēka-śāstr-ārttha-tatra-
ttva-saila-
16 prakṣhālit-āntahkarāṇa-paṅkābhyāṃ Agniḥṣikā-yājībhyāṃ(bhyēṃ) Vatsa-sagōṭrabhyāṃ
17 Chhandōga-sabrahamchārihbhyāṃ(bhyēṃ) trisahasra-vidy-ālaṅkṛita-mukh-āravinābhīyāṃ-
(bhyēṃ) Svāma(mi)ya(sī).
18 Vishṇuyāśobhīyāṃ(bhyēṃ) Kuḍivāḍa-nāma-grāmēṃ vasati(i)ṃ kṛtvā Kundūra-grāma-sīm(i)ṃ-
mmō dvātrā[śaṇi]3.

Third Plate

19 varttanaṃ chhitvā(uttvā) puṇy-ābhivṛddhāyē sarvva-kaṇa-parihāreṇ-āghraḥ(a)ṃṣa kṛtya mayā
sambhavatathē[*]
20 tathā bhavadbhir-anāya-cha paripālan(i)ṃyēḥ[*] śtābhya(bhyēṃ)ṃeva Gavīṣṭh-aṅgotra-
Bhāvṛchā(cha)-sabraham-
21 chāri-sva-bhāgīnēya-Vishṇusarmmaṃṣeṣya grāmē(ma)ṣya navamō bhāgō dattah[*] ajñāpitaḥ
22 anēka-dha[rmm-ā]numāṭhāna-puṇya-saṅchayāḥ parama-vaṁṣavō Vājapeyā-yāji Bhīma-
sarmma[*]
23 Vyāsa-gītāu[*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahubhiṣ-ĉh-ānupālitā[*] yasya yasya yadā
bhu(bhū)mi-

1 This akṣara is redundant.
2 [The reading is grāmë[ḥ*]—Ed.]
3 Read dottrināṇa-nīcārāntāni.
4 Read samprattām. [Better read samprattāḥ.—Ed.]
24 ta(s)-tavya ṭasya taddh phalam [[[*]]] Mā bhūd-aphala-taṅkā van(vah) para-datt-ēti pārthivāḥ-
       (vah) [[[*]]] sva-dānāt-phala-
25 ma-ānanyam para-dān-ānupālanam ||

C.—Grant No. 3

This set1 consists of three plates without raised rims. Each plate is 6-9" long and 2-4" broad. They are strung together on a circular ring 2-5" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1-5" in diameter. The seal after cleaning shows only a spiral sign on its face.

The script is the early Southern Class commonly styled Telugu-Kannaḍa. The letters resemble those found in the other grants of Jayasimha I. They are very indifferently written and therefore the form of individual letters is not always the same.2 Initial ai occurs in line 5 in aidanyugina. The shape of the letter nyō in brahmānyō in line 10 is interesting. Final t occurs in line 1 and final m in line 20. The medial s sign in rā in parīvara (line 18) and hāra (line 24) is peculiar. It is not a simple horizontal stroke to the left. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is in prose with the exception of the two imprecatory verses at the end. The terms kandikaṭṭu, kadakaṭṭu and avakaṭṭu occurring in the description of the boundaries are unintelligible.

This inscription also belongs to the same king, Jayasimha I of the Eastern Chalukya family. The record does not furnish new facts. The royal prahasti and the details of the grant are similar to those of the previous record. The king issued this grant from Asanapura. Addressing the elders and officers of the Plakki vihaya and the ryots of the village of Kundūra, the king granted the village of Kuḍivāḍa to the same donees, Svāmīyāsas and Vīmaṇyāsas of the Vata gōtra, separating it from the boundary of Kundūra and constituting it into an agrahāra with all the usual immunities. The boundaries of the newly constituted agrahāra are given. They are as follows: on the east the boundary of the village of Kundūra; on the south the sea; on the west the tank named Gōjāva as well as the Nāgavula tank, Kandikaṭṭu and Kadakaṭṭu and on the north Avakaṭṭu. The ājāapti is Bhīmasarman, already known from the previous charter.

These three inscriptions thus register grants referring to one and the same village of Kuḍivāḍa (Guḍivāḍa). In fact, the order of these inscriptions, if I understand them aright, should be thus: Grant No. 2, by which the village of Guḍivāḍa comes into being as an independent agrahāra, should be the first one. Then comes Grant No. 1 which says that the king granted the western portion of the village of Adivāsa along with some land detached from the extent of the village of Guḍivāḍa, constituting the whole into an agrahāra, to the Brahmaṇa brothers, Vinayaśarman and Vīmaṇyāsarman of the Maudgalya gōtra. To compensate this loss to the donees the king seems to have granted them again by grant No. 3 thirty-two nivartanas of land, separating it again from the village of Kundūra, as stated in grant No. 2.3

2 [As the forms of many letters like k in line 1, ai in line 5, ś in line 10, show later forms, the writing seems to belong to a later period. The seal bears only a spiral symbol and the village granted is the same as in the previous charter. This record appears to be a later modified copy of No. 2, in the text of which the boundaries of the agrahāra are added while a statement regarding the allotment of a share of the agrahāra to the donee’s sister’s son, as found in No. 2, is omitted. No. 3 thus appears to have been forged by the heirs of the donees of No. 2 with a view to depriving the successors of the donee’s sister’s son of the share in question.—Ed.]
3 [This argument is unconvincing. As shown above (p. 129, note 3; p. 133, notes 2 and 4; above, note 2), the agrahāra villages granted as well as the donees in the first two grants are different and the third grant appears to be a later modified copy of the second.—Ed.]
No. 20] THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I 137

TEXT

First Plate

1 ᪐ः svasti [*] Śrīmad-Asanapura-vīsakāt sva-śakti-mukha-dalīta-danu-
2 japati-mahāśeṇaḥ Mahāśeṇaḥ-ābhivaddhi(ṛddhi)tānāṁ Mātri-ga-
3 na-paripālitānāṁ Mānāvya-sagōrāsāṁ Hāriti(ti)-putrāṇaḥ-
4 m=Aśvamēdhya-yaśīnāṁ Chaudu(du)kyaṁ kula-jaladhī-samudbhī-
5 tā-rāja-ratnasya śrī-Kittī(rtti)vārmaṇaḥ priya-naptā aśarṇyugfna-Mahā-
6 vishṇoḥ Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamā-

Second Plate, First Side

7 na-pratāp-śpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ sva-śakti-traya-parā-
8 jita-praṇaḥ anēkā-samara-saṅghaṁ-vijay-āvāpta-yaśo-viśēṣaḥ-
9 bhūshaṇoḥ pratidinam-anēka-sāmanta-maṇḍa-prabhā-ran̄h-
10 jita-pādāpiṣṭaḥ paraṁ-brahmaniḥ mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyā-
11 taḥ śrī-Prithivi-Jayasyingha(sīrīha)vallabhā-mahārājāḥ Plakṣ-vishayē-
12 visha[ya*]-vṛiddhān-ādīmkāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭumbinās-cha samājñāpayā-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 ti [*] viditam-astu vō yath-āśmābhīṣa-chaturvividā-pāragasya Mitrayaśa-
14 saḥ pratyābhyāṁ sva-pitu(ṛ)guṇ-ālaṁkritasya Vaiṣṇuvaśaḥ putrābhīyāṁ sāt-kā-
15 mma-dhamma-ānushīṭhaṁ-parābhyāṁ(bhyām) Agnirūṭaṁ-yājibhyāṁ Vatsa-sagōrābhīyāṁ-
16 Chhindoga-sabrahmachārībhīyāṁ Śvāmiyaśī-Visṇuvaśēbhīyāṁ Kuḍivāja-nā-
17 ma-grāmaḥ vasatiṁ kṛtvā Kundūra-grāma-sīmaṁ(mnah) pṛthak-kritya puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē-
18 sarvva-kara-paripāraṁ-aṅgahārīkṛitya mayā dattaḥ [||*] Bhavadbhir-anayaṁ-cha pā-

Third Plate

19 laṁnaḥ [*] Asya sīma-vihāgaḥ [*] Pūrvvataḥ Kundūra-grāma-sīma(mā)ēva sīma [ ][*]
20 Dākhinaṁ sāmudram(draḥ) [*] Paśchimataḥ Gōḷāva-nāma-tāṭakam punah Nāgavula-

1 From the original plates.
2 Expressed by symbol.
21 cheruvu-Kandikaṭṭu-Kaḍakaṭṭu [*] Uttarataḥ Avakaṭṭu [*] Ajūaptīḥ pi(pa)zi(ra)(mi)(ma)-
22 vaishṇavō Vājapēya-yājī Bhīmaśārmā [*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā bahu-
23 bhiścha-anupālitā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis-ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [*] Sva.
24 dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā 7ū harēṣa vasundharāṁ(tām) [*] shashṭhi(ehti)-varṣa-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimih [*]
No. 21—KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

The Late Mr. V. RangaRao, MADRAS.

These copper plates,¹ eleven in number, were received in 1905 from the Estate Guardian at Kamalapur, near Hамo, Bellary District, on a short loan by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. The plates were returned to the owner. I edit the inscription from its impressions available in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The Government Epigraphist describes the plates thus: "Eleven copper plates with high-raised rims and rounded tops, containing twenty sides. Round ring with its edges pressed close together in a hole behind the seal. The seal is hung on a copper ring whose edges are closely pressed together as stated above. The copper ring measures 3½ inches in diameter and is about ½ inch thick. The seal bears in a counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar with up-lifted tail and facing the proper right. It is surmounted by the sun and the moon in relief. Below the boar are some symbols. The plates measure roughly 11¼ inches long in the middle and 9½ inches on the sides; the breadth varies from 7¼ to 7½ inches."

The first and last of the plates, as usual, have been engraved on the inner side only, while the others on both the faces.² They are numbered, like the Unamanji plates³ of Achyutarāya, on the first inscribed side of each plate with Telugu-Kamāda numerals from 2 to 11. The writing has been done well and it is intact on account of the raised rims. But between lines 67 and 68, there is a blank space for a line and a half which can be filled up from similar epigraphs. At the end of line 448, which is the last on the second side of plate 9, there is a blank which can be covered by six aksharas; and at the close of line 508, the last on the 10th plate where the list of donees ends, there is also a vacant space for four letters.

The characters are Naundināgarī, except the last word Śrī-Virūpākṣha in line 522, which is in Kamāda. The sign for rough ṛ in Mūruḍāyāra is not distinguished from ordinary r as in other records. The middle stroke of ṛ is occasionally missing as in Kāśipati in line 171.

The following orthographical peculiarities can be noted. The visarga sign is occasionally omitted, the omission usually being before the word Śrī. It is redundant in the expressions like pādār-aṁṣitāś in line 29 and sūnuḥa Tīrūmaḷa in line 363. A consonant after ṛ is usually doubled. Instances of the doubling of a consonant after visarga and elsewhere are also available. The omuṣāra is usually used for the class nasal. Wherever there is double m the first is made into an anuvāra as in Tīrāmahō in line 127. The consonant ṛ is sometimes wrongly used for ḍ as in tanūṭhabhava in line 106.

There are some names of unusual interest among the donees who number as many as 308 and belong to all sects. The three Vedas and various śākhas and gōtras are represented. Though a Dvaitin, Vyāsaratya, the chief donee, included scholars of every persuasion among the shareholders of the endowment. The individual shares ranged from 3½ to 4, the exact quantity being apparently dependent on the attainments of each recipient. The total number of shares seems to have been slightly above 437. The gōtras represented by the donees are: Agastya 3, Ātrēya 18, Bhāradvāja 51, Daivarāta 1, Gārgya 8, Gautama 10, Gūrja 1, Harita 20, Jāmadagnya-Āpastamba 1, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa 1, Kānya 2, Kāṣyapa 52, Kauṇḍinya 32, Maudgalya 3, Kaundika or Viśvāmitra 30, Pārṣhaṇa 2, Pūtimāsha 4, Rathtithara 1, Śalāvata 1, Śāndilya 3, Śaṭhamarasha 1,

1 It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when the article was still in the press.
3 It has been presumed so in the case of the first plate which was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. [It seems that the catapage of Plate 15 was missing in the set of impressions received by the author. It has 27 lines of writing, which are practically identical with lines 1-24 of the Conjeeveram plates (above, Vol. XII, pp. 126-27) - Ed.]
4 Above, Vol. III, pp. 147 ff.
Śriyatśa 36, Vādhūla 2, Vārdhasva 2, Vasīrtha 18. The Śākhās and Śūtras represented are Rīk, Yajus, Rādāyana, Kārtva, Jaimini and Śāmana. The donees came from different villages and have names often in Sanskrit and popular dialects combined. A detailed scrutiny of the list, with reference to similar information in other records, is likely to throw welcome light on the question of the migration of the scholarly families and the literary services rendered by the individuals of the different sects and schools.

The language is Sanskrit and the whole text is in verse. The introductory portion is in different metres; but verses 33-343 which enumerate the donees and their shares are in Anushūthā. Verses 344-52 are again in different metres. The first thirteen of the introductory stanzas, ending with the expression paṅkti-rathād-iva, are not available as that plate was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. The remaining stanzas are 32½ and cover lines 1-67. The first six verses (lines 1-18) carry the genealogy down to Vira-Narasimha, the elder brother of Krishnādevārya. Verses 7-16 (lines 18-42) eulogize the ruling king Krishnādevārya and are identical with verses 20-29 of the Hampe inscription2 of S. 1430 (1508 A. D.) with a single change in verse 14 (line 37), where we have Vīrāvatāpa ṯa ṯa ṯa instead of Gauḍabheṣṇa ṯa ṯa ṯa of the Hampe record. The beautiful prose passage, which describes the king immediately after these stanzas in the Hampe record is absent in the present epigraph. Lines 43-45 give the date of the grant in words. It is Sālivāhana-Saka 1447, Pārthiva, Phāligna ṭa 12 corresponding to the 24th February, 1526 A.D. Lines 45-48 (verses 19-20) mention the place of the donation and the illustrious teacher to whom it was made. It was a royal order to the people of Ghanagiri-rāja, to the effect that, in the Viṣṭhalēvara temple on the bank of the Tūṅga-bhadra, the grant was made to Vyāsāntīrtha who was the disciple of Brahmānyatīrtha and had a mind exclusively devoted to the contemplation of Brahmā and who had written commentaries on all the Śūstras. Then follows, in lines 49-60 (verses 21-28), a description of the village granted and its boundaries. It was in Koyyakuriki-simā and Mukkūṭa-sthala, east of the village of Pullakulvā, south-east of Guṭivāḷa, south of Kundalapaṭṭuk, south-west of Grākāṭalakālva, west of Bōyinḍapalvā, north-west of Gaṅganāyanaṇapalli, north of Mallakumāṭuk, and north-east of Vāḷur. With it were clubbed the villages of Gitapalli, Kammachāyuv, Kandukurū, Rāma and Guraṁvayalu. It was known as Beṭṭakondā and Vyāsasamudra and renamed Krishnārāyapura. Lines 60-67 (verses 28-32) give the usual formula of the sarvaṇāṇa tenure and conclude with the statement that it was granted by the king Krishnādevā-mahārāja with daksīṇā and the pouring of water. Then follows, in lines 68-70 (verses 33-34), a long list of householders and scholars, amongst whom Vyāsāntīrtha distributed the shares of the endowed lands. Lines 509-13 (verses 341-46) give the usual formula regarding Krishnādevārya's gifts and state that the śrīmāna was composed by Sabhāpati and engraved by Viraṇācharāya, son of Mallana. Lines 347-52 form the usual imprecation. The record ends with the royal sign-manual Śrī-Viṣṇūkāśa in Kannada characters in line 522.

The village named Beṭṭakondā or Krishnārāyapura no longer exists; but Vyāsasamudra and Kandukurū are well-known even today. Kandukurū is a village 27 miles to the west-northwest of Madanapalli, formerly included in the Cuddapah District and now in Chittoor. Its gift as an inām by Krishnādevārya to a priest was noted decades ago by the compiler of the Madras Manual of Administration (Glossary, p. 442). The historic importance of the place is clear from two old Viṣṇu temples in it. Vyāsasamudra is a big tank close to Kandukurū. The other villages and hamlets named in the grant are not traceable now. Mukkūṭa-sthala is probably the same as Guṭalasthala in Madanapalli Taluk. Pullakulvā may be identified with Pullakullu, and Bōyinḍapalvā with the Boyakoṇḍa rock to the south-west of the hamlet of Pullagūṭalavāripalle near Pedda-Tippasamudram which is five miles off Kandukurū.

1 [See p. 139, note 3.—Ed.]
The donee Vyāsārūtha, who is more familiarly known as Vyāsarāya, was the twelfth in apostolic descent from Madhvāchārya, the great Dvaitic philosopher, and the fifth head of the Vyāsa-rāya Maṭha founded by Rājaṇātrārītha in the fifteenth century and renamed after this teacher. Prof. Aufrecht₁ ascribes his death to 1539 A. D. and further says that he was the founder of the maṭha. As a matter of fact, he was only the fifth head of the maṭha and lived, according to the Vyāsārāyaśākha or Vidya-ratnakara-svāmin, in 1447-1539. The exact date of his birth is given as Sunday, Prabhava, Vaisākha-sūkta 7, corresponding to the 27th April 1447 A. D. The story of Vyāsarāya’s birth is variously given in the Vyāsaviṣaya of Śrīnīvāsa-rārītha who is not identical with the nephew and immediate successor of Vyāsarāya but was a later hagiologist, and in the Vyāsavyāsacakita, a champū written by the poet Sōmañātha, an Advaitin of Kāśchipura, who became an admiring disciple of the teacher in his later days. Both these versions agree that Vyāsārūtha, whose juvenile name was Yatirāja, was the child of Balhaṇa Sumati, a native of Bannūr in Mysore, and his wife Lakshmi, as a result of the special grace of Brahmaṇya-rārītha or Subrahmanyārśāstra, the fourth head of the maṭha, afterwards known as Vyāsarāya’s maṭha. Young Yatirāja was spiritually educated and trained by Brahmaṇya-rārītha and was invested, according to Vidya-ratnakara-svāmin, with the headship of his maṭha in Saraya, Vaisākha-kṛishṇa 12 (1467 A. D.). Mr. Venkoba Rao places the event in 1475; but it seems to me that it might be a few years later.

The Vijayanagar king Virā-Narasingha of the Tuluva family is described by the poet Sōmañātha as having worshipped Vyāsarāya more than his father Daśaratha worshipped Viśvānu. According to the poet, it was in his time that Vyāsarāya completed his three great philosophic masterpieces, the Tātparyachandrīkā, the Nyāya-śāstra, and the Tarkatāndava. It is probable that, by 1509 A. D. when Krīṣṇādēvarāya came to the throne, and when Vyāsarāya would have been about sixty years of age, he gave the finishing touches to the Vyāsa-traya as these works are collectively called.

Krīṣṇādēvarāya is credited by the poet Sōmañātha with the actual worship of Vyāsarāya. He is said to have visited him thrice a day for receiving instruction. Once the king of Kaliṅga (Pratāparudra) sent an Advaitic work to the Vijayanagar emperor for opinion, and he sent it back with the thoroughly searching criticisms of the Dvaitic philosopher to whose judgment he had submitted it. On another occasion, Krīṣṇādēvarāya is said to have seated Vyāsarāya on a throne and performed kanak-abhīśaka on his person, and the latter, with characteristic self-abnegation, gave away the gems showered on him to the learned poor. The abhīśaka, continues the poet, saved the emperor from the fruits of his sins and gave him victory on the battle-field.

From 1520 A. D. onwards we have a number of Krīṣṇādēvarāya’s grants which indicate that Vyāsarāya was a conspicuous figure at his court. The only record previous to 1520 A. D. referring to Vyāsarāya is No. 370 of 1919, dated in Saka 1433 (1511-12 A. D.).

It has, however, to be noted that the claim of the above poet that Vyāsarāya was the royal guru should not be taken in the sense that the emperor had no other religious guide. From the time of Virūpāksha, according to the Prapannāmrita,¹ and certainly, to judge from inscriptions,

₁ Cat. Cat. p. 619.
² The date is not regular as the week-day should be Saturday. The author moreover differs from the more authoritative Sōmañātha-kavi in respect of the genealogy of this teacher.
³ This work, which is a fine literary piece, has been edited very ably by Mr. Venkoba Rao of Bangalore. The historical introduction is very erudite, though not without controversial discussions and conclusions.
⁴ S. K. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 71-79, No. 27.
from the time of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya onward, the guru who occupied the primary place at Vījayanagara was Tāṭāchārya. At Tirupati itself, from 1511-12 A.D., we have five epigraphs which record the gifts of holy offerings to the Ṭāṭāchārya Kumāra-Tāṭāchārya. From 1521 to 1528 A.D., Vyaśārāya figures largely in the donative epigraphs of Tirupati. The present grant was, in respect of chronology, older than the Oḍḍampatī grant made in April 1528 A.D. It may be pointed out here that Vyaśārāya continued to play an important part in the Vījayanagara court even after the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in 1530 A.D. and the accession of his brother Achyutarāya (1530-43 A.D.). A noteworthy event in the saint's life in this reign was his installation as the image of Yōga-Narasimha in the courtyard of the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampe on Thursday, Vaiṣṇava-nakahaṭra, Śrāvaṇa ba. 2, Indra-yōga, Śaka 1454, Nandana, corresponding to the 18th July 1532 A.D.

Vyaśārāya exercised considerable influence on the development of Dvaitic thought not only through his own philosophic skill, but by training a number of illustrious disciples. Another meritorious aspect of his work was the combination of music in Sanskrit as well as Kannada with philosophy. He composed songs embodying in them his teachings in the Mandāramanḍhari series, thus democratising Dvaitism. A number of these songs have been included in the Dēsārapadas; and a number of them in Sanskrit are yet to see the light. In popularising the religion and philosophy of bhakti through music, Vyaśārāya depended chiefly on his illustrious disciple Purandaradāsa of Paṇḍaripura, who was the saintly founder of the order of the Haridīsas and enriched the world with the kirtanas called devārānas which are sung even today.

Vyaśārāya exercised considerable influence on the contemporary movements of Vaiṣṇava-chārya and Chaitanya. According to the Śrī-Vallabha-chārya-sastra of Muralidhāra-dāsa, Śrī-Vallabha went to the court of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya and saved the Vaiṣṇavas from being defeated by controversialists, for which he was honoured with kana-kītānadhīka. In his Sampradāyapuruśadipikā, Gada observes that the assembly in Kṛṣṇadēva's court, where Vallabha defeated his opponents, was presided over by Vyaśātīrtha. Though the writers on Vaiṣṇavism give exaggerated accounts of Vyaśātīrtha's obligations to Vallabha, there is nothing improbable in Vallabha paying visit to Vījayanagara.

Vyaśārāya's influence on the contemporary Chaitanya movement is obvious from the fact that Chaitanya, who was, like Vallaṭha, a younger contemporary of Vyaśārāya, took the Sannyāśo robes from an ascetic of Mādhva persuasion. Kavi-karnapūra, the son of a direct disciple of Chaitanya, refers in his Gauranga-vidēśaprabhadipikā (1577 A.D.) to the works of Vyaśārāya-tīrtha as the Viśnu-sanhāra. The method of appealing to the masses through music and dance was specialised by Chaitanya as much as by Purandaradāsa, the disciple of Vyaśārāya.

According to Purandaradāsa, Vyaśārāya died on Phālguna šu. 4 of Viḷambi, corresponding to Saturday, the 8th March 1539 A.D. His brīndāsana is located in an island in the Tuṅgabhadra near Hampe.

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2 A. R. Ep., 1922-23, para. 84.
4 Ibid., p. 16.

(It is interesting to note that this Purandaradāsa is referred to in three places in the present record (lines 269-70 and 426). From these the following information is gathered about him. He belonged to the Vasiṣṭha gotra and Yajus śākha and had three sons, viz. Lakṣmīnapadāsa, Hēṣānapadāsa and Mādhavapadāsa. This account differs in certain respects from the traditional details. See Karmakar and Kalamud, Mystic Teachings of the Haridīsas of Karnāpūra, p. 49.—P.B.D.)
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVERAYA, SAKA 1447

TEXT

[Metre: verses 1, 6-7, 13-15, 17-34, 345-50 Anuvāha; verses 2-5, 9-11, 16 Śrāddhākā; verse 8 Sārdalavikṛīḍita; verse 12 Dūdhaka; verse 344 Gītā; verse 351 Śūlina.]

Second Plate, First Side

1 t-pañcā-ṛathād-iva\[ [[] \[*\] Virau vinaya(yi)naśau Rāma-Lakṣaṁmaṇa=iva nandanau [[]\[ *\]
2 jatāu Vira-Nrīsinhināṭra-Krīṣhṇa-śrīmahā-śrībhāṣā [[] [[]\[ 1*\] Vira-śrī-Nrāśaṁ-
3 haḥ sa Vijayanagarā ṛatna-simhaṁsanaṣṭhaḥ(etaḥ) kṛityaṁ niyāṇaṁ
4 [Nṛ]*ga-Nāla-Nahushān-apy=avanyāṁ=sth=ānyān | a-Śrīdārā-Sa(Su)msār=avani-
5 sura-nuṭaḥ svairam-ā-rōḥ(da)de=da)-aśrīr-ā-pāśchaṭyā-śchal-āṁtal-ākhiṁsa-āvarṣya
6 ṛajyaṁ āśāṁ [[] [[]\[ 2*\] Nāṇā-āṁsana=ahārāḥ-kanaka-śadāsya yaḥ Śrī-Virūpāha(kha)detva-
7 sthānat śrī-Kālaṁstāituṣṭaṁ api ṛagare Vēkṣaṇaḥ drau ka Kaṁchyaṁ(ṣyaṁ) Śrīśailē Ṣōṇa-
8 śailē mahatī Hariharē-hōbalē Saṅgamē ka Śrīrangaṁ Kumbhaṁga(kuṇḍe) ṛaṁ hata-tamasī
9 Mahānatī(di)-tīrthē Ṛivṛītāyau(tau) [[] [[]\[ 3*\] Gōkarnē Rāmaśeṭau jagatī tad-itaṁṣa=avī-
10 ṛājanāḥ puṇya-śtānāṁṣah=slabhaṁ-ṇāṇāvidha-ḥalasaḥ-mahādāna=vē-
11 ri-pravāhaiḥ | yasyāḥ oḍantapadā-prakrata-khura-rajah-sūhayad-āsthōḥ(hōḥ)dhi-
12 magna-kahmābhirit-pakha-kahī(oh-chhi)yd-ōḍda(ōḍa)t-taraṁ Kuliṣadharō-ākṣamṣaḥīṁ kumḥhit-ā-
13 bhūt [[] [[]\[ 4*\] Brahmāṁṣaḥ viśva-kaḥraṁ ghaṭaṁ-uditaṁ mahābhūtakah ratna-ḥēnnum saptāṁ-
14 bhūdham āḥ ka kalpa-kaḥitṛuha-latekā kābhōmaṁ Kāmadyennum(um) | svarṇā(ṇa)-kahmāṁ
15 yō hiraṁ(ṛa)py=āvā-ṛatham-apy tūlā-pūrṇahāṁ go-saharaṁ hēṁ-āśvaṁ hēma-
16 garbhanā kaṇaka-ṛatnaṁ paroha-lāṅgalya-Āṭeṁ [[] [[]\[ 5*\] Prājyaṁ Ṛaṁāya
17 nirvighnam ṛajyaḥ dyām-iva śāśisīṁ(tum) | tasmin-gupāṇa vikhyāṁ kahi-
18 tōc-indre divām gāte [[] [[]\[ 6*\] Taṁ-apy=avāya-ṛiva-Śrī-Krīṣhṇarāya-mahāpiṁ Ṛaṁāya
19 biḥartī maṇi-kēyūra-nirviṣēhaṁ[haṁ] mahīṁ bhujē [[] [[]\[ 7*\] Kṛityā yasya sa-
20 maḥtāraḥ prasāṣitaṁ vṛnāḥ rukṣāyāṁ vṛn̄jād-śīvaṁ[r]kya purā Purāṇī-
21 r-ahhavāḥ-bhākaḥ-ksthaṇaḥ praṇyaṣaḥ | Padmaṁṣaḥ-pi chatur-bhujē-jani chātu-
22 r-vaktre-ḥhvāḥ(vat) Padmaḥ-bhūt(bhūḥ) Kāli khaḍgam-adhaṁ-Rāmaō ohca(ohca) khalōmahāṁ
23 vīnāḥ cha Ṛaṁāya
24 nī kārā [[][[ 8*\] Śatruṇāṁ viṣayām-śeṭe datata [[][] iṣṭi rūṣā kiṁ nu saptāṁbhū-rājan[ṇ] nānā-
25 sēnā-turahga-ṛuḍita-vam[na]mati-dhulikā-pākākabhīḥ | samāśaḥya svai-
26 ram=ētāt-pratiniḥdi-jaladhi-ṣṛgūkā yoḥ vidhātī Brahmaṁḍa-Svarṇa-
27 mēru-pramukhaṁ-nīja-mahādāna-tōyaṁ-samēyaḥ [[] [[]\[ 9*\] Mad-dattāṁ arthi-sīrtha[h]kṣ
28 ārīyam-īlaṛ sauchrān bhuhṣṭaṁ=īty=avṛtāḥ(tva) prāyaḥ pratyūha-hētōṣ-ta-

1 From impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
2 This is the end of verse 13 of the Hampi inscription of Kṛṣṇa-Devaraya (above, Vol. I, pp. 361 ff.). [See above, p. 139, n. 3.—Ed.]
3 Cf. “Śivadraḥkuḥ elsewhere.
4 Kielhorn considers it to be a mistake for “Śiva-kara”.

\[ Notes: \]

- The text is a verse from the Kālāpur Plates of Krishnadevaraya, a 1447 inscription.
- The verse is a praise of the king Rama, using poetic and hymnic language.
- The text is in Prakrit, an ancient Indian language.
- The verse describes various aspects of Rama, including his divine traits and qualities.
- The verse also appears to include a hymn-like structure, typical of the era.

\[ End Notes: \]
28 pana-ratha-gatēr-ālayana(yān) dēvatānāṁ(nām) | ta[t*]-tad-dig-jaitra-vṛity=āpi cha vi-
29 ruda-padaḥ(dāḥ)ra[m]am-kīmāṁ-tatra tatra stambhāṁ(bhāṁ)-jāta-pratishtān-vyatanuta 
   bhuvī yō 
30 bhūbhīḥ-abhrahakaḥ-āgrān [|| 10*] Kāncheḥ-Śrīśaśilē(la)-Śogāchala-Kanakasaṁbha-Vēṅkaṭā-
31 dri-pramukhy[ē]rav[ē]yāvatvāyāti sarvēśhv=atanaḥ vidhi-adv-bhūyasā śrēyasā yah |
32 dēvāsthānēhu śū́r̥thā[ē]v=āpi ka[n]aka-tulāpūru[śh-a]*dini nānā-dānānēyō.1
33 padānair-āpi sama[m=a]*khilaṁ-agama-āmōktāni tānī [|| 11*] Rōēha-kīta-prati-pārthi-
34 va-dānījaḥ Sēsha-bhuja-kshiti-rakṣhaṇa-sānumāḥ [|| 15*] bhāshega-tappuva-rāyara-ga(gaṁ)- 
   ḍah(đa).
35 a-tōēha-krīdu(d-a)cthitēj(rtthi)laṁ yō raṇa-chāṅiḥā[|| 12*] Rājādźhirāja ity=uktō yō Rājapara-
36 mēsvarāḥ | Mūrurāyaramaṇīk-ākhyā[|| 14*] | Parārāyabhaya-amkaraḥ [|| 13*] Hindu-rāya-sura-
37 trāṅgo dushta-śārdūla-mardanāḥ | Vīrapratāpā [i]ty-ādi-birudair-achita[r-r*]yūn-
38 taḥ [|| 14*] Ālokāyā mahārāya jaya jiv-ēti vādi[bbhiḥ] | Āṅga-[Va[n]*]la-[Kali]-nī-
39 g-āyai rājabhīḥ sēvyātē cha yah [|| 15*] Stūty-audārya[h*] sudhībh[ēḥ] sa Vijayana-
40 rē ratna-sinhāsana-sthāḥ kṣhmapalān | Kṛiśna-rāya-kshiti-patir-adharikri-
41 tya nītyā Nṛig-ādīn [|| 15*] pūrv-ādēr-ath-āsta-kshiti-dhara-kakād-ā ca Hē-
42 māchal-āntākā[ā]*tēr-arththi-sārth込まれ-ha bahālakṛitya k[r-r*]yā samiṁ-dbhe [|| 16*]
43 Sālīvahana-nirñē Śak[a]-Ṛdbé dasabhīs-satah [|| 18*] chatnē-sat-anvitaiḥ 
44 sapta-chatvārianādh-yutair-mitē [|| 17*] Vatsarē Pāthiv[ē]-abhikhyē mēśī Pa[Pha]-lgu-
45 na(na)-nāmanī | āukla-pakeh śuvbhē] lagḥē puṁ(puṁ)yāyē dhvādāś-tāthau [|| 18*] 
   Tuṅga-
46 bhadr-āpaga-tirō Viḥala[ē]śvara-saṁnidhau | Brahmanatīrthha-śiśhēyā 
47 brahma-dhyaṇ-aika-chētasē [|| 19*] Vyaḥhyāt-ākhaṁ-sāstṛyā Vyāsāstirāḥ 
48 dhīmatē | Ghanāgyry-ākhyā-rājya-āṁtarvaṁ(nāṁ) samupāśritah(tam) [|| 20*] 
49 Kṛiyakuruṣi-sīma-ethāṁ Mukūṭa-sīlhaṁ-sāśritah(tam) | Pullakulv-ā- 
50 hvayād-grāmāt prāchīṁ-sāśām-upāśritah(tam) [|| 21*] Gūṭha(vād)-āvayād-grāmā- 
51 d-āṅgōyē[śi]-m-āśritah diʃa[m*] | Kuṇḍalapaṭu-kka-grāmād-dakṣīṇāṁ diʃa-
52 m-āśritah(tam) [|| 22*] Grākaṭalakalv-ākhyō(ḥvayān)-namūtiḥ(ṛṭiṁ) diʃam-āśritah(tam) | 
   grāmā-
53 d-Bōyiṇḍapalli-ākhyāt-paśchīmāyāṁ diʃ sthītah(tam) [|| 23*] Gaṅganāyana-pa-
54 līṭō vāyaṁ diʃam-āśritah(tam) | Mallaṅkumaṭu-grāmād-uttarasyāṁ diʃi 
55 sthītah(tam) [|| 24*] Veḷḷūrū-nāmakād-grāmāda(d=a)śāṁ diʃam-āśritah(tam) | svāggama. 
56 ..māru-Gītapalli-samanvītah(tam) [|| 25*] Sviya-grāmaṭik-ōpita-Kamma-
57 cheyū-samanvītah(tam) | Rām[a[khya]-gga(grām)mak-ōpētah Kāmdukūra-samanvītah-
   (tam) [|| 26*] 

1 Read "śeṣaṁyād-śeṣaṁyād.
2 Read dānānīyō=āvūṛō."
Third Plate, First Side

58 Guranvayalu-sahijāna grāmakēna samanvitaḥ(tam) | Krishṇarāyaśāpruṣaḥ ca-ē.
59 ti prati-nāma-samā)[m]anvitaḥ(tam) [32*] Grāmaḥ Viśaṣamudr-ākhyānaḥ Bīṣṭакoṁḍ-ā.
60 par-āhavayān(yam) | sarva-mānyaḥ chathuḥ-sāmā-sayyutaḥ ca samanitaḥ[] [38*] Nidhi-
61 nihkēpa-pāśhā-śiṣḍha-sādhyā-jaḷ-ānvitaḥ(tam) | skahīṇy-śagāmi-saṁ-
62 yuktam-śa-bhōgyāḥ sa-bhūruhaḥ[ham] [29*] Vāsi-kūpa-taṭākaśa-cha kacchhān-āpi
63 samanvitaḥ(tam) | śa[bha]-praśīn[y]a-[saṁ]*]bhōgyāḥ [kramād-ā*]-chaṇḍra-tārakāḥ(kam) [30*] Dānasya-śāhama-
64 nasy-āpi vikrayasya-āpi ch-ōchitaḥ(tam) | parītaḥ prayataḥ śnigdhaḥ pu-
65 rūḥita-purūgamaḥ [31*] Vividha-śrīvibudha[h*] śrūta-pathikair-ādhikair-girā |
66 Kriṣṇadeva-maḥāryo mānānyo maasaśvinaḥ(nām) [32*] Śa-hiraṃ(ṛ)ṣya-paṭy-ōdha-
67 rā-pūrvakān dattavān mudā | [32A*]1
68 Śrīvatsa-gōtraḥ Kambhālāu Rājēndrāsaya tan-ūdhaḥavaḥ | yajva Janārdda-
69 n-ābhikhyō bahṛvīchō-ṭra-śaḥta-ṛvittikaḥ [33*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrajas-sūnu[h*] āśi-Janārddana-
yaja(ṛ)va-
70 naḥ | dhīmā[n]ah[ḥ]*]śa-Tīmanā-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō baha(hvṛi)ḥō-ṭra dvi-ṛvittikaḥ [34*] Sūnu(n) Rājēndra-bhāṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-
71 sūnaya-śāmbhavah | baha(hvṛi)ḥō Lakshaḥmaṇ-ābhikhyō dhīmāśa(m) an sa-rdha-tri-
72 bṛvittikaḥ [35*] Sūnuḥ Kadi-
73 ri-bhāṭṭasya sudhi[h*] Śrīvatsa-gōtraḥ | baha(hvṛi)ḥō-nanta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vrītti-
dvayaṃ-śaḥnute [36*]
74 Śrī-Nvā(N)rasinīha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyā-sūriḥ Kadiri-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Śrīvatsa-sagōtra-śaṁbhūtō ba-
75 hvṛichō-ṭra-aika-vrīttikaḥ [37*] Sūnuḥ Kadiri-bhāṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-sānvyaya-saṁbhava-
76 vaḥ | [Uṭṭai-
77 y-a-bhaṭṭa-nām-āsau baha(hvṛi)ḥoṣ-t(tv-ō)ka-vrīttikaḥ [38*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-[saṁ]*]-
bhūtō Nārasinīha-sudhī-
78 suta[h] | s-ārdha-tri-vrīttikaḥ yajva Nṛihary-ākhyō-ṭra baha(hvṛi)ḥoṣ [39*] Śrī-Chū-
79 dāmaṇi-bhāṭṭasya sūnaya-śāmbhavah | dhiṁāṇ-Nṛihary-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahṛvīchō-ṭra dvi-ṛvittikāḥ(kaḥ) [40*] Sūrē-
80 s-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūn[u]*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrakāḥ | āśi-Chūḍāmaṇi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahṛvīchō-ṭra
81 dvi-ṛvittikaḥ [41*] Sūrēs-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūn[u]*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrakāḥ | bahṛvīchō-

1 Verse 32A is not complete. The other half and one full Anusṭubh verse, for which there is just sufficient
blank space, can be filled up thus:
pratipṛthīga ca tathā pranāma Viśaṣamudr-ākhyā prademonāśa ||
Viśaṣamudr-ākhyā ca puggāya Kriṣṇarāya-mahāpālaḥ ||
śrīvittamāṇeṇa ṛsipliṇiṃ viśrā vaddana-pāragāḥ ||
* Read Ś teṣu-dneṣuḥ*.
* Read gōtra.
bhaṣṭ-ākhyō vṛtīt-dvayam-ih-āśnutē || 42|| Śrīvatass-gāḥ(a)tra-jō dhīmāna(mān) Yajā-
nārāyana-āhvaṇā\[h* \]

s-ārdh-aika-tra(vṛtītikas=sūnum-Tirumā-bhaṭṭasya bahva(hrvi)chāḥ || 43\] Sūrēs-Tirumal-
ākhyasya namda-

nō Harit-ānvaṇāḥ | yājusāḥ-naṇita[\*]-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō va(vṛtītīṃ=ška(kām)ih-āśnutē || [44\] Kauḍi(ṇdi)ṇya-

gōtra-jas=sūnum-Varṇu-bhaṭṭasya yājusāḥ | bhaṭṭ-āhvaṇā(yo) dhīmān vṛtītīṃ-śka-

m=ih-āśnutē || [45\] Dhīmān-Ahōbal-ābhikhyo yājusāḥ Kāṣyap-ān(ava)ṇaḥ | sūnum-

Tirumā-

l-ākhyasya sujanē-tr-aika-vṛtītikāḥ || 46\] Kāṣyap-ānvaṇa-sambhūta\[ śūnus-Tirumal-

Third Plate, Second Side

khyasya yājusāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvaṇo-tr-aikaṁ vṛtītīṃ-āpṇōti yāju-

shāḥ || [47\] Śrī-Nārasiṃha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdānāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | yājusāḥ Vādī-bha-

ṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtīt-dvayam-ih-āśnutē || [48\] Naṁdānō Bhānu-bhaṭṭasya yājusāḥ Kāṣyap-

ānvaṇ-

yāḥ | dhīmān Lakaśmaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtītīṃ-śkāṁ-ih-āśnutē || [49\] Kāṣyap-ānvaṇa-jō-

dhīmān[U[t]yaṁ-haṭṭa-naḥdānāḥ | Narahary-āhvaṇo-tr-aika-vṛtītī-dvayam-attr-aitī yā-

u-

shāḥ || [50\] Sūnum-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yājusāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | Ahōbali-āhvaṇo [dhī]-
mān-a-

tra s-ārdh-aika-vṛtītikāḥ || [51\] Sūnum-Ma(Ma)ḥa-dvayam-bhaṭṭasya yājusāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | Na-

rahaṇa-yāhvaṇī dīmān-stra s-ārdh-aika-vṛtītikāḥ || [52\] Kāṣyap-ānvaṇa-sambhūtāsā-Chēn-

nā-Okt(a)lu-naḥdānāḥ | bahvriḥcō Chē(chaś-Chō)nā-bhaṭṭō-smin dīmān s-ārdh-aika-vri-

tikāḥ || [53\] Chēṁā-Ŏṭtula(bala)-jō dīmān bahvriḥchāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | s-ārdh-ai-

tikā-tr-tr-aitī Chaurāḍi-bhaṭṭō mahā-matīḥ || [54\] Sūrēs-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnum-Ti-

rumal-āhvaṇḥ | vṛtītīṃ-śkāṁ-ih-āpṇōti bahvriḥchāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ || [55\] Sūnum-Ti-

rumal-ākhyasya yajvāṇāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | Tippā-bhaṭṭ-āhvaṇī-tr-aikaṁ vṛtīt-

m-āpṇōti bahvriḥchāḥ || [56\] Abōbala-sudhu-sūnum-bahvriḥchāḥ Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | Śrī-Śaṁ-

gāḍhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtītīṃ-śkāṁ-ih-āśnutē || [57\] Naṁdānō Bhānu-bhaṭṭasya yājusāḥ-

Kāṣyap-ānvaṇaḥ | atra Śrī-Bassvā-bhaṭṭaḥ(ṭṭo) dīmān s-ārdhā( ApplicationController)[kā]-vṛtītikāḥ 

|| [58\] Pratāp-

krishaṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnum-Śr̥ṣṭya-gōtraṇāḥ | bahvriḥcō-nāṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtīt-dvay-

āḥ [m=ih-āśnutē || [59\] Pratāpaṅkriṣṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdānō-hōbal-āhvaṇaḥ | bahvriḥcō-

tr-śānu-

104 tē vṛtīt-dvī(dvā)yam-Śr̥ṣṭya-gōtra-jaḥ || [60\] Pratāpaṅkriṣṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnum-Śr̥ṣṭya-

gōtra-

1 This expression is redundant.

2 These two syllables are redundant.
Fourth Plate, First Side

116 havyā dhimān=atra s-ārdha-dvi-vṛttiakaḥ [|| 69*] Śrīnivāsa=sudhīśa=s-ārdha-vṛitti-dvayām=ih=āśnutē | Kau[thi](ti)nyā-gōtra-sambhūtas=Samv.

117 -[di*]khita-na[ṛ]ñadaṇē | || 70*] Tī[m]-

118 m-śavdhānī s-ā[r]ḍha-vṛtti=aṣṭi=a[ṃ]tē yājūṣha[h*] | Sūrēś=Tiṭumal-ākhyasa sūnuḥ

119 Kau[thi](ti)nyā-gōtraakaḥ [|| 71*] Sarva-bhāṣṭa(ṭṭ-ā)āvayō=tr-aikā[ṛ]n* vṛtti(a)m(m-ā)pnoṭi yājūṣhaḥ | sūnuḥ

120 r-Gos(ī-Gos)vimdha-bhāṭṭasya Bhāravāj-ānvavā(y-ō)dhvavāḥ [|| 72*]

121 Sūnuḥ-Śrīgāri-bhāṣṭa(yā) yājūkas-Tī[m*]may-āhuvaḥ | Ā-

122 trēya-gōtra-sambhūtā dhimān s-ārdha-a{k[i]vṛttiakāḥ [|| 73*] Sūnuḥ Śrīka[sa](ga)ri-bhāṣṭa(ya) dhimān=ātṛya-gōtra-jāḥ | yājūṣhō-tr-āśnutē vṛtti(a)m(ttih)m-ekā[ṛ]n* Na-

123 rasy=āhuvaḥ [|| 74*] Āgastā(a)ya-gōtra-sambhūtō Narasayaṣaṣa nardānaḥ | Gominda-

124 bhaṭṭaṣa=s-ārdha-a{k[i]vṛtti=aṣṭi=tr-a[ṃ]ni[ti] yājūṣhā [|| 75*] Vasiṣṭha(ahṣha)-gōtra-jō dhimān śrī-

125 Viru[ṛ]pākha-bhāṣṭa-jāḥ | bahvri(hṛ)chō Lakṣaṇa-ābhikhyō vṛtti-dvayām=ih=āśnutē [|| 76*] Nār-

126 danō Raṅku-bhāṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvavā(ṭ)[d]bha(dha)vaḥ | bahvri(hṛ)chō(chā)−

127 Timmay-ābhī-

128 ṛiti-vṛtti-ekā[ṃ]ih=āśnutē [|| 77*] Viśvāmitr-ānvavāṣa= sūnuḥ-Māya=ṭtasya

129 bahvričhaḥ | sūri Raṅkuṣā-ābhikhyō vṛtti-ekā[ṃ]ih=āśnutē [|| 78*] Śrī-Nārā-

1 There is a blank space for eleven or twelve akṣaras after this. The word śrāva in the beginning of the next line was first written and then erased. This word is again engraved after some space.
130 sinha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō-gastya-götra-jaḥ | yājusḥo-hōbalay-ākh[y*]ō dhī-
131 mān s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṣṭāḥ []] 79*] Agastya-götra-[saṃ*]jātō-...... naṁ-
132 naṁdanah | yājusḥoh Narasāsyy-ākhīyō vṛttiṃ-ākām-ih- āśnutē [[ 80*] Vasaiṣṭha(aḥṭha)-
133 goṭra-samabhūtah[ḥ*] śrī-Virūpāka-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Pūchii-bhaṭṭō-tra s-ārdh-aika-vṛitta(tti)
134 m-āpnoti bahv(hvṛi)čoḥah []] 81*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭ-ākhīyo Vasaiṣṭha(aḥṭh-ānvaya-
135 samabhavaḥ [ ] *]
136 vṛttiḥ(tti)m-ākām-ih-āpnoti bahvri(hvṛi)čoḥo vidushāḥṁ varah []] 82*] Sūnūs-Timma-
137 rasa-
138 yyasya yājusḥah Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ | Lakṣaṁniṛāya-ābhīkhyō vṛtti-dva-
139 yam-ih-āśnutē [[ 83*] Kāṣyap-ānvaya-ja-s-sūnuś-Timma-bhaṭṭasya yājusḥah | s-ā-
140 rdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti Śrī(Śrī)niṃsva-satāṁ varah []] 84*] Kāṣyap-ānvaya-ja-s-sūnu-
141 s-Timma-bhaṭṭasya yājusḥah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti Mukhyapṛṇō mahā-
142 matīḥ [ ] 85*] Śuṛīs-Tirumall[yy-ākhyyō] bahv∧(hvṛi)čoḥo Nāgāp-ātmajaḥ | śrī-Jāmada-
143 guya-vastāpa-a-gōtrakā-ṭr-ārdh-a-vṛttiḥakah [ ]] 86*] Gautam-ānvaya-samabhūtas-sū-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

142 nur-Vāmanama-yajvaneḥ | dhīmān-Atḥo-bal-ābhīkhyō(kyās)tripād-vṛtti-
143 m-ih-āśnutē [[ 87*] Vasaiṣṭha(aḥṭha)-götra-ja-s-sūnuś-Sikkā-bhaṭṭASYA yājusḥah | s-ā-
144 Valām-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō dhīmān vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśnutē [[ 88*] Sūrīs-Tiru-
145 mal-ābhīkhyō[ā-S]kkā-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti sāmahaḥ Kau-
146 sik-ānvayaḥ [[ 89*] Naṁdanō-nahta-bhaṭṭasya Kauṇḍīṃy-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sū-
147 ris-Tirumal-ābhīkhyō yājusḥo-ṭr-aika-vṛttiḥakah [ ]] 90*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭa-
148 sya naṁdanō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | bhū-surō-hōbal-ābhīkhyō dhīmān s-ā-
149 rdha-dvī-vṛttiḥakah [ ]] 91*] Śrī-Ramachar[ū]*dṛ-a-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ |
150 [dh*]mān(mān)-Tirumal-ābhīkhyō yājusḥo-ṭr-aika-vṛttiḥakah [ ]] 92*] Śrī-Nārasimha-bha-
151 tṭasya naṁdanah Kauṣik-ānvayaḥ | yājusḥah-Charṇīm-bhaṭṭ-ākhīyō vṛttiṃ-śkē-
152 m-ih-āśnutē [[ 93*] Nāgā-bhaṭṭa-sūto dhīmān bahvṛīcaḥ Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛ-
153 tti-dvayam-ih-āpnoti sūnu(ro)s-Tirumal-āhvayō [ ]] 94*] Sūṛes-Tī[ru*]mal-ākhīsya
154 sūnuḥ Kāṣyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | Śeḥāḍri-bhaṭṭa[h*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti
155 bahvṛīcaḥ [ ]] 95*] Vādhūla-gōtra-ja-s-sūnu-Vāllum-bhaṭṭasya yājusḥah | Dhīmā-
156 n(mān)-Tirumal-ābhīkhyō vṛttiṃ-śkām-ih-āśnutē [ ]] 96*] Nārasimha-suḍhī-sū-
157 nur-yyājusḥah Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-dvī-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti dhīmān(mān)-
158 s-Tirumal-āhvayō [ ]] 97*] Sūnǔ[h] śrī-Nārasimhasya yājusḥah Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ |
159 s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atṛ-āiti Vīṣṇu(aḥṭh)-bhaṭṭō mahaṁmatīḥ [[ 98*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-
160 bhaṭṭ-ākhīyō yājusḥah Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ | Śrī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[h*] s-ā-

1 The reading of the name after this is doubtful.
2 The intended reading seems to be "Vatā-bhāya"
Fifth Plate, First Side

167 malayy-ākhyo bahvricbō-tr-aika-vrīttikaḥ \[= 103*\] Maudgalya-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Kōṁ(kka)ra-stmājāḥ | śrīmad-ṛṣīṭaras-ābhikhyō bahvricbō-tra dvi-vrīttikaḥ \[= 104*\] Vasīṣṭha(ehṭha)-gōtra-sambhūtāḥ Kasavā-bhaṭṭa-nāṁdanaḥ | bahvricbō Kriṣṇa

168 bhaṭṭ-ākhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vrīttikaḥ \[= 105*\] Vasīṣṭha(ehṭha)-nvaya-sambhū-taḥ Kauśā


171 rdhah(rdh)-vrīttim-gāṇoṭī(ṇī) yājūḥaḥ \[= 113*\] Sūnur-Immaḍārājaṇya Šrīvataṣṭas-āta(ś)ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | dhīmān Kēsāvāraja-ākhyō bahvricbō-tra tri-vrīttikaḥ \[= 114*\] Sūnur-Immaḍārājasya bahvricbō Gai(Gau)tam-ānvayaḥ | dhīmān Basavara-jā

172 ākhyō vrītt-trayam-ih-āsūnutē \[= 115*\] Naṇḍanaḥ Janṭirājaṇya Šrīvataṣṭas-ānvaya-sambhavah | bahvricbōs-Tīmāyā-ābhikhyō vrīttim-sākēm-ih-āsūnutē \[= 116*\] Aḥōbal-


174 ka-śrīmed-ṛṣīṭaras-ānvayaḥ-ōdhbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vrīttim-stra-sitī śrī-Nārāyaṇa

175 yānastimayaḥ \[= 119*\] Dhimān Māṭaraṇa-ābhikhyō Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ūṭamhavah |

176 bahvricbō Naṇḍana-sīnus-s-ārdh-aika-vrīttikaḥ \[= 120*\] Sūnur-Damaṇa-bhaṭṭa-
Epigraphia Indica

Fifth Plate, Second Side

193 sva Sañhamaratana-gotra-jaña | ekam Damaâ-bhaṭṭa-sâmin vrittina Bódha(dhà)-
194 yan-śantu[ || 121*] Sûnûr-Varadarâja-sya Śrîvatsa-ānvaya-samabhavaḥ | yajñauḥ-
195 tra(tr-ā)śantu vrittina-ekam Tīrumar-āhvayâḥ[ || 122*] Tīrurvântakaśântâ-ākhya[h*] Śrîvatsa-
196 s-ānvaya-samabhavaḥ | sûnûr-Varadarâja-sya yajñâh-ōtr-aika-vrittikaḥ[ || 123*] Saha-
197 saranâsma-bhaṭṭâ-ākhyâ Bhâradvâja-ānvayâ-ōdhbha(dhâ)vaḥ | Gomma-bhaṭṭa-sûtra-tr-aikâm
198 vrittina-śpñoti yajñâh[ || 124*] Appâdaññâlû-sûnu[h*] śrî Kaundînyâ-ānvaya-sam-
199 bhavaḥ | ardha-vrittina-śpñoti sômayâjî cha bahvrichâḥ[ || 125*] Timmayaṣâ-âtma-
200 ja[h*] ārînâm yajñauḥ Śauâk-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vrittina-śpñoti [Tr*]mma-
201 yō dhimâtaṇā varaḥ[ || 126*] Śrîvatsa-gotra-sambhûtas-Timmapasya-âtma-sam-
202 bhavaḥ | yâ(yâ)jushâ-ṇaṁta-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭ-ā)khyâ dhîmân s-ārdha-aika-vrittikaḥ[ || 127*] Yâju-
203 shâh Perumâl-bhaṭṭa-sânuḥ Kaundînyâ-gotra-jaḥ | ânûṭe-tra sa-påd-aika-
204 vrittina śrî Purushottamaḥ[ || 128*] Yâjuṣhâh Perumâl-bhaṭṭa-sânuḥ Kaundînya-got-
205 ra-jaḥ | sûris-Tîrumar-âbhikhyâ vrittî-dvayaṁ-śpñoti[ || 129*] Tâttā-bhaṭṭa-ta-
206 nûjâ[h*] Śrîvatsa-gotra-samudbhavaḥ | Nârâyanaṇâ-aṇa(trâ) s-ārdha-aika-vrittim-śpñô-
207 ti yajñauḥ[ || 130*] Nârîsinharâ-bhikṣitâ dhîmân-yajñauḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ | pâ-
208 dottra-sâvâr̥ṭ-vrittî[h*] śrî Timmâ-sâvâr̥ṭi-nândanaḥ[ || 131*] Lakahminârâ-âbhi-
209 khyâ yajñauḥ Śauâk-ānvayaḥ | pâ-ōtta-arâka-sâvâr̥ṭ-vrittî[h*] śrî Nârîyana-ta-
210 n-ōdhaṇaḥ[ || 132*] Sûrēs-Tîrumar-âkhyaṣa suṇû[h*] Śrîvatsa-gotra-jaḥ | Yâjuṣhô-
211 tra sa-påd-aika-vrittî[h*] śrî Purushottōttâ(tta)maḥ[ || 133*] Sûnûra-Mâdhava-bhaṭṭasya dhî-
212 mân-Āṭreya-gotra-jaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vrittim-atri-sâṭi yajvâ Tîrumar-
213 âhvayaḥ[ || 134*] Sûrēs-Tîrumar-âbhikhyâ sânuḥ Lakahmaṇa-nâmakâḥ | yâjuṣhô-
214 tra Bharadvâja-gotra-s-ārdha-dvi-vrittikaḥ[ || 135*] Śrî Nârâyana-bhaṭṭâ-ākhyaḥ
215 yajñuḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ | sûnûr-Nârîsinharâ-bhaṭṭasya dhîmân s-â-
216 rdha-dvi-vrittikaḥ[ || 136*] Lînganâ-ād花纹âñâḥ sūnu[h] Śāṇḍîya-ānvaya-samabhavaḥ[ || *]
217 yajñauḥ Nânîdâ-bhaṭṭâ-ākhya-s[û*]ris-s-ārdha-dvi-vrittikaḥ[ || 137*] Yâjuṣhô-tr-âvîva
218 Śâṇḍîyâ-gotra-Tîrumar-âhvayaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vrittikâ(ksh) dhîmân Lîn-

Sixth Plate, First Side

219 gaṇ-ādhaṁvânas-sutâḥ[ || 138*] Sûnu[h*] Śrîdharâ-bhaṭṭasya yajñuḥ Gautam-ānvayaḥ |
220 Malî-bhaṭṭa-śpñotâ vṛtti-dvayaḥ[|| 139*] pâda-samanva(nvî)lām(tam)[ || 139*] Dikshitaṁ-
221 Śimkâyâbhi-
222 khyâ yajñauḥ Kâśyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vrittikâ dhîmân Râmâ-bha-
223 ṭjasya nañdanaḥ[ || 140*] Bhâradvâja-ānvaya Śukhminârâ-bhāspâvayya-jaḥ | yā

1 The intended reading seems to be pâd-ōtta-syâs.
2 Read Tîrumar-âbhikṣya.
223 jūhā-tr-sānutē vr̥tti-dvayaṃ pādēṇa samyutam(tam) [[141*]] Sūnur-Bhairava-bhaṭṭa-sya yāju.
224 ehaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | sūris-Tirumal-ābhikhyo dhīmān s-ārdh-āika-vṛtti-
225 kaḥ [[]142*] Dhīmān(mān)a-Tirumal-ābhikhyas-Tippā-bhaṭṭasya naṁdahāḥ | s-ārdh-āika-
vr̥tti-
226 tiṃ-atre-aśiḥ yājukāḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ [[]143*] Śrī-Śrasi[m*]ha-bhaṭṭasya sūṇa[h*] Śrīva-
tus(a)gōtra-jaḥ | yājukāḥ-naṅta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo dhīmān s-ārdh-āika-vṛttikāḥ [] []144*]
Sūnu-
227 r-Aubhala-bhaṭṭasya yājukāḥ [Haṃcit-ānvayaḥ | sa-pādam-sānutē vr̥tti-dvaya[m*] Tīru-
228 mal-āhvayaḥ [[]145*] Sūnur-Śrīvīda(vīnda)-bhaṭṭasya yajvā Śrīvīda-nāmakāḥ | Bhaṛadvāj-āṅva-
229 yo vr̥tti-dvayaṃ-atre-aśiḥ yājukāḥ [[]146*] Sūra(rē)s-Tirumal-ākhyasya naṁdana[h*] Krishna-dikāhi-
230 taḥ | Bhaṛadvāj-āṅvayō vr̥tti-dvayaṃ-atre-aśiḥ yājukāḥ [] []147*] Lakhamīnāth-ātmajō
dhīmā.
231 n-yājukāḥ Kāṇava-gōtra-jaḥ | yajā(jivā) Tirumal-ābhikhyo vr̥tti-dvayaṃ-īh-sānutē [] []148*]
Na-
232 raharyā-āhvayaḥ yajvā yājukāḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ[h*] | Nāgaṇāth-ādhvar-īḍrasya naṁdaha-
233 nō-tr-āika-vṛttikāḥ [][]149*] Naras-ādhvaripas-sūnur-[Bhaṛadvāj-āṅvay-ādbhavaḥ | s-
ārdha-
234 dvi-vr̥ttikō yajvā yājukāḥ[h*] Ṛṛt-Janārdanah [[]150*] Kaunḍinya-gōtra-jas-sūṇa[h*]
ṛṛt-Ja-
235 nārdana-yajvanaḥ | Sūrvadhaṇī-nāmā cha yājukāḥ-tr-āika-vṛttikāḥ [[]151*] Śrī-Virūpā-
236 kaha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdahāḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | yājukāḥ-tr-sānutē vṛttim-ākāh
237 pādēṇa saṁyutāṃ(tam) [][]152*] Śrī-Śrīmanthā-bhaṭṭasya sūṇa[h*] Kōḍi(Kaunḍinya-
238 gōtra-
239 jaḥ | yājukāḥ Śrī-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttim-ākāṃ-īh-sānutē [][]153*] Sūnu[h*] Pū-
240 chohana-bhaṭṭasya yājukāḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājukāḥ(yajvāḥ) = tr- sa-pād-āika-[vr̥tti-
241 s-Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [][]154*] Kaunḍinya-gōtra-jō dhīmān [Sibhōj]jala-naṁda-
242 naḥ | Eḷala-bhaṭṭ-āhvayaḥ-tr-āikaṃ vṛttim-āpunā(pnōṭi) yājukāḥ [][]155*] Sūnur-
243 Liṅkāna-
244 bhaṭṭasya Vasishṭā(abh-āhvaya)-saṁbhavaḥ | dhīmān-Ovāṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahvrīchō-
245 tr-ai-

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244 ka-vṛttikāḥ [][]156*] Sūnur-Īla[k*]kaṇa-bhaṭṭasya yājukāḥ Kāṇava-ānvayaḥ | manthi
245 Čheṭi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo vṛttim-ākāṃ-īh-sānutē [][]157*] Rathītār-ānvajassūṇa(yas-sūṇa) Rudra-bhaṭṭasya yā-
246 junaḥ | s-ādai(rdha-ai)ka-vṛttim-atre-aśiḥ dhīmān-Allāla-nāmakāḥ [][]158*] Lakhamīnāpi nha-
nāmā ṛṛt-
247 Lakshmimarayanan(v-ś)tmaṭaḥ | Śrīvatasa-gūtra-jō vṛtti-dvayam-atrei-saiḥ bahvṛichha[ḥ] [|| 159*] Śūnu-
248 r-Viṣṭala-bhaṭṭasya Śā[r]*ḍīya-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | [ba*]ḥvṛichha-ṇahtta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtti-
dvayam-ih-śānutē [|| 160*]
249 Śa(vā)*śā[j]ḍīya-gūtra-sambhūto dhimān Viṣṭala-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | bahvṛichha Naṃsaṃh-aḥkhyō dhimān
250 s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 161*] Śūnu-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya Śā[r]*ḍīya-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | bahvṛichhaḥ Kṛṣṇa-bha-
251 tā-ākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-ih-śānutē [|| 162*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayas-Śūnu-Nārasiṃhahasya bahv-
ṛichha[ḥ | *] atra
252 dvi-vṛittika(ko) Raṅga[ḥ | *] ārmat-Tirumal-ābhavah [|| 163*] Pūtimāpā(śh-ā)nva vṛittih-
(dhū)to dhimān Mu-
253 dagal-ātmajah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-Āpnōti Vīṁṣu-bhaṭṭaṇa-[tra] bahvṛichha[ḥ [|| 164*] Vīṁṣu-
-bhaṭṭa-sūn]
254 tō vṛddha[ḥ | *] ārmat-Tirumal-ābhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-Ārṣṭya-gōtṛa Jaimini-sūtra-
255 kaḥ [|| 165*] Sūrē-Tirumal-ākhyasa Śūnu-Tirumal-ābhavaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvayo-tr-āikkān
256 vṛttiim-Āpnōti yājusḥah [|| 166*] Ārṣṭya-gōtra-jō dhimān-Annam-bhaṭṭasya nam[ndanaḥ | yā-
257 jūsaḥ Kasaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-śānutē (tō) [|| 167*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayas-Śūnu(nū) Rāmā-
258 bhaṭṭasya yājusḥah | manasha Basava-bhaṭṭaḥ vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-śānutē [|| 168*] Śrī-Jāma-
dal[nga]-Vatsaya[ḥ | *] Śrīraṅga........... [*] Basava-dīkṣitaḥ-tr-āikkān vṛttiim-āpnōti
259 bahvṛichhaḥ [|| 169*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-oḍh(dbhū)to Liṅgaṇu-bhaṭṭasya nam[ndanaḥ | yā-
260 jūsaḥ Pēdi-bha-
261 tā-ākhyō vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-śānutē [|| 170*]....... gōtra-sambhūto(dhū)to Rāmā-dīkṣita-
262 nāmaṇḍaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-āpnōti Tippā-bhaṭṭaḥ-stra yājusḥah [|| 171*] Bhāradvāj-ānva-
263 yō-naṁśaḥ[a]nāṅ gōtra-dhvarī | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiim-atrei-siṇu-Aubhala-ya[j]-
264 naḥ [|| 172*] Vasiṣṭha(ahtha)-gōtra-sambhūta[ḥ | *] Śrī-Vīrūpaya-nam[ndanaḥ | yājusẖū Vīrā-
265 bhābhi-
266 khyō vṛttiim-ēkām-ih-śānutē [|| 173*] Śūnu-Mārdha(dha)va-bhaṭṭasya yājusẖū(ahtha) Kāyap-ānvaya[ḥ | *]
267 Naraḥar-y-adhvarī dhimān vṛtti-dvayam-ih-śānutē [|| 174*] Śūnu-Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yāj-
268 saḥ Kāyap-ānvayaḥ | Annam-bhaṭṭ-āḥvayō dhimān(mān) vṛtti-dvayam-ih-śānutē [|| 175*] Kaṃṭhī[m(i)-
269 nya-gōtra-sambhūtaḥ-Tamā-bhaṭṭasya nam[ndanaḥ | Vēṇnaḥ-bhaṭṭ-āḥvayō-tr-ārdha-
vṛttiim-āpnōti
269 ti yājusẖah [|| 176*] Dhimān(mān) Lakṣaḥmaṇḍaś-ākhyō[ḥ | *] Śrī-Puraḥdaraḍḍa-jah | Vasiṣṭha(ahtha)-gō-
270 tra-jō vṛtti-dvayam-atre(ṣh-sai)ti yājusẖah [|| 177*] Vasiṣṭha(ahtha)-ānvaya-sambhūta[ḥ | *] Śrī-Puraḥdaraḍḍa-jah |
271 dvijō Hēbaṇḍaś-ākhyō yājuḥbō-trā dvi-vṛtti kaṭ [|| 178*] Sūnuḥ Kēshahasa(Kēṣa)va-bhaṭṭasya
272 yājuḥashākhaḥ Kājēyaṃ-ānvayaḥ | sūris=Tiṟumal-ābhikhyō vṛttiṃ=ēkam=iḥ-āsańska
(ānu)te [|| 179*]
273 Bhāraḍvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍā ḍhīmaṃ-Abbaras-āṃma(tma)jaḥ | atr=aiṅkām=āsḥṇute vṛttiṃ
[dhīma]-
274 ns-Ti(māṃsa-Timārasa(sā)ḥvayaḥ [|| 180*] Sūnuḥ Kēsavā-bhaṭṭasya sūris=Tiṟumal-
āhvayaḥ |

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275 Bhāraḍvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍā ḍhīmaṃ s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti kāḥ [|| 181*] Ahōbala-sudhas
276 sūnur=Bhāraḍvāj-ānvaya-ōṭbha(dbha)vaḥ | Kāṇḍā śrī-Narasimha-ākhyō dhīmaṃ s-ārdh-aika-
vṛtti kāḥ [|| 182*]
277 Viṇāmītar-ānvayaḥ sūnur=Yatiṃaṣaya bahvrichaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṃ-atri=ātiti dhīmaṃ
278 Vallaḥbāy-āhvayaḥ [|| 183*] Śrī-Narasimha-dāṣaṇya najīdnanaḥ Kāṣya(sya)p-ānvayaḥ |
Kāṇḍā-Chikkarśiṣiṃ-
279 h-ākhyō vṛtti-dvayaṃ-ih-āsñute [|| 184*] Sūnur=Nṛhari-dēvsya Bhāraḍvāj-ānvaya-ōṭbha-
(dbha)vaḥ | Śrī-
280 āṃsa-āhvayaḥ dhīmaṃ Kāṇḍā sa(sā)ṛdh-aika-vṛtti kāḥ [|| 185*] Bhāraḍvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍā-
Yatiṃaṣ-
281 yasaya najīdnanaḥ | atr=ārdha-vṛtti kō Hīrīya-Lē(La)khīnaṃrāyaṇ-āhvayaḥ [|| 186*] Kāṣ-
ya(sya)p-ānvayaḥ-
282 jāṃ Kāṇḍā Māchehirajasya najīdnanaḥ | vṛtti-dvayaṃ-ih=āpnoṭi Timmaḥō dhīmaṣṭāṃ
varāḥ [|| 187*] Śrī-
283 Vāraṇaśi-dēyā(va)yaḥ(sya) Kāṇḍā Kāṣyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | dhīmaṇ(patrō) Lēkaras-
ābhikhyas-[tri-p]-[ō] vṛtti-
284 m=ih-āsñute [|| 188*] Sūnur=Basavarājasya Kāṇḍā Gautama-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-
vṛttiṃ-atri=ātiti dhīma-
285 n=Basavāy-āhvayaḥ [|| 189*] Sūnu Chēhiś-Chīttamarājasya Kāṇḍā Kāṣyapa-gōtra-jaḥ |
vṛttiṃ-ēkāṃ-i-
286 h=āpnoṭi Kēndṇayō guṇināḥ varāḥ [|| 190*] Naiṇīdanaḥ(ns)=Chōdarajasya yājuḥbāḥ
Kāṣyap-ānvayaḥ |
287 manisī Chauṇḍay-ābhikhyō vṛttiṃ=ēkāṃ=iḥ-āsñute [|| 191*] Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ Kāṇḍā
Śrī-Vīru-
288 ppaya-naṉīdanaḥ | Chauṇḍayā-tr=āsṇute vṛttiṃ=ēkāṁ Vēda-vidāṁ varāḥ [|| 192*]
Śrī-Kāmgaṇān-ō
289 pēṭa-Vīsamītar-ānvaya-ōṭbha(dbha)vaḥ | bahvricho Nāgarāja[ḥ*] Śrī-Timmyā(yō)=tr=
aika-vṛtti-
290 kāḥ [|| 193*] Sūnu Chēhiś-Chīttamarājasya Vaśaṣṭā(th-ā)nvaya-sanbhavaḥ | bahvricho
Lōṅgaya-ābhikhyō-
291 vṛttiṃ=ēkāṃ=iḥ-āsñute [|| 194*] [Bhāraḍvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇḍā Vīrayasyā-stma-sanbhavaḥ |
atri=ai-


Seventh Plate, Second Side

313 sanbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṅkō dhīmān Āchchān-ity-sutra yājusahā ([212*] Namdanō Gumarā-
314 jasya yājusahā[ḥ]* Kauśika(k-ā)nvayaḥ | pād-ōttara(r-ai)ka-vṛttiḥ[ḥ] ātri-Krishṇa-bhaṭṭ-āhva-
315 yasas=sudhi [ḥ || 213*] Tāttā-bhaṭṭa-sutō dhīmān Śrivas-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ[ḥ] | yājusahō=tra sa-pād-aika-
316 vṛttiṅkō Nañḍa-nāmakāh (|| 214*) Kauṃḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ[je]=sūṇuh Krishṇa-bhaṭṭasa ya-
317 jushah | pād-ōttara-aika-vṛttiḥ[ḥ*] ātri-Kōnery-ākhyā mahī-suraḥ (|| 215*): Śūnur-Lakham-
318 nā-bhaṭṭasa ya Kauṃḍinya-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | sūnub[nu]=Tirumal-ābhikhyō yāju-
319 shō-tr-ārdha-vṛttikaḥ (|| 216*) Kauṃḍinya-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Lakhamānā-bha-
320 ṭā-jah | ardha-vṛttim=avāṃnōti Kōnery-ākhyō=tra yājusahā (|| 217*) Śrī-Nā-
321 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭasa nañḍanaḥ Kāśyapa-ānvayāḥ | Śrī-Nārajanā-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yā-
322 jushah=tr-ārdha-vṛttikaḥ (|| 218*) Kauṃḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ sūnur=Annabh-bhaṭṭasa ya-
323 jushah | dhīmān(mān)=Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛtti=dvayam=ih-āśnutē (|| 219*) Annabh-
324 bhaṭṭa-sutō=Chikkatimma-bhaṭṭō mahāmatiḥ | Kauṃḍinya-gōtra-jō-tr(tra)=kā[ṛn*]
325 vṛttim=āpṇōti yājusahā (|| 220*) Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ(ja)=sūnur=Annabh-bhaṭṭasa ya-
326 jushah | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-atra-aiti manahā Śrīdhār-ānvayaḥ (|| 221*) Śūnub Kā-
327 śava-bhaṭṭasa yājusāō Gārgya-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛttim-atra-aiti
328 Vēḍa-bhaṭṭō mahā-matiḥ (|| 222*) Śāṃḍilya-gōtra-sambhūtō dhīmān Gaur-
329 ājātmaḥ | dhīmānu(mān) Virupay-ābhikhyō yājusahō=tra tri-vṛtti-
330 kāḥ (|| 223*) Śūnub[N-*]=Nṛśimha-bhaṭṭasa yājusahā Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | aśnutē=tra sa-
331 pād-aika-vṛttihī Mēlama-dīhi(hā)taḥ (|| 224*): Yajvā Tirumal-ābhikhyāṃ-sāma-
332 gō Julu-nāṃdanaḥ | yājushō-tr-āśnutē vṛttimikā Harida(ṭa)-sānva-
333 yah (|| 225*): Vadhūla-gōtra-jaḥ sūnur=Allah-bhaṭṭasa yājusahā | bhū-surō=p-pa-
334 labhaṭṭ-ākhyah pāḍa-vṛttim=ih-āśnutē (|| 226*): Namdanō-nanta-bhaṭṭasa Ya-

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335 vats-ānvaya-sanbhavaḥ | dhīmān Lakshmuṁhar-ābhikhyō bahv[ṛ*]cōhā-
336 tra dvi-vṛttikaḥ (|| 227*): Śrīvā[ṛ]la(vata)-gōtra-sambhūtō-nanhta-bhaṭṭasa ya nan-
337 bahvichō Nārasīṁha-ākhyō vṛttim=ēkāṁ=ih-āśnutē (|| 223*): Śrī-Vīrūpākha- 
338 bhaṭṭasa nanhanā Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | yājushō=nanhta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛtti-dvay-
339 yam=ih-āśnutē (|| 229*): Śrī-Vīrūpākha-bhaṭṭasa sūnub Kauśik-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-
340 jushō Vallabhāyy-ākhyā(hya)=tri-pād-vṛttim=ih-āśnutē (|| 230*): Śrī-Rāmacandra-
341 ṭāsya sūnur-Harida(ṭa)-sānvayaḥ | Śrī-Nārajanā-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō-
342 tra dvi-vṛttikāḥ (|| 231*): Dīmān Bēḍadakōṭa-ātri-Rāmēśvara iti dvijaḥ |
343 pāḍ-ōna-vṛtti-yugmō-trā bahv[ṛ*]cō Harit-ānvayaḥ (|| 232*): Śūnub[nu]=Timmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-
344 sya yā-
344 jushah Kausik-śūnyāḥ | tri-pād-vṛttim-vih-āpnnā(pnō)ti Timmapō dhimatāṁ varaḥ
[233°]
345 Na[r]̄n*dan̄ Hari-bhāṭṭasya Pūtimāśāv-vāny-ādhw̄āḥ | bahvriḥaḥ Śrīnivās-ākhyō
346 vṛttim-vi-kām-āb-āsntē [234°] Śrī-Nārasi[r]̄n*ha-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō Viśvāmitr-āvayāḥ suta-
[h*]
347 sūrēs-Tīrumal-ākhyāya yājushō-stra dvi-vṛttikāh [235°] Viśvāmitr-āvayāya-sū-
348 nur-Nārasiṃhasya yājushāḥ | śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭo-stra dhimānu(mān) s-ārdh-aika-
349 vṛttikāh [236°] Sūnur-Gōvi[r]n*da-bhāṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-āvay-ādhw̄āḥ | bah[v*]richō-hō-
350 bal-ābhikhyō vṛtti-dvayam-āb-āsntē [237°] Śrī-Viśvanātha-bhāṭṭasya nāthda-
351 naḥ Kāṣya[ya*]p-āvayāḥ | yājushō Mādhvanāth-ākhyō vṛtti-dvayam-āb-āsnu-
352 tē [238°] Bah[v*]richō Nārasi[r]n*ah-ākhyō Nārāyaṇa-sudhī-sutaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vri-
353 ttm-astr-asti Pūtimāśāv-vāny-ādhw̄āḥ [239°] Vasishṭa[ha*]ṣa-gōtra-ja-sūnur-Nāra-
354 si[r]n*hasya bah[v*]richāḥ | manuḥi Viśnū-bhāṭṭ-ākhyō vṛttim-vi-kām-āb-
355 sntē [240°] Tammā-bhāṭṭo Bharadvāja-gōtra-jo [y]ja[hu*]jahas-sudhī | sūrēs-Tīru-
356 mal-ākhyāya sūnur-astr dvi-vṛttikāh [241°] Śrīvāt[ā]ja-gōtra[sa*]bhūti Nā-
357 gavō Gaṅga[y-ā*]tmajah | bah[vr]iḥchē-tr-āsntē vṛttim-vi-kām Vēda-vidāṁ varaḥ
[242°]
358 Kāṣya-aṅvayajah[ja*]sūnur-Annaḥ-bhāṭṭasya yājushah | Annaḥ-bhāṭṭ-āhva-
359 yō dhīmān ardhv-vṛttim-āb-āsntē [243°] Ātreyā-gōtra-sanah-
360 tō Lakṣmīnārāja[y*]p-ātmaḥ | Lakṣmīnātha-āvayō-tr-āikāṁ vṛttim-ā-
361 pnōti yājushah [244°] Man[ah] Kuppav-ābhikhyō yājushō Gautam-ā-
362 vāyāḥ | astr-āikām-āsntē vṛtti[r]n* Kaniya[ya*]rnālikka-bhāṭṭa-jaḥ [245°] Sū-
363 nuh[nu*]s-Tīrumalēsya Kauṁḍiny-āṅvay-saṅbhavaḥ | yājushah[ha*]sa-Ti-

_Eighth Plate, Second Side_

364 mmayō[ya-ā]bhikhyā(khyō) dhīmān-astr-ārdh-vṛttikāh [246°] Yājushō Varadaya-
365 sya sūnur Śrīvātissa(vatsa)-gōtra-jaḥ | Piṣay-ādi-pad-āpēśa-Perumā-
366 l-ārdha-vṛttikāh [247°] Yājushō Venkataḥḍhāḥ Perumā-bhāṭṭa-nāndanaḥ | pā-
367 d-ṭṭar-aikā-vṛtti[h*] Śrīvāt[as]gōtra-samudbhavaḥ [248°] Sānuḥ[nu*]s-Tīrumal-ākhyā-
368 sya sūrī[ri*]-Tīrumal-āṅvayaḥ | yāju[shō]s-tr sa-pād-āikā-vṛtti[h*] śrī-Kauśi-
369 k-āṅvayaḥ [249°] Yājushō Hastigiry-ākhyō Venkataṭṭappa-nāndanaḥ | aṣṇu-
370 tē-tr sa-pād-āikā-vṛttiḥ Harida(ta)-sāṅvaya[h*] [250°] Bhāradvāj-āṅvay-ōḍbhuṭō-saṅh-
371 nārāyaṇ-āṅvayaḥ | [y]ju[shō]-tra-tr-āikā-va-vṛtti[h*] śrī-Satī-ōpādhyāya-nāndanaḥ [251°] Sa-
372 ty-ōpādhyāya-asū(sū)nu[h*] śrī-Bhāradvāj-āṅvay-ōḍbhavaḥ | dhīmān Guru[va*]gμ(a-g-ā)-
373 bhikhyō yājushō-tr-āikā-vṛtti[kāh] [252°] Sānuḥ[nu*]s-Tīrumal-ākhyāya ajayanaḥ Kā-
374 āyap-āṅvayaḥ Tippā-bhāṭṭ-āṅvayō-tr-āikāṁ vṛttim-āpṇōti yājushaḥ [253°] Ba-
KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

Ninth Plate, First Side

375 hrīchō Basavā-bhaṭṭī(ṇ)a-sūnu[h*] Śrivatsa-gōtra-jaḥ [*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṁ-a-
376 tr-aiti Chittayō dhimatāṁ varaḥ [|| 254*] Dhīmān(māṁ) ṯ Timmaras-ābhikhyō ba-
377 hrīchē(ṇaḥ) Kāsyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛttiṁ-Ti(tthin Ti)mmarasō-tr-aikāṁ-aśnutē dharaṇī-surañ[|| 255*]

378 Naḥdānaḥ Sūrapayasya bahri(hvrī)chāḥ[h*] Kāsya(aṣa)p-ānvayaḥ | maniṣṭi Haride-
379 v-ākhyō vṛttiṁ-ekāṁ-ih-aśnute [|| 256*] Sūnu[h*] Śikari-bhaṭṭīsya Śrivat-
380 s-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | vṛttiṁ-ekāṁ-ih-ātrō(ṇ)ti yājushō(ṣa) Ōmbal-ādhvarī [|| 257*]
381 Kaunḍīnya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Ma[j]a[navojalu-nahdanaḥ(sutaḥ)] | Jalu-naḥdanaḥ¹A-
382 mmanavojuraltrai(lur-aikān vṛttiṁ-āpnōti yājushāḥ [|| 258*] Viśvamitr-ānv-
383 yaḥ sūnuḥ Puttrī-bhaṭṭīsya bahri(hvrī)chāḥ | ārī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭī(ṣa-
384 m-ekāṁ-ih-aśnute [|| 259*] Kāsyap-ānvaya-jaḥ[h*] sūnuḥ(nu)-Tippā-bhaṭṭīsya yājus-
385 ardha-vṛttiṁ-ih-āpnōti dhimā[n]ḥ[r*]=Tirumal-ānvayaḥ [|| 260*] Yājushaḥ Kasavā-
386 bhaṭṭa-naḥdanaḥ Kaukik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛttiṁ-ih-āpnōti La[ḥa]jy-ākhīyō
387 mahī-suraḥ [|| 261*] Naḥdanau(nō)-Dēvaṇayasya(ya) bahri(hvrī)cho Gautam-ānvayaḥ | vṛtti-
388 m-ekāṁ-ih-āpnōti maṇiṣṭi Śigayā(y-ō)dbhavaḥ [|| 262*] Maudgalāya-gōtra-saṁbhūtas-
389 tā|
390 tasyacchā[ryya]-naḥdanaḥ | bahri(hvrī)chas-Taṁmay-ābhikhyō vṛttiṁ-ekāṁ-ih-a-
391 anutaḥ(tō) [|| 263*] Naḥdana(nō) Basavayasya dhimān-Ātrēya-gōtra-jaḥ | bahri(hvrī)chas-
392 Naḥdānaḥ Harit-ānvayaḥ | Timmā-jyōtishikō vṛtti-dvayam=atr-aiti-
393 yājushāḥ [|| 265*] Sūnuḥ-Vāmana-bhaṭṭajya(ya) yājushō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | Ahōbal-ā-
394 bhidhānō-tra dhimānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṁgah(kaḥ) [|| 266*] Sūnuḥ-Vāmana-bhaṭṭāsya yāju-
395 shō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | ārī-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭīs-tra sūriḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛttiṁgah(kaḥ) [|| 267*]
396 hrīchō Jāmadagni-Śrība(va)ṭsa-gōtra-saṁudbhavaḥ [||*] Naḥdanaḥ Daṇḍara(Dēvara)-
397 mayō-tr-ārdhā-vṛttiṁkã[h][h* 268*] Baṅ(Ba)hrīchō Jāmadagni-Śrivatsa-gōtra-sa-
398 mdbhavaḥ [||*] na-
399 nādana(nō) Daṇḍaraṇaṣya Vaṛ(Va)ṁavā=tr-aika-vṛttiṁkã[|| 269*] Sūnuḥ Koṇḍamarāja-
399 sya Kāṅpāḥ Kaunḍīnya-gōtra-jaḥ [*] atri-aika-vṛttiṁkã[Pṛvyajāṁkaraṇī]
400 mahāmatiḥ [|| 270*] Kāsyap-ānvaya-jaḥ sūnuḥ-Līṅgā-bhaṭṭāsya bahri(hvrī)chāḥ | vṛtti-
401 m-ekāṁ-ih-āpnōti Timmapō dhimātā[n] varaḥ [|| 271*] Naṛ[n*]danō Nāgarājaṣya(ya) Sā[r*]dū-

1 The letters Jalu-naḥdanaḥ are redundant.
Epigraphia Indica

402 navya-samabhavah | ardha-vrittih=ih=apanoti Lokahmpat=ahvaya= andh
t=|S+nu=s=Tu=ru-

403 mal-ā[bhi*]khyō Bhāradvāj-ānvaya=ōdbhavah | dhīmān=Uṭṭaiyapābhikhyō yājūsho-
tr=ai-

404 vṛttikaḥ [[273*] Kauṁḍīnya-gōṭī(tra)-jaḥ sūnu=Ta[rh*]mā-bhaṭṭasya yājūsha=
dhīmānu(mān)a=T+ru-

405 mal-ābhikhyō vṛttih=ekām=ih=āsnutē [[274*] Šrīmatā-bhaṭṭasya yājūsha[ḥ*]

406 Kauśik-ānvaya= | manahī Va(Vajjā=ja)p-ābhikhyō vṛttih=ekām=ih=āsnutē(tē) [[275*]

407 Yājūshō-tru= Bhāradvāj(ja)-gōṭī=haubhala-paṇḍita= sa-ārdh-ai-

408 jātō Lakṣmaṇa-paṇḍita=trah | [[276*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya= Kāṇvaḥ(ṇva) sa=Timaya=
ätama-samabhavah |

409 atr=ai=ka(kā)m=āsnutē vṛttih[m*] Chēmnay-ākhyō mahi=suraḥ [[277*] Na[rh*]dāna= Kasa-
vaya=saṣyā= Šrīvatsa-ānv-

410 yā-samabhavah | bahṛ{(hṛv)cha}=Chanay-ābābhikhyō vṛttih=ekā[m=ī*]h=āsnutē [[278*]
Kauśik-ānvaya=s[a[rh*]bhu(bhū)tō
dhīmān(mān)-

411 Narāhary-ājja(rya)=naṁdāna= | Yajamājulur=atr=ai=ka=vṛttih=apnōti yājūsha= [[279*]
Sūnu-

412 ś-Chāmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvaya=ōdbhavah | yājūshō Gauri-bhaṭṭō(ṛṇī-ā)khyō
vṛttit-dvaya-

413 m=ih=āsnutē [[280*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya= sūnu=Hari-bhaṭṭasya yājūsha= | manahī
Śrīni-

414 vās-ākhyyō vṛttih=ekām=ih=ā(āvnu*)tē [[281*] Sūnu=Śrīvatsa-ānvaya= Timaya=
yahvaj(ṇva)nō=
hōbal-ādhv-

415 rī | Āṭreyē(ya)-gōtra=jō | vṛttih-trayam=atr=ai=ti yājūsha= | [[282*] Naṁdāna= Hari-

416 Bhāradvāj-ānvaya=ī(ṇ-ō)dbhava[ḥ*] | dhīmān(māns)=Timmaṣa-bhaṭṭākhyō yājūshō=tr=
ai=ka-vṛtt-

417 kaḥ [[283*] Bhāradvāj{j-ā}ānvaya=ōdbhuta=Chikkavāmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | yājūshō Lakkhaṁ=
ābhi-

418 khyō dhīmān s-ārdh-ai=ka-vṛttikah [[284*] Śṛi-Nārasimha-bhaṭṭākhyō(ṇva)=Chikkā=
chā(ṇa)-

Ninth Plate, Second Side

419 maṇa-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | yājūshō-tru= Bhāradvāj-gōtraḥ s-ārdh-ai=ka-vṛttikah[ḥ*] [[285*] Bhārad-
vāj-ānv-

420 yah Kāṇvas-Ti[rh*]mayasy=ätma-samabhavah | vṛttih=ekām=ih=āpnōti Virayō vidu-

421 shā[rh*] vara[ḥ*] [[286*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya=ḥ(ya) sūnu=Abbā-bhaṭṭasya yājūba=

422 khyō dhīmānd(a=mān) s-ārdh-ai=ka-vṛttikah [[287*] Kasyap-ānvaya-jō Hīryanara-

yyasyasa(yya-sa)mudbhavah |

1 Read prāṣiṇī.
No. 21] KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

433 याजुशास=तिरमाण-अभिक्षयो धिमान s-अर्ध-ाका-वृट्टिकाह [1280] Yājūshā Nā(Nā) rasi[tī[r]-ākhyo Rā-
434 मच्छात्[n]dra-सु[u]द्रि-सुताह | वा शिश्वta[si[sh]ta]-गोत्र-संभुतो धिमानु(मान) s-अर्ध-ाका-वृट्टिकाह [1289] Na[n]dannaḥ Kri-
425 शिल्पा-भात्तसया भारद्वाज-ानवय-ोध्भवः | तामता-भात्ताह-ानसय=त्रै-अर्ध[र]्म सृज्ञमिति अप्नोति याजु-
427 क्यो याजुशाह-त्रा द्वी-वृट्टिका [1271] नाधदनो देवराजसया चत्स्राता/तम्हरान्यमा-गोत्रा-जह |
428 बृद्धानर्तेन-अनुते(द्विज)० त्रै-अर्धा-वृट्टिमिति अप्नोति देवानाह [1273] Kauñचिन्यागोत्र-जह। चिन्का-रित-
429 तिरुमलाय-अतमाज़ धिमान(माः)= तिरुमलाय-अभिक्षयो(ह्य-अक्षयो) याजुशाहः त्रै-अर्धा-वृट्टिका [1272] [1280] [1289]
430 वासिष्ठता[श्री]-गोत्रा-संभु(bhū)टो धिमान[र]्म[०]=टिर्म]मार-अतमाज़ | वृत्तिम-द्वयमिति अप्नोति बह्र(व्री)चह Kri-
431 उष्ण-अवयाह [1274] श्री-विस्वानात्त-भात्तसया सुनुह। Kauñचिन्यागोत्र-जह | बह्री (व्री) चह बसवाभात्तो 
432 वृत्तिम-आकमाह-अनुतेह (तेत) [1275] श्री-विरुपाक्ष-भात्तसया नाधदनो हरित-अवययाह | याजुशाह-तिर्म
433 इ-अभिक्षयो वृत्तिम-आकमाह-अनुतेह [1276] सुनुह-गोविन्दा-भात्तसया श्री-जनेर्दन-दी(दी)किशिताह | भारा-
434 द्वै-अनसयद्वी-द्वयमिति सर-अस्तो याजुशाह [1277] सुनुह-गोविन्दा-भात्तसया भारद्वाज-अनसय-ोध्भवः |
435 वृत्तिम-द्रयमिति अप्नोति याजुशाह-चेनी-दीकिशिताह [ह] [1278] श्री-जनेर्दनायः याख
436 वृत्तिम-द्रयमिति सर-अस्तो याजुशास-तिर्माण-अवययाह [1279] श्री-रामकृष्ण-भात्तसया सुनुह-अ- 
437 तैस्त-गोत्रा-जह | याजुशाह त्रै-अस्तो याजुशास-तिर्माण-अवययाह [1280] श्री-रामकृष्ण-भात्तसया सुनुह-अ- 
438 भारद्वाज-अनसयद्वाय | बहर्णदी-द्वै-अनसयद्वाय वृत्तिम-आक्षमाह-अनुतेह [1281] श्री-जामदा-
439 वृत्तित-द्रयमिति अप्नोति याजुशास-तिर्माण-अवययाह [1282] श्री-रामकृष्ण-भात्तसया सुनुह-अ- 
440 तैस्त-गोत्रा-जह | याजुशाह त्रै-�स्तो याजुशास-तिर्माण-अवययाह [1283] श्री-रामकृष्ण-भात्तसया सुनुह-अ- 
441 तैस्त-गोत्रा-जह | याजुशाह त्रै-अस्तो याजुशास-तिर्माण-अवययाह [1284] श्री-रामकृष्ण-भात्तसया सुनुह-अ- 
442 नानता-भात्त-अक्षयो वृत्तिम-द्वयमिति अप्नोति [1285] श्री-रामचन्द्रा-भात्त-अक्षयो 
443 भारद्वाज-अनसय-ोध्भवः | याजुशाह त्रै-अस्तो वृत्तिम-द्वयमिति लक्ष्मण-बह- 
444 तैस्त-जह [1286] नाधदनो गोपिनाथसया सुनिर-हरिदात-सनसयाह | बहर्ण(व्री)चह
474. yājuṣha(ab) = tr-aiti s-ārdh-aika-vṛttī[r][m] Dādāri-nāmakaḥ [|| 326*] Naṃdanā(n) Bhānu-
475. bhaṭṭāsya yājuṣha Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | maniṣhī Raghunāth-ākhyā(khyā) vṛttī-dva-
476. yam-ih=aṅnutē [|| 337*] Śūnur-Mudgala-bhaṭṭāsya Pūtimā[ah]-ānvāy-ōdbhavaḥ | ba[hvri]-
477. chā(chō) Nāraśimh-ākhyō dhimāṇḍa(māṇ) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ka]ḥ [|| 328*] Śūn(Sū)nar=Gōpala-
478. bha-
476. tāsya Śrīvatsa-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | yājuṣha Nāraśimh-ākhyō vṛttī-dva-

Tenth Plate, Second Side

479. yam-ih=aṅnutē [|| 329*] Śūnur-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭāsya Śrīvatsa(ts)-ānvaya-sambhavaḥ | yā-
480. jushī-hōba-al-ābhikhyā dhimān-ātr-ārdh-aika-vṛttī[ka]ḥ [|| 330*] Naṃdanā Vīshṇu-bhaṭṭa-
481. sya bahvṛchāḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | āṭ-Nāraśimh-bhaṭṭo-tra dhimāṇḍa(māṇ) s-ārdh-aik-
482. ka-vṛtti[ka]ḥ [|| 331*] Śūnur-Ayyāli-bhaṭṭāsya Bhāradvāj-ānvāy-ōdbhavaḥ | Līṅgām-
483. bha-
483. tō-āhvaṇi=tr-āikān vṛttīm-āpnōti yājuṣhaḥ [|| 332*] Śāṃḍilya-gōtra-sa[m]bhum[c]ḥūṭē(taḥ) Sīh-
484. gavyasyā=stma-sambhavaḥ | āṭ-Rāṃkrishṇa-bhaṭṭā-ākhyē(khyō) yājuṣhī=tr-āika-vṛtti[ka]ḥ
[|| 333*]
485. Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ sūnus-Timmā-bhaṭṭāsya yājuṣhaḥ | maniṣhī Basavā-bha-
486. tō vṛttīm=ēkām-ih=aṅnutē [|| 334*] Naṃdanāḥ Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭāsya dhimāṇḍi(s-Ti)rumal-
487. ā-
487. havaṇaḥ | yājuṣha- = tr-āṅnutē vṛttīm=ēkān Kauṇḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ [|| 335*] Naṃdanāḥ Sū-
488. ri-bhaṭṭāsya Viśvāmitr-ānvāy-ōdbhavaḥ [!*] bahvṛchāḥ Dēva-ābhikhyā dhimā-
489. nda(m) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ka]ḥ [|| 336*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ sūnur=Līṅgā-bhaṭṭāsya yā-
489. jushaḥ |
490. [Kājmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvaṇā dhimāṇḍa(māṇ) vṛtti-dvayaṃ=ih=aṅnutē [|| 337*] Bhāradvāj-
491. ānvayaḥ
491. sūnur=Bhāṇudēvasya bahvṛchāḥ [!*] Lāvaṇāyā=tra pād-ōṇa-vṛtti-trayaṃ=ih=ā-
492. āṅnutē [|| 338*] Bahvṛchāḥ Bhāṇudēvārīya-sūnur-Dāṭāri-nāmakāḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvāy-ō-
493. dbhātē dhimāṇḍa(māṇ) s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti[ka]ḥ [|| 339*] Bhāṇudēvā[r]śya-sūn[ḥ]* āṭ-
494. Bhāradvāj-ā-
495. Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ[ḥ]

1 Better read "Lāvaṇāyā" for the sake of metre.
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EPGRAPHIA INDICA

500 yājushō-tr̥a dvi-vṛttikaḥ [|| 344*] Ātra(tr̥)ya-gōtra-jō Dēvarāja-bhāgavat-ātmajāḥ |
501 yājushaḥ Kṛishṇadās-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam-ih-āśnute [|| 345*] Nāthdanaḥ Kṛishṇadāsas(y)a
502 dhīmān-Ātra(tr̥)ya-gōtra-jah [[*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti-m-ātr̥-āiti yājushaḥ(sha)a-s-Timmap-ā- |
503 hava[a][h][|| 346*] Dāmūḍara[asya*] sūnu[h][*] Śrīvatae-gōtra(tr̥)-tra bahvrichaḥ |
504 s-ārdh-aika-vṛtti-
505 m-āpṇoti dhīmān Guruśirā(r̥)maṇiḥ [|| 347*] Sūrēḥ(r̥)-̆s-Tipu(r̥)maλ-ākhyasya sū-
506 nur-Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ | śrī-Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō-tr̥-aika-vṛttika[h][|| 348*]
507 Yājushō Giri-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Vārdaḥsv-ānvaya-saṃbhavaḥ [[*] Vā(Bā)bārāyaṇa-bha-
508 ṭasya sūnur-ātra dvi-vṛttika[h] [|| 349*] Yājushō Rāghuśāṭh-ākhyō Bādaraya-
509 na-bhaṭṭa-jah | Vārdaḥsva-gōtra-saṃbhūte(tō) vṛtti-dvayam-ih-āśnute [|| 350*] Ṛṣi-

Eleventh Plate

509 Tad=im=avam=vanipaga(ka)-vinatu(nuta)-dhar-āśasya Kṛishṇarāyaasya | śa-
510 sanam=suru-kavi-vaihavav-ivava-niḍānasya bhūrī-dānasya [|| 351*] Kri-
511 shāpadeva-mahārāya-sāsanāna Sabhāpati[ḥ*] | abhāṁhī(ṇīn)-mṛdu-saṇḍarbh[a][ni*]
512 tad=im=im=tāṃ(tā)mtra-sāsanath(nam) [|| 352*] Kṛishṇadāsva-mahārāya-sāsanā(nā)m=Mallāp-ā-
513 tmajah | tvasahṭa śrī-Viraṇ-āchārīyo vyalikha[t*] tāṃ(tā)mtra-sāsanath(nam) [|| 353*] Dā-
514 na-pālanypo-madhya dānāḥ=chh[t*]jeyō-nupālanath(nam) | dānāṭ-dvargam-a-
515 vāpnōti pālanād=achyutam padan(dam) [|| 354*] Svadattā[ṛ]-dvi-guṇam puṇyam para-da-
516 tt-anupālanath(nē) | paradatt-āpahāreṇa svadattam nishphalam bhava(vē) [|| 355*]
517 Svadattat(tā)yāḥ para-dattān vā yō harēta vasunḥharāṁ(rām) | shaśtiṣ̄-varsha-sahasra-
518 visṛt[ah:ḥ]yāḥ jyātē kṛim[īḥ*] [|| 356*] Ek=avita bhagine lōke sarvēhām=s̄va
519 bhū-bhujaḥ(jām) | na bhūjeyāḥ(jyā) na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasunḥhara [|| 357*] Sā-
520 māya=aḥ dharma-sūtra-nipāpāṇ kāle kāle pālanyō bhavadbhiḥ [[*]
521 sarvān=ētān=bhāvinah pā[ṛ*]thīv-emdrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmaḥchandraḥ [|| 358*]
522 Śrī-Viruptakṣa[ḥ*] [||[*]

1 This expression, as usual, is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters
No. 22—KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1147

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, JABALPUR

The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is engraved on a stone slab built into the wall of the sanctum of a temple dedicated to the god Nilakaṇṭha at Kālaṇjara. It is noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1935-36, pp. 93-94. It appears that Śiva in the form of Nilakaṇṭha was widely worshipped in the Chandālia dominions as temples dedicated to this deity are found both at Kālaṇjara and Ajayagār.

The inscription covers an area 2-1' long and 1-5' wide. It has in all 20 lines of writing and a short marginal note of four lines on the left side at the lower end of the main epigraph. As the stone slab is damaged on both the sides, a few letters in the beginning and at the end of some of the lines have been lost, yet the text of the main inscription can be almost fully restored. The marginal note is so badly damaged that very little can be read except the name of Vāsudeva in line 1.

The characters are of the 11th century A.D. The orthographical peculiarities are the doubling of the consonant following the superscript r and the use of the dental s for both the palatal ṣ and the lingual śh. The prīṣṭha, agra and .udhva maṃras are used to indicate the medial ṣ, ai, ो and au.

The Language is Sanskrit. It is in verse up to the 16th line and in prose from lines 16 to 20. There are some mistakes in the writing and they have been corrected either in the text or in footnotes.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a maṇḍapa for the temple of Nilakaṇṭha by Śrīmūrti, the guru of Kirtivarman. The donation of land measuring two ploughs was made at the time of the dhvajārāha ceremony, i.e. the opening ceremony of the maṇḍapa. Who donated the land is not clear. It may be Śrīradhā Rāma who built the maṇḍapa; but since the text is not complete and the marginal note consisting of that portion of the main text which had been by mistake left out by the scribe is very badly defaced, it is not possible to know the donor. As the name of Vāsudeva occurs in the marginal note, it is not also unlikely that he was the donor of the land.

The inscription opens with a salutation to Śiva. Verse 1 sings the praise of Śiva as the pillar of the world. In the second verse is praised Śrīmūrti, the guru (preceptor) of king Kirtivarman, as one who had attained the glory of knowledge by the favour of the pair of the lotus-like feet of Trinētra (Śiva). He is further described in the next two verses. It is stated that he built a beautiful maṇḍapa for the temple of the god Nilakaṇṭha at Kālaṇjara. The royal preceptor directed the chief of the royal śīkārayas, the Śaivas, the Pāṇḍavas and their gāhīya Vārika and others that

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1 For the description of the Nilakaṇṭha shrine and notices of inscriptions at Kālaṇjara, see Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. XXI, parts i and ii, pp. 32 ff.

2 [See below, p. 166, note 1—Ed.]

3 [See below, p. 164, note 1—Ed.]

4 [See below, p. 166, note 2—Ed.]
they should comply with the request of Vásudéva and allow him to enjoy the merit of his good deed, as by this compliance they will also earn a part of the merit.\footnote{1}

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Kiritivarman, who might be the Chandellá Kiritivarman, brother of Dēvavarman and son of Vijayapāla. It is dated Sāvat (V.S.) 1147, Māghasudi 7, Rāvati-nakhatra, which, if the year is taken as current, corresponds to Thursday, January 10, 1090 A.D.

The present inscription gives for Kiritivarman a date seven years earlier than the date, V.S. 1154, so far known for him from the Deogarh inscription. I have already suggested in this journal\footnote{2} that Kiritivarman ascended the throne sometime between 1061 and 1072 A.D. Recently Dr. Sircair has published an inscription\footnote{3} of the same king dated in V.S. 1132, which is fifteen years earlier than the date recorded in the present inscription. Kiritivarman ruled for a few years after 1098 A.D., his last known date from the Deogarh inscription. The earliest known date of his grandson Jayavarman falls in 1117 A.D.\footnote{4} Between the two ruled Sallakshaṇavarman,\footnote{5} son of Kiritivarman; but no record of his time has been discovered. This suggests that Sallakshaṇavarman had a short reign. He may have succeeded Kiritivarman about 1105 A.D. The inscription for the first time makes mention of the name of the guru of Kiritivarman and of his patronage to the Śāivas and the Pāṣupatas, two schools of Śaivism.

The praṣasti was composed by the Kāyastha Ṭhakkura Dēvapāla,\footnote{6} son of Payā, and the maṇḍapa was built by the sūtraṅkara Rāma, who is mentioned in another Kālaṅjara inscription dated 1131 A.D., when his son Rūpakāra Lāhaḍa made an image of Nilakaṇṭha.\footnote{7}

The scribe, who appears to have omitted a portion of the text which he later on incised in the marigā, has drawn the attention of the reader to it by adding a note at the end of the main record saying 'the wise will read the small inscription also'. The marginal note seems to state that the two ploughs of land were donated by Vásudéva.\footnote{8}

\footnote{1} If my reading of this portion of the text as gaṇākāraṇas-dāṇācā is correct, it seems that Vásudéva requested śrīmārtti for permission to donate two pots of water and gain the merit of this pious deed. The practice of setting up over the kingam, for the duration of the summer, of two pots of water from which water falls on the kingam drop by drop is not only common, but is regarded as a highly pious deed.

\footnote{2} The preceptor of king Kiritivarman is mentioned in verse 2 as śrī-mārtti which does not appear to be his personal name but looks like an honorific expression like ēri-mukha, ēri-hasta, ēri-çarupa, etc. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 304 ff.). His real name is given in his own speech, quoted in verses 5 ff., as Vásudéva. The passage śrīdeva Pāṇapata-dākṣyāma-sākṣa-prasāmākhā in verse 6 means 'the Śāivas headed by the Pāṇapata ākṣyāma and sākṣā, in which the sākṣā were 'temple superintendents' like the Pāṇḍita of today (cf. above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171, 173 ff.). The reading intended for what has been read gaṇākāra seems to be gaṇākāra, 'handful'.

The expression rāja-irīkṣaraṇa-dāhipāṇa in the same stanza means 'superintendents of the king's record department'. Vásudéva thus requests the royal officers and the local Śāivas to protect the maṇḍapa constructed by him. In verse 5, he prays for only that much merit for his pious deed as would accrue to a person dedicating two water-jars for providing for continuous ablation of a Śivalinga (cf. ibid., p. 235).—Ed.

\footnote{3} Above, Vol. XXX, p. 86.

\footnote{4} IBQ, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.

\footnote{5} Above, Vol. I, p. 139.

\footnote{6} Ibid., p. 198, v. 9 and p. 327, v. 4. His coins with the name Sallakshaṇavarman have been found.

\footnote{7} [See below, p. 165, note 4; p. 166, note 2.—Ed.]

\footnote{8} ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 34-55, Pl. X, C.

\footnote{9} [See below, p. 166, note 1.—Ed.]
[Metres: Verses 1, 3 and 4 Arya; verse 2 Vasantatilaka; verses 5-9 Anuṣṭubha.]

1. अः नमः सिद्धिवाय | गुर्जः यत्र पतिका हृदयपी तालमण्डिका यजः |

2. यत्र स्तुतिः प्रस(श)स्तिम्मूलस्तम्भ नमामि जगत: । [१*] स्वसिद्ध बिवर्च्युतपदे |

3. पश्चात्[शु]ग्रामसाधनक्रिया(श्रो)दातिन्ती(नी)यकीः । श्रीभु(पुु)लिः |

4. रिहर्मिल्वासम्बन्धवत्तु(रच)सारासारास्यवध(पञ्च)बिद्धविधिनु । थे । [२*] |

5. काव्यनरे पूर्ववया शिवगिम्बे मुक्तसंस्कर्ये येन । शन्यम[कारि] |

6. [शिव]रं देवमहीनकण्ठप्य । थ। [३*] उदारकेण कृतता रिपुहर्मिल्व(श्री) |

7. [बिजिता] संवरता । शीक्षक्तिवर्मनस्मेतस्म(श्री)श्या लेखनेत्येते सू(शु)पुत । |

8. [४*] [शु]कृमिवर्देशन सिल्लकण्ठक्य यत्तरमु । तैन संयुक्तवता(तो) श्री- |

9. [मन] वासुदेव सत्ताम[मृ]तः । थ [५*] तदेद्वदनमान्त्रा(ता) राजोदरकरण[न] |

10. [दिन-पातः] । से (श्री)वा पासु(पुु)पत्ता(ता)चार्यवार्तिन्मुखाक्षच थे । थ। [६*] |

11. पा(आ)चने वा- |

12. [शु]द्वष्टु पालनीया महामभिः । ले(श्री)यस्मां पालनाथं ॥ युं(य)स्मयस्म(श)- |

13. [भिनि] । थ। [७*] वृक्षो(ष्मी) महोक्तक्षूर्णां(ष्मी) यथा(स्तच) फलमवाप्ये । |

14. तत्त्वो- |

15. [श्री] [८*] जलम्मेलोदिये याववा- |

16. [दिन-पातः] । संवरत ११४७ माचमसे सु(शु)कपवे सु[मोमी(म्या)] ||

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1 [For this letter indicating the completion of a stanza, see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.—Ed.]

2 [Read 'दी'—Ed.]

3 [The name of the poet, responsible for the composition of the prasasti, appears to have been engraved in this stanza in Arya. The concluding part of the record may not have been composed by him.—Ed.]
17 राज्यान् रथीनकरण कायस्थकः
18 सुनहारा (र) रामेन्द्र (ग) मंडप (व) चतुरपिदे सतिति (त) इ(व) जाः
19 रोहिणि प्रतिस्थाप्तसादेः मुम्मी हनुमणे
20 लघु एव च सुर्धियां पद्माष्ट्रे

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1 The text is incomplete here, the verb being missing and also probably the name of the donor of the land. It seems that the portion of the text which was left out was inscribed as the marginal note. [What the author takes to be a marginal note may have formed part of a different record. The inscription seems to be complete in itself. See note 2 below.—Ed.]

2 This note apparently did not form part of the main text and was added later on. [The line, which no doubt forms a part of the original record, reads labdhām ita cha sarvadā padaśīyaṃ || tha]. The intended reading of the corrupt passage in lines 19-20 seems to be “rāpaṇārtham pratishṭārtham cha agra-prasūdaṁ bhūmi-hala-devayāṁ labdhām tathā cha sarvadā padaśīyaṃ, although the context appears to require a word like datāyaṁ instead of labdham. Lines 17-20 mean to say that, on the completion of the construction by the nāma Rāma, Kāyaśthā Dēvapāla granted, on the occasion of its installation ceremony, two hata measures of land for its maintenance. The expression agra-prasūda may mean the same thing as hala-trīṣṭi of the Kannada records.—Ed.]
In March 1938 a number of inscriptions in Brahmī characters were discovered by me at Bāndhogan in the former Rewa State in Vindhyā Pradesh. The epigraphs were found inscribed on the walls of artificial caves found in the neighbourhood of the hill fort of Bāndhogan.

Bāndhogan (23° 40' N, 81° 3' E.), the old capital of the Bāghelās, is situated in the south-east of the Rewa State in the Ramnagar Tahsil. It is about 22 miles from Umarī, the nearest railway station. Over fifty caves were discovered in this area, most of which are artificial. They are distributed over the low hills within a radius of 3 miles of Gopālpur, a small village at the foot of the fort. The village no longer exists and the only people that lived in the neighbourhood were found to be a few constables in charge of the fort. The forests of Bāndhogan are infested with wild animals and many of the caves are difficult of access. But for the interest taken and the facilities given by the Rewah Darbar it would have been impossible for me to reach many of these caves. Bāndhogan was reputed to be an ancient site; but very little was known about its early history. It was the early seat of the Bāghelās and the rulers of Rewah are known as Bāndhavnās or the lord of Bāndhogan (lit. 'lord of friends'). According to a tradition followed by the Rewah house no permission for visiting the fort area was ordinarily given to one who was not a subject of the State. Appreciating the difficulty that might arise in my offering personally to visit the place, I suggested, nearly two years before my visit, if somebody belonging to the State could be sent on a preliminary search. Accordingly, Head Constable Kesari Singh, who had spent 27 years of his service at Bāndhogan, was deputed by the Rewah Darbar to inspect the site and see what epigraphic materials were available. Kesari Singh spent over three months in this work and reported to have found a large number of caves. He also prepared eye-copies of any writing he could find in these, which were sent to me for examination.

At the very first glance at the eye-copies I was impressed with the antiquity and importance of the site. But as it was impossible to make much out of them, I requested the Darbar to grant me permission to visit the place. When my request was placed before His Highness Sir Gulab Singh, the late Maharaja of Rewah, who was well known for his advanced views and was always anxious to have the materials for the ancient history of Rewah properly studied, he readily granted the necessary permission as a special case. I was thus able to visit the place in March 1938. During my stay there I inspected all the caves that were reported to have contained some sort of writing and also most of those containing no inscriptions, particularly the bigger ones. These caves, or more appropriately rock-cut dwellings, are of different sizes. Many of them consist of one hall and one or two cells; but there are a few containing seven, eight or even nine cells. None of these, except two, now contains any carved images, while a third has some designs carved on pillars. Otherwise they are simple structures excavated in the rocks. As these are soft sandstone rocks, some of the caves and many of the inscriptions have suffered badly. It appears that the method of writing

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1. It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press. — Ed.
2. A detailed notice of these inscriptions was to be published by me in the An. Rep. A.S.I., 1938; but its printing was withheld as a war measure. They have been noticed by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148, note 2; by Miraśī, Vol. XXVI, p. 298; and by Motichandra, JNSI, Vol. II, p. 10, and ABOR, Vol. XXVII (1946), pp. 15 ff. [See also N. Hist. Ind. Peop., Vol. VI, pp. 41 ff.; Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. Macon over a and o has not been used in this article.—Ed.]
employed in these caves was first to engrave the record on the wall and then paint the letters with a kind of red pigment with a view to bringing out the letters clearly. The paint is still intact in a few of the inscriptions. The necessity of painting the letters is emphasized by the fact that the walls of the caves had not been always properly smoothed down before the engraving was done. The surface is so rough in some of the caves that it is difficult to read the inscriptions from the rock itself. Probably the inscriptions were first written on the rocks with a similar paint also before the engraving was done. This accounts for Cunningham's finding the Ginja hill inscription of Bhimasena in red paint which for some reason unknown to us was never engraved. In these caves I found also a few short records written in red or black paint which are now so badly obliterated that they defy all attempts at decipherment. Besides the inscriptions of historical importance which alone are considered here, some of the caves contain short records incised in them. Many of these are apparently pilgrims' records though the sense conveyed by them is not always clear. In two of the caves I found a few letters in shell characters beautifully carved.

The palaeography of these records shows some peculiar features. Though written within a short space of 50 years, the inscriptions offer several types of writing. The earliest record belonging to the year 51 of the time of Bhimasena shows early features; but in the others the letters show both archaic and more advanced forms. Inscription No. XI of the time of Bhațțadeva and dated in the year 90 is the typical example of the second category. The writing usually shows southern characteristics but in certain cases northern forms are also discernible. The vertical stroke of a and r is straight but also shows an occasional hook at the bottom, e.g. in Nos. I and IX. Initial s is found in Ujhasa (No. X). The vowel e is shown by a triangle with the base slanting upwards; but the base is straight in No. XI. The vertical bar of k is usually straight and the horizontal bar bent; but the latter is straight in No. XI. The letter kh has a large triangle at the base with a short hook above; but sometimes the base takes the form of a loop, e.g. in Rakhtikë and pakhe in No. IV. The letter g usually has a rounded top; but it is angular in No. I. The left vertical line of j is bent in the middle; but, in Nos. I and XI, the vertical and horizontal bars are all straight. Dh has narrow points and rounded back; but the back is sometimes angular, e.g. in dhämä (No. XI). P and b show a notch to the left; but the left horizontal limb is straight in Nos. I and XI. M has a triangular base, though in rare cases it is inclined to show a rounded form as in Chhamikasa and negamasa in No. VI, line 2. Y has usually a hook or a loop on the left. The right limb of l is usually bent to the left at the top; but it is straight in No. I, e.g., in Balamika (line 4). A second form of this letter is also found in No. VIII, corresponding to that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. H has also two forms, the usual one with a hook to the right and also, though rarely, another like the letter found in the inscription of Usavadäta, e.g. in Mähärvâja in No. VIII. Of the numerals, symbols for 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 50, 80 and 90 are found. The advanced form of the numeral 2 is noticed in No. IX, line 4, as against the earlier forms in Nos. VII and XVII. These few details will show that the script, as found in these records, partly shows features of the Kushana records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Khapraras of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D.

With the exception of Nos. XIV, XVIII and XIX which refer to Śivamagha and Vaiśravaṇa and are written in Sanskrit, the language of the remaining inscriptions is Prakrit. Sanskritisation is, however, noticed in a few instances in the Prakrit records; cf. śaráthka (No. III, line 4), siddha (Nos. IV-VI, IX, XVII), Chaktra (No. IV), and layana (No. XI). The main orthographical features noticed in the inscriptions in Prakrit are as follows: single consonants are used for double as usual in such inscriptions although doubling is noticed in bhâṭjâraka (Nos. VIII, IX), Bhâṭjâdeva

1 Cunningham, ASI, Vol. XXI, p. 119 and Plate No. XXX.
The group of the inscriptions speaks of three generations of kings. These kings are Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputa sīri-Bhīmasena (year 51), his son Mahārāja Kocchhiputa Bhaṭṭadeva (year 90). Of these rulers, so far only the name of Mahārāja Bhīmasena was known from the painted inscription of the year 52 on the Ginni hill in the Rewah State, situated at a distance of more than 100 miles towards the north-east of Bāndhagarh, as well as from a seal discovered during the excavations at Bhītā. The metronymic Vāsiṣṭhiputa is found in the Bāndhagarh inscription (No. I) and the Bhīra seal but not in the Ginni inscription. The present inscription offers the earliest date for this ruler as also valuable information about his son and grandson. It will also appear from our discussion below that the year 86 in the reign of Pothasiri was marked by a great activity, as this is the year during which many of the cave dwellings were excavated. Nos. VIII-IX of the year 86 record the donation of Magha or Madha who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of king Pothasiri and was the son of the Minister Chākora. Another cave (cf. No. X) likewise owed its existence to the munificence of a minister of the same king. With these preliminary remarks I shall now turn my attention to the inscriptions individually.

The earliest dated inscription (No. I) is found on the back wall of a rock-cut cave situated between the Ganesha Pahār and Rāmagirī at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Gopāl-pur by the side of a stream. The inscription, which is in 5 lines, was dated the 8th day of the 5th fortnight of Vārāhī of the year 51 in the reign of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputa (Vāsiṣṭhiputa) Bhīmasena and records the construction of a cave-dwelling by a guild of merchants including a goldsmith and an artisan(?).

In the Ganesh Pahār area, a group of five inscriptions engraved in five different caves contains more or less one and the same text (Nos. II-VII). All these records are dated the 5th day of the first fortnight of Hemanta of the year 86 in the reign of Mahārāja Kocchhiputa (Kantāputra) Pothasiri (Praukkhasiri) and record the construction of caves, the donation of a garden (ārāma) and a vessel (chagavara) by Rakhiṭika (Rakhisti), whose grandfather was a merchant of Kausāmbi, and by Chelā, son of a merchant, together with their sons. It is interesting to note that one of these is called the 'traders' cave' (sārthika) and another a manjapā (madhavya) cave and yet another a chhata cave which may mean an umbrella (chhaṭra) cave or a cave for the novices (chhaṭana).

[In many of the inscriptions (cf. Nos. VI-VII), n often has a form that closely resembles t. It is not impossible that the intended reading of what has been read as lāta or lāta is lāni or lāna from layanaka= lānas, layanaka= lāna. It is interesting to note that layana occurs in the same sense in No. XI.—Ed.]

[The reading of the name seems to be Chelā.—Ed.]
Another inscription (No. VII) found on the back wall of a cave situated in the same area is dated the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight of Hemanta of the year 88 and belongs to the reign of the same ruler Poṭhasiri. It records the excavation of a cave and a well by the merchant Gahavudhi whose grandfather was a merchant of Mathurā. He seems to have also given an endowment (nāpi, Skt. niśeṣa). Nearby are still visible the remains of a well (now partly filled up) which was dug into the solid rock.

Of the twelve Brāhmi inscriptions that I copied on the eastern and western sides of Gopālpur, the earliest (No. X) is dated the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of Grīṣma of the year 86 and belongs to the time of Poṭhasiri. It records the erection of a dwelling (ketana) and the excavation of a cave by the Minister (omala) Bhabāṭha.

Two caves about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and situated about 20 yards apart from each other bear an inscription each (Nos. VIII-IX). One is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Grīṣma of the year 86 and the other the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Hemanta of the same year. Both belong to the reign of Poṭhasiri and record the donation of two wells (vāpi), caves and a garden consisting of shrubs by the minister Magha or Māgha, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri and the son of the minister Chakora.

The inscription (No. XVII) next in chronological order is dated the 5th day of the second fortnight of the rainy season of the year 87 in the reign of the same ruler and records the excavation of a well (vāpi), cave-dwellings and also a gymnasion or hall for taking physical exercise (vāyamaśūla) by Pusa (Pusya) whose father was a merchant of Pavata (Parvata). Parvata as a place name occurs in the pillar inscription of Pratihāra Kakkuka of the Vikrama year 918. The commentary on the Sutta Nipāṭa also mentions a Pabbata-straṭha (Parvata-straṭha) in the centre of Videha-straṭha. But the place mentioned as Pavata in the inscriptions is possibly identical with Poṭa, noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Hsian Tsang. Parvata is also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 143). As it is included in the Taksāśāli-gaṇa, some scholars have located this tract in the Panjab. Whatever may be the case, the present record contains the earliest epigraphical reference to the place.

The next inscription (No. XI) is dated the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta of the year 90 and belongs to the reign of Mahārāja Bhāṭadeva. From the date 90 given in this record, which closely follows the period of Poṭhasiri, as well as from the two other fragmentary inscriptions noticed below, it can be surmised that he was the son and successor of Poṭhasiri. This inscription records the construction of a cave by a merchant. In a cave about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur, not far from the cave just referred to, are found two fragmentary inscriptions (Nos. XIII, A-B), one of which, containing traces of four lines, records the construction of caves for dwelling (ketana). There was a date in the second line, of which only the word pakhe is now faintly visible, the rest of the line having completely disappeared. Of the name of the ruler only Mahārāja-Poṭhasiri-puṭasa [Ko] is legible in the first line. Of the second inscription found on the back wall of this cave, only the portion containing Mahārāja Kasikuppeta siri-Bhāṭadeva is preserved. Though each of these inscriptions is fragmentary by itself, taken together they throw light on the genealogy of these rulers, because we can, as suggested above, surmise that this Mahārāja Kosikuppeta Bhāṭadeva was the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri.¹

The other rulers whose names are found at Bāndhogarh apparently did not belong to the line of Bhīmasena directly. There might have been some relationship between the two lines of rulers:

¹ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 32 and note.
³ [See p. 183, n. 2, below.—Ed.]
but what it was cannot be ascertained. About a mile to the west of Gopālpur, I came across a large cave containing a big hall and seven cells. On the back wall of this hall, on both sides of the door leading to the cells, was engraved an inscription (No. XIV), of which only a few letters now remain. Though fragmentary, this record is interesting as on the left side is legible Mahārāja-Śivamaghasya and on the right side nasa ima itāgrāhā. Unfortunately nothing more of the inscription is now preserved; but, from the little space left after maghasya on the right side, it would not be far wrong to assume that these caves were donated by the above named ruler himself. If there was any date, it is now completely effaced. We know of another inscription of this ruler from Kosam. Unfortunately the date is not preserved in this record also. That he belonged to the same line as Bhadramaghya of Kaśmīri, for whom we have now dates ranging from 81 to 88, there can be no doubt. But there is yet no direct evidence of their mutual relationship. We cannot even ascertain as to who was the earlier of the two. From the fact, however, that a seal of Śivamagha was found along with that of Bhimicesa in course of the excavations at Bhisā, it may be assumed that Śivamagha was the earlier.\(^2\)

Of great interest is also the fragmentary inscription (No. XVIII) found on the left wall of the verandah of a cave pertaining to this area. The verandah is now partly fallen and the inscription is badly damaged. Fortunately I found the same record also engraved on a rock (No. XIX), now lying near a nullah not far from Gopālpur. Evidently this rock once belonged to a cave, now difficult to identify, and must have fallen down the hill due to the ravages of weather. Though both these epigraphs are fragmentary, their texts can be completely restored by comparing the writing of the one with that of the other. Each of them records the construction of a cave by king (Rāja) Vaishāvāya who was the son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrābā. Some years ago, an inscription of a homonymous ruler was discovered near Kosam. It is dated the first day of the 7th fortnight of Grīhma of the year 107 and records the erection of an umbrella in the Purvasiddhyātana at Badarikārāma for worship of Lord Pitāmaha, i.e. the Buddha, by the merchant Māgha who was a lay disciple (ārākṣa) and whose grandfather was a merchant of Suktimiti. This inscription, however, does not mention anything about the father of Vaishāvāya while the two inscriptions from Bādhogarh clearly mention him as the son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrābā. It may be noted, however, that the Kosam inscription styles him Mahārāja while the two records from Bādhogarh refer to him as Rāja. Now, if the ruler mentioned in all the three records is identical, we have to assume that Vaishāvāya belonged to a collateral branch who, for some reason not known to us at present, succeeded a Magha ruler, his predecessor being perhaps Bhadramaghya. He may also be a different ruler belonging only to the Bādhogarh line.\(^4\) As I have pointed out elsewhere, Mahāsenāpati found in these inscriptions may have been a title of nobility and may not be taken in the literal sense of the chief commander of the army. It is just possible that Vaishāvāya who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title Rāja which he replaced at a later date by that of Mahārāja.\(^5\)

In two contiguous caves situated about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur were found three inscriptions (Nos. XV and XVI), one of them containing one epigraph and the other two inscriptions. These records are fragmentary by themselves; but, as they contain more or less the same text, the sense can be easily made out. They record the donation of caves, a well (nāpikā) and a garden by Phagru (Phalguni), son of the merchant Pusa (Pushya) who was an inhabitant of Pavata

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1 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 138, No. II.
2 ASR, AR, 1911-13, p. 51. For further discussion on the chronology of these rulers, see below, pp. 173 ff.
3 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.
4 See below, p. 176.
5 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 82, note.
6 [See below, p. 176 and note 3.—Ed.]
(Parvata). We have noticed before that an inscription belonging to year 87 of the reign of Poṭhasāri records a donation by one Pusa. Considering the fact that he also hailed from Parvata, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that he is identical with Pushya, the father of Phalgu, of the inscriptions under consideration. We know that, in the year 88, Poṭhasāri was still ruling, while in the year 90 we find his son Bhaṭṭādeva already installed as king. So the ruler in Phalgu's time should have been either Bhaṭṭādeva or his successor. Now in the first of the two caves mentioned above there is a fragmentary inscription (No. XV). Its writing exhibits larger characters and it starts from the south wall and is continued on the wall to the left containing the inscription of Phalgu. The beginning of this record seems to have been lost; but we can still read [Va]śiṣṭhīputasa siri-Chitāsenasa. From the way this name is recorded it appears to be that of a ruler and probably the date was continued in the next line which, along with the expression Mahārāja, at the beginning of the first line, is now missing. Since this cave was, according to the inscription found in it, excavated by Phalgu, it can bear only the name of the contemporary ruler. If our surmise is correct, then we may be almost certain that this Chitāsenas (Chitrasena) was the successor of Bhaṭṭādeva in the line of king Bhīmasena.

In the caves to the south-east of Gopālpur, I found three short records (No. XX, A-C). The walls bearing the records are not properly dressed, and the surface is too rough to ensure satisfactory decipherment of the records. All of them, however, bear one and the same text and seem to record that they were dwellings (kālam) dedicated by two persons named Bhoja and Bhojakapili. There is a date at the beginning of two of these records which seems to read 590 51-pa 1 di 5 sa, i.e. the 5th day of the first fortnight of Grīmha in the year 90. In the third record, the numeral after the day seems to be 6 instead of 5, other particulars of the date being the same. If my reading of the date is correct, the epigraphs would belong to the time of Poṭhasāri or his father Bhīmasena.

Now the problem that faces us is to find out whether these caves were religious or secular donations and if religious what was the religion of the donors and those who occupied them. That they were all religious donations, there can be no doubt. Expressions like dharmam (Skt. dharmanātha), 'for dharma', pujām vartat, 'let merit increase', dhamo vartat, 'let dharma increase', would clearly point to that. But the inscriptions are silent about what this religion was, and there is not even the slightest indication about that in any one of them. To make the position more difficult no images of any kind could be discovered in any of the caves or their surroundings and for a decision we are left to depend entirely on indirect evidence. Of the three principal religions of the time, viz. Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇism, the first, I think, can safely be ruled out. If the caves were Buddhistic donations one would expect to find some evidence in the records themselves and at least one or two of the caves should have been of the Chaitya type. That they may be Jaina also seems doubtful. None of the donors is called a śrāvaka or upāsaka, nor is there any mention of a teacher or Arhat as one would expect even in early Jain inscriptions. In one of the caves in the Gānesh Pahār are still visible two bas-reliefs. In one of these are found figures of several animals crowded together and on the adjoining wall is a short inscription which reads mūgava-selo, i.e. māgāvā-silā or 'the hill used as a hunting ground'. Apparently this was the label meant for the animal scene carved on the adjacent wall and it is hard to imagine a Jain religious establishment depicting such a scene. The other bas-relief in this cave shows a figure riding on an animal. The umbrella held over the head shows that the rider was meant to represent a king. On an adjacent pillar is found the name Jārāsandha. If this also is meant to be a label, one would expect a scene from the Mahābhārata depicted here. There are also a few figures on the outside wall of the same cave; but they are now defaced beyond recognition. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from these figures in relief is that these caves were
Brahmanical. I would even hazard a suggestion that the establishment was of Śaiva origin. Though there is no direct proof, this view receives support from the fact that in one of the caves belonging to the group lying from east to west, I found a small inscription (cf. No. XII) which clearly reads Śivahabatta(kta) and on the jamb of the first entrance to the left of the same cave are two clear cut letters reading Śiva. This cave contains seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters and also a few letters from nine inches to two feet in length in black paint. The characters belong to about the 4th century; but they are so badly effaced that no sense can be made of the record. It is true that the two short epigraphs referred to above are in slightly later characters and may be pilgrims' records bearing personal names. But the evidence of the painted inscriptions proves the existence of this cave at an earlier period and the fact remains that no Jaina or Buddhist would have such names or engrave such records in any of their religious establishments. I was first inclined to believe that at least the group of three caves found to the south-east of Gopālpur were of Jaina origin; but now I think that I was not justified in doing so. In one of them, on the right side of the first doorway, I found a partly effaced standing naked figure which I thought might be that of a Tirthāṇkara or Jaina saint; but it may very well be that of a Śaiva saint. If my assumption is correct, then these would be the earliest rock cut caves dedicated to Śiva worship. Before the discovery of these caves, the earliest and perhaps the only caves dedicated to Śiva were those at Udayagiri in Madhya Bharat, belonging to the time of Chandragupta II.¹

We have seen above that only three of the caves were directly donated by the two princes Śivamagha and Vaikravāna, three were gifts of two of the ministers of Poojaśrī, viz. Māgha and Bhābāṭha, and the rest came mostly from the merchant class. It, however, seems strange that there were no donations direct from Bhāmasena or any of his successors. There can be no doubt that these donors were also the followers of Śaivism. The seals of both Bhāmasena and Śivamagha discovered at Bhita show the representation of a bull on their obverse.² But it may be that the whole property which formed the establishment came originally from this line of rulers, probably from Bhāmasena himself, and there might have been other grants from them, of which we have no knowledge at present. The caves which were donated by ruling princes, royal officials and persons who hailed from places like Kausambi, Mathurā and Parvata, appear to have been used by the resident monks or ascetics for various purposes.

The records are dated from the year 51 to the year 90 of an unspecified era and various theories have been put forward as to the era to which they have to be referred. That the same era has been used in the inscriptions of the Magha rulers of Kausambi, there is no doubt. Of the latter, the following names of kings and years of their rule are known: Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śivamagha (date lost),³ Mahārāja Bhadramagha (years 81, 83, 86 and 87),⁴ Mahārāja Vaikravāna (year 107)⁵ and Mahārāja Bhīmavarman (years 130 and 139).⁶ D.R. Sahni, while editing the inscription of Bhadramagha, referred the years to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. and so did Sten Konow. Apart from other grave objections, the palaeography of these records would go against this theory as their script is of a period much earlier than that found in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. It was assumed by some that the Maghas came into power only after the

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 35.
² See below, pp. 176-77.
³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 129, No. II, and No. XIV below. For his seal from Bhita, see ASI, A.R., 1911-12, p. 51.
⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III (D. R. Sahni reads the date as 88). A recently discovered inscription from Kausambi has the date Mahārājāya bṛh. Bhadramgahaya 107(nam) saha 90 3 ut 1 di� 50 laya parvṣya.
⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 146 ff. and Pl., and Nos. XVIII and XIX below.
Kushāṇas lost their hold on the Kauśāṃbi region. So, in their opinion, an era had to be found which was later than the Kushāṇa era of 78 A.D. but earlier than the Gupta era. And the only era that would fit in would be the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. Moreover, the areas in which these inscriptions have been found were contiguous with the Kalachuris or were contiguous to the Kalachuri territories. D.R. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal and A. Ghosh were in favour of the Kalachuri era on palaeographic grounds. I found three lithic records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri in the fort at Bāndhogarh. They are small inscriptions referring to the setting up of rock-cut images of fish, tortoise and boar, obviously representing the three incarnations of Vishnū, by one Gollāka aśīs Gauḍa who was the son of Bhānu and a minister of Śrī-Yuvarāja. This ruler has undoubtedly to be identified with Yuvarāja I on palaeographic grounds and the inscriptions would therefore be the earliest records of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. But this family of rulers came into existence only about the last quarter of the ninth century with Kokkalla as the first ruler and very little is known of them before that date. It is doubtful if the Kalachuri-Chedi era could have been in vogue in Baghelkhand and the adjacent area in the age of the Maghas. But we have shown above that the script of the Bāndhogarh inscriptions is allied to that found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas and the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan. Though at first sight the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Maghas of Kauśāṃbi appears more developed than that of the Bāndhogarh records, there is no doubt that the era used in both the Magha and the Bāndhogarh records is the same. The reason why the script of the Bāndhogarh records, even in those which are almost contemporary with the Magha records, looks earlier is twofold. At Bāndhogarh, all the records are inscribed in caves and in the cave inscriptions particularly many of the archaic forms persist. Moreover, Bāndhogarh being out of the way, the script might not have been so developed as in Kauśāṃbi which was an important place and had better contacts with important cities like Mathurā and others.

There are other unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the era as the Gupta or the Kalachuri era. If we accept the era as the Gupta era in spite of the difficulties of palaeography, we have to assume that they were vassals of the Gupta rulers. Similarly, if we refer the dates to the Kalachuri era, the last three Magha rulers at least would be contemporaries of the Gupta emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Kauśāṃbi at the period was included in the Gupta empire and therefore these rulers of Kauśāṃbi must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Gupta monarchs. But there is no indication of this in any of the Magha records. Moreover, coins have been found of six Magha rulers, viz. Sivamagh, Bhadrāmagha, Vaiṣṇavaṇa and Bhimavarman, who are known from inscriptions, and also of Vijayāmagha and Śatamaghā whose inscriptions have not been discovered so far. This fact would indicate their independent status and therefore they cannot be taken as the vassals of either the Gupta or the Kalachuri rulers. This being the case, the only other era left to us is the Śāka era of 78 A.D. and let us examine the possibility of applying this era to the Magha records. This of course hinges on the initial date of the Kushāṇa era. If we accept that this era started in 78 A.D., as seems to be the opinion of the majority of scholars now, some of the years of the Magha rulers will fall within the reign of the Kushāṇa rulers Huvishka and Vāsudeva whose coins have been found at Kauśāṃbi. One would therefore think normally that the rule of these two Kushāṇa rulers also extended over Kauśāṃbi and that the Maghas were therefore subordinate to the Kushāṇas. But there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that this was the case. During the excavations at Bhīṣṭ, seals of Sivamaghā

1 JNSI, Vol. II (1940), pp. 95 ff. and Plate.
2 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 10-11.
3 Prish thārya, whose coins and seal have been discovered, had obviously nothing to do with Poṭhāsirī of Bāndhogarh. See Mirahsi, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 299 and n.2. [Prish thārya seems to be the misreading of what is really Prashthārya;--Ed.]
and Bhimasena were discovered along with other antiquities above the Maurya level and therefore Marshall placed them in the Kushāṇa period. The stratigraphic evidence supplied by the excavations at Kaushambi carried out by the Allahabad University gives us some interesting and more definite information. According to a brief report sent to me by Mr. G. R. Sharma on the position of the Kushāṇa antiquities, he found nine sub-periods of baked brick habitation at Kaushambi, commencing from I(a) and I(b) to VIII which is the last sub-period. He did not find any trace of Kushāṇa antiquity, coins or seals, up to sub-period IV. Sub-period V is the first stratum in which Mitra and Kushāṇa coins and Kushāṇa seals occur. Part of this period therefore seems to have been under the rule of the Mitras whose latest coins are those of Rajanimitra and Jyeṣṭhamitra.

Towards the later half of sub-period V, the Kushāṇas seem to have invaded Kaushambi, a seal of Kanishka bearing the legend Mahārājā-Rājātirāja Devaputra-Kanishkasya prayoge offering the earliest evidence. The coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva have been recovered from sub-period VI which has yielded also the coins of Neva and the Maghas. Sub-period VII has yielded coins of the Maghas only and to sub-period VIII belongs Puśvāṣṭri. The latest coins discovered after that period are those of Gaṇendra or Gaṇapatināga when the whole site seems to have been deserted. We know from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta that Gaṇapatināga, the Nāga ruler of Padmāvatī (near Narwar in the former Gwalior State), was one of the kings defeated by Samudragupta. Assuming therefore that Gaṇapatināga ruled between 325-330 A.D. it is difficult to compress all these presumably independent kings, viz. Puśvāṣṭri, the Magha rulers, Neva and the Kushāṇa kings from Kanishka onwards, within this period except on the assumption that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D. This gives another conclusive evidence against the use of the Kalachuri era in the Magha records as there would be a big gap of about 150 years between the Kushāṇa king Vasudeva, assuming that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D., and Bhadrāmagha whose earliest inscription is dated in the year 81. Even accepting that there might be one or two more rulers before Bhadrāmagha the gap would remain quite large. This gap would be even larger if the commencement of the Kushāṇa era is placed at an earlier date. The excavations at Kaushambi do not provide for this gap. The discovery of Kanishka’s seal would definitely show that Kaushambi came under Kushāṇa rule in the time of this king. But the discovery of the coins of Vasudeva creates some difficulty as it might be argued that Kaushambi was under the Kushāṇa rule during the reign of Bhadrāmagha. But we must not overlook one very significant fact that no inscription of Vasudeva has so far been discovered outside the Mathura region. On the face of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Kushāṇas had lost their hold over Kaushambi when the Maghas came into power. The discovery of Vasudeva’s coin at Kaushambi does not necessarily mean that this area was under his rule. The reason of this find may be that, though their rule was extinct, coins of the Kushāṇas were still used in the Kaushambi area for the purpose of trade side by side with the coins issued by the local Magha rulers. Such instances are not rare in the history of numismatics of ancient India. Even foreign coins like the Roman aurei were not only accepted but were popular currency in India for a long time not merely for its gold value but also for the facility of trade with the Roman world. If this view is accepted and the dates of the Magha inscriptions are referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D., there would neither be any overlapping nor any unreasonable gap between the Kushāṇa and the Magha rule over Kaushambi. The palaeography of the Magha inscriptions does not offer any insurmountable difficulty. Though at first sight the script of the Magha records looks later, Mirashi has already

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1 *ASI, AR, 1911-12, p. 51.* The legends on these seals read Mahārājasa Gaumathputrasa Śivamaghaṣya and [Rājās Vasudeva (Vasishṭha) purāṇa ātri-Bhimaseṇaṇaḷa. Jayaswal rightly identifies Bhimasena with the ruler mentioned in the Ginja inscription; but A. Ghosh rejects the theory on the ground of their different titles, viz. Rājāṇ and Mahārājā. See Ind. Cult., 1936, p. 170.

2 *[The correct reading of this name seems to be Pravasāṣṭri.—Ed.]*

shown\(^1\) that all the forms found in them may be traced in the Kushāṇa inscriptions also. I have also shown above why archaic forms appear in the Bândhogarh inscriptions. In the circumstances there is no other alternative but to accept the theory that both the Magha and the Bândhogarh inscriptions are dated in the Saka era of 78 A.D.\(^2\)

A few words may be said about the style of dating in these inscriptions. Whereas in the Kushāṇa records, the date is given in the year, the season and the day of the month, the Maghas and the Bândhogarh rulers use the system found in all other early inscriptions, namely, the year, the season and not the day of the month but the day of the fortnight.\(^3\)

Mirasī takes Bhīmasena of the Ginja record as belonging to the Magha dynasty.\(^4\) But the Bândhogarh inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kausāṃbi but was the father of Poṭhasirī of the Bândhogarh line. Inscription No. I which gives the titles and surname of Bhīmasena along with the date leaves no doubt as to his identification. Mirasī also identifies Vaiśravaṇa and Bhadrabāla of the Bândhogarh records respectively with Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) and Bhadramagha of the Kausāṃbi line of rulers. But in the Bândhogarh inscriptions Bhadrabāla is called only a Mahāsenāpati and Vaiśravaṇa a Rājan as against the title of Mahārāja for both the Magha rulers. The title of Mahāsenāpati in the early centuries before and after the Christian era did not necessarily designate a military rank but was often simply a title of nobility.\(^5\) The same may be the case with Bhadrabāla who might not have been an army commander of the Bândhogarh or the Magha rulers. Similarly Rājan Vaiśravaṇa of the Bândhogarh records seems to be different from the Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) of Kausāṃbi.\(^6\) The only puzzling feature is that the language of this record seems to be Sanskrit and not Prakrit like the other records from Bândhogarh. It appears to me that the Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla may have been the originator of the Bândhogarh line whose successor Vaiśravaṇa took the title of Rājan when the family gained more extensive power. He was succeeded by Bhīmasena who started with the same title, as his seal from Bhītā shows, but some time before 129 A.D. assumed the title of Mahārāja which was continued by all the rulers of the family so far known. According to this suggestion, the order of succession would be:

1. Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabāla.
2. Rājan Vaiśravaṇa.
3. Rājan (then Mahārāja) Bhīmasena (years 51, 52).
4. Mahārāja Poṭhasirī (years 86, 87, 88).
5. Mahārāja Bhāṭadeva (year 90).

The relationship of Vaiśhātiputa Chitasesa (Skt. Chitrasesa, No. XV) with this family, if any, is not certain.

A few words may be said about the religion of these rulers. The coins and seals of the Maghas show a bull on the obverse. In the Bhītā seal of Śivamagha there is an additional crescent below

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 ff.

\(^2\) [Of. Sel. Ins., 1942, p. 305.—Ed.]

\(^3\) The only instance I know of where the Kushāṇa system of dating has been used outside the Kushāṇa records is the Bodh Gayā inscription dated in the year 69 of an unspecified era. See Lüders' List, No. 949.


\(^5\) Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 52, note 8.

\(^6\) The suggestion regarding two Vaiśravaṇas, one a Rājan and the other a Mahārāja, seems to be unjustifiable. The Bândhogarh area appears to have formed a part of the dominions of the Kausāṃbi rulers. Cf. Hist. Cult. Ind. Pops., Vol. II, p. 178.—Ed.]
the neck of the bull. It is therefore likely that they were followers of Śaivism. But in the same seal there is also the figure of a woman with her right arm outstretched. That she represents a goddess there is little doubt, though her identity cannot be established. No coins of the Bändhogaṛa rulers are known; but in the Bhūtā seal of Bhūmasena the same figures are found, although they are transposed. In two of our inscriptions (Nos. VIII-IX) Mahārāja Poṭhasari is described as Bhāṭṭāraka-Hamavilāla(Hamā) in No. IX)-pariṣakha, i.e. protected by the lord Hamavilāla. Bhāṭṭāraka of course may be 'a king', 'a sage' or 'a god'. But on the analogy of similar expressions found in other inscriptions it has probably to be taken in the sense of a god. I cannot, however, identify this Hamavilāla or Hamavilāla with any deity, Śaiva or otherwise. The Chodī country had been a Śaiva stronghold all through the Kalachuri rule. We know very little of the history of Śaivism in this area at an earlier period. There is no indication in these records why the Śaiva establishments at Bändhogaṛa were abandoned. Probably after the Maghas and the Bändhogaṛa rulers there was no royal patronage and the religious establishments which received their attention and patronage gradually fell into bad days and were finally abandoned, until several centuries later a new line of Śaiva teachers was brought in and made to settle in the country under the patronage of the Kalachuri rulers.

Only five place names occur in the inscriptions from Bändhogaṛa. The location of Kauśāmbi (No. II, line 1, etc.) and Mathurā (No. VII, line 2) is well known while that of Pāvata or Parvata (Nos. XV and XVII) has already been discussed above. I cannot identify Vejabhāradha (No. I, line 3) and Sapatanairika (No. VII, line 2).

I edit the inscriptions from the estampages prepared by me in 1938.

I. Inscription of Bhūmasena, Year 51 (Plate I)

[In a cave between the Ganesh Pahār and the Rāmagiri hills.]

TEXT

1 Sīdhān [1] Mahārājasa Vāsīṇhipūtasa siri-Bhūmasena saavanačāre

2 ekapane 50 1 Vasa-pakhe pachame 5 divase āthame 8 ete pūruvace

3 lāta-ghara4 khanita gohihika(ke)li V[ebh VAROH]adha-negamo4 Phagusamaka negamo Mada

4 suvanakaro Balamito negamo Sivas[i]ko k[ā]hikār[ka]-kamāra Sak[o]

5 negama Cheti vanijako Sivadharo vanijako [Tiro] ]

1 AE, ASI, 1911-12. p. 51.
2 Cf., e.g., Bhāṭṭāraka-Mahāpāla-pariṣakha as the epithet of Chāntamāla in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions (above, Vol. XX, pp. 10 ff.). The word vilāla in the name of the deity means 'a cat'. He may have been a local cat-god like the tiger-god Dakṣiṇa-rayā of the Sundarbans.—Ed.]
4 The word lāta, with the variants lāṭa and lāṭa-ghara, has obviously been used in the sense of Skt. layana, Pkt. tera, 'a cave-shelter' though I cannot trace the word elsewhere. [cf. p. 169, note 4.—Ed.]
5 Vejabhāradha is obviously a place name which I cannot identify. The word negama may mean either a resident of a negama or city or a merchant and has been distinguished from vanijaka (Skt. suṣiṇī), a small trader.

The punctuation mark is indicated by a slightly slanting stroke.
TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 51, 8th day of the 5th fort-night of the rainy season (in the reign) of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputa (Vāsiṣṭhiputra) ari-Bhāmasena. On this day is excavated a cave-dwelling by the committee (guhaḥ) consisting of Phagusama, the merchant (n jana) of Vejabhāradha, the merchant Mada (Madra), the goldsmith Balamita (Balamitra), the merchant Śiva-saka (Śivasakra), the carpenter and blacksmith (kāśṭhakāri-karmāra) Saka (Śakra), the merchant Cheti, the trader (vaniκ) Sivadhara and the trader Tira.

II. Inscription (No. 1) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86

[On the back wall of Cave No. 1 in the Ganesha Paḥār.]

TEXT

1 [Sidhān] [1*] Mahā[rāj]aṣa Kochhiputasa P[o]hasirasa sa vakchhare cchāsīte 80 6
Hemarita-pakhe pathama[me] 1 dīvase pachham 5 etāyaṃ puruṣvayaṃ neṣa(ga)-
masa Kosamba[ba]yaṣa Cha[kaka]ṣa natikasa Phāguhastha[ka]ṣa

2 putasa Rakhitikā[ə] negamasa Chhamikasa [nati]kasa negamasa Datikasa putasa Chelie
etanaṃ doṁnam janāṇam sahīyaṃ putaka[ke]hi ārāmo lātāni chagavāro[ə] [cha] [1*]

3 dhamo vaḍhatu [1*] iya[ni] chhata-[lāṭā] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86, on the 5th day of the first fort-night of Hemanta (in the reign)
of Mahārāja Kochhiputa (Kautsiṇḍra) Poṭhasiri. On this day (the joint gifts) of Rakhitika
(Rakshita), the grandson of Chakaka (Chakra), a merchant (nagama) from Kosambi (Kauṣambi)
and the son of Phāguhastha (Phalgulaṭaṇḍa), and of Chelai, the grandson of the merchant
Chhamikasa (Kahamin) and the son of the merchant Datikasa (Datti)—of these two persons with their
sons—are a garden, cave-dwellings and a vessel. May piety increase. This is the Chhasa cave.

III. Inscription (No. 2) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86

[In Cave No. 2 in the Ganesha Paḥār.]

TEXT

1 Sidhan [1*] Mahā[rāj]aṣa Kochhiputasa P[o]hasirasa sa vakchhare cchāsīte 80 6
Hemarita-pakhe pathama[me] 1 dīvase pachham 5 etāyaṃ puruṣvayaṃ

2 Kosamba āraṃsa negama Cha[kaka]ṣa natikasa Phāguhastha-putasa Rakhitikā[ə] negamasa
Chhamikasa natikasa negamasa

1 Read Rakhitikasa (also in Nos. III, IV and VI) as in No. V and Chhasta. [cf. p. 169, note 2.—Ed.]
2 Same as Pāli chaṭṭaphaṇa meaning a hollow vessel, a bowl or a cask.
3 See above, p. 169.
No. 23] BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH 179


4 iyaṁ sā[rthi]ka-lāta 1

IV. Inscription (No. 3) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate I) 
In Cave No. 3 in the Ganesh Pahār.

TEXT 
1 Siddham ["] Mahārājasa Kochh[putasa] Poṭhasir[isa] savachhare chhāsita 80 6 Hema[rnta-pahke patham[ə] 1 divase pa[chaj].

2 me 5 et(a)yaṁ puruvāyaṁ Kosambyassā [negama]sa Chakrakasa natikasa Phaguhathikasa putasa Rakhitikā negama[sa] [Chhamikasa natikasa].


4 ima [ya] chha[tu] ["*] ["*] 

V. Fragmentary Inscription (No. 4) of Poṭhasiri 
In Cave No. 4 in the Ganesh Pahār.

TEXT 
1 Siddham ["] Mahārājasa Ko[chh]putasa [Po[sa]sir[sa]] ......[pa*]−

2 cha[me] 5 etānam puruvāyaṁ Kosambyassā ..........[kasa pu]−

3 tasa Rakhitikasa negama[sa] Chhamikasa[sa]...........[Che]−

4 lāe etānam dona janānāṁ sahiya putakehi .... lātā ..........iyah

5 .... tā ma[dḥa]va-[lātā] ["*] ["*]

VI. Inscription (No. 5) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate II) 
[On the back wall of Cave No. 5 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

1 The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke. The last sentence may be translated as 'This is the merchants' (sārthika) cave'. The rest of the text is similar to that of No. II.

2 The last four letters are not clear. The first letter may be ḍi and the second ḍa or pa. Obviously this portion contained the name of the cave. The text of this inscription is similar to that of Nos. II-III. [The reading of the last line seems to be ma dipayate.—Ed.]

3 This inscription apparently contained the same text as Nos. II-IV and VI. The last line gives the name of the cave as maḍārava which probably stands for Skt. maḍāpo, meaning 'a hall'.
TEXT

1 Siddham1 || Mahārājasā Kochhiputasa Pothasirisā savavchhāre chāñite 80 6
   Kosaṇbeyasa nega[mā]sā Cha[ka]jāasā4 natikasa Phaguha-


3 cha [/*] dhamo vadhathu [/*] iyaḥ chha[ta-latā] [/*]

VII. Inscription (No. 6) of Pothasiri, Year 88 (Plate II)

[On the right of the back wall of Cave No. 9 in the Ganesha Pāhār.]

TEXT

1 Sidham [/*] Mahārājājasa Kochhiputasa Pothasirisā savavchhāre atīhaśite 80 8
   Hemaritä-pakhe bitiye 2 divase pachāme 5 etāyaḥ[ū] puru[vayaḥ]

2 v[a]njakasa Māthurakasa Jīvanakasa paut[t]r[ena] [Su]hitasa put[t]r[ena] Sapatanairika-
   vatavāna vānijakena Gahavudhi[ū]ṁ āmā dhamacharāṇā [lā]tā

3 kūpi cha khāniṭā [/*] priyat[a]ṭ[ū] bhagavā [/*] dhamo punya cha iha cha me puṇya[ū]
   vardhatu [/*] sathasariro cha ānina-mānasā nivi ditā[/*] dhamo [likha]ti [/*] yo miye

4 mamā vā putexi ana[pehi] śatehi kupi ghaṭika raju cha daraḥ sodheya cha tasa ya kụpe
   phala[ū] tato adhaṁ an[u]maṇṇati yena khāniṭā [/*]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 88, 5th day of the second fortnight of Hemanta (in the reign)
of Mahārājā Kochhiputa Pothasiri. On this day these cave-shelters and a well, which constitute
a pious act, are excavated by the merchant (suṣṭikā) Gahavudhi who is a resident of
Sapatanairika and the grandson of Jivanakot, a merchant of Mathurā, and the son of
Suhitā. May the lord be pleased. May piety and merit and my (own) merit in this world increase.
This endowment I have given (while) in perfect health and undivided (ananyā) mind. This act
of merit is put in writing. Whatever has been given by me or by my progeny, numerous and
excellent (āstā), the well, the water vessel (ghaṭīkā) and rope and also the dwelling (saudhēya),
(of these) whatever may be the merit (accruing from) the well, half of it goes to
whoever dug (the well).

1 Final m is indicated by writing it below the line in smaller size. The double daṇḍa after Siddham is followed
   by a symbol which may possibly be regarded as the covering stroke of the final m.
2 This m which was omitted at first due to oversight is supplied above the line in a smaller shape.
3 The letters are lost due to the stone having peeled off.
4 This looks like sā on the impressions.
5 The portion within the square brackets is broken and lost.
6 [In some cases t and a are written alike. The same is the case with No. VI (cf. janānā in line 2).—Ed.]
7 [The context requires sarivaṇa and mānasā.—Ed.]
VIII. Inscription (No. 7) of Pothisiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 3 of a group of caves lying from east to west about a mile to the west of Gopālpur.]

TEXT

1 Siddhaḥ [^[*]*] Bhāṭāraka-Hamāvīlā-parig[hitaj][a] mahāraja-Bhimasa[na]-putasa mahāraja Kochh[pu]tasa Pothisiris

2 sa[r]vachhare chhāśte 80 6 Gimha-pakhe satame 7 divase 10 etāyaḥ puruvāyaḥ mahāraja-Pothisiris

3 samahivigah-vāvatena amacha-Chakora-putena amacha-Maghena dhama-nimita vā[pl]yo khāṇītya[ ] 2

4 lātā-gharā be jha[ti]mayo ārāmo cha [^[*]*] pu[n]yaṃ var[adoop] [^[]]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86, 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Grīshma (in the reign) of Mahāraja Kochhiputa Pothisiri, son of Mahāraja Bhimasaṇa and protected by the god Hamāvīlā. On this day, are caused to be excavated for religious merit by the minister (amāya) Magna who is the son of the minister Chakora and is employed (to hold) the office of the Foreign Affairs (lit. in charge of Peace and War), 2 wells, 2 cave-shelters and a garden containing shrubs. May merit prosper.

IX. Inscription (No. 8) of Pothisiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of the hall of Cave No. 4, about 50 steps to the east of Cave No. 3 (cf. No. VII)].

TEXT

1 Siddhaḥ [^[*]*] Bhāṭāraka-Hamāvīlā-parigahitasa mahāraja-Bhimasaṇa[na]-putasa mahāraja Kochhiputasa

2 Pothisiris sa[r]vachhare chhāśte 80 6 Hemanhta-pakhe satame 7 divase dasama[ ] 10 etāṃ puru-
vāḥ mahāraja-Pothisiris saṃdhi-vigah-vāvatena [^[*]*]... puteṣa amacheṣa Māgheṣa dha-
mātha

4 khā[pi]ta 2 vavi 2 ārāma lātā-gharā cha [^[*]*] pu[n]yaṃ varddhat[^[*]u] [^[*]*]

---

1 In cave No. 1, which is near the road, there are a few letters visible on the wall. In cave No. 2 in this area, there is writing on the wall in two places and several short records which are no longer legible, except one which reads bāṭakara, probably the same as bāṭachārī, an epithet of Śiva.

2 A few letters are visible on two pillars; but they are quite illegible. There is a reservoir, now completely filled up, in front of the cave which is evidently one of the two mentioned in the inscription. This cave consists of only one big hall and there are no cells attached.

3 These letters have been destroyed due to the subsequent cutting of an alcove which has also damaged the last asha of line 4. Read amacha-Chakora as in No. VIII.

4 This figure is joined with the preceding letter.

5 The text is almost similar to that of No. VIII.
X. Inscription (No. 9) of Pothisiri, Year 86 (Plate II)

[On the back wall of a big hall in Cave No. 7, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur and south of Cave No. 6.]

TEXT

1 Siddhaṃ [[[*] Mahārājaśa Kochhiputana Pothasirasa sarvavachare 80 6 Gi-pa 6(?) diva 10]*

2 etiya puruṣayya negamasa Ujhasa putena amacha-Bhabāghena ketana-latāghara kārasi(iti) [\[\[**\]] dhamo vadhatu [\[\[**\]]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 86 on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of Summer. On this day has been caused to be constructed by the minister Bhāttha, son of the merchant (negama) Ujha, a cave-shelter for dwelling. May piety prosper.

XI. Inscription of Bhaṭṭadeva, Year 90 (Plate III)

[Commencing on the back wall and continued to the right wall of the hall in Cave No. 5.]*

TEXT

Back wall:

Sidhaṃ [[[*] Mahārājaśa Bhāṭṭa]devasa sarvavachare navate 90 Hemantra\[\[pakhan\] padhame 1 divase padhame 1 ete puruṣaye negamasa Ajñātakasa\[\[natikena Vesākha\[\[putena nega]mera Dhanamitakena

Right wall:

[lajyo(ya)na kārita] [\[**\]] dhamo vadhatu [\[\[**\]]

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 90 on the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta (of the sign) of Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva. On this day has been constructed by the merchant (negama) Dhanamitaka (Dhanamitra), the grandson of the merchant (negama) Ajñātaka and the son of Vesākha (Vaiśākha), a cave-shelter. May piety prosper.

\[1\] The medial t sign is not deeply engraved.
\[2\] Unlike the other inscriptions of this ruler, the details of the date are given only in figures and not both in words and numerical figures. For the season and the fortnight, only abbreviations have been used.
\[3\] The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke.
\[4\] There is a cell to the left. There was another cave at a distance of above 20 yards from this cave, the roof of which has fallen and there is now no indication if it originally contained any inscription.
\[5\] The reading seems to be Bhaṭṭa here and not Bhāttha. Cf. d in dīnasa, which is quite different.
\[6\] The anusvara is shown in red paint and was not engraved through oversight.
\[7\] The sign of medial a in jā is engraved on top of the conjunct letter. There is a chisel-mark on ks making it look like kṣ on the impressions.
\[8\] It appears that re was engraved first and then corrected into re with the result that the syllable looks like vo.
\[9\] There is also a chisel-marks on re making it look like re. The rock in this cave is very rough and there are numerous chisel-marks which give the impression of vowel sign on the impressions.
There is no Brahmi inscription in this cave which consists of only one hall. There are, however, seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters engraved at the right end of the back wall. There are also letters written in black paint varying from 9 inches to two feet in size, which are now practically effaced. A late inscription is engraved along the wall, partly cutting the letters written in black paint. In one place, however, the word Śrīghatka(kta) can be clearly read and in another the word putasa. There are a few other small epigraphs, now illegible, which seem to have been only pilgrims' records. On the jamb of the first entrance to the left, the letters Śīva are clear. There is no record of any historical importance, nor any image. The small records are, however, valuable in that they clearly indicate the Śaivite association of the place. The hall may have been only a resting place for the pilgrims visiting the caves in the vicinity.

XIII. Inscriptions of Bhūṭadēva (Plate III)

[In cave No. 8, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur. There are two inscriptions, here marked A and B, both badly mutilated. A is on the back wall and B on the left wall.]

TEXT

A²

1 [Śi²]dha [¹] Mahārāja-Poṭhasiriputasa [Ko]..........................  
2 .................... [pa³]kehe....  
3 [etā³]ja puruvāya Vasumitaka-natt[i]kasa..........................  
4 ..................... ketana-dhamachara[ṇā] l[a³]-[ṛ]-ghara khānita [punyabh]........

B

1 Mahārājasa Koṣikiputasa sri-Bhūṭadēvaḥ...........................

TRANSLATION

A

Success: On ........................................fortnight (of the reign) of ....................... son of Poṭhasiri. On this day, by ........... the grandson of Vasumita.........., has been excavated a cave-shelter for dwelling as a measure of piety. May merit increase.

B

The illustrious Mahārāja Bhūṭadēva, the son of Koṣiki..........
XIV. Inscriptions in Cave No. 9 (Plate IV)

This cave lies about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and consists of seven cells and a hall. On the north wall of the hall, on two sides of a doorway are the remains of an inscription. On the left side only MahārājaŚivamgha[ya] is clear. On the right side 6 to 8 letters at the beginning are missing altogether while 6 more letters following this portion are not clear. Thereafter comes the concluding portion of the record which reads: naevā imā lā[tā]-gha[rā]khā. It is a pity that the inscribed portion after the name of the ruler is lost as it would have not only given a date for the ruler but might have thrown some light on his relationship with the rulers of Bhāmasena's line. It also seems from the record that there were originally 8 cells which along with the hall made a total of 9 as indicated in the inscription.

XV. Inscription of Chitasena (Plate IV)

[In Cave No. 10, about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur. There are remains of an inscription on the left wall starting from the wall in the south.]

TEXT

South wall:
1 [Vāsiṭhīputasa

Left wall:

TRANSLATION

(During the time of) Vāsiṭhīputa (Vāsiṣṭhīputra), the illustrious Chitasena, (these) cave-dwellings are excavated by the trader Phaguna (Phalgun), the son of Pusaka (Pushya) and a resident of Pavata (Parvata).

XVI. Inscriptions in Cave No. 11 (Plate IV)

[There are two inscriptions marked here as A and B, both badly damaged, in the cells to the left and right respectively.]

TEXT

A

1 ........ [Pusa]ka-putena Phaguna [lā[tā]-ghara khānāpita] [**] puna vadhatu [**]
2 vas[p]i[kā]r[ā]m[o] [cha] [**]

---

1 There are a few letters of large size below the inscription on the left wall and also on the back and right walls; but they are not clear and no sense can be made out of them.
2 Supplied on the basis of No. XVI.
3 The second line of the inscription engraved in continuation on the south and left walls is completely worn out.
4 [It is difficult to take Chitasena as a king unless it is supposed that the date before the name or an expression like rājya after it is omitted.—Ed.]
5 Cf. No. XV.
6 The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.
1. [Posaka]-putena Phaguna [lā]tā-gharah k'īiaśpīṭā [||*] pūṇa va ītād ||

TRANSLATION

A

These cave-dwellings have been caused to be excavated by Phagu, the son of Pusaka (who donated) also a small tank and a garden. May merit increase.

XVII. Inscription (No. 10) of Pothasiri, Year 87 (Plate IV)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 12 which is partly ruined.]

TEXT

1 [S]jiddham ||2 Mahā[r]ājasā Kochhiputasa Pothasirisa sarhva 80 7 Vāsa-pha 2 diva 5
2 etā puṇvāe Pavata-vathavasa negamasa Āyāsaka-putasa
3 Pusasa vāpi lātā-gharo vāyama-sālā chā [||*] dhama vaśhatu ||

TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 87, 5th day of the second fortnight of Varṣaḥ (in the reign of Kochhiputa (Kautsiśputra) Pothasirī. On this day, a tank, cave-dwellings and a gymnasmium are (the gifts) of the merchant Pusa (Pushya)4, the son of Āyāsaka (Āyāśa) and a resident of Parvata.

XVIII. Inscription (No. 1) of Vaiśravaṇa (Plate V)

[On the left wall of the verandah, which is partly fallen, in Cave No. 13.]

TEXT

1 1Ma[hā]r[a]n[a] [pa]t[er]-Bhadrabāsya putreṣa rājā[ā]
2 [Vaiśravaṇena idam] l[ātā-griha[m] khānita[m]]

TRANSLATION

This cave-dwelling has been caused to be excavated by the king Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Mahāśeṣapati Bhadrabāla.

---

1 The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.
2 This is followed in the original by a horizontal stroke.
3 The punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke. In the third cell of another cave situated on the right of the present cave is a small record which seems to read: Malā[piś]rī[ka].
4 Pusa, the son of Āyāsaka of the present record, is obviously identical with Pusaka, the father Phalga of Nos. XV-XVI.
5 The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.
6 The punctuation mark is indicated by one horizontal stroke.
XIX. Inscription (No. 2) of Vaiśravana (Plate V)

[On a detached rock which once formed part of a cave but is now lying near a nullah.]

TEXT

1 Mahāsenapate-Bhadrebālasya putre[na]

2 Vaiśravanama ida[m] lāṭā-[gri][baḥ khāṇitaḥ] [***]

XX. Inscriptions of Year 80 (Plate V)

[In three caves to the south-east of Gopaḷpur. The three inscriptions are in one line each bearing an almost identical text.]

TEXT

A. (In Cave No. 1, on the back wall of the inner hall.)

Sava 80 Gī- pa 1 diva 6 ketana[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojasa Bhojapiliṣa cha [][***]

B. (In Cave No. 2, on the back wall of a cell to the right of Cave No. 1.)

Sava 80 Gīma 1 [di]va 5 ketana[m] Vachhaputa-Bhojasa Bhojapiliṣa cha [][***]

C. (In Cave No. 3.)

..... ketana[m][**] Vachha-putana Bhojasa Bhojapiliṣa cha [][***]

TRANSLATION

In the year 80, 5th day of the first fortnight of summer. (This is the) dwelling (which is the gift) of Vachha's son Bhoja and Bhojapili. [According to C, 'of Vachha's sons, Bhoja and Bhojapili'.]

---

* The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.

* The text is almost identical with that of No. XVIII.
No. 24—TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

(2 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

A few years ago two sets of copper-plate grants were dug up from the fields belonging to Mr. B. Rajagopala Rao, President of the Panchayat Board of Galavalli, a village in the Bobbili Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. The priest of the Kāmēśvarasvāmi temple at Galavalli secured them and sent them to Mr. N. Ramesan, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Parvatiparam. Mr. Ramesan presented the inscriptions to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, and published both the epigraphs in the said Society's journal, Vol. XX, pp. 161-70, 171-76. As neither the treatment of the earlier inscription nor its published facsimile appeared to me satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates. In January 1956 I visited the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and had an opportunity of examining both the inscriptions through the courtesy of Mr. R. Subba Rao, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao was also kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the two records.

1. —Plates of Gaṅga Year 393

The inscription is written on three plates which measure each 7½" by 2½". They were strung on a ring which passed through a hole (about ¾" from the left end of the plates and about ¾" in diameter) and the ends of which were soldered beneath a circular seal bearing the usual Eastern Gaṅga emblems of the bull to right, sun, moon, akṣau and chōmara. The weight of the plates, without the ring and seal, is 115 tolas. An interesting fact about the record is that the main document is written on the second (inner) side of the first plate, continued on both sides of the second plate and completed on the first (inner) side of the third plate, while there is an interesting endorsement of a later date which had been begun originally on the second (outer) side of the third plate but was given up and incised afterwards on the first (outer) side of the first plate. In this respect, the epigraph under study closely resembles the Tenasingha copper-plate inscription of Tushākara, edited above.¹ Only four aksaras of the endorsement had been engraved on the outer side of the third plate before it was given up. The full text of the endorsement as found on the outer side of the third plate covers no less than six lines. The original document, incised on the remaining four faces of the plates, contains 28 lines of writing in the following order: I—7 lines, IIA—8 lines, IIB—7 lines, IIIA—6 lines.

The characters employed in the main document belong to the class known as the later Kaliṅga script and closely resemble those of records like the Chicacoile (Srikakulam) plates² of Anantavarman who has been assigned to a date about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The endorsement is written partly in the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet and partly in Telugu-Kannāḍa characters. It begins with O instead of the symbol for Śūddham usually found in early records. It is well known that the chief characteristic of the later Kaliṅga script is the representation of the same letters in several different forms prevalent in both the Northern and Southern Alphabets. The inscription under study represents almost all the consonants in more than one form. Cf. k in "Kaliṅga" (line 2); kh in "śākara" (line 2), "sakala" (line 3), "Khaṅgāma" (line 28), g in Kaliṅgapagama (line 2), guṇa (line 10), "Gaṅg-ā" (line 18); ch in "aṅkal-ā" (line 2), "aṅkara" (line 3), "ākāla" (line 9); j in "vijaya" (lines 1-2), "jaya" (line 6), "Manuśā̄kara" (line 14), "vijaya vājya"

¹ See Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff.
The language of the record is Sanskrit. The main document is written in prose except for the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end. The endorsement is, however, entirely written in verse. There are really two stanzas in this section; but one of them has been quoted twice. It appears that the engraver of the endorsement began to incise the stanzas in the East Indian alphabet with which he was not quite at ease. After completing the first stanza, he gave up that script and engraved both the stanzas in the Telugu-Karnataka alphabet. That is how the first verse of the endorsement was incised twice. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the time and area in question. Final n has occasionally been changed wrongly to anusvāra (cf. line 24) which also takes the place of final m at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. The charter is dated in the Gaṅga year 393 (899-91 A.D.).

The main document begins with the Siddham symbol and the usual praśasti of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas in lines 1-11, referring to the issue of the charter from the adhkīsaka (royal residence) at Kālinganagara resembling Amarapura (the city of the gods) and to the devotion of the issuer of the grant to the god, Bhagaṇa Gokarnasvāmin (Śiva), installed on the peak of Mount Mahendrā. As usual, the issuer of the charter is described (lines 11-12) as a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents, and as an ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. He is further introduced in lines 12-14 as the son of Mahāraja Ṛṣṭirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭarāka krama-Dēṇḍravarmadēva. Curiously enough, the passage in line 14, containing the name of the issuer of the grant and the district in which the gift land was situated, reads: mahēśvara-Manuvijayendra(ndra) vagalēva-vishayē. It has to be noticed that while the father is endowed with full imperial titles, the son is represented as a Mahāraja and with ṛṣi instead of ṛṣi. Some letters moreover appear to be lost in the passage and its intended reading may have been Manuvijayendra[madēva kusāli] Gaḷēla-vishayē. Whether the intention of the scribe was to include here a passage containing the usual address of the issuer of a grant to the officers and subordinates is impossible to determine. But it appears that Mahēśvara Manuvijayendra or Manuvijayendra issued the charter during the rule of his father, Mahāraja Ṛṣṭirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭarāka Dēṇḍravarmadēva. He may have therefore been a sub-king under his father during the latter's old age. A similar instance is offered by the passage introducing the issuer of a grant as mahāraja Ṛṣṭirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭarāka-śri-Ananatvarmadēva-sa(sa)nu-ruvarāja-śri-Rājendravarmadēva(mā) kuḍala(li) occurring in an Eastern Gaṅga charter of the year 313 (809-11 A.D.). Although a confusion is sometimes noticed in the
grants of this family in respect of the use of the titles Mahārāja and Mahārajādhirāja with the name of the issuer and that of his father, the above suggestion regarding the relation of Manuvendra with his father seems to be supported by other considerations. In the first place, the date of the record under study, viz. the Gaṅga year 393, suggests the identification of king Dēvendraravarman of our record with the king of the same name who issued the Chidivalass plates in the Gaṅga year 397 (593-95 A.D.), since it is not possible to argue that the latter was a son and grandson respectively of Manuvendra and Dēvendraravarman of the epigraph under study. Secondly, as will be shown below, the endorsement to the main document would suggest that it was a king named Dēvendraravarman who was responsible for the grants recorded in both of them. It is therefore possible to think that Manuvendra made the grant under orders of his father, although some words to this effect are lost in the document.

The object of the record (lines 14 ff.) was the grant of three villages, viz. Nūhkapāṭaka-grāma and Bāṇavāḍa-grāma, both situated in the Gaṇḍā-viṣhaya, and Chintachaṇḍu-grāma in Hōmva-viṣhaya. The grant was made in favour of Kaṇḍuḍa-Guṇḍēsvara, probably a deity called Guṇḍēsvara worshipped at a locality called Kūṇḍuka or Kōṇḍuka. The gift was received on behalf of the deity by Sāmavēḍa-bhagavanta who was the son of Brahmatma-bhagavanta of Vallaṅkōṇḍa (or, Challaṅkōṇḍa) and probably the priest in charge of the temple of Guṇḍēsvara. The boundaries of the gift villages were indicated by a causeway (ṣēṭa) and certain trikūṭas which are stated to have been well-known to the people of the district (line 18). Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 19-25. The date of the charter, viz. year 393 of the increasingly victorious sovereignty of the Gaṅgāya dynasty, is quoted in words in lines 26-27. The document is stated to have been written by Chūḍapa who was the son of Kāya-ta Khaṇḍyama called a Rakasya. The expression rakasya indicates the official designation of a Privy Councillor also called Rakasi niyuktā, Rāhasti or Rakasādhiyikā in inscriptions.

As indicated above, the endorsement engraved on the first side of the first plate consists of two stanzas. The first of these, which has been repeated, says that the illustrious Dēvendraravarman, lord of Kaliṅga, received blessings from the god Śiva and that he granted two localities called Yōgu or Egu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giṇṭi and situated in Kōṇḍagudi, in favour of Yōgatāma. The second stanza shows that the village of Giṇṭi was really granted in favour of Guṇḍēsvara, no doubt the same as the deity called Guṇḍēsvara in the original document, and it further states that the grant was made by king Dēvendraravarman ‘afterwards in his presence’ (paśchāt tasya samipatāḥ). The implication is that king Dēvendraravarman ratified the grant in the presence of the deity Guṇḍēsvara at a later date. Yōgatāma seems to have been a successor of Sāmavēḍa-bhagavanta in the office of the priest of the Guṇḍēsvara or Guṇḍēśvara temple. The formation of his name reminds us that of the name of Brahmatma-bhagavanta, father of Sāmavēḍa-bhagavanta. There is no doubt that the endorsement was engraved at a later date. But whether it was a forgery or a genuine addition to the original record, approved by royal authority, is difficult to determine. Since, however, the palaeography of the endorsement seems to suggest a later date than that of the original grant, the first alternative looks more probable.

The gift villages mentioned in the original document and the endorsement are difficult to identify. We are not sure if the name of the Gaṇḍā viṣhaya is preserved in that of modern Galavalli where the plates were discovered.

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3 The word trikūṭa appears to mean the junction of three villages. (Journ. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79, note).
4 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17 note; Vol. XXX, p. 275. Khapdyama is also known from the Chickoaole (Srikakulam) plates (Gaṅga year 351) of Satyavarman, which mention Tāru-grāma in Gaṇḍā (Gaṇḍa)-viṣhaya.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

TEXT

First Plate, First Side

1. Ō [n] Dēvēndravarmā Šīva-lavdhā(bdha)-sa[sa]rmāḥ ārīm[ā]\n[=Kali[\n*]g-ādhīpatār=varēṇya-
[\n] 
2. Yōgaṭmanē Kōṇḍagūḍāv-adāśit(t-sa) Yēgu(ḡū)-Maha-
3. ntau khalu Giṇṭi-sa[\n*]jñāu [\n*]\ Dēvēndravarmā Sī(Śi)valabdhā-śarmāḥ ārī-
4. mān-Kali[\n*]g-[ā]dīhīpatār=varēṇya[\n*] Yōgaṭmanē Kōṇḍagūḍāv-adā-
5. sī(t-sa) Ḑēgu(ḡū)-Mahantau kha[l]u Giṇṭi-[ Śa]lījñāu [\n*]\ Dattavān Giṇṭi-nā-
6. mānah grāmah Guṇḍīsva(śa)ra[\n*] vō(\n*\n) Dēvēndravarmma-rājēndra[\n*] paśchā[t*] 

tasya tamāpataḥ [\n*]\ 

First Plate, Second Side

1. Siddhām [\n*] Svāstya=Amarapur-śnuκritas-sarvata(ṛtu)-sukha-ramanīyād=vija-
2. ya[vat-]Kāligam(āga) nagarādhīvāsakān-Mahōndr-āchal-āmala-āikhar(ṛa)- 
3. pratishthitasya sa-char-āchāra-gnṛ[\n*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmā-
4. [\n*]-aika-sūtradhāra[\n*] śāsākā-chūḍā-marē-bhagavato Gōkarna(ṛa)sv[ā]- 
5. mūn[ā]-charaṇa-kamala-yugalā-pranām[ā] tivataḥ(ta)-Kali-
6. kā[\n*]-kalaṅkō-nēk-āhava-saṅkheṭbha-\n[\n*]\ paramāhitāravā māṭi-piti-pāḍ-ā-
7. nudi[\n*]tō Garu-g-āmaṇa-\n[\n*]\ tālaka[\n*] mahārājādhirāja-pa-
8. ramēbhāva-paramabhāṭa(\n*\n) raka-ārīmāh-Dēvēndravarmma-
9. dēva-sūnu-mahārīja-śrī-\n[\n*]\ Manuśdram(ṇdra)va Galāla-vīṣhayē 
10. Nūhkapatākagrama-Bādavādāgrama(mau) Ḍōṁba-vīṣhayē Chinteṭhē-

Second Plate, Second Side

16. dūgrām[ā]n cha\n*]\ Kaṇḍukag-\n[\n*]\ Gūnḍēsvavāra[\n*]\ daṃttā(dattavān) ārīmāt(mad)-Vallakōnda[\n*] 

Brahmātma-bha-

1. From the original plates and impressions.
2. There is a line of text here that is not visible.
3. The intended reading may be Manuṣṭhūraudvēmadḥa kuśalam.
4. The first akṣara of the name may also be read as cha.
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI—PLATE I

1.—Plates of Ganga Year 393

Scale: Four-fifths
No. 24] TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI 191

17 gavanta[h*] tasya sūnu[h*] Sāmavēda-bhagavanta[h*] teśa labdhāni(nāṁ) grāma-trayā-
18 ni(nāṁ) śīma sētu-trikūṭāni lōka-viśaya-ta-gamyāni [*] atra
19 Vyāsa-gtāni(gitāh) ślokāh bhavanti [*] Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā rāja-
20 bhīs-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*] tasya
tasya tadā phalan(ch) Sva-datah(ttaḥ) para-data(ttaḥ)m vā yō harēta vasundhārān-
(rām !) sa vi-
22 stā(śṭā)ḥyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitri(tri)bhīs-saha pachystē [*] Mad-dattāṁ sa[d*] dvijā-
tīnāṁ

Third Plate, First Side

23 pātu(ti) vō(ya) iha daivikārin(kam !) matis(ch-chhij)raṁ(rō)-maṅka-nyast[āṁ]* tasya
rājīnāḥ pada-
24 dvayaḥ(yam !) Sarvān-ṣṭāṁ(tāṁ) bhāvināḥ pārtthivēndrāṁ(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchāīē
Rā-
25 mabhada[rh [*] sāmānyo=yāṁ dharma-ṣetur-nṛpiṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-
26 lanīō bhavaddhi[h [*] Gāgērhi(ṅgē)ya-varnās-śvaruddhāmāna-vīja-
27 ya-rājya-samvachha(sarvavatsa)ra-sata-traya(yē) tri(tri)-navaty-adhikar(hē)
likhitāṁ
28 Kāyastha-rahasya-Khāṇḍyamasya sūnu-Chhitapa(pēna) iti !%

Third Plate, Second Side

1 [Ō] Dēvendrā³

2.—Grant of Rājarāja I Dēvendravarmaṇ, Saka 998

The inscription is written on four plates, each measuring 9½ inches by 4 inches. They were
strung together on a ring, the ends of which were soldered beneath the king’s seal bearing the bull
emblem and other symbols. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side while the other
three plates have inscription on both the sides. There are altogether fifty-two lines of writing,
their distribution on the various faces of the plates being as follows: IAB—9 lines, IIA—9 lines,
IIB—8 lines, IIA—8 lines, IIB—8 lines, IVA—8 lines, IVB—2 lines. The four plates together,
without the ring and seal, weigh 166 tolas.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya class and closely resemble those of some of the
copper-plate grants of the early members of the Imperial Gaṇga family⁴ as well as of the later
members of the Sōma-varṇśa of Kōšala and Utkāla⁵ and of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Tōsali.⁶

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¹ Better read viśaya-ūku.
² The endorsement, later engraved on the outer (first) side of the first plate, appears to have been originally
begun here and abruptly abandoned. The reason for this may be the unsatisfactory formation of the ekṣhūraa.
³ See, e.g., the Nadagam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff., and Plates) and Madras Museum (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff.,
and Plates) plates of Vajrahasta III, father of Rājarāja I who issued the charter under study. Cf. C. P. No. 3 of
1918-19 published in JAHRIS., Vol. VIII, pp. 171 ff., and Plates. See also Rājarāja’s own grant (C. P. No. 4 of
1918-19) published in op. cit. pp. 166 ff., 176 ff., and Plates, and the charters of his son Anantavarman
Chōlagāna such as the Korni plates of Saka 1003 (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 40 ff., and Plates).
⁴ See, e.g., the Kisarkella plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotkāsārin (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 135 ff., and
Plates).
⁵ See, e.g., the Sāntiragrama grant of Daṇḍiṣi mahādevī (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff., and Plates).
The sign for $v$ has been used to indicate the letter $b$. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph is composed in both prose and verse. As regards orthography also, the inscription closely resembles other records of the area and age in question. Final $m$ has been wrongly changed to anusvāra at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In the place of $rbbh$, $rbbh$ has been wrongly written in more than one case (cf. lines 5, 20). There are also some other cases of wrong spelling such as $sīṅha$ for $śīṅha$, $śubha$ for $ śūbha$ and $śanśīkta$ for $śānśīkta$ (cf. lines 7, 20, 41-43). Consonants are not only often reduplicated with superscript $r$ but in one case also in that of subscript $y$ (cf. $mātyāḥ$ in lines 30-31). The date of the charter is given in the chronogram $vau-nanda-nidhi$ of the Śaka era, i.e. Śaka 998, while the details of the date quoted are the Vishuva-sañkṛanti in the month of Chaitra, i.e. the day of the vernal equinox. The date of the charter thus appears to be March 23, 1077 A.D.

We know that the later members of the Eastern Gaṅga family began their charters with the praviṣṭi: svastī-Amarapur-ānuśāvatā, etc., i.e. prosesas in the charter of the Gaṅga year 393, edited above. The early members of the imperial branch of the family adopted the same praviṣṭī for the introduction of their grants.1 But Vajrāhasta III (1038-70 A.D.) introduced a new praviṣṭī beginning with śrīmatām-ahkāla-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya, etc., in prose and verse. This eulogy contains no less than nine stanzas, five in the description of the reigning monarch (Vajrāhasta III), one each in that of his father and the latter's two younger brothers, two in that of his grandfather and one in that of his great-grandfather. The entire praviṣṭī was copied in the charters of his son and successor Rājarāja I Devendravarman (1070-78 A.D.) who issued the grant under study. This king, however, added four new stanzas to the introduction, one referring to the end of his father's rule and three in his own eulogy. The great Anantavarman Chōḍagāṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, used the same introduction, as found in his father's charters, with the omission of most of the stanzas, although in his later records containing a modified but elaborate account of the early members of the family2 he re-introduced a few of the verses.

The inscription begins with the Śiddham symbol and the word svastī followed by a prose passage (lines 1-10) referring to the son of Guṇamahārṇava (Guṇārṇava)-maḥārṇava (circa 879-96 A.D.) who belonged to the family of the Gaṅga lords of Trikaliṅga. These Gaṅgas are described as belonging to the śrīśāya gōtra and as having obtained, through the grace of lord Gōkāryavāmin (Śiva), the unique conch-shell and drum, the 'five great sounds', the white umbrella, the golden fly-whisk and the bull emblem or crest. It has to be noticed that the possession of the five mahāśabdās, explained with reference to North Indian rulers as the enjoyment of five official designations beginning with the word mahat and in regard to South Indian kings as the privilege of enjoying the sounds of five musical instruments,3 is usually associated with feudatories. Some early medieval South Indian dynasties, however, associated the privilege with imperial dignity and the claim of the Imperial Gaṅgas reminds us of a similar one on behalf of their western neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī.4

The son of Guṇamahārṇava was Vajrāhasta I (circa 896-940 A.D.) who is next described in a stanza (verse 1) saying that he united under his rule the earth (i.e. the Gaṅga kingdom), which had been previously divided into five parts ruled separately by different kings, and reigned for forty-four years. Then comes a section in prose (lines 13-15) speaking of the three sons of Vajrāhasta.

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4 Cf. SII, Vol. I, p. 84 (text lines 23-34). The introductory part of earlier Eastern Chālukya grants begins with the praviṣṭī: śrīmatām-ahkāla-bhuvana-navaṁyamāna, etc. (ibid. p. 33, text line 1), which reminds us of śrīmatām-ahkāla-bhuvana-vinuta, etc., of the charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas like the one under publication.
I, viz. Guṇḍama I (circa 940-43 A.D.), Kāmārṇava I (circa 943-78 A.D.) and Vinayādiya (circa 978-81 A.D.), who ruled for three, thirty-five and three years respectively. Then follow two stanzas (verses 2-3) describing Anīyaṅkabhiṃa (Anāṅgabhiṃa) I (circa 981-1016 A.D.), son of Kāmārṇava I, as having ruled for thirty-five years. The following three stanzas (verses 4-6) speak respectively of three sons of Anīyaṅkabhiṃa I, viz., Kāmārṇava II (circa 1016 A.D.), Guṇḍama II (circa 1016-1019 A.D.) and Madhukāmārṇava (circa 1019-38 A.D.), who respectively reigned for six months, three years and nineteen years. The next seven stanzas (verses 7-13) describe Vajrafahāста III (1038-70 A.D.) who was the son of Kāmārṇava II from the Vaidūmba princess Vinaya-mahādevī, and ruled for thirty-three years after having been installed on the throne in Śaṅka 960 (vīyad-ṛitu-nīdiḥ), month Vrīshabhā (solar Jyēśṭha), sudī 3, Sunday, Rēṣīṇi-nakhaṭṭha, Dhanur-śagāna. As already indicated above, this description, with the exception of verse 13 referring to the end of the king's rule covering a period of thirty-three years, is quoted from the charters of Vajrafahāста III himself. The details of the date of his coronation are irregular for the month of Vrīshabhā in Śaṅka 960; but, for the month of Mēśa (instead of Vrīshabhā), they correspond to Sunday April 9, 1038 A.D.\(^1\) The remaining three stanzas of the introductory part (verses 14-16) describe the reigning monarch Rājarāja I Dēvendravarman who was the son of Vajrafahāста III from the queen Anāṅgamahādevī. Verse 16 speaks of him as an ornament of the kings of Kaliṅga and gives the date of his coronation as Śaṅka 992 (nayana-Abjagarbhī-ṇīdiḥ), Jyēśṭha sudī 8, Thursday, Uttarāraṇaṇa-nakhaṭṭha, Śiṅgha-lagāna. The details correspond to Thursday, May 20, 1070 A.D. We have elsewhere\(^5\) seen how the above description of the early Imperial Gaṅgas is more reliable than the modified genealogy quoted in the later charters of Anantavarman Chōḍa-gaṅga (1078-1146 A.D.) and successor of Rājarāja I, as well as in the grants of Chōḍa-gaṅga's descendants.

The charter under study was issued from Kaliṅgānagara by Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāraja-dhīṛāja Trikalīṅgādhīpi Dēvendravarman Rājarājaṇāīva who was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva). Its object was to grant the village of Kōḍīla (originally written Kōḍīli) in the V;rāhavartana viśaya, for the merit of the king and his parents, in favour of three hundred Brahmaṇas belonging to the Ātrīya gōtra, the three pravaras including Śyāvāśva (i.e., Atri, Archanānaśi and Śyāvāśva) and the Chhandogya charaṇa. The occasion of the grant, as already indicated above, was the Vīṣṇu-saṃkrānti in Śaṅka 998. The names of the donees have not been quoted in the record. The absence of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses and of any reference to the royal officials who were responsible for the preparation of the document may lead one to suspect that the charter is incomplete. But this characteristic is not peculiar to the present grant of Rājarāja I. We know that another record\(^4\) of the king, issued on the same date and occasion, also ends abruptly in the same way. The village granted by this charter was Bṛhat-Kōḍiplagrama in V;rāhavartana, to which was added another locality called Bhīnali-vājaka. The gift land is stated in this case to have been made a grāma-grāsa which was divided into six parts, four of them being granted to Vāsudevaśarman of Vatsa-gōtra, who was a resident of Kālipura, and the remaining two parts to Nārāyaṇaśarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra. It is interesting to note that neither of these two records refers to the creation of a revenue-free holding out of the gift land. The donees therefore appear to have been liable to pay rent or cess for their holdings.\(^4\) This is probably why the expression grāma-grāsa instead of the well-known agrahāra has been used to indicate the nature of the holding under Vāsudevaśarman and Nārāyaṇaśarman. Such a possibility also explains the absence of the usual details noticed in

\(^1\) Kāmārṇava I and Vinayādiya were killed by Jaṭāhodā Bhiṃa before Śaṅka 994-982 A.D. (JAHRS, Vol. X, pp. 32 ff.).

\(^2\) See Bhāsikara's List, No. 1090.

\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.


\(^5\) Cf. J. K. J. 1902, pp. 4 ff.
this connection in charters recording grants of rent-free holdings. There is little doubt that 
Brihat-Kōḍilaกรama of the said record was situated near about Kōḍilaกรama of the charter 
under publication.

The visakayā (district) of Varahsvarttanī is known from several other records. The village 
of Kōḍila has been identified with modern Kodisa about two miles from Galavalli where the plates 
were found.

**TEXT**

[Metres: verses 1, 3, 11, 13, 16 Śārdūlavikridūta; verses 2, 6, 12, 14 Anushtub; verse 4 Vasanta-
sthavila; verses 5, 9 Mālinī; verses 7, 8 Giti; verses 10, 15 Vasantatilaka.]

*First Plate*

1 Siddham vastii [ ] ērīmatām-akha-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākṣhinya-
| sa-

2 tya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrānām vima-

3 la-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-salīla-prakāhalītaka-Kali-kāla-kalmasha-mahā[pa]n mahā-

4 Mahēndr-āchāra-prātiṣṭhitasya sa-śar-āchāra-gurūḥ sakala-bhuvana-ni-

5 rmnāg-aika-sūtrasārasya śāsāṅka-chidā-pañēr-bbhā[r-bbhā]gavatō Gōkarnnasā-

6 prasādāt-samāśadīt-aika-śaṅkha-bhēri-paṇcha-mahāśa[va(bda)]-dha[va]la-ko[ṛ][ba]-[ha]-[rama]-

7 rava-vriṣabha-lāṅghhana-samujya[jjva]la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahīmnām-anēka-samara- 

8 saṅghaṭa-samu-

9 palavdha[bda]-vijaya-lakṣmī[ma]sāmāṅgītrī-ō[tt]uṅga-bhūja-daṭḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ Tikalāṅg-

2 mahībhujā

9 m Gantāntām-anvayam-alan[ka]r[ś][h]nōr-Vvishnūr-viva vi[kram-ākrānta-dhara-maṇḍalasya 

Guṇama-

*Second Plate, First Side*

10 hārṇava-mahārājasya pūtraḥ [9] Pārvatā bhūpatibhir-vvibhajya vasudhā yā paṇchabhīp 

11 nhadā hūkta bhūri-parākramō bhūja-va(ba)lāt-tām-eśa śva svayaṁ(yam | ) ēkkritya 


[18]

13 tasya tanayō Guṇdana-rājā(jo) varaha-trayam-apālayad-madīm(him) | tād-anuṇāḥ Kā-

14 mārṇavadvēva[ḥ paṇcha-triṣṇasatam-avda(bda)kān] tasya-anuṇāḥ Vinayādyitiyas=sa-

15 māstaśiṣāḥ || Tatāh Kāmārṇava[ḥ-jītō jagat-Kalpabhūraḥ ||( | ) yō-rājud-rāji-

1 See, e.g., JAHES, Vol. 1, p. 45, 119, etc.
2 From the original plates and their impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
5 The punctuation mark indicates the separation of the following part in verse from the foregoing section 
in prose.
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI—PLATE II

2.—Plates of Kajabaja I Devendravarmn, Saka 998

Scale: Three-fourths
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

16 ta-chabhayō Vajrahastra-vant-patīḥ || [2*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdhā)-madhupa-vyāliḍha-gaṇḍān-[ga]-

17 jāna(n-a)rthibhyas-samādāt-sahasram-atulō yas-yāginiṃ-aṣṭaṣaṃ(ṇīḥ) | as) śrīmaṃ-Anīyaṃ-kahima-

18 nrīpatīr-Gaṅga-āṇav-ottamsakaḥ paṇcha-triṇasatam-avda(bda)kān-samabhunakprithīṁ(k-prithvīṁ) stutah pā.-

Second Plate, Second Side

19 rthīvaiḥ || [3*] Tad-agra-sunuh Śurara-snu(su)nūmā samas-samastāṃ sa(sa)mit-āri-vaṇḍaḥ

[1*] sma pā-

20 ti Kāmarṣuva-bāhupatir-hhāha(r=bhhu)vaṁ samṛiddhimār-dhā-samām samujya(jjva)-

laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṣtamā Chhi-

21 ttajanm-ōpaṃmaṇo guṇa-nidhir-anadvayaō Guṇḍam-ākhyā mah-āsah(sah | ) sakalam-īdam-ārakshat-tri-

22 ni varshānī dhātir-valayam-ālaghu-tējo-nirjirat-ārati-chakrāḥ || [5*] Tatō dvaimā-

23 turas-astaya Madhumārṇuvār nrīpaḥ | avati sm-āvanim-ūtiṃ-avda(bda)ni(n=n)kān-na-va-

24 mān(tim) || [6*] Atha Vajrahastra-nrīpatēr-agra-sutād-akhila-गुणय-जिन-ग्राम-[ga*]joyah

[1*] Kāmarṣuva-vāt-kav.-

25 ndra-pragyarāma-āvadāta-subha-kīrtītēḥ || [7*] Śriya iva Vaiṣumvā(ṃb-ā)vaya-payāḥ-

26 yāśa-cha [1*] yāḥ samajai Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ Śri-Vajrahastra iti tanayāḥ || [8*] Viyad-

ṛtu-ni-

Third Plate, First Side

27 dhi-sa[ṛ]ni(khyāṃ) yāti Sā(Śa)k-āvda(bda)-saṅghē Dinakriti Vrishabha-ṣṭīḥ

Rōhiq-bhē su-lagnē [1*] Dha-

28 nushti cha sīta-sha(ba)kha Śūryya-vārō ṛṣīḥyīṃ(yāḥ)-yūjī sakala-dharītrīḥ rakṣītīṃ

yō-ḥiṃkhaḥ-

29 || [9*] Nyāyuṇa yatra samam-ācharītīṃ tri-varggṛ(rōπγγa) mārgaṇa rakṣati mahīṃ-

26 maṇita-pratāpā [1*]

30 nirvyādayaś-cha niraghaṃ-cha nirāpadaś-cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti viṁbūtima-

31 tītah || [10*] Vyāptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śa-iti-pradēōt-ā-

32 malinēna yasya bhuvaḥna(ḥa)-prahlāda-sampādiṃ [1*] saindirārā-ati-sāndra-paṇka-paṭalai-

33 ḍ kumbha-ṣṭhālī-paṭṭakēśāv-śīlimpanti punaḥ punaḥ-ccha harītām-ādhaṛanā vāranaṇa || [11*]

34 Anu-

35 rāgeṇa guṇinō yasya vakahlī-ṃukh-āvja(bjā)yoḥ | āarı(si)nē Śri-Śarasvatīyāv-anu-

Third Plate, Second Side

35 kāle virājataḥ [o] [12*] Āgachchhann-uru-vikramēṇa sahasa śastra-ābhīgardāni-

1 There are two double ṅḍas here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing part quoted from the grants of Vajrahastra III from the following portion composed by the court poet of Bājaraja I.
36 vō yēn-āvyāhata-viśva-vṛtti-mahimā bēḷā-nirastā-saniḥ | tēn-ākāri nikī-
37 ma-kāmya-tanunā rājya[m*] mahī-maṇḍalē triṇād-vatsaram-abhra-su(ā)bra-yāsasā
varaha-trayā-|
38 ṣ-andhikām(kam) || [13*] Tatō-naṅga-mahādvēyāṁ Vajrabasta-mahīpatēḥ | Gauryam-
iva ḫa-|
39 raśy-ābhūt-Kārttikēya iv-āṭmajāh || [14*] Lakshmī-vadhū-vadana-paṅkaja-mākara-
40 ndā-saṅdōha-chāru-parichumva(mba)na-chaṁcharikaḥ ||( | ) yō mānē(n)i)nāṁ cha guṇināṁ
cha durātma-
41 nām cha sā(śā)ntiṁ cha mōdam-ātulam cha bhayaṁ cha dattē || [15*] Śāk-āvīdē(bdē) nayan-
Āvja(bja)garvbha(rbbha)-nāhi-gē Jē(Jyē)aṁtē-
42 abīmī-sīṅgha(sīrhkha)lē lagnē ch-Ōttarapalguṇi(m)-Guru-dinē pakhē su-su
(su)-bhīrē su(ā)bhe | Lōkālo-

Fourth Plate, First Side

43 ka-mahā-mahīdh[r*]a-valay-ālaṅkāravaty āhuvas-samāśa(s)ktas-sa Kalīṅga-rāja-tīlakaḥ
44 ēn-Rājarāja aripaḥ || || [16*] Kaliṅganagarat-paramamahēvaram-paramabha*-|
45 bhāṭṭāraka-mahī(hā)raja-dhīrāja-Trikalīngā-ādhipati-ārīmadvē(d-Dē)vēndrāvarmanā
46 Rājarājadevaḥ kuśālī samast-amātya-pramukha-janapaḍa-
47 n-sama(mā)hūya samājīpayati viditam-astu bhavatāṁ(tām) || Varāhavartta-
48 nyāṁ | Kōdu-ākhyō grāmaś-chatus-ām-āvachchninas-sa-jalas-[th]alas-sarvva-piṣā-
vivarjita(ṭāb)
49 mā(ā)-chandā-ākka-kṣhiti-sama-kālam yāvat māṭā-pirsīr-ātmanaś-cha puṇya-yāsō-bhrī-
50 ddhayē | Vasu-Nanda-nidhi-ganitē Śāk-āvīdē(bdē) | Chaitrē māśi Visu(āhu)-
vathi samkrāntyāṁ(nyāṁ)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

51 Ātrakā-gōtra-Śrāvīṣa-ttṛy-ārakāya-Chohhaṅgāv-tri-sa(ā)ta-Vra(Brā)hmapābhyaḥ dhāra-
pūrvvakam-sammā(ṃmā)
52 bhīr-datta iti ||

1 This stanza was added by the court poet of Rājarāja I to the description of Vajrabasta III as found in the latter's own charters.
2 There are two double daksas here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing introductory part in verse from the following grant portion in prose.
3 This letter is redundant.
4 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
5 Originally it was engraved in the place of ī. The i-māṇḍ Dwight seems to have been cancelled later.
6 The passage is intended to mean that the donors had three pravaras including Śrīvīṣa. We know that the three pravaras of the Ātrakā gōtra are Atri, Archanāsena and Śrīvīṣa.
7 This is to indicate that the donors belonged to the Chohhaṅgāv charupa.
No. 25—SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. Dikshitar, Raipur

The accompanying inscription, published here for the first time, was found on the 2nd January 1955, in the course of excavations conducted by me, under the auspices of the University of Saugar, at Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone bearing the inscription was found lying upside down on the floor in the northern verandah of the monastery at a depth of 5 feet below the surface. The stone is a yellowish variety of soft sandstone, measuring about 14 inches broad, 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches high and about 3 inches thick. From the chisel marks at its back, it appears to have been fixed up high on the wall near which it was found. The slab was very heavily laden with moisture at the time of its discovery and it was with repeated hot sand-baths that it could be restored to its original hardness.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing, each line containing about 33 letters of nearly one half inch in height. The characters are early Nagari current in the 7th or 8th century A.D. and are incised neatly and beautifully and also deeply, particularly in the upper part of the letters.

The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except at the upper left and lower right corners and at the beginning of lines 11-14. A few scratches also appear on the surface evidently resulting from its fall from the original position in the wall.

The inscription is in Sanskrit verse throughout except the concluding sentence occurring in line 14. The sign for ३ is invariably used for ³. As regards orthography, it may be noted that ०, े and े are clearly distinguished. Of lexical interest are the two words वृक्षार्द्ध (lines 8-9) and शिष्ठिका (line 8).¹

The inscription opens with a stanza in praise of the lotus-feet of the Sūgata (i.e. Buddha). The next few verses record the construction of a monastery (vihāra) by a Bhikṣu named Anandaprabha during the reign of Balarjuna, as well as of the establishment of a śāṭra (feeding house) for the monks residing in the monastery, for the upkeep of which a white-rose field was given. The field is stated to have been purchased from the Saṅgha and given together with the supplementary crops grown in it. The monks were to enjoy it in succession till the sun shines in the sky.²

The eulogy (prasasti) was composed by the illustrious Sunganāla, son of Tāradatta, and the inscription was incised by one Prabhākara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it enables us to fix the date of the Vihara in which it was found; for King Balarjuna mentioned in it could be no other than the homonymous king Mahāśīvagupta alias Balarjuna of the Pândava dynasty, who is known from several inscriptions³ and whose reign-period is generally assigned to c. 590-650 A.D.⁴ or about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. This king, though Saivite by religion, gave liberal patronage to Buddhism.

¹ The word शिष्ठिका occurs in the Anājera grant (A) of Prithivivijaya Bhogasakti (above, Vol. XXV, p. 233) and in the unpublished Surang Mound (Sirpur) inscription. [The word वृक्षार्द्ध meaning 'considering' is of common occurrence while शिष्ठिका is found in several epigraphic and literary records in the sense of a measure. See below note 2.—Ed.]

² The author has totally misunderstood the meaning of the inscription. What has been read by him as सूत्राः is clearly सूत्राः, although the reading intended may be सूत्राः. But even then the object of the inscription is not what has been understood by Dr. Dikshitar. The omission of verses 4-5 (गयुष्टस्वस्त्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वs

³ For his inscription at Sirpur, see Hiralal, Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (2nd edn.), Nos. 173 and 184. For the Bakṣaśīvam temple inscription of his mother Vina, see above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

as is known from his Mallar plates1 which record his donation to a Vihara of Buddhist monks. Recently three more inscriptions have been found at Sirpur, which record his gift of land to Buddhist monasteries.

The composer of the prasasti, Sumangala, son of Teraadatta, is already known to us from several inscriptions at Sirpur and also from the Senakapati inscription published above.2

I edit the record from the original stone which is now preserved in the Museum of the University of Saugar.

TEXT

[Metres: verses 1, 6 Sragdhara; verse 2 Arya; verse 3 Sardulavikridita; verses 4, 7 Anushthub; verse 5 Vasantatilaka.]

1 Om[*] Mukta-ari-kap[lpa]-jatah sa[te(ta)] tam-ap* karah spriyamana a; sudhahsio(dhamsio) n= n= van manah kah*

2 chin=na cha hima-nivaha=ap* nit=nyathavam(tram) n=odyat-pruddama-kalspa-kahaya-

3 samaya-marut-pruc=na*

4 sy=ap* ganthorasya=naya k=pi yashmas=sukhayatu Sugata=ya=dhutah pada=padmah ||

[1*] Dha(va)=

5 al=ku=lamala=hahasu bhuhpita bhupala=ma=paltilaka | pratipaksha=kahati=dahah

rakhati

6 va=Ba=arjuna kah=ma=n || [2*] Durd=tsarita-matsara= sama=suh-d=avada=prasakta= sad= bhuhkah= sa-

7 d=vasudh adip=praktir=trakha kahama rakha= | Anandaprabra ity=udara=Karupah-

8 bhara*

9 t=prabhavo=bhavadv=bhaktin Sastari Mura=vairi= bhapis vi(by)bhrad-bhava-ohohdini ||

[3*] Sa vihara=ku=thum

10 chakre kritvah mulyena Sa nghata= | vyanjan=an=sa(n=sa)=sa=sha iti=ita=ta=nd[u]la=stikah= (kam) || [4*] Sutra=1= ta-

11 y=anudining atra cha karayitvah tad=vyanjan=an=sa(n=sa)=sha=sha yatibhi= samastaih |

pratikam=a*

12 tma=pari=thi=vasvena bhujyah yavan=nabhas=talam=ala=karutte Vivasvan || [5*] Vat=ddhat-

13 amv[mbu]=patra11

14 sthita=salila=ka=sa=rs=hi=vi=ln=Cakshmim=lokiya loka=sthitim=api vipula=apa-

15 d=gra=gra =syanakah=nam) ] va(bud)dha= o=ddama=du yha=prabhava=bhava-gatau

16 va=bhadvam dharmam=e=kah= dana= datta

17 .........12=dam=inha yatibhi=sarvad= paliyan= (yam) || 13* suman= nugatam= et= dhakr

18 14=shram=iv=5*

19 [jva(jva)=lah= (lum)] | s=umuh =sr-Tara=ddatasya prasastin= sri=Sumangala= || [7*] Utkr=up= =vah Prabha=kar=ga || o ([*]"

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1 See Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-122.
2 See ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 118 ff.
3 From the original stone and ineditions.
4 Expressed by a symbol, traces of which are visible on the stone.
5 Only faint traces of this letter are visible. [The correct reading of the passage is mukt=ari=bd= no jatah.—Ed.]
6 [The correct reading is gams=m pram=nya.—Ed.]
7 There is a fault in the stone after this.
8 [The word dharsala has been used in the sense of 'pure'. Since, however, dharsala and pradya are synonymous, the author may have hinted at Balarjuna's descent from the epic hero Paiva.—Ed.]
9 [The correct reading is karavi-bhur-draka-bhat.—Ed.]
10 [The correct reading is vakalo.—Ed.]
11 There is a dot over this letter owing to a flaw in the stone. [The correct reading of the expression is nejqi(byla)=

12 Two letters here are abraded in the original. [The reading is datt=abha(sva)]=r=5.—Ed.]
No. 26—TWO EASTERN GANGA GRANTS FROM ANDHAVARAM

(2 Plates)

R. SUBRAHMANYAM, Guntur

A. Plates of Anantavarmadēva

This set of three copper plates was discovered at Andhavaram in the Narasannapeta Taluk of the Śrīkākūlam District, Andhra State. Each of the plates measures about 6½" by 2½". They are fastened together by means of a circular ring (4½" in diameter), the two ends of which are secured below an elliptical seal which bears in relief a crude representation of the couchant bull or nandī facing the proper right with a crescent above and a floral design (perhaps a lotus) below. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. Each side contains eight lines of writing. Though the edges of the plates are not raised into rims, the preservation of the inscription is quite satisfactory.

The script of the inscription bears close resemblance to that employed in the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvendravarman and other records of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings. The engraving is carelessly done. The carelessness of the scribe is responsible for several mistakes of omission and commission. Medial i and i are not clearly distinguished in many cases. Often p is written like s (cf. prati in line 2 and pravāma in line 3) and s like p (cf. sarvasa in line 6). The letter b often looks like t (cf. sankhōbbha in line 6) and t like n (cf. bhavyatvā, svāminā-nāvarata in line 3). The consonant r is doubled in some cases (cf. sarvatva in line 1). The use of anuvāra for class nasal in sankhōbbha and v for b in many places is noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary verses quoted at the end (lines 24-31) the inscription is in prose.

The charter records the gift of the village Kālamadambisakuna in the Varahavartanī vishaya, after making it into an agrahāra and exempting it from all taxes, to the Brāhmaṇa residents of Anandapura, who belonged to different gōtras and were well-versed in the Vedāṅgas, by Mahārāja Anantavarman of the Gaṅga family for the merit of his parents. The grant was issued from Kalinganagara on the eleventh day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha of the year 216 in the victorious reign of the king. This date of the grant is written both in words and numerical symbols: but there is some disparity between the two. While it is clearly stated in words as kāta-deva-śoḍaśā-lītakṛ, numerical symbol 2 in the hundred's place and 6 in the ten's place alone are written. This appears to be the engraver's mistake. The grant was drafted at the oral order of the king by Guṇag-Śrīpāthya and engraved by Mātrichandra.4

The royal praṣasti set forth in the record under review does not materially differ from that found in the records of Dēvendravarman, dated in years 183 and 195.5 One Anantavarman is known from an earlier record discovered in the village of Gurandi near Parlikamidi. This record, dated in

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1 Of the two other copper-plate grants found along with the present set, one belonging to Vajrakṛta is edited below while the other issued by the Māthara king Anantaśaktivarman has been published above, Vol. XXVIII pp. 177 ff. and Plate. Of the two records published here, A is No. 6 and B No. 7 of A. R. Ep., 1931-32, App. A.
3 [See p. 292, note 1 below.—Ed.]
4 One Mātrichandra figures as the father of the composer of the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvendravarman (above, Vol. XIII, p. 216).

(199)
year 204, mentions Anantavarman as the son of Devendravarman. Though our record does not mention the name of Devendravarman as the father of the donor, since it is dated only twelve years later, and since the Santabommali plates, dated in year 221 record a gift of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman, it is reasonable to identify Anantavarman of our plates with Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman of the above epigraph. If this identification is accepted, Anantavarman of our record should have ruled over Kaliṅga at least up to the 216th year of the Gaṅga era. Calculating from the starting point of the era as fixed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, this charter can be said to have been issued on Thursday, the 6th June, 729 A.D. 2

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kālamaḍambisakuna-grāma appears to be the Sanakritized form of some village name which I am not able to identify. Varahavartani-vishaya appears in many early Gaṅga records and has been identified with the region between the rivers Vaṁśadhārā and Nāgāvalī, i.e. the modern Srikakulam and Narasannapeta Taluks of the Srikakulam District. Of the other localities mentioned in the record, Dantapura has been cited as the capital of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga in many of their records 3 and it has been identified with Dantavaraṇapūkaṇḍa on the banks of the Vaṁśadhārā in the Narasannapeta Taluk.

TEXT
First Plate

1 ōṅ śvasti [*] | Sarvva-aṅkha-rāmaṇi-yād-vi-jayavatāḥ(taḥ) | Kaliṅga-na[g]raṇ-Maṅrdr-āchal-āmalas

2 śikha-pratīṣṭhi(hṣṭhi)tyasya char-āchara-gurōḥ [sa*]kala-su(bhu)vana-ki(ni)ru[m]ān-aikaśutrādāh

3 rasya bhagavatō Gōkaṇḍa-svāminī-nā(na)varata-paṇamād-apagata-sakala

4 Kali-kalaṁkō niṣa-nīṣṭṛḥ(striḥ)śa-dhār-ōpārijita-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirā

5 [shya][jyaḥ] pra[v]a(vi)ta-chatur-udadhī-taraṅga-māla-mēkal-āvanita-āmalas-yāsā

6 anēk-āhava-samkṣhobha-jāñita-jaya-sāvad(bdaḥ) pratāp-āvanasta-samasta-sāmanta-cha

7 kra-čuḍāmaṇi-prabhā-manjari-puṇja-raṣṭi[ni]ta-charaṇa-kamalaḥ parama-māheśva

8 rō mātā-piṭṭi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ śrīmad-Gaṅ-gamala-kul-ōdga(dbha)vō maḥārajāḥ

Second Plate, First Side


10 samājñāpayati [*] viditam-astu bhavatā[r] yathā-āya[ṃ] grāmāḥ sarvva-kara-bharaṭ-pra

11 timuchā-ā-chandra-ārka-pratishtham-udaka-pūrvva[ṃ] kritvā mātā-piṭṭrō puṇya


1 Ibid., pp. 185 ff.


4 From impressions.

5 Expressed by symbol.
TWO EASTERN GANJGA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE I

A.—Andhavaram Plates of Anantavarmadeva

Scale: Actual Size
B. — ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF VAJRHAHASTADEVA

Scale: Actual Size

Scale: Three-fourths
TWO EASTERN GANGA GRANTS FROM ANDHAVARAM

No. 26

13 ra-vāstavyai(vya)-nānā-gōttredbhīyō Va(Vē)dānag-pāragbhyāḥ sarvva(rvvē)bhyō Brahmāsēbhya[h*]

14 [syan(h)n] pradattas-tad-śevāṁ viditvā yathāb(h-th-o)cha(chi)ta-bhāga-bhīgamūm(m=n) panayantaḥ [su]kha[rh*] prā-

15 tivasatē(th-o)ti [**] simā-sitahi la(li)khyaṇa(nte) [*] grāma-pūrvveṇa Indrapura-

16 nte Sindhi[vāleś sarvva-pālyāṁ(lyām)] a[jśvats-tha]-vrikshaḥ tatō dakshiṇā(ṇa)-ma(mu)khā va[na*]rāji[h*] I-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 ndrapura-Dantapura-grāma-tri(tri)kūṭē jala-mārggaḥ arddha-chandra iva dakshīṇa(ṇa)-na(va) vakra-[sthī]-

18 tas-tatā(tō) vanaraṇīḥ[h*] paśchimī(ama)-mukha Diripikavāṃsavakuna-grā[ma*]-si(ā)m-mānta ku(kū)pā(p-ō)-

19 ttara-hala[h*] tatō dakshiṇa-[mukhā]* vakra-vana-rāji[h*] dakshiṇa-pū[ra*]vveṇa gata(tō) nandi-taruru[h]

20 tatō(taḥ) pūrvvā(rvvē)-mukhā Tivardrāhalī da[kshiṇa(ṇa)-mukhā vana-rāji[h*] punaḥ paśchima-

21 mukhā vana-rāji[h*] Oruvagapāḍa-Saṇkunagra ṛma-sim-āntō(nte) jala-mārgga-

22 sahitā [va*]-na-[rājī][h*] paśchimāyāṁ dīāi Piśāhali-Vukaṇapāṭaka-[Sā]-ma-

23 ntaṇpāṭaka-Sū[Sa]kunagra ṛma-tri(tri) ku(kū)ṭaḥ teta uttarēṇa vanana-rāji[h*] pūrdhyāśa-

24 [yan]ṁ yāvad-iti [**] bhavi(shya)tāṛ-cha rajñaḥ praśāpayati [**] Āyurvyā(r-yya)va-

Third Plate

25 nam-aśkaṁ laṅkhmś-och-āpy-ati-chāṅchālaṁ(laṁ) [**] vijñāy-aivaṁ nṛpaṁ shā(pā)lyō dharmmaḥ sā-

26 dhāraṇ-ōdyā[ma]* [**] Tathā cha Vyāsa-gītā || Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sa-

27 gar-aṁbhaṁ [**] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā da(pra)laṁ(laṁ) || 2*[ Sva- dattā(th*) [pa]*-

28 ra-dattaṁ vā(stāṁ vā) yatnād-raksha Yudhāṣṭhīrā [**] mahā[ma*] mahīmatāṁ ērēṣṭhaṁ dāṅkohhrā(ch-hṛēḥ)yō-na(nu)-

29 pālana[m || 3*] Shaṅṣti-vashhasha(rada)-sahas[ra*]āṇi svargge mōdati bhūmīdāḥ [**] ākṣhēptā

30 ch-āṇumantā cha tāṅy-śevā naraṁ vāśd-iti(vasēt || 4*[ ] iti) pravardhamāna-vijaya-

rājyaō sa-

1 The intended reading might be sīra-aḥṭīyaḥ.
2 This may be the name of a locality; cf. Piśāhali in line 22.
3 This sa is redundant.
4 The intended reading of this expression might be pūrgoseṭh.
5 There is an anastāra over this abhara which has to be ignored.
6 The first of these following verses are in the ḫusṭāḥpāṭ āmetro.
7 The form of this letter which looks like a conjunct is peculiar. The two dots of the following visarga are joined up.
B. Plates of Vajrahastadeva

These plates were also discovered at Andhavaram. The set consists of three plates of which the first and the last are engraved on one side only, while the second on both the sides. Examination of the plates shows that they had an earlier inscription on them which was completely erased before the present inscription was engraved. But the surface was not smoothened before engraving the later record and this has caused considerable difficulty in deciphering it. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims. The plates are of a fairly uniform size measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ and about $\frac{1}{4}$ thick at the edges. The longer sides have a slight inward curve. The plates were strung on a solid copper ring $\frac{1}{4}$ thick and fairly circular in shape with a diameter of $4\frac{1}{2}$. The two ends of this ring are secured under a circular bronze seal, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter. On this seal are seen the figures of a couchant bull with the crescent on the top, a conch in the rear and a lotus bud with its stalk in a vertical position in front. Below the bull are the figures of an elephant-goddess, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, probably a representation of the sun, and a pūrṇa-phala. All these figures are cast in high relief. The ring with the seal weighs 94 tolas while the three plates together weigh 186 tolas.

The script of the inscription is old Nagarī and bears close resemblance to that of the Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta and the Chiciaole plates of Madhukāmārṇava. The language is Sanskrit and the record is all in prose. As regards orthography, the sign of $s$ is used for $s$ (cf. āsā in line 25) and rarely that of $f$ for $s$ (cf. bimṣa in line 28). The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are conspicuous by their absence in this record.

The charter was issued from Dantipura. It records the gift of the village of Gāsthāvāda or Gōthāvāda in the Kṛṣṇa-tukavartanā viśaya by Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava, to Maḍapa Būrma, son of Dhanḍanāyakā of Vēmna-kula. The date and the purpose of the grant are not stated in the record. The charter, however, may be assigned to the 10th century on palaeographic grounds. The inscription contains the usual praṣasti of the Eastern Gaṅga family to which the donor belonged. The gift village was declared out of bounds for the police and military personnel and exempted from all kinds of taxes.

Like the present plates, the Ponduru plates also mention one Vajrahasta as the son of Kāmārṇava. According to B. V. Krishnarao and others, the Pondūru plates which belong to Vajrahasta II, are dated in year 500. The donor of the present record may be identified with Vajrahasta II, son of Kāmārṇava I.

The gift village Gāsthāvāda or Gōthāvāda appears to be identical with Gottivāda in the Srikakulam Taluk of the District of that name. This, however, cannot be verified as its boundaries are not specified.

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1 [The reading is 21[18].—Ed.]
2 The intended reading of this expression might be sūmścīda, sūmś-ścīda.
3 It seems that it was the text of the present record which was cancelled.—Ed.
5 Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 180 ff.
7 Ibid., p. 32.
TWO EASTERN GANGLA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE II

B.—Andhavaram Plates of Vajrahastadeva

Scale: Three-fourths
Scale Three-fourths

SEALS

A

B

(from Photographs)
No. 26]

TWO EASTERN GANGA GRANTS FROM ANDHAVARAM

TEXT

First Plate

1 Śvasty-Amarapur-ānukāriṇaḥ sarv-ārtu-śu(su)kha-rama-
2 niyād=vijaya-va[dh-ā*]dvahana-sudhā-dhavalaya(lita)-śri-
3 prāśāda-mālā-[da](sv-a)dhi[sh]thita-vara-vilāsini-
4 lalita-lāśyād=urda(dda)nā-pandita-kul-ālankaṇīta-
5 ātī-Dantipura-vāsakāt prasiddha-siddha-tāva(pa).
6 [s-ā]dhyāśita-kamda[r-ō]darē(ra)-Mheēndr-āchal-ānu
7 [la]-kanska-āikhara-pratishehitasya char-āchara-ghan-
8 rōh sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aiśka-sūra(tr)a)dhārasya

Second Plate, First Side

9 śāśāṅka-chuḍāmaṇēr=bhagavatō Gōkarṇaśvāmīnaś-cha-
10 ra[na]-kamala-yugala-pranāmā[d=vi]gata-sakala-Kala(li)-
11 kalāṅkō-nēk-āhava-saṁ[kshō)bha-jiita-jaya-svda(bda)[h] pratā-
12 p-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chuḍāmaṇi-pra-
13 bhā-ma[rī*]jari-punjra-ra[mjiita-vara-charaṇa-kamala-
14 yugala[h*] sakala-Kaling-ādhipati[h*] Gaṅg-āmala-
15 kula-tilaka[h*] mā(ma)hārāja-hirāja-paramēśvara[h*] mā-
16 tā-pitṛ-pād-ānudhyātā(taḥ) naya-vinaya-daya(yā)-dāna-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 dā[kshi]ṇa(nya)-sauryyō(ryy-au)dāryya-satyā-tyāg-ādi-gūṇa-saṃpad-ādhāra-
18 bhūtah ārimat-Kāmārṇavadēva[s-ta*]syā sūnu[r-vipu]la-vikram-ō-
19 nna[ta](t-ā)nēka-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-marchh(ṛh)-ramjita-pāda-
20 padma-yugala[h*] vimala-chiḍtt-ājrichta-bhagavan-Mārtanda-
21 vara-charaṇa-kamala-yugala[h*] Surasari[d-ī*]v-āśēha-di-
22 g-[mu]kha-vyāpi-prātāpa[h*] Surasarit-kul-āmala-sa-
23 kala-ma(ma)hārāja-tilaka[h*] mamārājaṁivāt vikhyā-
24 ta-vīrya mū(ū)rjita-śrimad-Vagrahastadēva[h*] Krōṣṭukavartanyāṁ Gō-
25 śhthavāda-niva(vā)sīnā kuṭumṛvi(bi)nāṁ(naḥ) samājñāpayati vi-

* Read Amara-rya see
26 ditam-astu vō yath-āyaṁ grāmāḥ chatu[h*]-a[ś]-m-aḥṣyaṁtara-jala-
27 samētya[ta][h*] sarva-plādā-vāḥdhavā-varjita[h*] a-ohaṁta-bhaṣṭa-sarva-ka-
28 ra-parihāra[matya] dēva-dvija-guru-pu[pū]jakaḥ(kasya) su[hrit]-vam(d-vam)sa(ās)-di-
29 na-jan-āśraya[asya] Vē[mma]-kula-dīpaka-[Dhanda]nā-
30 yakasya putra[asya] ātri-Maḍapa-Bhīmanasya(sya) udaka-pū-
31 rvakēna Gōṭhavaśa[h*] sampradatta iti ||

1 Read pāli kārikāvṛtiye
Read pṛṛvakaṃ.
No. 27—GUJARRA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(I Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The hamlet of Gujarra lies in the Datia District of Vindhyā Pradesh, near the village of Parāsāri on the Datia-Unnao road, about 11 miles to the south-east of Datia and 12 miles to the north of Jhansi in U. P. At a little distance from the hamlet, there is a hill locally known as Siddhā-ki-toriya or the hillocks of the Perfected Ones. The inscription under notice is engraved on a boulder lying at the foot of this hill.

The inscription was discovered by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Mr. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Dr. Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor Asoka (c. 269-232 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Mr. Sharma for information regarding its exact findsport, so that he could visit the place in order to examine the inscription and take inked estampages of it for study and publication. But Mr. Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not prepared to give the required information unless Dr. Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure when brought to light as a result of his study of the record. Dr. Chhabra tried to convince him that such epigraphs do not contain any information regarding buried treasures, but in vain. He, however, followed up the matter until, thanks to the interest taken in the matter by Mr. J. S. Lall, then Collector-in-Charge of Jhansi, Mr. Lal Chand Sharma and his younger brother, Mr. Lakshpat Ram Sharma, Municipal Commissioner of Jhansi, ultimately agreed to disclose the name of the findspot of the epigraph. They requested Dr. Chhabra to reach Jhansi on the 15th of November 1954 for being escorted to the spot. Although Dr. Chhabra could not visit the place on that date, the two Sharma brothers took Mr. Lall to Gujarra to show the inscription, and the discovery was announced in some daily papers. On the 5th of December 1954, Dr. Chhabra visited the village in the company of Mr. Lall, Mr. S. K. Sen, Additional Deputy Commissioner of the Datia District, Dr. K. N. Pari, then Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra (Northern Circle), and the two Sharma brothers. He carefully examined the record and took inked impressions and photographs of it. Soon afterwards he incorporated the results of his study of the epigraph in a paper which was read at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress in the last week of December 1954. In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions in the winter of 1954-55, I visited Gujarra for an examination of the record on the 5th of February 1955. Some time later Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal a copy of his unpublished paper as well as his tentative transcript of the epigraph and in February 1956 he was so good as to permit me to edit the inscription in the Epigraphia Indica.

The area occupied by the writing on the face of the boulder measures about 9 feet 5 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There are only five lines of writing. An aksara is about 3 inches in height. Lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about 6 inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1. The fifth line, with which the epigraph ends, is shorter than the other lines. The letters are carefully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some

1 Maconon over s and o has not been used in the article.
2 Dr. Chhabra’s paper together with his transcript of the inscription has since appeared in Proc. IHIC, Ahmedabad, pp. 66-71.
letters at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 are very badly damaged. Indeed it appears from the stone that line 4 stops a few inches towards the left of the end of the preceding lines. Even in other parts of the record, there are many letters and signs which are indistinct.

The characters, which are early Brāhmī as expected, are slightly longish in shape as in some of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts such as those on the Delhi-Toppra and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars. The inscription is another version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I. The language of this edict has been called the Magadhī dialect found in his Pillar Edicts as well as the Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada; but it has been noticed that r has not been changed to l in all the cases in some of the versions such as those at Rūpnāth and Maski, while it has been retained in versions like those in Mysore. There is no orthographical peculiarity which is not already known from other inscriptions of Aśoka. In several cases, medial ṣ, i and ū have been used respectively for medial a, i and u. The consonant r has not been changed to l except in chilathtike in line 4. Ch has been used for $ in chakiye (Sanskrit: sakyam, sakyāḥ). A point of grammatical interest is offered by the verb *semi (Sanskrit: asmi) in the place of sumi found in the same context in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Maski versions of the edict. The word samevachāra has been used in the neuter gender. The case-ending e has been used for both Masculine Nominative Singular and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular. Both the suffixes for the Active and Middle forms of the Present Participle have been used; but the suffix for the Middle form has taken the shape of māna in the place of Sanskrit māna. It is interesting to note that the Participles charam (Active) and charamāna (Middle) have been formed from the same root. The old form of the Infinitive Mood is noticed in pōptave and ardāhāyateve.

The inscription begins with the sentence: Devānaṁpiyasaḥ Piyadasino Asokarāja (Sanskrit: Devānāmapiyasa Priyadarśinah Asokarāja), "Of Devānāmapiyasa Priyadarśin Asokarāja". A word like śravaṇam, 'proclamation', is understood in the context. The same is the case with the Maski version of the edict. It is well known that, in his inscriptions, Aśoka generally calls himself 'king Devānāmapiyasa Priyadarśin' or 'Devānāmapiyasa' or 'king Priyadarśin', and that, among the published inscriptions of the Maurya emperor, the version of Minor Rock Edict I at Maski alone mentions him by his personal name Aśoka. The Gujarārā version of the edict, which calls him Aśokarāja, is thus the second of his known epigraphic records mentioning him by his personal name.

The next sentence of the inscription reads: aṣṭatiyānī su[n]vachharāni upāsak[e]-[a·n]i (Sanskrit: ardhatriyān sanvatsarān [vyāpya aham] upāsakaḥ asmi), "I have been an upāsakā (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two years and a half." The word śādāhāni or sādākāni qualifies aṣṭatiyānī in the corresponding sentence in the other versions suggesting that, when Minor Rock Edict I was issued, Aśoka had been an upāsaka for a little more than two and half years and not exactly for only two years and a half as stated in the present version. The omission seems to be due to oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver. Most other versions add to this a sentence saying that Aśoka was not energetic in the practice and propagation of Dharma during the whole of this period of a little over two and half years. The Mysore versions of the edict clearly state that this period of inactivity on the part of Aśoka lasted for one year. The following sentence of the edict says that he worked zealously in the cause of Dharma only for a little over one year forming the latter part of the said period of his upāsakatva till the date of the proclamation.

The third sentence runs as follows: śādāhāni su[n]vachharāre ya cha me Sāṅgha yātā tī | [a]ko[y]ā tī [a]ko[y]ā tī [a]ko[y]ā tī cha paramānti ti [a]ḥa (Sanskrit: sādāhāni sanvatsarām [vyāpya] yat cha maṇa Sāṅghaḥ yātā tī akha bāḍham paramāntaḥ tī āḍha), "Saith he, 'It is a little more than one year that I have been associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in

the practice and propagation of Dharma)." The wording of the sentence is different from that in the other versions. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as regards the meaning of the word yāda indicating Asoka's relation with the Buddhist Church. In the place of yāda, some versions have upayāda, upagata or upeta. The sentence is in the passive in some versions (e.g. mayā Saṅghaḥ yātad) and in the active in others (e.g. aham Saṅgham yātah). Some scholars think that the reference is to a visit that Asoka paid to the Buddhist Church. But this is improbable as the Present Tense in the verb sumi, 'I am' or 'I have been', in the corresponding passage, e.g., in the Rūpānāth version (sūtīke ke cchavachhare ya sumi hakaṅ Sagha upeta, Sanskrit: sūtīke cha tu saṅvatsaram yat aham Saṅgham upetaḥ), would suggest that the action indicated by yāda-upayāda-upagata-upeta with reference to Asoka's relation with the Saṅgha was a continuous event lasting for over a year immediately preceding the date of the edict. To obviate this difficulty, some scholars take upeta and its equivalents to mean 'entered' and think that Asoka became a Buddhist monk or at least a bhikṣu-gatiya or grihastha-muni. That, however, Asoka was an upāsaka and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the edict is clear from the Present Tense used in asmi in the second sentence of the inscription already discussed above. On the date of the proclamation, Asoka could not have been staying in the Church for more than a year as the edict is stated to have been issued on the 257th day of a tour which he had undertaken for the propagation of Dharma, the period covered by the tour being eight months and a half. We have elsewhere suggested that yāda-upayāda-upagata-upeta has been used here in the sense of saṅvata, 'intimately associated', and that it speaks of Asoka's close contact with the Buddhist Church, which began more than a year before the promulgation of the edict.

Some scholars think that the second and third sentences of the edict speak of two different stages of Asoka's upāsakata, the first covering more than 2½ years when he was not zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma and the second covering more than a year when he was exerting himself in the cause of Dharma. This would suggest that, by the time when the edict was issued, Asoka had been an upāsaka for nearly four years. But this is unlikely in view of the fact that Asoka uses the Present Tense in connection with the period of more than 2½ years giving the duration of his upāsakata till the date of the edict and also with the period of more than a year (immediately preceding the said date) when he was zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma but that he uses the Past Tense (Aorist) in connection with the period of one year when he was not exerting himself in the cause of Dharma (cf. Brahmagiri version: no tu kha bādhāṁ prakānte hūsam ekan saṅvāchharaṁ - Sanskrit: no tu khalu bādhāṁ prakānte abhūvam ekan saṅvatsaram).

The fourth sentence reads: etenā antareṇa Jambudīpaṁ Devānāmpriyasya aṁiśām-devā saṁtaṁ munisa misam-devā kaḍā (Sanskrit: etenā antareṇa Jambudīpīde Devānāmpriyasya aṁiśā-devāṁ santoḥ manushyāṁ misa-devāḥ kritāḥ. " Devānāmpriyā's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvipa, who were unmingled with gods during this period, have been made (by him) mingled with gods."

The wording of the sentence is not the same in all the versions. The use of Devānāmpriyasya in this context is a peculiarity of the Gujarā text of the edict. In some versions, men who had been formerly unmingled with gods are represented as mingled with the latter, while, in others, gods are represented as having been formerly unmingled with men and later mingled with them. Jambudīpa here apparently indicates the empire of Asoka. The following sentence makes it clear that the result of the practice and propagation of Dharma on the part of Asoka was claimed to be this mingling of his subjects with gods.

The com mingling of gods and men has been understood differently by different scholars. H. P. Sastri's interpretation of devāḥ as 'the Brāhmaṇas' is based on a misunderstanding of the corresponding sentence of the Rūpānāth version of the edict and has now been given up. Sylvam Lēvi

2. JPASBE, 1910, pp. 259 ff.
and Filiozat take devo to mean 'a king'.

But it is difficult to believe that Aśoka who claimed to have been 'beloved of the gods' would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or, to kings including himself) as a god. He could hardly have been unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from the use of the word in a sense which is not its normal meaning. F. W. Thomas thinks that Aśoka brought the Brahmanical gods to the knowledge of wild tribes and other backward peoples who had formerly no knowledge of them. But Aśoka's Dharma had really little to do with the Brahmanical gods, and the claim seems to refer to his subjects in general. According to E. Hüttens, devāh here means divyāni rūpāni of Rock Edict IV, meaning 'gods in effigie' which Aśoka exhibited to his subjects. But Rock Edict IV really says that Aśoka's dharma-jñasastī achieved better result in promoting Dharma among the people than the religious exhibitions conducted by earlier kings had attained. The correct interpretation of the passage in question has been offered by D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so that they became fit to be commingled with gods not only in heaven but also in this life. This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage yogâm yuñjântâ occurring in the latter part of the present version of the edict.

The next sentence runs as follows: parakamaśa iyaṁ phale (Sanskrit: parakramasya idam phalam), 'This is the result of (his) exertion (in the practice and propagation of Dharma)'. The exertion relates to Aśoka's activities during the period of more than a year immediately before the date of the edict, which is referred to in the third sentence discussed above.

The sixth and seventh sentences of the inscription read: no [cha iyaṁ mahatena ti va chakiye pāpotaë [\*]] khudākepā pi parakamaminesā dhammân charamīn pânesā sanyatena vipule pi svage chakiye ārādhayitave (Sanskrit: no cha idam mahātā iti eva bhakṣayā phraṁ | kshudrakepā api parakramamāṇena dhammân charatā prâpûṣu sanyatena vipulaḥ api svargaḥ bhakṣayā arādhayitum), 'It is not that the rich man alone is able to obtain this (result). Even a poor man, who exerts himself, practises (the duties associated with) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, is able to attain even the great heaven'. Aśoka here says that the brilliant result obtained by him by dint of his exertion in the practice and propagation of Dharma can also be achieved by a poor man and that it is not a monopoly of a rich man like himself. The wording of these two sentences is not the same in the different versions. By 'great heaven', Aśoka possibly understood a station higher than the world of the gods.

The next sentence reads: [s[e] etâye atâhīye] iyaṁ sâvâge (Sanskrit: tat etasmasi arthāya idam sâvâgam), 'Therefore this proclamation is (being issued by me) for this (following) purpose'. The twofold purpose is indicated in the next two sentences.

The first of the two purposes is indicated in the sentence which reads: khudâke chā udâre chā dhammân charatā [yogasmin yuñjatām] (Sanskrit: kshudrakeh cha udâre chā dhammân charatām, yogasmin yuñjatām), 'Let the poor and the rich (both) practise (the duties associated with) Dharma and effect (their) association (with gods thereby)'. Aśoka's first purpose for issuing the proclamation was that his subjects, both poor and rich, should emulate him in the practice of Dharma (which, in his view, included the propagation of Dharma) and this, he believed, would make them fit for commingling with the gods. In the place of this sentence, other versions have, 'Let (both) the poor and the rich exert themselves (in the cause of Dharma)'. The passage yogasmin yuñjatām added in the present version to what corresponds to the above sentence of the other versions is of considerable importance as it throws welcome light on the interpretation of the controversial reference to the commingling of gods and men in the earlier part of the edict.

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1 See Jour. As., Tome CCXXXVII, 1949, pp. 235 ff. See also comments on some of Filiozat's suggestions in Massí Inscription of Aśoka, op. cit., p. 26 and note 2; p. 27, note 1.
GUJARRA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

Scale: One-eighth
The second purpose underlying the proclamation is indicated in the next sentence which reads:  
āṁś (ṛ) dhaṁśaṁ chharāṁ atiyo, (Sanskrit: antā api cha jānanta—kīṁ uśī—[janāḥ] enam eva Dharmāṁ charan avsa),  
"Let the people outside the borders (of my dominions) also know that . . . . . . . . if (people)  
practise the (duties associated with) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree."  
The message to the antāḥ or peoples living beyond the borders of Asoka’s empire is also found in most other  
versions. But the wording of the present text is different. Unfortunately many of the akṣaras in  
this part are damaged and the meaning of the section is not absolutely certain. We have tried below  
 to restore the lost words on the basis of the wording in the other versions. In matters like  
the promotion of Dharma, Asoka made no distinction between his own subjects and foreigners. To him  
all men were like his children.

The last sentence of the inscription reads: iyaṁ [cha] sāvāna viṣuṭha[na 256] (Sanskrit: idaṁ  
cha śravaṇaṁ viṣuṭha 256), “And this proclamation is (being issued by me when I have been)  
on tour (for) 256 (days)”. The word viṣuṭha (i.e. viṣuṭha) standing for Sanskrit viṣuṭha has been  
 used here for Sanskrit viṣuṭha. There is difference of opinion among scholars on the interpretation  
of the sentence. But the corresponding sentence in the Sahasrām version makes its meaning  
absolutely clear. This reads: duve sampāṇnā lāti-satā viṣuṭha ti 255 which stands for Sanskrit:  
dve shatpaṁchakṣaṭ-vāṭī-satā viṣuṭhaṁ (=viṣuṭhaḥ aham) iti 255 or dvē saptaṁchakṣaṭ-rātri-kate  
viṣuṭhe (=viṣuṭhe maya) iti 255. This tour seems to be one of the early Dharmā-yātraś (i.e. tours  
for the propagation of Dharma) instituted by Asoka in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e. in  
his eleventh year of his reign, corresponding roughly to 260-259 B.C.) and particularly referred  
to in Rock Edict VIII. It is now generally believed that Minor Rock Edict I is the earliest of  
Asoka’s proclamations on matters relating to Dharma first issued 12 years after his coronation,  
i. e. about 258-257 B.C.

TEXTI

upāsak[e]=samj[ī] [*] (III) sādhike sa[m]vachha[re] ya cha me Ṛaṁge y[ā]te ti [aha]ṁ bā-  
2 dha[ṁ] cha parakarite ti [āhā] [*] (IV) eteṇa aṁtareṇa Jambudipasi Devāna[m]piya[sa]  
sa[m]isaṁ-devā saṁta² munisa śrama-devā kaṭā [*] (V) parakamaśa iyaṁ phule [*] (VI)  
nō [cha] iyaṁ mahatena ti va  
3 chakīye pāpotave [*] (VII) khudākena pl parakamamīnena dhāmman charāminēn pāṇeṣu  
saṁyatenā vipule pī svage chakīye arāhyātave [*] (VIII) a[e] etāye  
4. aṭhā[ye] iyaṁ sāvaṇe [*] (IX) khudāke cha udāre cha dhāmman charaṇtū [yo]gaṁ  
yunjaṁtū [*] (X) aṁta pl cha jānanta kiṅki cha4 chilath[i]ke dhamma[m]cha...4...  
200] 50 6 [*]  

1 From impressions.  
2 In the place of ni, no seems to have been originally engraved.  
3 This akṣara had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between the preceding and  
following akṣaras.  
4 This akṣara should better be read after chilath[i]ke.  
5 The intended reading of the sentence may be chilarth[i]ke cha dhammamcharage hotu (Sanskrit: chilarth[i]ke  
cha dhammamcharage hotu). Cfr., e.g., chilarth[i]ke cha palakame hotu (Sanskrit: chilarth[i]ke cha  
parakramam dhara[va] in the Sahasrām version.  
6 The intended reading may be vṛdhā[ṇi] (Sanskrit: vṛdhā[ṇi]). As suggested by other versions of the edict,  
the lost words before vṛdhā[ṇi] may be iyaṁ [a]kṣe (Sanskrit: vṛdhā[ṇe]).  
7 This Participant in the Nominative Singular has to be taken with a word like jana (Sanskrit: janāḥ.) Of  
hevarām ve kalastāh (Sanskrit: evaṁ yāyaṁ krsnaṁ) in the Maṣkī version.
TRANSLATION

(I) *(This is a proclamation)* of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Asokarāja.

(II) I have been *(now)* an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two and half years.

(III) Saith he, "It is *(now) more than a year that the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) has been intimately associated with me and that I have been exerting myself *(in the cause of Dharma)*".

(IV) Devānāmpriya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who had been unmingled with the gods during this period, were made *(by him)* mingled with the gods.

(V) This is the result of *(his)* exertion *(in the cause of Dharma)*.

(VI) It is not that this *(result)* can be obtained by the rich man alone. *(VII) Even the poor man, if he exerts himself *(in the cause of Dharma)*, practises *(the duties associated with)* Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, can attain even the great heaven.

(VIII) Therefore this proclamaion is *(issued by me)* for this *(following)* purpose.

(IX) Let *(both)* the poor and the rich practise *(the duties associated with)* Dharma *(and)* effect *(thereby their)* association *(with the gods)*.

(X) Let the peoples living beyond the borders *(of my empire)* also know that .................. if *(one)* practises *(the duties associated with)* this Dharma alone to a considerable extent."

(XI) And this proclamaion *(is issued by me when I have been)* on tour *(for)* 256 *(days).*

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¹ The conjectural restoration of the damaged portion of the inscription would suggest the translation: "Let the peoples living beyond the borders *(of my empire)* also know that the practice of *(the duties associated with)* Dharma should further increase. This matter will increase if *(people)* practise *(the duties associated with)* this Dharma alone to a considerable degree*. 
No. 28—RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(2 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In a letter dated the 14th September 1946, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, a keen student of ancient Indian history and an Advocate of the Madras High Court, sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India an eye-copy of the beginning of an old Brāhmi inscription, which he had reproduced from an old record about thirty years previously. Just then he could not remember the source from which the eye-copy had been taken down; but he correctly noticed that some of the letters of the inscription looked like Brāhmi characters found in the edicts of Asoka.1 Unfortunately it was not possible to make out anything from the eye-copy and Mr. Aravamuthan was searching for his notes to trace its source. In another letter, dated the 14th March 1947, he informed the Government Epigraphist for India that he had reproduced the eye-copy of the inscription from the following volume of the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Madras Government’s Oriental Manuscripts Library: ‘Local Records, Vol. 29, Sheet 28, Title 55: Inscriptions on Stone and Copper in the Aundavanny Mangala Dinne and Pancha Pallem Districts.—Transcribed in Local Records, Vol. 23.’ He also wrote in this connection that the inscription is stated in the said source to be in a dona opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rāmalinga Devālayam in the southern part of a village called Rājula-Mañḍagiri in the Pañchapālayam Taluk in the District of the same name. As the List of Villages in the Madras Presidency does not refer to places called Pañchapālayam and Rājula-Mañḍagiri, the findspot of the inscription may be, he suggested, no other than Mañḍagiri in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District.

The discovery of the eye-copy in the Mackenzie Manuscripts points to the date when it was prepared. Colin Mackenzie, born in 1754, was appointed to the Sappers in Madras and arrived in India in 1783. He was appointed the first Surveyor-General of India in 1815 and died in 1821. Soon after his arrival in South India, Mackenzie contacted certain Brāhmaṇa Pandits and realised the importance of collecting manuscripts and studying their contents for an evaluation of Indian culture. In the thirty-eight years of his stay in India, he collected innumerable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as well as in the South Indian languages, of which the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sent to England. His collection also included transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper plates. After his death, Mackenzie’s South Indian collection was purchased by the East India Company and their catalogue in two volumes, prepared by H.H. Wilson with the assistance of Mackenzie’s Pandits, was published from Calcutta in 1828. The manuscripts were afterwards deposited first in the library of the Madras College, then in the library of the Presidency College, and ultimately in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It seems that the eye-copy of the Rājula-Mañḍagiri inscription was prepared for Mackenzie sometime about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In February 1948, Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited the village of Mañḍagiri in the Bellary District in search of the epigraph. But no such inscription could be traced there. In December 1952, in the course of his annual tour in search of inscriptions, Mr. M. Venkataramaya, then Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Pattikonda which is the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Kurnool District and lies about 8 miles from the Tuggal Station on the Guntakal-Bezwada line of the Southern Railway. There he heard of a locality called Rājula-Mañḍagiri lying at a distance of about

1 Macron over e and o has not been used in the article.

(211)
EYE-COPY OF RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION

A

B

(Photographs from Mackenzie Mss.)
3 miles to the north-west of Pattikonja and also of the existence of some inscriptions at the place. It is a hamlet attached to the village of Jišṭurn about 4 miles to the north-west of Pattikonja. There is no road from Pattikonja to Rājula-Maṇḍagiri; but the place can be reached by a bullock-cart. The hamlet lies at a distance of about 20 miles from Erāragudi where the edicts of Aśoka were discovered in 1929.¹

Mr. Venkataramayya could not visit Rājula-Maṇḍagiri just then. Next year he again went to the Pattikonja area in search of inscriptions and discovered the record at Rājula-Maṇḍagiri on the 26th December 1953. There is no doubt that this is the inscription, an eye-copy of which found a place in the Mackenzie Manuscripts. The temple of Rāmalingēśvara stands on the rock on which the inscription is engraved. The epigraph is incised on the surface of the rock at a distance of about ten yards from the entrance of the temple. Four other early and medieval epigraphs were also discovered in the locality.²

The inscription representing a version of Aśoka’s Minor Rock Edicts I and II commences with a triscele which is sometimes found on the uninscribed cast coins of ancient India.¹ The same symbol is noticed in the eye-copy. The抄写ist tried to reproduce only some letters at the beginning of the inscription. But he only copied the letters in their parts which he could clearly see and omitted damaged letters without leaving any space for them. This made it impossible for anybody to decipher the record from the eye-copy.

The area covered by the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri inscription consisting of 15 lines of writing is about 70° by 40°. Individual akṣaras are about 2½" in height. The preservation of the writing is extremely unsatisfactory. There is no line in which a number of akṣaras are not damaged, beyond recognition in most cases. The characters, which are slightly roundish in shape and are rather carelessly engraved in lines which are not always straight, closely resemble those of the Erāragudi inscriptions of Aśoka. While, however, the Erāragudi version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II has many passages to be read from right to left and several groups of letters engraved outside their proper places, the said peculiarities are absent in the writing of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version. The lines have to be read from left to right as usual in Brāhmī and letters do not appear to have been incised outside their proper places. The left and right strokes forming the lower part of r are curved, the two of them together generally forming a sort of semi-circles. The letter r is not of the cock-screw type. It is a horizontal line, its upper end being generally a curve opening towards the right. The upper vertical of r is sometimes a curve opening towards the right and the letter resembles m without its right upper member (cf. Devānāgari and keśāka in line 1). The conjunct gr has been written as rp. As regards the Prakrit language of the record and its orthography and grammar, it may be pointed out that the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II may be regarded as a close copy of the Erāragudi text of the same records. Most of the characteristics of the epigraph in these respects are also known from some other inscriptions of Aśoka. The letter r has not been changed to l and a has been used in all cases for p. The use of keśāka for Sanskrit evam–āka only in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Erāragudi versions is interesting. Both these versions appear to use hata for Sanskrit bhavatu.

Most of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II are fragmentary; but the lost akṣaras can be restored with the help of the almost identical copy found at Erāragudi. Such restorations are generally supported by the possible number of akṣaras lost in particular gaps. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text in its turn helps us in restoring certain groups of letters either altogether left out in the Erāragudi copy through inadvertence or incised there out.

² See A. ‘Ep., 1953-54, Nos. 64-67 of All. H.
³ See All. Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, pp. lxxvi, 98.
of their proper places. There are only a few cases where the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to differ from the Erāraṇḍi copy. But the variations are not of great importance.

For the purpose of interpreting the edicts, we propose to quote the text of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version singly or in groups and, in the case of the fragmentary sentences, also the corresponding parts of the Erāraṇḍi version. The Minor Rock Edicts at Erāraṇḍi have been published by several students including the author of this paper. But, in the following lines, I shall quote the Erāraṇḍi text from a fresh transcript recently prepared by me from a re-study of the record.

The first sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edict I reads: Devānaṁ-piye hevāha (Sanskrit: Devānasāntipiyā evam āhā), “Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.” There is a triscele symbol at the beginning of the sentence. The symbol is also found in the Erāraṇḍi version of the edict at the beginning of the same sentence, although it was wrongly read there as se (Sanskrit sat, sat).

The second and third sentences, the first of which is partially preserved, read adhikāni cha a ................. ke [**] no tu kha ekān samvacchara pakanthe hrasan. The text of the same sentences as found in the Erāraṇḍi version runs: adhikāni [ādhātiyāṇā samvaccharānī] ya hakaṁ upāsake [**] no tu kha ekān samvaccharaṁ pakanthe ṣunam (Sanskrit: adhikān ardhātiyāṇā samvaccharān [vyāpya] yat aham upāsakaḥ [sams] | no tu khalu [aham] ekān samvaccharān [vyāpya] prakṛtaḥ abhūtam), “It is (now) more than two and half years that I have been an upāsaka (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha). I was, however, not energetic (in the practice and propagation of Dharma) for one year (at the beginning of the above period).” The passage ādhātiyāṇā samvaccharānī in the second sentence of the edict appears to be either cut off from the impressions of the Erāraṇḍi version or inadvertently omitted from it. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version has space for these akṣaras, although they are damaged. In the place of adhikāni other versions generally have sādhāki or sāṭirekāni.

The next sentence, which is also partially preserved, reads: sāṭireke ................. padiye bādhāṁ cha me pakanthe. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Erāraṇḍi version: sāṭireke chu kha savachhaṁ yuṁ maṣṭā Saṅgha upāyite bādhāṁ cha me pakanthe (Sanskrit: sāṭirekāh cha tu khalu samvaccharāṁ [vyāpya] yat maṣṭā Saṅghāṁ upetaḥ bādhāṁ cha maṣṭā prakṛtam), “It is (now) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (in the cause of Dharma).” In the place of upāyite (Sanskrit upetaḥ) of the Erāraṇḍi version, the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to have upayāте (Sanskrit upayāṭa).

The fifth damaged sentence reads: iminā chu kālēna amī ......... bhūtā. The complete text of the same sentence in the Erāraṇḍi version reads: iminā chu kālēna amī [ye] munīśē devata te īdāṁ misīkhatā (Sanskrit: etena cha tu kālēna [deva] amīśē rā pumahyāḥ [abhūtum] devaḥ te īdāṁ misīkhatāḥ [sams]), “Those men, who were unmingled (with the gods) during this period (down to the present), have now been mingled with the gods.”

The next sentence, which is not fully preserved, runs: pakama ...... phale. The same sentence in the Erāraṇḍi copy reads: pakamaṁ ha ijamā [phale*] (Sanskrit: [mama] prakramasya

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2 The passage ye anām upārāke no tu kha ekān samvaccharām pakanthe forming line 2 of the Erāraṇḍi record has to be read there from right to left.

3 The passage te bādhāṁ cha me pakanthe [*] iminā chu kālēna a* of the fourth and fifth sentences in the Erāraṇḍi copy forms line 4 of that record and has to be read from right to left. But "mimā ye munīśe which follows has been engraved about the left end of the line and has to be read from left to right. The akṣaras "dakena pi pakā" of a sentence in the latter part of the edict are engraved before devat.
hi idam phalam), “This is the result of (my) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).” The word phale is inadvertently omitted from the Erāgūḍhi text.

The seventh and eighth sentences, the second of which is damaged, run: no hiyam mahapenena sakiya. [*] khudake. ........... sakiya vipū. .............. tave. The complete text of this section is found in the Erāgūḍhi copy runs: [no hiyam] mahapena sakiya [*] khudakaṇa pa pakamamini ṣa kiya vipūle svagaha arādhetave (Sanskrit: no hi idam maḥāmane eva sakyam kshudraṇaṇa api prakaramaṇaṇa sakyam vipulāḥ svagahā arādhaṇaṁ), “Indeed it is not attainable only by the rich man. Even the poor man, if he is energetic (in the cause of Dharma), can attain even the great heaven.” The passage no hiyam, found in the Rājula-Mandagiri copy, has been inadvertently omitted from the text of the Erāgūḍhi version.

The next damaged sentence reads: etāga cha aṭhāya. .. sāvane sāvite, the Erāgūḍhi text giving the complete text of the sentence as: etāya cha aṭhāya iyam sāvane sāvite (Sanskrit: stasmai cha arthāya idam śravaṇam śrāvitaṁ), “It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (by me).”

The tenth sentence which is damaged reads: ............. lakā. ................. tā cha me jāneva chiraṭthitikā cha iyam pakame hata vi. .............. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Erāgūḍhi copy runs: athā khudaka-mahalakā imaṇa ṣa pakamem āntā cha me jāneva chiraṭhitikā cha iyam pakame hata vipulāḥ pi ca vañhitaist apanyādhiyaś diyaṭdhiyaḥ (Sanskrit: yathā kshudraṃ-mahalakāḥ idam api prakramen āntā api ca jānīyāḥ chiraṭhitikāḥ cha ayaṃ prakramāḥ bhānata vippalam api cha [idam] vardhitaśya vardhaḥbhikena devyaḥdham), “So that the poor and the rich should also be energetic in this matter (of the practice and propagation of Dharma), and that the peoples living beyond the borders of (my empire) should also know (that this matter) will increase to a great extent, (at least) roughly to one and a half times.” Mahallaka is a Pāli word meaning ‘big’, i.e. rich in the present context.

The eleventh sentence which is not fully preserved reads: ............. cha sāvane sāvapite vyuṣṭe na 200 50 6. As seen from the text of the Erāgūḍhi version, the word lost at the beginning of the sentence is iyam, the complete sentence standing for Sanskrit: idam cha śravaṇam śrāviṇam vyuṣṭena 256. “This proclamation is being issued (by me when I have been) on tour (for) 256 (days).”

The above portion is followed in line 7 by the text of Minor Rock Edict II. The first sentence of this edict is fully preserved and is also found in the Erāgūḍhi copy. It reads: hevaṃ Devānāhpiye āha (Sanskrit: evam Devānāḥpiye āha), “Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.”

The second sentence, which is damaged, runs: yathā Devānāhpiye. .............. ye, the complete text of which as found in the Erāgūḍhi copy is: yathā Devānāḥpiye āha tathā kaṭavya (Sanskrit: yathā Devānāḥpiye āha tathā karāvayaṃ [yushmanbhīḥ maḥāmāraśāḥ]), “You should do as (you have been) told (to do) by the Beloved of the Gods.” The king here addresses his executive officers entitled Mahāmāra, who were employed in various administrative units of the empire.

The third and fourth sentences run: Rajāke ānaptaviye [\* \*] se dāni jānapadānī ānapayisati Rathikāni cha[ ha (Sanskrit: Rajukāḥ [yushmanbhīḥ] ājñāpayitaviyaḥ saḥ idāni jānapadānī ājñāpayisiyaḥ Raṣṭakān cha), “The (officer entitled) Rajukā should be ordered (by you in respect of

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1 In the Erāgūḍhi copy, the passage iyam [phale] no hiyam mahapenena sakiya kha in this sentence and the preceding one forms a half line to be read from right to left. The following passage "dīnaṃ pi pakama" is engraved before dēciḥ to dāni, etc., in line 5. The abhasaṃ "dēciḥ" of this sentence and the following one are written above the line at the left of the half line mahapenena sakiya kha to be read from right to left.

2 In the Erāgūḍhi text, the passage "tā cha me jāneva chiraṭhitikā cha forms a half line to be read from right to left and vaṃhita apanyādhiyaś diyaṭdhiyaḥ is engraved slightly below the level of the preceding cha.

3 The passage iyam cha sāvapite in the Erāgūḍhi copy forms a half line and has to be read from right to left.

4 In the Erāgūḍhi copy, the passage "rājāke ānaptaviye āha tathā kaṭavya in the Erāgūḍhi text forms a half line to be read from right to left.

5 In the Erāgūḍhi copy, the passage "se dāni jānapadānī āha" forms a half line engraved below rājāke ānaptaviye (another half line to be read from left to right) and has to be read from right to left.
this matter). He (in his turn) will order the people of the countryside as well as the (officer entitled) Ṛṣṭhrikā.

Both these sentences are found in the Erāgudī copy. The Mahāmātrās, indirectly referred to in the second sentence of this edict, seem to have been in charge of the provinces or groups of districts in Asoka's empire while the Rajukas and Ṛṣṭhrikas mentioned in these sentences were probably rulers of the districts and their sub-divisions respectively. The designation Pradebhi seems to have been applied to the said class of the Mahāmātrās in Rock Edict III, the Yuktas mentioned there being probably officers of a class similar to that of the Ṛṣṭhrika or of a still lower grade. The word yuktas may also mean there merely 'an official'.

The next five sentences, which are mostly damaged, read: mātā ............... [*] gurusu ............ .*] rāñasū dayatiṣṭhe [*] saccā vataviṣṭe [*] ............... taviṣṭe. The complete text of this part, as found in the Erāgudī version, runs: mātāpitāsū sususitaivasu [*] hemanavatavasu sususitaivasu [*] rānasū dayatiṣṭhe [*] saccā vataviṣṭe [*] ima dharmagunā paññāvatiṣṭhe (Sanskrit: mātā-pitāsu subhūritāvam | evam eva gurusu subhūritāvam | prāvavasu dayatiṣṭhe | satyam vattavey | ima dharmagunā pravartitāvam), "One should be obedient to one's parents. One should likewise be obedient to one's elders. One should be kind to the living beings. One should speak the truth. One should propound these attributes of Dharma." There appears to be no space for hemanav in the second of these sentences in the Rajula-Mandagiri copy.

The tenth sentence reads as in the Erāgudī copy: hevan taphe ṣaṇapayata Devānāmpriya-vacanam (Sanskrit: evam śaṇapayata Devānāmpriya-vacanam), "Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods."

The eleventh sentence, which is damaged, reads: ............. tha ha .... karanakāni yogyāchariyāni bhumihāraṁ ni cha taphe. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Erāgudī version runs: hevan śaṇapaṭyata hathyārohaṇā kuruṇaṁ karanakāni yogyāchariyāni bhumihāraṁ ni cha taphe (Sanskrit: evam śaṇapayata hastyārohaṁ kartarunā yogyāchariyān brāhmaṇān cha yāyam), "In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes, the charioteers and (the teachers of) the Brāhmaṇa (community)." The elephant-riders, scribes and charioteers are mentioned side by side with the Brāhmaṇa teachers apparently because they had also their pupils to whom they used to teach their profession. The idea was that all teachers should guide their pupils in the path of Dharma as understood by Asoka. The following sentences are meant to be the address of the officers to the teachers.

The twelfth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: .......... anide ........... pakīte. The complete text of the sentence, found in the Erāgudī version, runs: hevan nivesayātā paññāvatiṣṭhe yārīti porāṇa pakīte (Sanskrit: evam nivesyatā paññāvatiṣṭhe yārīti porāṇa pakīte), "You must thus instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

The damaged thirteenth sentence reads: ............... viṣte. The complete text in the Erāgudī copy runs: iyān sususitaivasu (Sanskrit: idam subhūritāvam), "This (order) should be obeyed."

The fourteenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: apachāya ........ se achariyā. The complete sentence reads in the Erāgudī copy as follows: apachāyanā ya vā achariyasa se hemanav (Sanskrit: apachāyanā ya eva achariyasa sa evam eva), "Whatever honour is enjoyed by the teacher lies really in this." But there is no space for so many akharas in the damaged part of the Rajula-Mandagiri copy, the intended reading in which may have been apachāyanā hemanav se achariyasa (Sanskrit: apachāyanā evam eva sā achariyasa).

1. The akharas summarised to go before *sitivaiv hemav at the beginning of the line in the Erāgudī version have been engraved at the beginning of the following line before *ma dhanam-guna.
2. The akharas hevan ṣaṇapa in the Erāgudī copy are engraved below the right end of the line and have to be read from right to left.
3. In the Erāgudī copy, the akharas yeva of achariyasa have been engraved at the beginning of the following line, and hemav, incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left.
The fifteenth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: .... vā pana.... nātikāni yathārāha nātikasu pavattaviye. The complete sentence as found in the Eragudī copy reads: yathā vā puna ahaśāriyasa nātikāni yathārāham nātikasu pavattaviye (Sanskrit yathā vā puna śāriyasya nātikāki [sanāti] yathārāham [tasya] nātikāsu [idānā] pravartitavam). "Then again, this (principle underlying the order) should be established in the proper manner among (the teacher's) female relatives by the male relatives he may have." In the Rājula-Mandāgiri copy, the reading may be nātikasu (Sanskrit nātikāshu).

The sixteenth sentence, also fragmentary, runs: .... ate... siya yārīśā porānā pakati. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Eragudī copy: hevāpi onetevaśa yathārāham pavattaviye yārīśā porānā pakati (Sanskrit: etat api antevāśishu yathārāham pravartitvam yārīśi pariṣṭhānā prakṛiti), "This should also be established (by them) in the proper way among (their own) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage".

The seventeenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: yathārāham yathā iyāṁ... siya ... tha ānapayātha cha antevāśi. In the Eragudī copy, the complete sentence reads: yathārāham yathā iyāṁ sātiro(re)ke... siya hevāṁ tūpe ānapayātha nivesayātha cha antevāśi (Sanskrit: yathārāham yathā idām sātiroke sātā evāṁ yāyāṁ ājaśnāpayata nivesayātha cha antevāśi), "You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (principle underlying the order) grows (among them abundantly)". The Rājula-Mandāgiri copy seems to have nivesayātha ānapayātha cha in the place of ānapayātha nivesayātha cha of the Eragudī version.

Only two akṣaras of the last sentence of the Rājula-Mandāgiri copy are traceable on the impressions. But the sentence seems to read as in the Eragudī copy: hevāṁ Devānāmpiyai ānapayati (Sanskrit: evāṁ Devānāmpiyai ājaśnāpayati), "Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods".

TEXT

A. Minor Rock Edict I

1 "(I) Devānāmpiyai hevā[ha] (II) adhik[āni] [cha' a]... k[re] (III) no tu [kho] ....

2 e[kam] samva[chhara pa]kaṁte huaṁ (IV) sā[tīre[ke] [payā]te bā-

3 āma cha me paka[n]te (V) lminā [chu] kā[le]na ami... (VI) [paka[m]e]

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1 This akṣara is damaged and is preceded by a damaged sā at the beginning of the line. This sā is, however, actually meant for the beginning of the following line.

2 Of this word, s[ā] stands at the beginning of the third line from bottom and tīro(re)ke at the beginning of the penultimate line.

3 From impressions.

4 There is a triscelae symbol at the beginning of the line.

5 This word stands for Sanskrit evam āka.

6 Other versions would suggest ādhikānī. But the Eragudī copy has ādhikānī.

7 This damaged akṣara looks more like ma.

8 About 15 akṣaras are damaged here. They may be restored as "ācāriyān samvāchchārānī yam hakāri upālaa".

9 About 12 akṣaras which are damaged here may be restored as tu kho samvāchchhare yam maya samyge u.

10 The number of akṣaras damaged here is about 12 and they may be restored as "sa muniśe dōshi te dāni mārti".
No. 23] RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASUKA

4 phale [*] (VII) no hiyaṁ mahaṁten[el]va sakiy[es] [*] (VIII) [khu]dāk[e]
[sa]kiye vi[pā]...........

5 [ta]lye [*] (IX) etāy[es] cha aśhāya .... 6 [sāvane] sāv[ite] [*] (X)
[lakā]......................

6 [tā] cha me jāne[yu chi]raḥhitika cha iyaṁ pakame hota vi[i].................


B. Minor Rock Edict II

(I) [hevaṁ De]jvānāmp[iye ṣ]ha [*] (II) [yahā Devānāmp]-

8 ye [*] (III) ra[ji][ke ā]n[pe]ta[viye] [*] (IV) se dā[ṇi jāna]padā-
ni [ā]napay[i[sati ra]thikā[n]cha [*] (V) [mālā]

9 [*] (VI) gu[rusu]..............12 [*] (VII) rpān[esū] [da]yitavi[ye]
[*] (VIII) sa[cha vata]v[iya] [*] (IX) ..............

10 tavi[yan] [*] (X) he[vaṁ tu[phe ān] ā[pa*]yātha Devānāmp[iya]-vachane-
[nan] [*] (XI) ....................


chāya ................21 se [acha]-

1 About 3 akṣharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "sa hiyaṁ.
2 About 8 akṣharas which are damaged here may be restored as "na pi pakamamānena.
3 The damaged akṣharas can be restored as "le saṅga.
4 The number of akṣharas damaged here is about 3 and they may be restored as dṛākāśa".
5 About 2 akṣharas are damaged here. They may be restored as iyāṇa.
6 There are about 7 akṣharas damaged here. They may be restored as athā kṣudaka-maha".
7 The damaged akṣharas may be restored as imaṁ paka".
8 About 3 akṣharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "mēva anīt".
9 The number of akṣharas damaged here is about 11. The reading appears to be "pule vadhīṣṭi aparādhiyā.
10 About 6 akṣharas are damaged here. They may be restored as diyaṇāyīna [*] iyāna.
11 There are about 8 akṣharas damaged here. They may be restored as "ye ṣha tathā kṣāva".
12 About 8 akṣharas which are damaged here may be restored as "pitara suṣṭhāṅgīya.
13 The word can be restored as suṣṭhāṅgīya.
14 These damaged akṣharas can be restored as ima dhamānā".
15 There are about 6 akṣharas damaged here, which may be restored as "ma-ganā paśuṭī".
16 The akṣharas lost here can be restored as kevāṁ ānapayaqa".
17 About 6 akṣharas are damaged here. The word may be hathiyārohāṇi.
18 The damaged akṣharas can be restored as kevāṁ nīcayādikha.
19 About 9 akṣharas are damaged here. They may be restored as "aṅkī niyāṇa porāṇā.
20 The damaged akṣharas can be restored as iyāna suṣṭhīta."
RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

Scale: One-seventh
[viye] [[*] (XVI)...[[*] [ate]

[iyām]......[siya

15 .................... * tha [ānapa]yātha cha [a]j[i](e)v[āsi]...[[*] (XVIII)...[ata]
napā......10 [[*]

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1 The lost akṣhara may be restored as sa.
2 About 2 akṣharas which are damaged here may be restored as yathā.
3 There are about 5 akṣharas damaged here and they may be restored as achariṣaṇa.
4 The word looks more like nātikāsu than nātikāsu here.
5 About 3 akṣharas are lost. They may be restored as hōḍa pi.
6 The damaged akṣhara (about 11 in number) may be restored as "vāsiṣṭu yathāraḥham paccitta".
7 The damaged akṣhara may be restored as sātīrekṣaḥ.
8 About 8 akṣharas are lost here. They may be restored as ḍrīm tepe niṣesagatā.
9 The damaged akṣhara may be restored as ni.
10 The sentence may be restored as ḍrīm Derānampīye ānapayati.

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[脚注]
1 The lost akṣhara may be restored as sa.
3 About 5 akṣharas damaged here and they may be restored as achariṣaṇa.
4 The word looks more like nātikāsu than nātikāsu here.
5 About 3 akṣharas are lost. They may be restored as hōḍa pi.
6 The damaged akṣhara (about 11 in number) may be restored as "vāsiṣṭu yathāraḥham paccitta".
7 The damaged akṣhara may be restored as sātīrekṣaḥ.
8 About 8 akṣharas are lost here. They may be restored as ḍrīm tepe niṣesagatā.
9 The damaged akṣhara may be restored as ni.
10 The sentence may be restored as ḍrīm Derānampīye ānapayati.
No. 29.—ADHABHARA PLATES OF MAHA-NANNA RAJA

(I Plate)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

Adhabhāra (Adbhār or Arbhr), about 40 miles from Bilaspur, is a village in the Sakti Tahur of the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. On the 5th of August 1954, when a cultivator named Bodhram Bhatku Teli was digging earth in his Khasra No. 747 of that village, he found the present plates buried in the field. They were deposited in the sub-treasury at Sakti where they remained for several months. They were later acquired by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur and presented to the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Each plate measures 8” in length, 4’95” in breadth and about 1” in thickness. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. About 1” from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole (6” in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through. This seal-ring is now lost. The weight of the three plates together is 115½ tolas.

There are 27 lines in the inscription: IB—8, IIA—8, IIB—7, IIIA—4. The lower portion of the last plate is blank and the record incomplete. The letters, which are neatly and deeply engraved, are each about ½” in size. The characters are of the box-headed variety and very closely resemble those of records like the Rajim and Baloda plates of Tivaradiśa. The length of medial i is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form. Medial au a tripartite and the subscript r resembles in many places the sign of the vowel ri (see tri in lines 1, 7 and 9). The final form of m occurs in line 24. Punctuation is denoted by a vertical line with its top bent towards the left and followed by another vertical line.

The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. Its language differs from the formal portions of the grants of Tivaradiśa and Mahā-Sivagupta Bālājuna. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has used in many places medial i for medial i. Anuvāra and visarga have often been unnecessarily used while anuvāra, visarga and the final consonants are omitted in many cases. As regards orthography, a consonant preceding and following r is doubled in some cases. The letter d is sometimes used for r (see ‘abhīriddhi’ in line 15 and prativastabja in line 20). Anuvāra is wrongly changed to n before a sibilant in viśa (line 5) and to m before s in maṃsālā in line 22 while n is used for m in punya in line 15. The letter d is omitted in udātta in line 21 and ātadavāya in line 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Kōntinika, situated in the viṣhaya or district of Ashṭadvāra, to a Bhāgavata Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇ-āpādhyaṇḍa who belonged to the Kaṇḍinya gōra and the Mādhyaṇḍina-śākha, by the illustrious Mahā-Nannarāja, son of Mahāśiva-Tivararāja. The king, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents. The plates were issued from Śripura and the gift was made on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Bhadrapada, on the occasion of the saṅkrānti.

1 For the antiquities of this place, see Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 255; Hiralal, Inscriptions in the O. P. and Beor, 1932, No. 230.

The inscription is very important as it reveals the existence of Nannaraja, an as yet unknown king of the lunar dynasty of South Kosala or Chhattisgarh. He calls himself the son (śiṃaja) of Tivara. Thus the genealogical table of the Pāṇḍuvarsa or Sōmavarnāśī kings of South Kosala would now be as follows:

1. Udayana
2. Indrabala

3. Nanna I
   |   Īśanadēva
   |   Bhavadēva
4. Tivara
5. Nanna II

Mahāśiva-Tivaraṣa issued the Rajin1 and Balodas2 plates respectively in the 7th and 9th years of his reign. He was the son of Nannadēva and grandson of Indrabala. While his own grants mention him as sakala-Kōsāla-ādhipati, the present inscription claims that he was not only in possession of Kōsala (South Kōsala, modern Chhattisgarh), but that his supremacy extended to the territories of Utkala (modern Orissa) and many other mātudas and that it was the valour of his own arms that brought these mātudas under his command. Scholars have different opinions as regards the date of Tivaraṣa. But I agree with the view that he came to the throne about 560 A.D.3

Like his father Tivara, Nanna II was an ardent worshipper of Vishnu and held sway over the whole of the Kōsala country. Nanna II probably had no sons and was succeeded by his uncle Chandragupta, grandfather of Mahā-Sīvagupta-Bālaṃjaṇa.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Śrīpura, whence this grant was issued, has been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Asādvantra is the same as Aḍhabhāra, the findspot of the plates. It is also mentioned in one of the Sītāmūḍhi cave inscriptions4. The gift village Kōntinika may possibly be either of the modern villages of Kāthākōpi and Kōtni, both about 12 miles from Aḍhabhāra.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

| 1  | स्वरि [1°] सिः(श्री)पुरांदेवकरवेषमन्तरारुवर्तिभविषयप्रार्थ- |
| 2  | रायप्पावसासाहितमयाविनयसाहि- |
| 3  | श्रीव[1°]विषुस्यमात्रं(त)स्मािपत्रयमवृद्धपीवितस[भ]वप- |
| 4  | रिभवविबंधनस्य भावाभावासायनायायायायाय- |
| 5  | लत्त्वेयिस्विश्व: शाश्विपत्व(वंश)सम्भूतेऽस्मुजपरागमो- |

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3 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 229.
4 Ĥiralal, op. cit., No. 222.
5 From the original plates.
6 Expressed by symbol.
Second Plate, First Side

9 गुरालिपित्यः परस्मैवतो मातापित्यः विरः कथीम्
10 श्रीव्यंजनः वर्ज्ये कृष्णिक्यात्रे श्री
11 द्वारः समोय अतिवाचितः समाशापितः वित्तमस्तु
12 वे व्यासमाधिरस श्रामः याब्रजवित्याराकृतिरप्रभावः
13 तिहत्तपरात्यार जनसदितः तावदुः कदन्यः
14 निष्कासः सौपनिष्ठोः चात्मनः चाभावः चाभावः
15 श्रवणिः पीठमाणिः मातापित्यः रात्रिवनस्थितः पुनः श्रीः भिश्वः देवः की
16 विनिःस्वसंगोत्राय वाजनेवयायम् ध्यानं विनाशवतश्राहणः

Second Plate, Second Side

17 नारायणद्राध्यायम् मातापित्यः रात्रिवनस्थितः पुनः भिश्वः देवः
18 भावसोधकः द्राध्यायम् संस्कारतो उदकपूवः शाशनं प्रा
19 तियामिद्इ इत्यवगम्य विनिःस्वतः समुवितं भोगगम्यः
20 मुप्नवजः सुल्खा विश्वस्भवः श्रीभवः
21 पालनुः विनाशवतश्राहणः ध्यायम् भिश्वः देवः
22 नवं नवं नवं नवं भिश्वः श्रीभवः नरकेनुभ्या श्रीभवः
23 एकः द्राध्यायम् परिक्रमावा व्रतं व्रतमायम् श्रीतवः कुश्कर्

Third Plate

24 यज्ञवत्समिः श्रीदात्रः श्रीद्राध्यायम् ॥ ॥ (1)

* The passage मेठिहाये is redundant.
* Read दानाम-पा.
ADHABHARA PLATES OF MAHA-NANARAJA

Scale: Five-sevenths
25 सुग्रीवंशिकी [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमुस्तुष्य नरकं प्रति-
26 बते [1*] ब्या(ब्या)संग(संग)तां(तां)वाच स्वर्गकानुदाहरिति।। अन्नंपत्यं
27 प्रथमं सुवर्ण सूक्ष्म्रे ह्यं द्वेः सुवर्णसूतात् गाव: [1*]

* The verse is incomplete.
No. 36—Note on Pallavarāyanpettai inscription of Rajādhiraṇa II

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras

While editing the Pallavarāyanpettai inscription of Rājadhirāja II, Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has translated lines 10 to 13 of the record as follows: "Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) . . . . . and (having brought) the princes, residing at Gaṅgaikondacholapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāya) had Edirilipperumāl, the son of Neriyuḍaiappurumāl and grandson of Uḍayār Vikramaśālādēvar, who had already been invested with a crown and was therefore bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of Rājadhirajadēva in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the udakāṭṭam (assembly) and the nādu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions." This indicates:

(1) that the prince selected by Rājarāja II for being crowned under the name of Rājadhirāja was Edirilipperumāl, the son of Neriyuḍaiappurumāl and grandson of Uḍayār Vikramaśālādēvar,

(2) that the selection was followed by the investiture of the crown during the life-time of Rājarāja II, and

(3) that in the fourth year of his installation, after the demise of Rājarāja II, he was again crowned under the title of Rājadhirāja (II).

Thus are postulated (a) two coronations of Rājadhirāja II, one on his selection and the other in the fourth year of his reign on the demise of his predecessor, and (b) the death of Rājarāja II before the fourth year of the installation of the Yuvārāja.

But the text of the inscription published does not warrant any of the above hypotheses. The text runs as follows:


11 raḍiyai pāṛtu [mū]n-ṇājilē kāriyam irundapadi vi . . . . 6[eyulu Gaṅgaikon[t]dāśālapura . . . . daruli iru[k*]kiṟa pillaigalai . . . . yāṉam paṇṉu . . . . daṉēr Vikkiḷḷramasālādēvar pāṟaṅār

12 Neriyuḍaiappurumāl[*]-tirumagaṇār Edirilipperumālai-pperi . . . . [ji]-arulḷa nājilē maṇḍai kavi[p]pittu . . . . dār-āṇavārē ivaraśi-tiru-abhi [shēgam paṇṉ[u]vikka-kkaḍavara-[ga] . . . . tu nāḷān-tiru-nakahatratṭaḷ Rājadhirajadēvar e-

1 The note is the outcome of a discussion initiated in 1947 by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam and continued intermittently for many months, in which Dr. N. Venkataraman-Nayya, Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar also participated.

13 ၒါး tiru-ā(a)bhishēgam paṃṇuvittu uḍān-kuṭṭamum
    nādu[mi]-onrapaṭṭu-echellumpadi paṇṇī[viṭ-aruḷi]-
    nār [[*]

The passage maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōṇ]-dār-āpaṭāri ivaṇū-śīrū-abhishēgam paṇṇuvikkak-kadā-
varūga [nichchayaṭṭu in line 13 has been translated as 'who had already been invested with a crown
and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne', taking the word āpaṭāri to mean 'having
already been'. But the word āpaṭāri also gives the meaning 'in the same way as' and a reference
to the context would show that it is in this sense that the expression has been used in the inscrip-
tion. Adopting this meaning, the translation of the whole passage would be as follows:

"Even in earlier years, when (the senior king) Periyadēvar was alive, it having been seen that
there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it was obtaining in the previous
days, was intimated to the king .... and (having brought) the princes residing at Gaṅgaikarṇa-
ācārapuram, and deciding that this (prince) should be crowned in the same way as Edirilipperumāl,
the son of Neriyūdaipperumāl and grandson of Uḍaiyār Viṅkramaśādēvār, was invested with the
crown at the time of Periyadēvar's (demise), he (Pallavarāya) anointed the prince under the
title Rājādhirājēva on the fourth (annual) asterism (of his installment)."[*]

Accordingly, the prince crowned under the title Rājādhirājēva becomes different from Edirilip-
perumāl whose name is mentioned in the inscription only by way of citing a precedent, of which
we have no knowledge.

So far as we know there was no apparent occasion in the history of the Imperial Chōlas of
Taṅkāvūr, from the time of Vijayalaya to that of Rājarāja II, when there was a failure in the regular
succession to the Chōla throne for want of a direct heir in the male line.[* But the mention of the
precedent in the inscription, preceded by the words maṇḍai kāriyam irundapadisi vi ....... āyaṭā
clearly points out that there had arisen such an occasion previously. Since the person then chosen
to succeed on the Chōla throne was the grandson of Viṅkramaśādēvār,[* it should have occurred after
the time of that ruler. Between Viṅkramaśādēvār and Rājarāja II who was confronted with the prob-
lem of selecting an heir to the throne, there was only the reign of Kulottunga II intervening. Edi-
rilipperumāl could therefore be none other than Kulottunga II who succeeded Viṅkramaśādēvār on

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[1] The authors have taken both the passages [maṇḍai kāriyam irundapadisi vi ....... āyaṭā in line 11
(translated as 'as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king') and Uḍaiyār Viṅkrama-
śādēvār .... maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōṇ]-dār-āpaṭāri in lines 11-12 (translated as 'in the same way as Edirilip-
perumāl .... Periyadēvar's (demise)'), as referring to the same precedent. The construction of the sentence does not
permit this interpretation. This will make the passage between these two sections a parenthetical one thereby
making the interpretation of the whole section further complicated. Moreover, in line 12, after the expression
kavippittu-[ppōṇ]-dār-āpaṭāri occurs the word iruvai. The authors have not made clear as to whom this word
refers. There is no other word to which it can be referred except Edirilipperumāl, the name occurring
immediately before it.—Ed.]

[2] The accession of Kulottunga I, born of the Eastern Chāḻukya line, to the Chōla throne has sometimes
been taken as such an occasion before the time of Rājarāja II. It was not so. Kulottunga was clearly a usurper
of the Chōla throne.

[3] A recent writer has taken this Edirilipperumāl as the great-grandson of Viṅkramaśādēvār, i.e. as the son of
Neriyūdaipperumāl who was the grandson of Viṅkramaśādēvār. See V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Mūrūm
Kulottungais (Tamil), 1st ed., 1941, p. 21. It is true that such a construction can be put on the passage
Viṅkramaśādēvār pēṇān Neriyūdaipperumāl iruvāyaṭā Edirilipperumāl of the inscription, taking the word
pēṇān as pēṇāyaṭā and as the subject of Neriyūdaipperumāl instead of taking it as qualifying Edirilip-
perumāl. But this construction is somewhat strained as the author himself admits (op. cit., p. 199), although
he considers such a construction necessary on the presumption that Edirilipperumāl was Rājādhirājēva, since
Rājarāja II who was in search of an heir to succeed him on the throne was himself taken to be a grandson of
Viṅkramaśādēvār and any heir selected by him should be at least one generation further removed.
the throne. In fact, both in literature and epigraphy, he is known by that name. The Kulottunga-
śūlā-pūlail-tamī on Kulottunga II, composed by his tutor and court poet Oṭṭakkūṭtaṇ, refers
to him by that name in several contexts. An inscription of the 3rd year in the reign of Kulottunga
II from Poppagajjam in the South Arcot District containing the mekhērtti beginning with the words
pūmanṭu padum, makes a gift of brahmādaṇa land newly called Edirililisojanallur as a tax-free
dēvadāna to the god Tura-tīnagāsimāṇu-udaiya Mahādeva. We also find an officer named Ediri-
lipperumal ādī Kulottungaśūlā-Kaṭambaraṇa who figures as a donor of the village Neṭunjirai-
kūtṇa in an inscription of the 2nd year of the reign of Rājadhīraṅa II at Nāṭaguppaṇṭi in Puduk-
kōṭṭai. It will thus be evident that Edirilipperumal referred to in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscrip-
tion could very well be Kulottunga II. But he is generally taken to have been a son of Vikrama-
chōṭa. The Chellur plates, dated in the 11th year of his reign and Śaka 1056 which is a mistake
for 1065, registering the gift of a brahmādaṇa village by Kolani Kāṭama-nāyaka with the king’s
permission, clearly refer to king Kulottunga II as the son of Vikramachōṭa (tat-patra). The
Kulottungaśūlā-uld, another variety of prabandha composed on him by the same Oṭṭakkūṭtaṇ,
also refers to him likewise as the son of Vikramachōṭa in kṣaṭi (couplet) 28. But the three suc-
cceeding kṣaṭis contain some interesting information about the parentage of this king. The rele-
vant portion of the ulē is quoted below:

— vēṭṭōr

28 virumb-araṇil vēṅgaja-tti-vēṭṭu-Kaliṅgap-
perum-paraṇi-koṇḍa perumāṇ tarum padalvan

29 koṇra-Kulottungaśūlā kuvalayangal
marga≡ppurakkku mugil-vaṇṇaṇ por-ruvarai

30 Indu-marabil irakkku taṇi-kkulattail
vandu Manu-kulatai vālvattapain-talir-kkai

31 māḍar-pppiṭi pēra vāraṇam≡a-vvāraṇattīṅ
kāḍar-payarṇ kāja-kalabhan-

“King Kulottungaśūlā, the son given by the Perumāṇ (king) who obtained (the eulogy of his
praises sung in) the great paraṇi of Kaliṅga having carried the fire of the ferocious battle-field
into the fortress considered to be invulnerable by the enemies. He who fully protects all the worlds
is of the cloud complexion (black). He is Kāḷaśajāba (black young elephant), the dear grandson
of the tusker (vāraṇam) who was the son of the lady, the she-elephant whose hands are (soft) like
the tender shoots, who in turn was born of the matchless family belonging to the lunar race of the
golden Tuvarai (i.e. Tuvarāpati) and made the solar race prosper.”

1 Kulottungaśūlā-pūlail-tamī, verses 2, 23, 26, 39 and 94. The printed edition gives the name as
Edirilipperumal.
3 Ibid., No. 337 of 1914; Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭai State, No. 138.
It is thus seen that the grandfather of Kulōttunga II was the son of a princess of the lunar race from Tuvarāpati or Daśasamudram, i.e. a Hoyasal princess. If Kulōttunga II is taken as the son of Vikramachōja as has been presumed so far, then Kulōttunga I becomes his grandfather who, we know, was the son of a Chōja princess (i.e. Ammaṅgādēvi, the daughter of Rājendrachōja I) and not of a Hoyasal princess as described in the ulā. So we have to assume that Kulōttunga II was the grandson of Vikramachōja who in turn was the son of Kulōttunga I, not by Madhurānṭakī, the Chōja princess, but by a Hoyasal princess hitherto unknown. That this presumption is correct will be evident from the title Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa (the proud elephant of his grandfather) applied to Kulōttunga II. The village Tīpakkōṣam (Tīrune-kūram) in the Musiri Taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District is referred to as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdīmaṇgaḷam in an inscription of Vikramachōja, the date of which is lost, and in another record of the 10th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. This is evidently based on the title Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa. Since this name of the village came into being in the reign of Vikramachōja, it is very likely that the village was named

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1 There is an old commentary on this ulā which has been included in the Mahāmahopādhyāya's Svāminīthā Aiyar Library edition of the Māru-ulā published by the Kālakūṭā, Aiyar. The relevant portion of it is Mādarppidī: pē chakkāvarītī, Vārāṇam: pē chakkāvarītī āṇu pēl (vāla Pāṇḍya madalāyāri-kumābdha), āmar gōtiśalā kālaśīgī pēl Vārāṇasī-tīḷavī. The expression mādarppidī pēra sūrasam of the ulā is taken by the commentator to mean mādarppidī saum-rāja-sūrasam (sūrasam or the person who gave birth to the queen) i.e. the father of the Chōja queen. It is also mentioned there that he was a Pāṇḍya and that he was known as Vārāṇasī-tīḷavī when he became a gōtiśalā making obeisance to Madalāyā (probably the religious head). It is true that Vikramachōja had a Pāṇḍya princess for his queen and that the Pāṇḍyas also claimed descent from the lunar race. But the mention of the golden Tuvarai in the ulā as the place wherefrom the princess came renders such an interpretation untenable. Even if we take the word Tuvarai to mean the ancient Dvārika, the seat of Kṛishṇa, it is to be noted that the Pāṇḍyas never claimed descent from that city or from Kṛishṇa. The word pēra only means 'obtained'. As such it is also possible to interpret the expression as mādarppidī kauṃcāna-yāṇa-sūrasam, i.e. 'the tusk of whom the excellent woman obtained as her husband.' Thus the same expression may be interpreted as indicating the father or the husband of the princess; but these are all forced interpretations. The natural one would be to take it to refer to the son of the princess and it is this meaning that has been followed here. Further, we may also mention that, contrary to expectations, the old commentary is not reliable for the historical information it gives and the following may be cited as examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kāṇḍa or Couplet No.</th>
<th>Exploits of the king of the Chōja lineage mentioned therein</th>
<th>Name of the king to whom such victories are attributed in other sources</th>
<th>Identification by this Commentator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Construction of the embankment of the river Kārēri.</td>
<td>Karikāla (the ulā mentions him by name).</td>
<td>Not identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Adorned with the scars of 96 wounds on the chest.</td>
<td>Vijayālaya.</td>
<td>Bōjarājadēva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Split the chest of a brahmāra-kāhēna and saw Tillai.</td>
<td>Ādityā.</td>
<td>Tirumūndīhōja (or Mummadīchōja).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 Ibid., No. 254.
3 Ibid., 1932-33, para. 23, p. 65 takes the title to be that of Kulōttunga I. But the fact that two inscriptions dated in the [36th and the 48th years of Kulōttunga I (Nos. 253 and 252 of 1932-33) in the same temple do not give the name Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdīmaṇgaḷam to the village renders this surmise improbable. [From a scrutiny of Nos. 254, 253 and 252 of 1932-33 from Tīpakkōṣam, dated respectively in the 10th, 36th and 48th years of the reign of Kulōttunga I, it may be summed that the village came to be known as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdīmaṇgaḷam during his reign. It is very likely that the village was so named after his son Vikramachōja whose mother was probably a Hoyasal princess. The expression mādarppidī pēl pēra-sūrasam of the ulā seems to be an echo of this fact.—Ed.]
after the dear grandson of the king, which only echoes what is mentioned in the ulā.¹ That Kulōttuṅga II took pride in calling himself an elephant will be evident from his title Kala-kalabha² not born by any other Chōja king. But successive Hoyasaḷa kings appear to have used this title. There is an incomplete copy of the Gadyakarūṇāṇa, a prose work in Sanskrit commemorating the marriage of the Hoyasaḷa king Sōmēśvara with a Pāṇḍya princess. The poet who wrote the book was the protégé of the Hoyasaḷa King Vira-Narasimha, a contemporary of Chōja Rājarāja III and Kāḍava Kopperunjiṇga.³ The poet bears the titles Kāḷakalabha and Sakalavidyāchakravartin which were probably conferred on him by the king. The title Sakalavidyāchakravartin borne by the poet was perhaps in virtue of his being the court poet of the king, a title that was borne by two other poets of the Hoyasaḷa court, one the author of the kāvya entitled Rukmini-kalyāṇa in the court of Vira-Ballāla III, and the other in the court of the Hoyasaḷa Vira-Rāmanāthadēva referred to below. The other title Kāḷakalabha was probably based on a title borne by the king himself. In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, there is an inscription⁴ of the Hoyasaḷa king Vira-Rāmanāthadēva dated in the 15th year of his reign registering a gift by Śokka Vili-bhaṭṭa of Pāḍagam, who was also known as Mudaliyar Kariyamaṇi Sakalavidyāchakravartin, of certain gold articles presented to him by king Virapāṇḍya. The epithet Kariyamaṇi applied to the poet means the black young of an elephant and as such is only a synonym of the other title Kāḷakalabha.

The Pallavarāyānṛṣṭai inscription states that Ediripperumāḷ, i.e. Kulōttuṅga II, was the son of Neriyuḍaiāppurumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramachōja. It is not known whether Neriyuḍaiāppurumāḷ was the son or daughter of Vikramachōja. An inscription⁵ from Kāmarasavalli in the Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramachōja, registering a gift of land mentions that Venkāḍa Paṇḍaraṅga-umāḷiśa Neriyuḍaiāchōja Pallavāravāyar, a native of Marudāḷi-nāḍu, was also present in the assembly. The name of this officer, who probably hailed from Tōṇḍaimanḍalam, suggests that he got the official title after Neriyuḍaiāchōja.⁶ It is quite possible to presume that Neriyuḍaiāppurumāḷ stands for Neriyuḍaiāchōja and in that case, he is probably to be taken as a son of Vikramachōja. But the statement in the Chēḷur plates that Kulōttuṅga II was the son of Vikramachōja, which goes against the presumption made above, requires an explanation. If Kulōttuṅga II had been the son’s son of Vikramachōja, it could not be said that there was no regular heir to the throne. The only course then to explain this apparent

¹ Śintaladēvi, the queen of the Hoyasaḷa king Vishuvarudana, is known to have had the title Uddiyita-suvati-ganḍavārana, ‘the roving-elephant to the ill-mannered co-wives’ (Mysore Gazetteer, new ed., Vol. II, part ii, p. 1343). A bādli known as Suvati-ganḍavārana was constructed in 1123 A.D. in her memory after her death. Again Arikēsārī, the Chilukya chief of Lēmuvalāḷa, whose court was adorned by the famous Kannāḍa poet Pampa, had the title Ammana-ganḍavārana which was also borne by his grandson Arikēsārī II. It is true that there are, in literature, many instances of poets comparing both men and women with elephants and that even Rājendrachōja has been referred to as a ‘tusker’ in some of his inscriptions found in the Mysore State. But this is probably the first instance when we find the term borne by a Chōja as a title. This was perhaps adopted by the Chōjas from the Hoyasaḷas of the Mysore country where elephants are abundant.

² A variant reading of this term is Kasa-kalabha which in Tamil will mean the black young of the elephant and this meaning will also fit in the context since Kulōttuṅga is referred to in the previous line of the ulā as of cloud-complexion. See also Rājarājachōja-alīh, Kaṃpi No. 73.


⁴ SII, Vol. IV, No. 409.

⁵ A. R. Ep., No. 80 of 1914.

⁶ A royal officer, Tirumandira-Śalī Neriyuḍaiāchōja Mēṇḍavēḷa, also figures in the inscriptions of later kings, viz. Rājarāja II (A. R. Ep., 1929, Part II, para. 36), Kulōttuṅga III (Nos. 201 of 1912 and 530 of 1913) and Tribhuwanachakravartin Rājarājēdeva (Nos. 290 of 1913 and 298 of 1916).

inconsistency would be to take Neriyudapipermum] as a daughter of Vikramachola and Kulottunga II as her son (putrikā-putra) adopted and hence called son. The princess had apparently married a Pāṇḍya or Hoysala prince and thus belonged to a lunar family. There is a significant passage in the Kulottungasūrya-uddā (verse 112) describing him as follows: Muddukula mānjar muḍi-varṇaga vanda Vidukula-rāyakīśtye-ṛṇār . . . . . . . . . . . "He is (said to be) the son of a noble queen belonging to the lunar race, to whom (all) the kings of the ancient families made obeisance." It is worthy of note that no other king of the Chola line or, for that matter, of any royal family in South India, is referred to as the son of his mother. This is probably due to the fact that his mother had some pretensions to the Chola throne.

One other point of similarity in the nomination and coronation of both Kulottunga II and Rājādhirāja II has to be noted. Kulottunga II counts his regnal years from some time in May-July, 1133 A.D.1 But his predecessor Vikramachola seems to have lived for a period of about two years thereafter as his inscriptions (which began about the 29th June 1118 A.D.)2 go up to his 17th regnal year, i.e. 1135 A.D.3 It will thus be seen that Kulottunga II was selected as successor to the throne and entrusted with the administration of the kingdom by Vikramachola himself in his life-time. The selection of Rājādhirāja II by Rājarāja II was also made in the same way. Inscriptions of Rājarāja II which count some date after the 6th April 1146 A.D.4 as the starting point of his reign are found up to the 23rd year of his reign. It is true that his records in the Tamil country go only up to his 19th year, i.e. up to 1165 A.D., and no inscription of his bearing a date after that year has so far been traced in the Tamil area. But we have many inscriptions of his up to the 26th regnal year5 in the Telugu country and almost all of them, registering gifts by the local rulers acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chola overlord Rājarāja, are coupled with the corresponding Śaka dates, clearly showing that his reign continued up to 1173 A.D. But Rājādhirāja II was already selected and crowned by him. We know that two sets of dates are found for Rājādhirāja II in his inscriptions, one set containing some date between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial date,6 and the other set having some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point.7 This well fits with the statement in the Pallavaśaṃkṣaraśuṭai record that Rājādhirāja was crowned on the fourth annual asterism, i.e. on the completion of three years after his selection. Thus it will be seen that both Kulottunga II and Rājādhirāja II were selected as heirs-apparent to the throne and crowned by their predecessors in their own life-time and that these predecessors did live some time after such selection.

2 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.
3 SII, Vol. VI, No. 123 ; also A. R. Ep., No. 166 of 1906.
5 A. R. Ep., No. 85 et 1925.
6 SII, Vol. VI, No. 526 (No. 181 of 1899) ; also Rangacharya’s List, No. Gt. 835.
7 Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
No. 31—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

Sometime in the year 1954, Mr. C. S. Upasak of the Pali Institute at Nalanda, near Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar, sent me a photograph and an impression of a Brahmi inscription for examination. The epigraph was stated to have been engraved on the brim of a stone vessel preserved in the house of one Mohan Lal Singh, an old cultivator of Hasanpur, P. O. Kailvan, District Patna. The vessel was discovered by him in the course of ploughing a field in front of a mosque and a Dargah in the village of Kailvan about half a mile away. As the material received from Mr. Upasak was not quite satisfactory for the decipherment of the whole record, I visited Hasanpur for an examination of the inscribed vessel on the 6th of January 1956.

The adjacent villages of Hasanpur and Kailvan lie within the jurisdiction of the Bakhtiyarpur Police Station in the Barh Subdivision of the Patna District. They are about 3 miles from Belchi which is about 6 miles from the Haranaut station on the Bihar-Bakhtiyarpur Light Railway. A mosque and a Dargah near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan appeared to me to have been built on the ruins of certain older structures. Ancient bricks measuring about 14" × 9½" × 2½" were found lying here and there in the neighbourhood.

The vessel, made of Chunar sandstone, weighs 4560 tolas (1 maund and 17 seers). The circumference of the outer edge of its brim, which is 21½" wide, is 5' 3". The height of the vessel is 9½" and the diameter of its open face is 1' 3½". Although the brim bearing the inscription is rather rubbed out and rough, the outer side of the vessel still bears traces of the original Mauryan polish which once beautified it. We know of an inscribed Mauryan stone bowl from Sanchi.¹

The inscription runs along the whole face of the brim of the vessel, although there are four symbols between the beginning and end of the circular line of writing. The first of these symbols looks like a water-pot with a long neck resembling a modern sorahi, which, however, does not resemble the auspicious pura-hambha as represented generally in Indian art.² The second symbol is difficult to identify while the third is a double svastika. The fourth symbol looks like a damaru with the two strings fastened to its middle and the gutikas tied to its ends longer than usual. Since the damaru is generally associated with Siva, this object may refer to the Saiva association of the inscription under study.

The characters are Brahmi of about the first or second century A.D. The letters v and m have an angular shape with a horizontal base. D and ch resemble the forms of these letters in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. The top of some of the letters is thick and looks like a clear serif. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in most of the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. A peculiarity of the orthography is the use of s for ś in svaśchhāre (Sanskrit svamvatsare).³

³ It may be a yūpa with a wooden yūpa-katacā of the shape of a damaru at the top. Cf. Sādakalpadruma, a.v. yūpa-katacā. If this identification is accepted, it may refer to the Brahmansical association of the record. Dr. V. S. Agrawala drew my attention to a similar symbol on ancient Indian coins (cf. Allan, op. cit., pp. xxxiii, ixiii, 52-53, 300). For the representation of a damaru side by side with a pura-kumbha, see A. R. Ep., 1952-53, Plate facing p. 20. Or does our figure represent a yūpa-vidi along with a yūpa?

⁴ Macron over e and e has not been used in this article.
The inscription bears a date. Its reading and interpretation are, however, not entirely beyond doubt. The passage in question, with which the record begins, reads: rañña Aṣa-Visākhāmitrasya savachhare which is followed by three akṣaras and two symbols. These three akṣaras read satāthe; but the following two numerical symbols have a rather peculiar appearance. The first of these resembles the symbol for 7 with a short horizontal line on its head. The right end of this top stroke joins a curve with its opening downwards. The symbol may possibly be taken to stand for 100.1 The second sign looks like an early symbol for 8 turned from left to right. The expression satāthe seems to contain the words iṣṭa and aṣṭa and to indicate the number 108.

Thus the whole passage appears to stand for Sanskrit: rañña Aṣa-Visākhāmitrasya somavatāre sat-āthe (=aṣṭa-oṭṭara-iṣṭa) 108. The record therefore seems to have been engraved in the year 108 of an unspecified era during the reign of a king named Aṣa-Visākhāmitra.

Further details of the date are given in the following passage which reads: gimha-pakhe samā 8 divasa pachame 5. The symbol read here as 8 resembles the second of the two symbols discussed above. But the passage preceding the symbol does not offer any satisfactory sense unless it is amended as gimha-pakhe sa(a)[ha]mā(ne)-Sanskrit grīśma-pakhe aṣṭa-me. The exact date of the record under study thus may be the fifth day of the eighth fortnight of the summer season in the year 108 of an unspecified era. Considering the palaeography of the inscription and Bihar’s association with the Kusāmas of Kaniṣka’s house, the era seems to be no other than the Kanishka or Šaka era of 78 A.D. The year quoted in the inscription therefore appears to correspond to 108 A.D. The eighth fortnight of grīśma corresponds to the second half of pūrṇima-ānta Aṣa-āṇa. Thus the day referred to in the record may be Šaka 108, Aṣa-āṇa-sudi 5. As the Mauryan polisbih, noticed on the vessel bearing the epigraph, went out of fashion long before this age, the inscription seems to have been engraved on an old vessel.

The object of the inscription is recorded in the following two sentences. The first of these reads: bhagavato acāriyasya kuḍa upaniṣṭa-Sanskrit bhagavate acāryāya kuṇḍam upaniṣṭam, or bhagavataḥ acāriyasya kuṇḍam upaniṣṭam. The word upaniṣṭa means ‘presented’. The sentence therefore refers either to the kuṇḍa or vessel having been presented to the venerable acārya or teacher probably by his pupil, or to the vessel belonging to the teacher having been offered as a present to some deity. There is little doubt that the vessel referred to is the one bearing the inscription under study. That, however, the stone vessel was not a present of the pupils to their teacher seems to be suggested by the following sentence with which the inscription ends. This sentence reads: Mahanadake Phalgunadīke kiti-bhūṭika-miśra hi kuḍa upaniṣṭa bhagavato-Sanskrit: Mahanadake Phalgunadikāṁ [cha udāśya] kirti-bhūṭika-miśrāṁ hi kuṇḍam upaniṣṭam bhagavataḥ. It seems that the vessel, used by the teacher during his life time, was offered by his pupil to the river deities, Mahānanda and Phalgunadi, probably after the teacher’s death. The epithet kirti-bhūṭika-miśra applied to the vessel seems to indicate that it was believed to be associated with the fame and power of the deceased teacher. The vessel was probably dedicated at the waters of the junction of the Mahānanda and the Phalgunadi. The Mahānanda is no doubt the present Mahanā which runs about 2 miles away from the findspot of the inscription. It meets the river Dhovā, which runs about 4 miles from the place, at a distance of about 6 miles. This Dhovā is now a branch of the holy river Phalgu and seems to have been known by the name Phalgu in the age of the inscription. A It is not impossible to think that the junction of the two rivers then lay near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan. The casting of a vessel into waters in

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1 See Ojha, Palaeography of India, Plate LXXIV (a). Cf. the sixth symbol for 100 quoted from the coins of the Western Khartrapas and the third and sixth symbols for 200 quoted respectively from the inscriptions of Aśoka and the grants of the kings of Vakabhi.

2 A branch is sometimes regarded as the main river even now.
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(from Photographs)
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

connection with the Śrāddha ceremony of a deceased person is not unknown in Hindu rituals and the junction of two rivers is regarded by the Hindus as of particular sanctity in religious matters.

The inscription under study seems to be the only record so far discovered in Bihar, which bears a date in the Kanishka era. There are Chinese and Tibetan traditions referring to Kanishka's successful expedition against Pāṇḍu in 326 B.C. and this may suggest the spread of Kusāṇa influence over Bihar. But the real nature of such influence cannot be determined without further evidence. The tradition regarding the rule of the Murundas of Śaka nationality in the Bihar region about the second century A.D. and the spread of the Kanishka era in Bihar as suggested by the inscription under study, when read together with the Chinese and Tibetan traditions referred to above, may suggest the inclusion of Bihar within the Kusāṇa empire but do not prove the point conclusively. The discovery of Kusāṇa coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possible adoption of the Kanishka era by the Lichchhavis of Nepal can hardly be regarded as definite proof of Kusāṇa rule in those areas.

Whether Bihar formed a part of the Kusāṇa empire or not, the present inscription seems to show that king Arya-Viśākhāmitra was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (ancient Magadhā) as an independent monarch in the last quarter of the second century. The coins and inscriptions of certain rulers with names ending in the word mitra have been found in the said region, although their relations with the Mitra kings of Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī, known from their coins, cannot be determined. A Magadhan monarch named Bhīṣmapatimitra or Bhīṣmapatimittra is known to have been a contemporary of king Kharavela of Kaliṅga who flourished about the close of the first century B.C. Arya-Viśākhāmitra of the inscription under notice appears to have belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadhā. Whether his epithet Arya hints at the contemporary or past rule of the non-Aryas or Mlecchas foreigners in any part of Bihar cannot be determined without further evidence. It is also uncertain whether Arya in this case is a dynastic name like Aiṣa (Sanskrit Aiṣa) found in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga.

TEXT

Rājāo Arya-Viśākhāmitrasya śavachchhare sat-aṭhe 100 8 gimha-pakhe sa(s)a(ha*)-mā(m)e 8 divasa pachame 5 bhagavato achariyasya kuḍe upanite [*] Mahanadake Phagunadike kiti-bhūtika-misa hi kuḍe upanita bhagavat(o) [*]  

TRANSLATION

On the fifth—5—day of the eighth—8—fortnight of summer in the year one hundred and eight—108—of king Arya-Viśākhāmitra, the vessel of the most worshipful teacher is offered as a present. The vessel of the most worshipful one, which is verily associated with his fame and power, is offered as a present (in the name of) the Mahanadake and the Phalgunadikā.

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1 See Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 185. The performance of the ceremony on the Phalgu at Gayā is known to have been regarded as specially meritorious.

2 Age of Imperial Unity, p. 142.

3 Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 1938, p. 460.

4 Age of Imperial Unity, loc. cit.; Select Inscriptions, p. 366.

5 Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 327.

6 Select Inscriptions, p. 209.

7 Ibid., pp. 206, 214.

8 From the original and impressions.

9 There are some symbols here. See above, p. 229.
No. 32—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS

(2 Plates)

A. M. Annigeri, Dharwar

A Bhōja family of kings ruling in the west coast of Southern India has come to be known recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao in his article entitled "A Note on Siroda Plates of [Bhōja] Dēvarāja" has pointed out that the name of the family of king Dēvarāja is Bhōja and not Gōmin as formerly read by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachariu. According to the Siroda plates the capital of the Bhōjas ruling round-about Goa was Chandraūra. This place is identified with Chandragoa in the Goa territory.

In the course of my official tours on behalf of the Kannada Research Institute, I succeeded in discovering two more copper-plate charters of the rulers of the Bhōja family. I am editing them below with the kind permission of Prof. S. S. Malwad, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar.

1. Argā Plates of Kāpāḷivarman

Through the help of Mr. Mogṭa Naik, Forest Contractor of Karwar, I discovered this set of copper plates in 1946-47. The plates were under worship in a temple at Argā, situated 4 miles to the south of Karwar. On inquiry the priest of the temple informed me that the set was incomplete and that two more plates which formed part of the set were thrown into the tanks at Yellāpūr in the Karwar District. On examination of the record, however, the set of plates as handed over to me was found to be complete.

The set consists of two thin rectangular plates each bearing a ring-hole in the margin on the left side. The copper ring on which the plates were strung is open, the seal attached to it having been lost. Each of the plates is engraved on its inner side only, the outer side being blank. The first plate is broken and mutilated on the left side near the ring; but the broken parts were somehow joined together by a wire later on. Each plate measures 8\textquotedbl}x2\textquotedbl} and the diameter of the ring is about 2\textquotedbl}. The plates together with the ring weigh 19 tolas. Though the rims are not raised, the writing is well-preserved. Some of the letters are so deeply engraved as to leave their traces on the reverse side of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be styled archaic Kannāda. The letters are box-headed and resemble, to some extent, those of the Kuḍgere plates of Kadamba Māndhāṭāvarman. Initial ṣ appears in lines 9 and 10 and ṣ and u in line 4. Medial ṣ is denoted by a slanting line to the right (cf., e. g., pā in kāpāḷa in line 1). In the case of jā (line 1), the ṣ sign, added to the middle of the letter on the right, takes a curve to the left at the top. Medial i is indicated by a circle at the top (cf. si and ei in line 1), and i by adding a spiral within the circle. The letter mi is engraved in two ways. One of these shows the vowel sign at the top of the left arm of the letter (cf. line 5) while in the other the sign touches its right and left arms at the top in an aro of a circle (cf. line 6). Medial u sign is uded below the right arm of the letter in the form of a hook turned to the left as in pu in line 2. In the case of nu in line 9 and su in line 10.

2 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff.
3 The plates have been noticed by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the Report on the Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay State, 1947-52, pp. 4, 16.
TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS - Plate 1
the sign is shown turning to the right. The rounded and cursive form of kh in line 4 is noteworthy. V has retained its triangular form. The sign for upadāmāṇiṣya looks like a superscript r (line 5). The final t occurs at the end of line 7.

As regards orthography, the consonant following r in a conjunct is doubled. Ignorance of the rule of sandhi may be noted in the expression punar-suva (line 6) which should be punah suva or punas-suva. There are other mistakes in the record, linguistic and scribal, which have been duly corrected. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is all prose. The charter is not dated. It may, however, be ascribed approximately to the sixth century on palaeographic considerations.

The purport of the record may be briefly stated thus. At the request of Svāmikarājā, Dharmamahārāja Kāpālīvarman, while he was residing at Pāmasākhēṭaka, registered a gift of land in the village of Śivapuraka to the former who in turn donated it to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavārya of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra, so that merit might accrue to him.

The Bhōja king Kāpālīvarman is made known to the students of history for the first time by the present inscription. He bears the epithet Dharmamahārāja like the Kadamba kings. It may not be unreasonable to surmise that Svāmikarājā of the plates is the same as the Chālukya chief Svāmirājā who was victorious in eighteen battles and was killed by the Early Chālukya king Maṅgalaśa as disclosed by the Nerūr plates of the latter.1

Śivapuraka-grāma may be either Shivapur in the Supa Pēṭhā or another locality of that name in the Halyal Taluk of the Karwar District.2 Śivapura-viṣhaya was a division round about Śivapuraka. I have not been able to identify Pāmasākhēṭaka. The expression Pukōlli-khajjāna cannot be explained.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddha[m] [Vijaya-Pā]masā-kheṭakād = Bhōjān[ra] Dharimmamahāra(rā)jasya śrī-Kāpālī-

2 va[rnimanō va]chanēna Śivapura-viṣhayē varttamāna-bhavishya-

3 [d-bhōj]jak-ayuktaka-sthāyī-ādayō vaktavyā yathā Śivapuraka-

4 grāma-[s][mni] upari-sadakē Adityaśrēṣṭhī-Pukōlli'khajjāna[n]u

5 Svāmikarājāna dharmm-ārtham vijāśpa(pi)tair-asmābhīḥ-paritōshēṇa

Second Plate

6 Sv(a)Śvāmikarājāya datta[ṇu] Svāmikarājāya punarava(nah sva)puny-ōpachaya-nimittam

7 Kauṇḍinya-sagottāya Bhavāryyē-ōdakēṇa dattā[ttam] [[*] jātīv-aiva na kēnachit

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 161. [As Svāmirājā probably belonged to the Chālukya house of Bāḍami, the identification seems to be unwarranted.—Ed.]

2 [Śivapuraka may have been situated near about Karwar or in the Goa region. An early copper-plate grant from Goa mentions a mahāśivāra at Śivapura which has been located in the vicinity of Goa. See N. Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 183.—P.R.D.]

3 From the original plates and impressions.

4 The letters ṣaḥ are completely damaged and restored conjecturally. The following letters ṣaḥ are only partly preserved. [The letter pa in this name can be read as sa also.—Ed.]

5 These damaged letters could be restored with the help of other records.

6 Read ṭaṅk-yā as in the other grant edited below.

7 The akṣara kō has an unnecessary u-mātra. [The intended reading may by pukōlli; cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 267, n. 9.—Ed.]
8 vyas[ū]tavyayam (vyam) \[*\] yō-smat-kula-[l-ā]bhyantarō v-ānīyō vā vyāśā[ṇ]i \[*\] karōti
9 sa sarvavai[ḥ\*] pātakais-sa[ṁ]yu-ktō bhavishtyati \[*\] anupālayatā vā samyak[\*]
10 su[khō]ja sa[ṁ\*]yu-ktō bhavishtyati \[*\] atra ch(a-)a[jñāpti]-Nnandaka-talavara[ḥ \*]
11 likhita[ṃ\*] [Kri][Krishna(ahna)-bhōyakāṇa]-śtī [\*]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success. Let the present and the future Bhōjakas, Ayuktakas, Stīyins and others in Śivapura-viśaya be ordered thus in the words of the illustrious Dharmaṇāma-harāja Kāpālikārvaman of the Bhōja family from his victorious residence at Pāmasā-khēta. The land named Pukolī-kañjana,\(^4\) belonging to Aditya-śrīśthi, in the upper region\(^5\) within the boundary of the village of Śivapura was granted by us with pleasure for religious purpose to Svāmikarāja at his request. Svāmikarāja, in his turn, made over the same to Bhavāryya of the Kaṇḍinya gōtra with libation of water so that merit might accrue to him. Knowing this, nobody should deprive him of it (i.e. the gift). Whosoever, either of our family or an outsider, interferes with this, will incur all the sins. The protector (of the grant) will enjoy complete happiness. The executor of the charter is Nandaka-talavara.\(^6\) This is written by Krishṇa-bhōyakā.\(^7\)

2. Kāpōli Plates of Aṣaṅkitārvaman, Year 5

This set of plates was found in the possession of Mr. S. V. Aṭḍāṇagi, an advocate at Belgaum, whom I met in May 1954 with my friend Mr. G. V. Chulkī. According to Mr. Aṭḍāṇagi the plates were found buried in an iron box at Kāpōli in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District.\(^8\) An agriculturist of the place discovered them and brought them to Mr. Aṭḍāṇagi for decipherment about 5 years back. Mr. Aṭḍāṇagi was kind enough to place the plates at my disposal and also to supply their estampages subsequently.

The set consists of three plates strung on a ring bearing a seal. The seal bears the figure of an elephant.\(^9\) The writing which is well preserved is on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The expression divikara is inscribed in the centre of the outer side of the third plate. The plates measure 7\(\text{⅞}\) 3\(\text{⅜}\) each. Each plate has a small round hole in the left margin for the ring to pass through. The set weighs 80\(\frac{1}{2}\) tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet of about the 6th or 7th century. They can be compared with those of the Bannahāḷi plates of Kadamba Krisnānavarman.\(^10\) Initial ś and ā

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1 This letter is faintly engraved and its form is not normal.
2 There is an anusāśa mark above this akṣara which has to be properly associated with the previous letter.
3 The punctuation is denoted by a vīsarga-like sign followed by three small strokes.
4 The term kañjana, which is found with slight variations in the inscriptions particularly of the western region, seems to denote a specific area of cultivable land or locality. Cf. Hoḍa-kañjana in the grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla (above, Vol. XXX, p. 77) and kañjaṇa in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśa I (Kadamba Kula, p. 397).—P.B.D.
5 This is the interpretation of the expression upari-saṅkata.—P.B.D.
6 [Nandaka-talavara must have been an officer of some distinction. The designation talavara was formerly associated with an important official of the state as known from the Nāgarjunikōṇa inscriptions of the 3rd century A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 4 ff.), although it has lost its original meaning in its modern Kannada and Telugu survivals (taḷavāra and taḷāri). That this office retained its dignity in the Kannada areas during later centuries is attested by an allusion to an officer of the Bāṣṭraṅgadā, named Horayāma, who is styled Śaṅkara-grāpi and Taḷāra of Mānya-kēṭa in a 12th century Western Chālukya inscription (B. K. No. 115 of 1929-30).—P.B.D.]
7 [Bhōjakā stands for Saṅkri bhōjakā referred to in many inscriptions. Cf. Suc. Sā., pp. 94, 193, 201, 263, 265, 270. It may also be the same as bhōjika of the following record.—Ed.].
8 [See below, p. 235, note 8.—Ed.]
9 [The seal is not of the usual type. It is oval and has a flat surface. In the centre is a sunken circular space bearing the figure of an animal carved in relief. This may be taken to be an elephant, but not without doubt.—P.B.D.]
10 Above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18.
appear in lines 13 and 8 respectively. Some of the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities are the same as those noticed in respect of the record edited above. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and its composition is prose except for a verse in lines 16-17. The writing is fairly free from mistakes.

The charter purports to record the gift of the village of Varshavataka situated in the tract of Sollundura-saevyak in Palettivishaya to Naga Harman of the Hārīta gōtra, who was endowed with all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa. The gift was made with the approval of Mahārāja Āsankitavarman of the Bhoja family by the chief Ālaṅkālī of the Kaikāya lineage for the merit of both. The executor of the grant was the Mahārāja himself.

The record is dated in the 5th regnal year of the Bhoja king Āsankitavarman and the gift is stated to have been registered on the full-moon day of Jyestha. This date does not admit of verification. On consideration of palaeography, the Bhoja ruler and Ālaṅkālī who must have been a feudatory may be placed approximately in the sixth or seventh century.

King Āsankitavarman is described as a great devotee of Śiva. If this king is identical with his namesake of the Hirēguttī inscription, he has to be regarded as tolerant towards Buddhism. Ālaṅkālī, the donor who belonged to the Kaikāya lineage, is known for the first time from the present record. The Kaikāya family, however, is known from several epigraphs. The Halmidi inscription of Kadamba Ākūsthavarman refers to a fight of the Kadambas with the Kēkayas and Pallavas. Kadamba Krishnavarman I married a Kaikēya princess. Prabhāvatī, queen of Kadamba Mrigēşavarman and mother of Ravivarman, belonged to the Kaikēya lineage. The Kaikēya family also figures in later inscriptions such as the Haldipur plates of Gopāladēva and the Kekkār inscription of Anṇeyarasā of the eighth century.

In regard to geographical names in the record, the village of Varshavataka may be identified with Kāpolī from where the plates were unearthed. Sollundura-saevyak remains to be located. It seems to have comprised an area of the Khanapur and Halyal Taluka. Palettivishaya is the same as the well-known Palasige-12000 of the later epigraphs, Halsi being its chief town.

TEXT

First Plate

1 [Dṝ̥haṭṭāha [ | *] Vijaya-sri-pravardha-manam-rājya-samvatsaram parichamamam pā-
2 layatah sakal-avani-tala-sarō-maṣḍal-āmbō-

1 Āsankitavarman of the Hirēguttī plates and his namesake of the present charter apparently belonged to one and the same family. The seals of both these plates bear identical figures of an elephant (see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.).
2 [A close examination of the palaeography of the two charters would suggest that the two kings might be different, Āsankitavarman of the Hirēguttī record being a predecessor of his namesake of the Kāpolī grant. Their seals are of different types. Further, the characters of the Kāpolī record are box-headed, while those of the Hirēguttī epigraph are not so.—P.B.D.]
7 Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1941-46, p. 5.
8 This identification is questionable. If my information is correct, the original findspot of the plates is Halsi and not Kāpolī. In January 1930, while I was camping at Halsi in the course of a tour, I learnt that a set of copper plates had been unearthed some years ago in a field by a local farmer. It was subsequently taken by Mr. B. K. Desai to his village Kāpolī for decipherment. Mr. Desai whom I contacted next year told me that he had handed them over to his friends at Belgum. Apparently the same plates were later found by Mr. Anigeri in the possession of Mr. Advayagi at Belgum.—P.B.D.]
9 From a set of impressions.
10 [At the beginning of the line is a spiral which may be taken to be as a siddham symbol.—P.B.D.]
3 jānām-Bhōjānām vaṁśa(vaṁśa)m-ātma-janm-ānugrahāḥ-ālaṅku-
4 rvvataḥ samasta-raśa-gupa-ratn-aik-ādhiḥśaṁśa-bhūte-
5 sva para-māhāśvarasya śri-mahāraś-Aśārki-

Second Plate, First Side
6 tavarmanapō vachanāna 'bhavayad-bhōgik-āyuktaka-
7 sthāy-ādayo vaktavya yathā Kaṭkāya-vaṁśa(vaṁśa)-sa[th]bhūte-
8 na Īlaṅkālāṃ-śāmākam-ātmanagcha(ā-cha) puṇy-śpa-
9 ahaya-nimittam=asmai Hārita-sagōtrāya sama-

Second Plate, Second Side
10 sta-Brāhmaṇa-gupa-as[th]pamāya Nāgaśarmaṇaṇa Paḷā-
11 ikā-vīryaśa Sollunduraka-saptata Vaṁśa(Vaṁśa)vāsako Jyēṣṭha-pau-
12 rṇamāyam-udaka-pūrvvakam sarvva-paṅga-parihritō dattō-smā-
13 bhīr=apy-anumōdita ity-ēvam-svētā sa kēnachid-asmad-gōtrābhyu-
14 atarēṃ=anyēna v-=āpaharttavyo yaś-ch=aitasya-āpaharai kuru-

Third Plate
15 tē sa paṅcha-mahāpātaka-saṅyuktas-svēt-tathā ca-ōktam bhagava-
16 tē Manuḥā [**] Bahubhir=vasudha bhukta rājabhīṣ-Sagar-śāriḥ [***]
17 yasya yasya yadā bhumis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(m || j).
18 ty-atr=ājāptis-svayam-śva mahāraja[†] rājñāṇa-sāsanakā-
19 rēṇa Gōvinda-bhōgika-sūnumā Mādhavavēvan=a likhi[ta][*] svasti[†][**]

TRANSLATION

Seen. At the command of Mahāraśa Aśārkitavarman, who by his birth has graced and adorned the family of the Bhōjas who are the lotuses in the circle of the lake in the form of the whole earth; who is the sole abode of the gems of all kingly qualities and who is a great devotee of Śiva, in the fifth year of his reign increasing with the glory of victory, the (present and) future Bhōgikas, Āyuktakas, Sthāyins and others should be instructed thus: On the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha, (the village of) Vahāvāsaka included in Sollunduraka-seventy in Paḷāśi-vīṣhaya, is made over with libation of water, free from all impure, by Īlaṅkēlā of the Kaṭkēya family to this Nāgaśarma of the Hārita gōtra, who possesses all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa, for the religious merit of himself as well as of ours. We have also approved of it. Knowing this, neither a member of our family, nor any other ruler should snatch away (the gift). Whosoever snatches it away will incur the five great sins. So it has been said by Manu: 'The land has been enjoyed by many kings like Sagar and others. To whomsoever it belongs, to him goes the fruit.' The executor (of the grant) is the Mahāraśa himself. (The charter) is written by Mādhava, the son of Gōvinda-bhōgika and the writer of royal charters. Hail!

1 Before this the word satitamana appears to have been left out. Cf. line 2 of the Arki plates edited above.
2 The record proper ends here. It is, however, interesting to note that the name Dīkara is engraved on the back side of this plate in characters of about the same period as of the main record. It is difficult to determine the significance of this writing. [He might have been the engraver.—Ed.]
3 [The original word is paṅga (line 15). Its modification as pēṅga is met with in the Kadamba records of the later period. It may be derived from the Kannada base paṅga meaning 'obligation'. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 75.—P.B.D.] [Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3. Paṅga occurs in many Telugu inscriptions (cf. SII, Vol. X, Nos. 257, 406, 422, etc.). Brown's Telugu-English Dictionary explains it as ½ of the produce collected in ancient times by the government as tax from lands of gods and Brāhmaṇas.—Ed.]
No. 33—KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140

(I Plate)

Akshaya Kesari Vyas, Udaipur

These plates were first noticed by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his Rājputānēkā Itiḥās, Fasc. II, pp. 445-46. He traced the plates which were lying hidden with a Brāhma family of the village of Kadmal, some 25 miles to the north-west of Udaipur. The plates thereafter again went underground and the owner would never show them to anybody for fear of dispossessing. It was in the year 1940 that Pandit Ratilal Antani, the then Education Minister in the Mewār State Secretariat, who was himself a numismatist and was also keenly interested in other branches of Archaeology, somehow procured these plates for perusal through his Head Clerk, Mr. Bhavani Shankar who was closely related to their owner residing at Kadmal. After he had dealt with them in his own way, he was kind enough to pass them on to me, only for a couple of hours, through his Head Clerk. I utilised the opportunity by immediately getting them photographed and sent the originals back to the Ministry within the scheduled time through the same bearer. They could neither be weighed nor their actual measurement could be taken during those hurried hours, and it now seems impossible to get them back for the purpose. It is from the photographs that I propose to edit the plates in the following pages.

This is a set of two copper plates which are said to constitute the earliest metal record of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. The plates were found by me fastened together with a thick copper ring passing through proportionate holes cut midway towards the upper border in both. No seal, however, was found fixed to the ring-joint. The plates appear to have been given the required shape and size by hammering heavy lumps of copper, not less than two seers in weight. The inner sides only in both have been used for writing, the outer ones being left blank.

Though an important record, it has received the most unsatisfactory treatment at the hands of the ignorant engraver who appears to have tried to follow the written-out mass of lines without either knowing the signs that were made or the sense they were intended to convey. He does not appear to be knowing where a particular letter ends and the other begins or which medial vowel pertains to which particular letter. He has thus fared very badly in his task, sometimes transforming altogether the expected shapes and sometimes distorting them by superfluous additions and lamentable omissions. This blind engraving of the record has rendered it perfectly illegible, and there are hardly a few letters that have escaped the arbitrary touch of his chisel. In order to judge the amount of arbitrary alteration brought about in the actual text written by the scribe, it is sufficient to examine the very first two or three letters with which the inscription opens. Ohî Seasti appears to be the intended reading; but the engraver has reduced the whole phrase into an incomprehensible group which it is difficult to restore to its proper form. The simple symbol, with which the initial Ohî is expressed, is itself arbitrary in formation and the next two syllables constituting the word Seasti are so rendered as to read mați. The engraver's fanciful addition, omission and transposition of different strokes constituting these two syllables will be clear from the fact that the ē stroke in ma (i.e. suv) is really the hinder part of the ē stroke of the following akshara (li, i.e. sti), which has been joined to the previous letter incompletely, and that the ē stroke in li (i.e. sti) is the fancifully changed aspect of the medial ē pertaining to the next syllable na (ni) with which the invocatory verse begins. This is only an indication, the whole
record being treated in this way. It is therefore no wonder that the plates have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.\footnote{Cf. Ojha, op. cit., p. 446, note 1.}

Proper reading of this record is not so much a matter of regular decipherment of an epigraph written in the script of a given age; but it is a troublesome process of restoration and adjustment of various signs in relation to a correct comprehension of the intended sense. The text, at places, is difficult to transcribe as it actually stands, for it would be impossible to transcribe a syllable on which two different medial vowel strokes have simultaneously been imposed, as in Khā of Khōṃ (mmā)ṣa towards the end of line 6, where both the medial ī and ā strokes have been applied to a common syllable. So also is the case of letters that do not resemble any letters of the alphabet. In transcribing the text therefore I have, at places, necessarily to give only the intended reading.

Owing to reasons given above, there is no room for any palaeographical or orthographical observation on the record. The most that can be said is that it is written in the Nāgarī script of the twelfth century. The initial vowel ī is throughout made up of two dots with a comma-like sign below, which is characteristic of the early medieval script of Northern India.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, even if it was written correctly by the scribe, the engraver’s chisel has brought about mistakes almost at every step. Though looking as if engraved by one and the same person, both the plates differ in neatness of execution. The second plate is tidier than the first as regards the general trend of incision. There are in all 40 lines of writing covering the inner sides of the two plates.

The document opens with Oṁ Svasti which is followed by an invocatory verse in the Anuvṛtta metre in praise of Śrī-Śkalīṅga, the guardian deity of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. Then obeisance is again paid to Śiva in the passage Oṁ namaḥ Śivaḥ.

Then follows the genealogical portion which covers verses 2-9. Though it is a bare enumeration of names in chronological order without any historical information, the section contains some valuable information. The first few stanzas (verses 2-5) of the present genealogy are nothing but a mere reproduction of the corresponding verses of the well-known Āpur inscription of Sakti-kumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A.D.), a manuscript transcript of which, found by Ojha at Māṇḍāl in Mewār, was discussed by the late Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.\footnote{Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-191.} The opening genealogical verse reads: Anānada[p]ura-vinirṛgata-vipra-kul-ānandana mahi-devaḥ | jayate Śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ Śrī-Guhila-ramkasya ||. Bhandarkar suggested that the rulers of Udaipur had a Brāhmaṇic origin and that they were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.\footnote{Ibid., p. 190.} In his opinion, the verse means: “Triumphant is Śrī-Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family, a Brāhmaṇa and the delight of the Brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Anandapura.”\footnote{Pandit Mohanlal Vishanlal Pandya tried to refute this Anandapura or Nāgar Brāhmaṇa theory regarding the origin of the Guhila dynasty in his article in JPASB, Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 83-90.} He takes both vipra and mahi-deva in the present verse to mean ‘a Brāhmaṇa’.

Now, strictly speaking, there is no reason why two different words should have been used in a small couplet to connote one and the same sense. If both the families mentioned in the verse had a Brāhmaṇic origin as supposed by Bhandarkar, either of the two words would have sufficed. Unnecessary repetition of variants for a common expression constitutes a palpable flaw in literary compositions and goes against the canons of rhetorics. The simultaneous use of the variants with reference to two different entities seems to imply difference of meaning. In our opinion, the
family, under whose guardianship Guhadatta lived, was Brāhmaṇical as suggested by the term vipra in its connection; but he himself was not a vipra but a mahi-dēva, i.e. a ruling prince of the Kshatriya stock.¹

It is worthy of note in this connection that as many as four later epigraphs, viz. the Chitāgarh inscription of V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.),² the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū) inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.),³ the Rānpur inscription of V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.)⁴ and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.),⁵ which aim at giving a genealogical list of the dynasty, regard Bāpā Rāval as the progenitor and make Guhila or Guhadatta of our record his son. But the latter’s mention as the founder of the family in older records like the Atpur inscription of V. S. 1034 (977 A. D.) and the present epigraph establish beyond doubt that the prince described in the foregoing verse was really the progenitor. This also shows that, even as early as the thirteenth century, people had already ‘lost remembrance of their predecessors’ knowledge about the genealogy of the family. Nothing more is known about Guhila from this verse. The inscription of V. S. 1517 mentioned above, however, adds that he had a son called Lāthivināḍa, which name he acquired for his passion for ladies of the Lātha country. In 1869 A. D., General Cunningham found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra⁶ bearing the legend śri-Guhila, which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Next come in chronological order the princes Bhūja, Mahēndra (I), Nāga, Śīla, Aparājita, Mahēndra (II), Kālābhōja, Kōmmana (I), Mattaṇa and Bhartripaṭha (I) (verse 3). Except a bare enumeration of the names of the princes, no other information is found in the verse. We, however, know the dates of some of them from their own inscriptions so far discovered. An inscription dated in V. S. 703 (646 A. D.)⁷ pertaining to the reign of Śīla or Śilāditya was found at Sāmōli in the Bhōmaṇ District of the old Udaipur State. The stone is now lying in the Rājpatān Museum at Ajmer. Another inscription of the reign of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (661 A. D.)⁸ has been found at Nāgdā, the ancient capital, which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur.

Thereafter comes Sinha (the son of the last prince mentioned in the foregoing verse). His son was Khōmmāṇa (II), after whom came Mahēyaka. His son was Khōmmāṇa (III) from whom sprang Bhartripaṭha (II) (verse 4). In contrast to the previous verse, the present one gives some additional information by way of mentioning the relation of each succeeding prince with his immediate predecessor. Sinha has been referred to in an inscription of V. S. 1335 (1278 A. D.)⁹ found at Chitāgarh and now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. No inscription of the other princes has so far been brought to light.

Mahālakshmī, born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, was the beloved consort of Bhartripaṭha II and gave birth to his son Allāṭa (verse 5). An inscription¹⁰ of the reign of Allāṭa has been found

¹ [If Guhadatta was himself a Brāhmaṇa and at the same time the delighter of a particular Brāhmaṇa family, it is only natural for a poet worth the name to use two different words meaning ‘a Brāhmaṇa’ in the stanza conveying the two ideas. If again he was not a Brāhmaṇa, the poet could have used an expression like mahāṭōḍa (meaning ‘a king,’ and also ‘a Kshatriya,’ according to medieval lexicographers) instead of māhi-dēva which is generally recognised in the sense of ‘a Brāhmaṇa’ and not ‘a Kshatriya’.—Ed.]

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 80.
⁴ Bhaun. Inscre., p. 114.
⁶ ASB, Vol. IV, p. 95.
⁷ PRASIN豇. 1908-09, p. 48.
⁸ Above, Vol. IV, p. 31.
⁰ Bhaun. Inscre., pp. 67-69. ...
engraved on the inner face of the lintel over the porch of the Sārapāśvara temple near the Udaipur city, in which also Mahālakṣmī has been mentioned as his mother. It records the construction of a Vishnu temple which was begun in V. S. 1008 (951 A. D.) and completed in V. S. 1010 (953 A. D.) during the reign of Allāṣa. This inscribed lintel does not appear to be original to the Siva temple to which it now belongs, but seems to have been brought here from amidst the neighboring ruins of Āhār, i.e. Āṣapura or Āghāṣapura of inscriptions, which was one of the capital cities of the rulers of Mewār during this and the following centuries.

From Allāṣa sprang his son Mahāpāla (verse 6). Thereafter the ninth prince was Vairāṣa who had obtained rulership elsewhere. His son was Maḥāsapāla (verse 7). It is to be noticed that verse 6 of our grant introduces a new name in the genealogical list of the dynasty, namely, Mahāpāla who has not yet been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions so far discovered. The present record is the first document which mentions this prince as the son and successor of Allāṣa. According to all other records so far known, Allāṣa was succeeded by his son Naravāhana, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1028 (971 A. D.) lies in one of the big niches flanking the entrance of the Nātha temple near the temple of Śrī-Ekāliṇga, some 15 miles north of Udaipur. After the mention of Mahāpāla, our inscription cuts short the regular course of succession and abruptly brings in Vairāṣa who is said to be the ninth prince in chronological order. The name of Vairāṣa appears in almost all important records in the regular genealogy.

From the Ṛṣṭa-varṇana section of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), which contains an exhaustive list of the princes of the dynasty ascertained by a study of a number of ancient epigraphs, we learn that after Allāṣa there came on the throne in chronological order the six princes Naravāhana, Sālavāhana, Saktikumāra, Ambāprāśada, Naravarman, Anantavarman, Yasovarman and Yōgarāja, after whom it passed on to Vairāṣa who was the tenth. We thus find that the chronological position of Vairāṣa, as found in the inscriptions of as late as the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, is fully supported by earlier records like the one under review, which speaks of him as the ninth prince after Allāṣa, evidently including Mahāpāla.

Our document calls Mahāpāla the son of Allāṣa, and it appears that Naravāhana (mentioned in other records as the son and successor of Allāṣa) and Mahāpāla were both sons of the same father. The former, obviously being the elder of the two obtained the throne in regular succession after Allāṣa, and that is why all important known records clearly mention him; and the latter being his younger brother, possibly governing some small estate given him for maintenance, was naturally omitted from the genealogical part of the records. But his introduction in the main line and the omission of Naravāhana from it in our record do not appear to be meaningless.

It has been stated in verse 7 of the present plates that Maḥāsapāla succeeded Vairāṣa and that the latter had obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal place (anyatra labdha-rājya-sa, line 10). This fact is also corroborated by verses 143-144 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, which state that the progeny of Yōgarāja, the predecessor of Vairāṣa, did not attain regal status, though he himself fully enjoyed it, and that the lot finally fell on Vairāṣa who was a descendant of a branch of Allāṣa’s lineage. The reason as to why the line of Yōgarāja was deprived of succession and Vairāṣa had to be brought in evidently from a junior branch of the family is unknown. It may have been a case of some internal family feud as pointed out by me in my

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article on that record. We are, however, now in a position to conclude that Vairāṭa was a descendant of the branch of Allāṭa’s family, of which Mahīpāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana, was the head, and that he was required for some unknown reason to succeed Yōgarāja of the main line, whose progeny had been deprived of accession to the throne.

The following is the succession of rulers from Allāṭa to Vairāṭa, as known from all important records so far found including the one under consideration.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senior Branch</th>
<th>(Junior Branch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Naravāhana (V.S. 1028 = 971 A.D.)</td>
<td>1. Mahīpāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Śālivāhana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śaktikumāra (V.S. 1034 = 977 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ambāprāsāda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Suchivarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Naravarman⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Anantavarman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yaśōvarman⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Yōgarāja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vairāṭa (V.S. 1083 = 1026 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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The above pedigree shows that Vairāṭa is the tenth prince after Allāṭa including Naravāhana on the main line, although our document speaks of him as the ninth⁴ including Mahīpāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana. This discrepancy is, to some extent, clarified by the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.), which does not include Suchivarman in its corresponding dynastic list⁵ and makes Vairāṭa the ninth prince from Naravāhana. Though Vairāṭa’s description as the ninth prince found in our grant correctly suits his number in the corresponding list of the Kumbhalgarh inscription due to the omission of Suchivarman, we cannot discard the omitted prince altogether from the chronology, as he is clearly mentioned as a successor of Śaktikumāra in the fragmentary Hastimātā temple inscription⁶ found at Khār near the Udaipur railway station. The slight variation in the chronological position of Vairāṭa may, however, be overlooked in view of the general tendency of the authors of such epigraphs, who, at one place include a particular prince and omit the same at another. Thus Ambāprāsāda, the fourth prince from Naravāhana in the foregoing table, is clearly mentioned

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¹ Abova, Vol. XXIV, p. 310.
² Naravarman is also called Nyivarman in certain inscriptions.
³ Yaśōvarman is also named Kṛtivarman in certain records.
⁴ [See below, p. 246, note 1.—Ed.]
⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 324-325.
in the Kumbhalgarh inscription as the son and successor of Saktikumāra; but he finds no mention in records like the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū) and Rānpur inscriptions which insert Suchivarman instead. This is how variations in old chronological lists have been brought about.

It is interesting to note that the position of Vairāṇa as the ninth with Mahipāla, as mentioned in our grant, appears to reckon him implicitly in combination with Naravāhana and his successors of the senior branch, while the corresponding number of princes of the junior branch headed by Mahipāla is conspicuous by its very absence. We do not know how many princes, if any, appeared on that branch between Mahipāla and Vairāṇa; but we see from the dates V. S. 1010 and 1034 put respectively against Allāṇ and Saktikumāra that the average rule of each of the four princes covered about 6 years. Applying the same average to the remaining eight princes up to Vairāṇa with the inclusion of Saktikumāra for the computation of dates, we get a period of 48 years which, when added to V. S. 1034, the latest given date in the chart, yields V. S. 1082.

Now V. S. 1083 (1026 A. D.) is actually the date of the fragment of an old epigraph now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur, of which the major portion containing the name of the ruling prince and other details is lost. This inscription has probably to be assigned to the reign of Vairāṇa, the last prince on our table. In view of the shortness of the average individual rule from Allāṇ to Yōgarāja, it is not altogether impossible if this prince was the son of Mahipāla himself, living long enough not only to witness a series of successions on the royal throne but also to get an opportunity for himself to occupy it through transfer during his advanced age.

After Vairāṇa came his son Haiṃspāla. Nothing else of his reign is known from this or any other record. From Haiṃspāla sprang the prince Vairisīnha (verse 8). His son was the illustrious Vajayasīnha (half verse 9). Vairisīnha is here stated to have snatched away his enemy's elephant with the help of those who received assistance from him in the past; but it is difficult at the present moment to ascertain this enemy due to absence of information on the point in one of the known records. This much only can be said that hostility prevailed during this period of history, between the Guhīlas of Māḍapāla (i.e., Mewā) and the Paramāras of Mālvā, to which the incident briefly narrated here may have some reference. The only other information regarding Vairisīnha that we so far have is from verses 145-46 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription which states that he erected a fresh rampart having four gates, facing all the four cardinal directions, round Āhāṭa-pattana (modern Āhār), and that he had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a narāṇa, was the most virtuous. This anonymous narāṇa of that inscription is certainly Vajayasīnha who issued the charter under review. He finds mention as the son of Vairisīnha and grandson of Haiṃspāla in records like the Bhārāghā inscription of the Chāḍī year 907 (V. S. 1212 = 1155 A. D.) and the Mt. Ābū inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.); but ours is the only known record that directly pertains to the reign of this prince. Ojha attributes the

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2 Bhāv. Insers., pp. 84-87.
3 Ibid., p. 114.
4 [The introduction of Mahipāla, unknown from any other source, is the place of Naravāhana mentioned in records, only on the basis of the extremely faulty text of the present epigraph seems to be risky. In the photograph, the name reads Mahāpāmana which has been corrected to Mahipāla. Considering the nature of engraving in the record, it appears that the intended name may well have been Naravāhana. The intended reading of the second foot of the stanza was possibly Naravāhana-'ti-buddha. Of course the author's correction of mahśīlāna in the fourth foot of the stanza to mahā-pālāna finds an anumera name in Mahipāla as required by the context. Mahśīlāna may, however, as well be corrected to mahā-vāhāna (i.e. bearing the burden of the earth) which not only makes Naravāhana (i.e., bearer of the burden of the people of the earth) an anumera name but the two together with weka offer a very good case of alliteration. See also below, p. 246, note 1.—Ed.]
5 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 311 and p. 325.
7 Bhāv. Insers., pp. 84-87.
Pālī inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) to his reign; but, as has already been pointed out,\(^2\) this is wrong. From the Bhārāgha inscription mentioned above, we also glean that Vijayāsimha married Śyāmaladēvi who was the daughter of Udayāditya of Mālwā (1069-87 A.D.) and the mother of Alhanadēvi, queen of Kālachuri Gāyākara (1151 A.D.) of Dāhalia. This matrimonial relation between Vijayāsimha and Udayāditya, which established a close alliance between the hostile Paramāra and Gūhila dynasties, certainly suggests a combined resistance by both against the waxing imperialism of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt, who, under Bhima I (1022-64 A.D.), had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall of Bhōja I in 1055 A.D.\(^3\)

From the latter half of line 12 begins the prose portion of the document, interspersed with a few renunciatory and imprecatory verses. This ends with line 40, the last line on the second plate. Lines 19-21 mention the date of the record both in words and figures, which forms the most illegible part of the whole inscription. Ojha gives V.S. 1164 (1107 A.D.) as its date, though he admits to have not been able to read it completely.\(^4\) Bhandarkar at first put it as V.S. 1140 (1083 A.D.),\(^5\) but later on supported Ojha.\(^6\) This change in Bhandarkar's view does not appear to be based on a re-study of the epigraphic text, but was probably adopted to reconcile it with the date V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) of another epigrapha viz. the Pālī inscription which Ojha attributes to Vijayāsimha. But this inscription certainly belongs to the reign of Vijayāsimha's son Arisīma.

As regards the date of the record under review, it is sure that the donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse which invariably falls on the amāvāsyā day. After the syllables vadi in the beginning of line 21 denoting the dark half of the month, we have the numerical enumeration of the tithi in two figures which have been endowed with heading lines and other alphabetical characteristics. The first of them, though it looks like ra, is apparently the numeral 1, while the second, which reads as ka, seems to be the numeral 4 endowed with a top mātrā and placed in an unusually oblique position. Thus these figures together make 14 which must be the tithi on which the solar eclipse of our grant fell. This means that the amāvāsyā merged with the chaturdāsī on the day when this eclipse actually occurred.

Now turning to the numerical mention of the year towards the end of the line 20, we find that, after the syllables śāvar, the first two figures clearly make 11. The following figure resembles the second of the figures in the enumeration of the tithi, which is 4 as explained above. Originally, a cypher seems to have been engraved in the place of this figure making the whole appear as 110; but soon it appears that it has been corrected to 14, now making the whole appear as 114. Hence, either by restoring the cypher back to its fourth place which seems to have been originally intended, or by taking, by way of adjustment, the rounded part of the body of 10 further in varhā to serve also as the cypher, we get V.S. 1140.\(^0\) This is supported by the verbal enumeration of the year in lines 19-20. Bhandarkar's original view regarding the date was therefore correct.

What now remains for our scrutiny is the description of the month wherein the solar eclipse of the grant took place. The letters may be taken to suggest Āshādha in line 20, once at the beginning and again towards the end. But the month of Āshādha does not suit the rest of the details of the date. There never occurred any solar eclipse on the fourteenth tithi of that month in the said year, either by the amānta or by the pūrṇimānta reckoning. Even if we take the year to be V.S. 1164, the solar eclipse does not tally. On the other hand, the month of Āśvina of V.S. 1140 turns out true to all other details of the date by the amānta reckoning. The amāvāsyā of the month of

\(^2\) Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 8 ff.
\(^4\) Ojha, op cit., p. 446, note 1.
\(^5\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 191, note 12, line 2.
\(^6\) Bhandarkar's List, No. 176.
Āśvina in the Vikrama year 1140 merged with the chaturdaśi which ended at only '09 of the day after mean sunrise; and the solar eclipse consequently appeared on that day as registered in our grant, which would be equivalent to Friday, the 13th October 1083 A.D. 1

The prose portion of the record from line 12 to line 33 is devoted to the description of its object which is to record the donation of the fifth part of the produce of the village of Pallī, embracing all its receipts, to Uṇjālācchārya, son of the most respectable āchārya Sāhīva who was a resident of Nāgahṛada but whose son had since migrated elsewhere, probably to Pallī, then comprised within the domain of Mewār. He belonged to the Mādhyandina school and the Vatsa gṛha and had five pravaras. The donee was given full right over the fifth part of every item of produce of the donated village to the extent of its boundaries, with the exception of the income of taxes and drainage, in which he received only half (i.e. one-tenth part), the other half going to the donor himself (lines 26-32).

The donor was Paramabhaṭṭānaka Mahārajaḥādhiṛāja Paramāśvara Manḍalika (line 13) Vijayā-rājan, the last prince on our genealogical list. He made the grant with due regards to scriptural injunctions on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Āśvina in Vikrama Samvat 1140 on the occasion of a solar eclipse (lines 19-21) for the enhancement of the spiritual welfare of himself and his parents (lines 25-26). The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nāgahṛada i.e. Nāgā, his capital city, the ruins of which lie at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Udaipur just near the present town of Ekliṅga. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the god Ekliṅga, as the donor is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the Bājja-taṅgga situated near about towards the east of the temple. The present description (lines 21-22) certainly goes to suggest that the north-eastern boundary of the city of Nāgahṛada extended up to the eastern limits of the present town of Ekliṅga, both the temple and the tank near it being here mentioned to have been an integral part thereof, as indicated by the locative case-ending in the expression Nāgarāda-nājadhānyām (line 21). Later on, the western half of the capital city seems to have been completely deserted, while part of the eastern half comprising the celebrated temple of Sīrī-Ekliṅga continued flourishing to this day as a holy place of pilgrimage.

Lines 36-37 embody a couple of imprecatory verses, the contents of which apply to anybody attempting to deprive the donee of his rights specified in the charter. The scribe who wrote the grant on the copper sheets was Nāgā, the son of Paṇḍita Uhiha, belonging to the Paṇḍhakulika (modern Paṇḍhūlī) caste which forms a sub-division of the Kāyastha community. The messenger, through whom the royal order for the execution of the charter had been conveyed to the concerned authority, was Raṇadhava, son of Sagāṅda, who was a Chāhamāna Rājputra.

The latter half of the last line, i.e. line 40, is reserved for the sign-manual of prince Vijayasimha, the donor. It is represented by a small spear-head to left, at the extreme end of the line, which is stated to have been marked in his own hand. This tiny spear-head mark, having been developed in course of time, assumed the shape of a complete spear later on, as found on the copper-plate grants of the seventeenth and the following centuries, issued by the Mahāraṇās of Udaipur. The other change had been in the position of the sign which now appeared on the upper part of the plates above the actual contents, instead of being marked at the end as seen here.

Regarding the location of the places, Nāgahṛada and Pallī, there is no difficulty. The former has already been stated to be identical with Nāgā near Ekliṅga, which was the first capital of the dynasty, while the latter is evidently the same as the modern town of Pālī in the Jodhpur unit of Rājasthān.

No. 33] KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 5-9, 11-12 Anushṭubh; verse 2 Āryā; verses 3-4 Vasantatilakā; verse 10 Śārdūlavikrīḍā.]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ māliḥ [[*] Nālimē jagapta-d-ya][smj] jātān pa-y(a)[smā]ch-cha yēna vai [^[pā]jānīṣe
sradeṣkai][ti][gara]

2 hi Śivān na(bha)ktyā ma-na[māmy-aham(ham)] [^[*] Ōṁ] nameḥ Śivāya | Ānanda[pu]rā
vinirgata-vi-

3 pla(pra)kul-ānāndan7 mahādēvraṇa8 [^[*] jayati śrī-Guhadattāḥ prabhavaḥ śrī-Guhila-
vamśabhya(śya) na(īr) [^[*] 2[*]]

4 [E]kattra yōjama(ya)ti | Bhi(Bhījo-Mahē[ndra]-Nāgī-Śīl-Āparājita-Mahēndra-śa(bha)ttai-
(tai)-ni-vṛ(e)[ra(h)] ||(i)

5 bhāvēyaprakrishnasōptathah | Kālabhōja-KhōmA(mmā)ya-Na(Ma)ttē[na]-ni)pail saha Bharatri-
(tri)padṛē[tta(h)] [^[*] 3[*]] Si(∼)(Siṁ)-

6 hō-bhav[a[t-aj-a]ku(nu) va(ta)sya sūtō-thā(thā) yaj10 Vōmāp[na]11 ibhy(a-ty-a)tha sūtō-tha
Mahā-yakō-bhūt [ | Khōmā(mmā)-

7 gālajamathōchha12 sa čhātha tasmūnūlōkatrayikākātala[k]ōjōna13 Bha[r]ttī[ī]l[p]alp[h][tta(h)] ||(4[*]) Saṁsārakaṇā.14

8 kul-ōddhathā15 Mahōlēsirānē14 pri(y)ā | āśīyamprāmamntrōtma17 tanayaḥ śrimad-Āṭakaḥ18
[[^[*] 5[*]] Tasmādva(d-ba)bhu|va

9 vanalō Mahāpām[āna]19 iti budhah | yā20 uchava21 saṁjārī(ज)ām| sānva(sō-nva)rthāṁ mahi-
vā[p]ālana-kunumāṇa22 [[^[*] 6[*]] Vavōdō=22

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1 From photographs.
2 Indicated by symbol.
3 The intended reading is vārsti.
4 Read nītyatē.
5 Read pālayatē.
6 Read  āry-Ē‘.
7 Medial ś has been used to indicate the left member of medial ś in sō in the place of the usual medial ṝ mark.
8 Read māt-d-evah.
9 Read jātīrya[ya]-k[ra-ma-vu]bhya[ntha].
10 Read jējē. This word had been first omitted by mistake, but was engraved later on between lines 3 and 4 over the names Mahēndra and Nāga.
11 Read Khōmāya.
12 Read "māt[ma]-ma[ga]-ma[na]."pā.
13 Read tasma[na]-lōka-tray-aka-tila[k]ōj[n]i.
14 Read Rāṣṭrakūṭa.
15 Read "ōdōkāṭa.
16 Read Mahēbhāmīr[i].
17 Read āśīy-śatya[ya]-ma[bbu]-tasa[ya].
18 Read "Allakāṭa.
19 Read tanayō "Māt[pā]la. [See above, p. 242. note 4.—Ed.]
20 This akshara is redundant.
21 Read uchava.
22 Read karmanī.
23 Read Vairōjō".
10 jami(ni) nañvamō1 Haṁsāvā(pā)jīvō(vō)-vīr̥-jīyavān | anā(ya)tra-lavdhagasyabhyā-
mōḥ2 Śrībhāyā(mī) sēvītaḥ samaṁ(mam) [[t8]]
11 [Navjō]pāsahāvyōchākhisahō3 mahā(hil)patiḥ || sahāyita-savā(hā)yena vairi-kum[ja]-
ramū[m-uj]vasta(han) [] [[8*]
12 Aha(tha)jiva(ta)sa yutah śrīnān4 Śi[mī]hō visu[ja]ya [pr]jiva(ṣthi)kaḥ [[9*] 5 P(u)jwapraśi-
[gh]hābhamsaṃga[ja]jīvita[m]g[ay]a[mya]
13 na6[ para]jma[bb[i]m]bhaṃ(ḥḥ)ṭāraka-mahārājādhīrāja-varanīṭhara-maḍalātā7 ērā(ṣri)-Nāga-
[ḥa]j[ā]d-āvāstītaḥ savvīmē-
14 vāsā[tv]ajmaṭi[pri]cchhiṭṭidīn8 nīja-maṇḍala-nīvāsī-[lō]kān [ ] Vō[Br](h)maṇa-ōttta[j]-āmē-
oḥ vō(bō)dhaya[tv-]=a-
15 su(stu) vama saṃvīchitvaḥ9 yathā10 atiḥ(ṛthāḥ) pāda-raj-ōpamā girinagīvastipēmē11 y[au]-
vanaṃ-āv(yu)jaḥya(sha)ṁ jalaḥjī-
16 [ad)i]jālācchapa12 kō(pha)-nō-ōpamaṃ jīvitāṇ[tam ] ] dhan(i)mṛmaṇa) yā(rō) na karōmē(ti) 
nidhō(mra)mā)-la-mabhīḥ(tīḥ) svaggāgala-
17 dyānāḥ13 pa[ṣa(ḥ)j-tāṣha(pa)-hatō jārā-paripātataḥ śōk-āmi(gni)nā dag(dha)(hya)ta14 ityādi-sa[nt] jār-āṭha-
18 sājyām15 aśvinīpra16 valimīḥa16-gata-jala-lava-taralatacha(rān) grāṇita vānāka[la]lyā17 
Kṣita[nta]-
19 mōḷiṇya18 vasāsah[vaha]19 ārī-Vikrama-nṛpa-kāl-āṭita-ma(sah)va[ta]ra-satashṛṅkāda[a]- 
bhu20 cha[tva]((tvā) 

Second Plate
20 riḍadī[ṛhṛjārāsahāvāmāsahāvāsya]m21 sūyakō asikatōvi22 Sāṇvataḥ11 ka23 varahō 24 
Āvādhava25

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1 Read naṃvam. [The intended reading may be naṃvam—Ed.]
2 Read labha-rajjapya-śānā. 3 Read tālāś-śānti-maṇḍa-vīrō Vairisminā. 4 Read śrīnān. Originally Ṛṣi had been inscribed, but subsequently the lower part of the vowel-mark was deleted suggesting that the upper part is intended to represent the vīrāma. 5 This is only a half verse.
6 Read pūrve-praśiddhā-samastā-raj-śvēt-vīrājmaṇa. 7 Read paramēvara-maṇḍalāstā. 8 Read sārvevān-śravānta-maṇtri-purāḥ-śeit. 9 Read vāḥ samudāśā. 10 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.
24 This dana is redundant.
25 Read Āśeṇa.
21 vadi raka1 [\*] avagheha2 Nāga[hra*]da-rājakadānyaḥ. samjñāna-tūrya-ahāna-parkaṇa3
āri4. Ekalīṅga
22 dēvā-sa[nn]jñāna-dhau Bhōlā2-rodgā śānvā[ta] [s]ul[i]chā[va]sasī pachi[ri]dhaiya [s]va-
pitṛin sanavas4 bhagadāṁ vain(na)nām(ta) Bh-
23 va(vā)śe[pl]ih(i) char-āchara-[ru]gu)ruṇ adana5-Vishnu-Sa[Śa]kr-śīvīn(a)ta)-viśva-
śrī(śrī)-śīvī-tīthi-saṁhṛtī-bhūnu(tum) saṁsāra-
24 sāgar-ōntā(tā)ra-pōtaṁ dēvā-dāava-ya[ksha]-ra[ksha]-h-siddha-vidyādha-śādha[na]m
mahatyā bhavavāṣa kṛtyā va[oha] su-
hōma-dravyaṁ samnaraṃ[na] mātri(ta)-pṛ[ṭṛ]ī-gatma-
26 naasārāṁ[na]-punya-yaśo-bhītri-dravyaṁ vahān[na]-aśīvikām maṇḍikām va[oha] phalam-
āṛiti(śrī)-kṛtyō[śtī] grānivrajavipā-21
27 ya20 ṇavālaśataśākṣī21 elliśīraṁ śāvamō vrilagah21 sva-śrīmā-Śrī anusya ārāmasya2120
śva(śa)raghāṭṭa-kiṣ-
28 ta[atha]-na[ta]düg-ādī-gha(sa)maṣṭaya parīchāmā viśvāḥ saṁyāya[ta] 17 ta[d-a*]jha-
(rūha)-ka[n]a-pañ(i)[ya*]h bhāy[ga]-lo(hā)-g-ādī-śān(sa)(ma)-vī-
Mādhyaṃdina[na]-sāknīnī [i]-
30 h-ai[a] Nāgarahīda-kālaśā-para-māṇya-vācchāya21 Sāhīsya-sutāya ārī21-[Ū]gal-śāhīf(yā)y=
ōē[pai]-oṛōpi-
31 ta-[dhā]grāma-pamchama-vibhāga āvān[du]ndikīllava 22-kāhīti-sama-kālaṁ yāchava(sa)t udaka-
pūrṇa(rvva)kāṁ 19 śaya(sa)nēna uṣa-
32 u × 24 | iti mavvā[sva] atra grāma-nivāsiyi(bhi)reji[anja]-ājā(tē)ra[śva]-vi[dhā]laysu-
(r-bhū)tvā sarne(rvai)r api pūrṇa(rvva)-pray[a](di)-
34 cha tumjanāṁ bhunjāpayataṁ 1m-asā(sma)dvī(=vāṁ)śajair-atyai(nyai)r- api bhāvi-bhū-
pālaṁ paripāntra(th)anā pa(pra)tīśhēdho

35 vā na karlla(ṛtt)avyaḥ | yavvva(thā) bā(dā)m-āpahāra-saṁvaṁ(bam)dhi-prākra(kta)na-maha-
ṛ(jāh)pa(pra)yātāni [sm]rīti-vācchavvāny2-ate(nē)ka-

36 śaḥ prū Śruṣyaniṭṭe | tāni yavvā(thā) | Va(Ba)hurbhir-vavvu(su)dha bhukā(ktā) ga(rā)-
jabhī[=]* Saja(ga)r-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya 2ā yadā bhū[=]mika(s=ta)nya(sya)

37 [2]* taya(dā) phalāṁ(lam) [[11*] Suvarlla(rnṣa)tē(m=)kaṁ gō(gā)m-ēkaṁ(kāṁ) bhū-
maṁ-apy-ēkaṁ-śaṅgulaṁ(lam) | haranṭo hāṛayaṁt[a=]cha dha[=]ṛ[=]ty-ā-śra(sa)pla-
(ta)maṁ kulaṁ(lam) ][ ] 12*]

38 iyty-āji(=di=)smṛ[tī]-vākyānā(ncy=)vagamy-āsā(sma)t-pradṣṭra(tta)-ohra(bra)hla(hma)dayā= 
yna[=]* sadhaśā 4 pālaṇīyaḥ | iti li[=]r[khi]-

39 tam=ida[m*] na(sā)sanām ēṁ(pam)chakulika-parhīta-Uhila-suteṇa Ta(Nā)gavā(pā)lōṇa iti 
| ta(dūt)akā= tra Chāha(mā)-

40 na-rājai(pu)pra(tra)-Sag[a[m]dā-suta-Dhā(Ra)=na=dhavalah | iti sa(ma)hārāṁ(jā)dhirō(rā)-
ja-Śrī-V(i)jayeṣṭha[m*]hasya [[*]*]

1 Read bhunjatāṁ bhūṣyaṁ.  
2 Read "surasū[Y]ni".  
3 This denotes that the preceding word should be repeated.  
4 Read *surasū[=]nī.  
5 A small spear-head is engraved at the end of the line.
No. 34—DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

(3 Plates)

D.C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND SADASIVA RATHA SARMA, PURI

The copper-plate inscription published below was recovered from the house of Sri Kabetramohan Das in the village of Dāsgōbā within the Chandanpur Police Station in the Puri District of Orissa.

The set consists of five thālik plates held together by a ring with a seal soldered to it. Each of the plates measures about 13½" × 8½". The ring, which is of considerable thickness, passes through the hole made about the middle of the left margin of each plate. The diameter of the hole in the first, third and fourth plates is 1" while it is 9" in the second and fifth plates. The seal (about 4" in diameter) has the form of an expanded lotus and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper right of the bull, there are the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a battle-axe, a flywhisk, a dāmaru and an indefinite object, and to its left are similarly an aṅkula and a daṇḍa or gāḍā. The borders of the plates are slightly raised. The first plate has writing only on the inner side, the others being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 155 lines of writing in the following order: IB—18, IIA—19, IIB—20, IIIA—19, IIB—20, IVA—19, IVB—19, VA—19, VB—2. The five plates together weigh 537 tolas while the weight of the ring with the seal is 154 tolas.

The charter was issued by king Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.) of the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family of Orissa and closely resembles the recently published Nagari plates1, issued by his son Anaṅgabhima III in 1230-31 A.D., in respect of palaeography, orthography and style. The date of our grant is Śaka 1120 corresponding to 1198-99 A.D. It was therefore issued about 32 years before the Nagari plates. Rājarāja III was the son of Anaṅgabhima II (c. 1190-96 A.D.) and grandson of the great Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅa (1078-1147 A.D.). The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate charter of the king so far discovered. It is specially interesting in view of the fact that as yet we have copper-plate grants of none of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍaṅgaṅa, viz. Kāmarṇava III (1147-56 A.D.), Rāghava (c. 1156-70 A.D.), Rājarāja II (c. 1170-90 A.D.), and Anaṅgabhima II who was the father and predecessor of the issuer of the present charter.

The introductory part of the record contains seventy verses with a string of personal names between verses 6 and 7 in lines 12-16. This part was copied in the Nagari plates with slight modifications2 and with the omission of only one stanza (verse 63) in the description of Anaṅgabhima II. The importance of this portion has already been discussed in our article on the Nagari plates. It has to be noted that verse 37 quotes the correct date of Kāmarṇava’s accession to the throne as nand-āru-vaśēṣa-chandra-pratima-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kāle dinēśi chāpstrē. This refers to the solar month of Dhanu (Pausa) in the Śaka year 1069 corresponding to 1147 A.D. While editing the Nagari plates, verse 8 was taken to speak of Sarapura as the original name of Kōḷāhala, capital of the mythical prince Kōḷāhala Anantavarman. But the correct reading of the passage Sarapuraḥ=cha tadāyam seems to be sa cha purasē=cha tadāyam. This says that both

2 Some of the mistakes that crept into the transcript of the Nagari plates published above may be corrected with the help of the transcript of the present epigraph.

(249)
Anantavarman and his capital city became famous under the name Kōlawaha but does not refer to the original name of the city.

The grant portion of the inscription begins in line 122. Lines 122-27 state that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Śaka year 1130, king Rājarāja III, apparently when he was staying at Śri Purushottama-kaśṭera on the shore of the ocean, granted the village of Kērada or Kōradā in the Aṭṭhāyāsa khaṇḍa (sub-division) within the vīṣkaya (district) of Sāyilō in Utkalā-ṛṣa as a rent-free holding in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras. The grant is stated to have been made for the merit of the king’s mother Vaghvaladāvī. It is not impossible that the king and his mother went to Śri-Purushottama-kaśṭera (i.e. Purī) on pilgrimage for taking a bath in the holy waters of the Bay of Bengal on the occasion of the eclipse.¹ In Śaka 1120 there was only one solar eclipse occurring on Thursday the 29th of January 1199 A.D. The grant, therefore, was made on the said date.

The donees are enumerated in lines 123-45. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with their respective gōtra as well as the area of land granted to each of them. Twelve of the Brāhmaṇas received 102 Vāsīs of land, each Vāsi measuring about 20 acres. Sixty-two other Brāhmaṇas received one Gṛha-vāsī or house-site each, while a Brāhmaṇa named Dharmā alone received four Gṛha-vāsīs. It is stated that the Gṛha-vāsīs granted to these Brāhmaṇas amounted to fifteen Vāsīs in area. Vidyākārārya of the Kauśika gōtra was the pāṇīya-gṛhānī or the principal donee who seems to have received the ceremonial water from the donor on behalf of the donees.² He received 20 Vāsīs out of 30 Vāsīs of land granted to Viddanārāyya. The details of the grant are quoted below in a tabular form. The last name of the list may be that of the God of Purī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donee</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Viddanārāyya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>10 Vāsīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vidyākārāyya (Pāṇiṇya-gṛhānī)</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>20 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rudrakārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sivakārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mādhavakārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Narasainārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Harinārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>7 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kēśavārāyya</td>
<td>Ḥamudānīya</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ādityārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chandrakārāyya</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>5 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nārāyanārāyya</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>1 Gṛha-vāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gaddārārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nārāyanārāmarman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Siddhārāmarman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rāmadāvārāyya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gapārāmarman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.
² See above, p. 113.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dhanakarasaarman</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>1 Grihā āgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Rudrasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kāsavasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jayakarasaarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ālōyasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Payānsarasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Hōti-Mādhavasarman</td>
<td>Parāśara</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Vāsudēvasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Buidhaasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nāgasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Ptaṃbarśya</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Madhuasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Gaṇḍēvasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Rudrasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Kṛisṇayajan</td>
<td>Kāsyapa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kāmadēvasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Vīhunayajan</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Budhaasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Gādādharaśarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kāmadēvasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Chapōjārman</td>
<td>Rāthāśara</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Anantaśarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Pādmapārśya</td>
<td>Kausāka</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Bhūgayajan</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Gādādharaḥōti</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Brahmasarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Vīkṣaśarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Gādādharkārya</td>
<td>Kṛisṇapārśya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Chandrakarasaarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Kāllōraarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Sūjjāryayavan</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 du.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Dvāpaśarman</td>
<td>Kuddālaka</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Udāti-Purushottamāśarman</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Hariśarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Hariharaśarman</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Donee</td>
<td>Gōtra</td>
<td>Land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Paļjunaśaśārman</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1 Grika-vaṣṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Trilōčanāryya(?)</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Pūrṇakārāryya</td>
<td>Kaupḍina</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Gōvindāśaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Manṇāyisārman</td>
<td>Kapi(?)</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Kēśavaśaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Tantōyajya</td>
<td>Kiśhnātreya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Kēśavaśaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Jagāśvar-aḥitāgni</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Pannāyisārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Sujaśyisārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Purushottamārya</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Dāṃśoḍopāśaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Rāmacṣīśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Padmanabhārya</td>
<td>Gārgya</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kiśhpaśaśārman</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Kitsārman</td>
<td>Ghrītakṣuṣika</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Ālośiśaśārman</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Dāṃśoḍopāśaśārman</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Dhrūṭikāraśārman</td>
<td>Vārṣagāṇa</td>
<td>1 Vāṭ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Viyudēvārya</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>2 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Kēśavārya</td>
<td>Ālaṁvāyana</td>
<td>10 do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Dharmaṇi</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>4 Grika-vaṣṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Śrī-Purushottamādeva</td>
<td>do.</td>
<td>1 do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concluding part (lines 146 ff.) of the inscription contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, many of which are found in the Nagari plates and other inscriptions of the family. Verse 77 praying for the everlasting fame and prowess of king Rājarāja III is an interesting new stanza. Verse 78, also found in the Nagari plates, states that the prastāṣṭi was composed by Appa(yya !)na. This poet therefore adorned the court both of Rājarāja III and of his son Anaṅga-bhima III. Line 154 speaks of the artisan Lōkāyi who engraved the record. The inscription ends with a reference to Kēśavārya of the Ālaṁvāyana gōtra receiving 10 Vāṭśis of land. The name of this donee was apparently omitted from its proper place through oversight.

As to the geographical names in the grant portion of the record, Sāyilo-viśaya in Utkalacāsa is the present Sailo Pargana in the Cuttack District of Orissa. Aṭṭhāyaśa-khaṇḍa (literally, ‘the subdivision of 23 [villages]’), in which the gift village of Kōrada or Kōradā was situated, seems to have formed a part of the Pargana in question. There is a Pargana called Aṭṭhāṣa comprising the Konarak region of the Puri District. The inclusion of this in the old
Sāyilō viskaya would suggest that the latter extended from the Kathjuri river to the sea. Mr. P. Acharya is inclined to associate Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍa with modern Aṭṭhāpur in sheet map No. 73/L/4.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40-41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 65, 68 Śūrdūlavikṛṣṭi; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 57, 77 Śragdhāra; verses 7, 23, 49, 66 Mālini; verses 8, 13, 34, 38-39, 44-46, 51, 59, 69 Vasantatilaka; verses 12, 16, 18-19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 64, 70-76, 78 Anushṭubh; verses 14, 17, 35 Upajati; verses 47, 63 Indrayaṇāj.]

**First Plate**

1 Siddhamā Ū [**[*]**] Lakṣaṁ-lāpa-sarūruh-davyam-adah ārēyāni(yānāṁ) dāsiḥta vaḥ preespūrtjan-nakha-raśmi-kāsara-saṣṭam bhāsvan-nakha-āś-dalām(lam)

2 vīspaṁten pratiṁvini(bi)taḥ prāṇanamaiḥ kriḍ-āparādhi-ōdbhavaiḥ Kriṣṇo yan-nakha-diśtiṣṭhu bharamarata-dhātē sa [La*]keṣmi-pryātih || [**[*]**] Kahi

3 r-āvadh(ś,h)re-mmaṁhāt-sūr-āsura-gaṇaṁ viṣudbhavantī Rāmā Śambhu-Vra(Brahma-Purandara[s]*)-prabhritiṣṭhu prakhyāta-kṛṣṭeṇvā api | pāṣyayatvā-Amvualo(mbu)janāh

4 m-śam=avriṇīl-lōka-tray-ahādinnāṁ bhṛṅg-āś sahaṁ kāram=ēti hi vanē phull(īl)ē=nya-sākhāṇy-api || [**[*]**] Tan-nātṛhi-saras-ruh-ōdbhav-

5 Vidhēr-Atrirvva(r-bba)hūv-amunatā-Chandraś-chandrikāya prakāśi(ś)ita-jagat=sambhū-takā(vi)ṁ nātrataḥ | trālākya-gra(gr)a-san-aika-daksha-timira-grāśiṭva-sā

6 myē-pī yō lakṣhma-vyājī dhadat-taṁaḥ prati-vapuḥ sūryyā-ādhiṁkē nirmālaḥ || [**[*]**] Śrīvī-(dē)vī-sōdiravatām=amptē-sakhatayā Kalpā-vrīkṣh-ā


8 dhānaṁ svasya[s]īlān-nirmalatvān jagati vijaratē darśayan-nūnāṁ-induḥ || [**[*]**] Vanēś (Vamsē) tasya nṛp-tīśvaraḥ samabhavān-yēśhāṁ guṇās-chhind-

9 saḥ prōṭ-puruṇāṇaḥ iva yat=purāṇa-pathagās-tatrā api nō sammitāṁ* | tat-tat-kāvyā-pathaṁ śrītās-tri-bhuvanam=umūrttin=daṭhdhānā ā

10 va bhṛmayant-śrāva(va) sa-ĉhetanāṁ āruti-grihi viśramyam viśramyam cha || [**[*]**] Praṣṭ-śkaṁ śaśi-vana(vanā)-bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpāra-saṁkṛttaṁ dharm-

11 rtt̆aṇ=kah kaṁ vaiśikāh ihaḥ* va注意到(ār)hu-mukhā yat-ārjanaṁ-aiva hi | dūr-ccaṇḍ-āḥ[r]* jījita-kṛṣṭti- varṇāṇa paraṁ tad-Bhṛataram-prabhata-tasmād-āhavya-mātra-

12 m-aṇi-nripatē(ti)-śrōṇi-kramāli-liṅghatē || [**[*]**] tatāḥ hi Chandrād-Vu(d-Bu)dhāḥ | Vu(Bu)dhāt-Purūravāḥ tasmād-Āyṛuḥ | tatāḥ Nāhushaḥ | tatāḥ Yāyaiḥ [*]

13 tatāḥ(ta)ṁ=Turvavashuḥ(sub) | tatā Gāṅgāyaḥ | tatā Vīrōchanaḥ [*] | tat-tatāḥ Samvē(śaṁvē)dyāḥ | tatā Bhāsvāṇ | tatā Dattasāṇaḥ [*] tatāḥ

1 From impressions and the original plates.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The Nagari plates read prōṭphullā.
4 The Nagari plates wrongly read sammatāḥ.
5 The Nagari plates read patha-śrītās-tri-bhuvanāt.
6 The Nagari plates have khamatā kahitau.
14. Saumyaḥ | tatō-nśudattāḥ¹ | tataḥ Saurāṅgaḥ | tasmāḥ-Chitrāṅgadaḥ [16] | tat-sūnuḥ Sārdhvajaḥ | tatō Dharmmaśiḥ | tatō Pa-
15. rklshita(kshit) | tatō Jayasēnaḥ | tat-sutō=pi Jayā(ya)sa(se)nāḥ | tatō Vṛshadhvajaḥ [16] | tataḥ Śaktīḥ | tataḥ Pragαlaθaḥ | tataḥ Kōl-
16. halah s ev-ānantaṃvaramm-ābhavata(vat) || Dhana-kansa-samṛddhī Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasi-
ddhāḥ sakala-vishaya-bhūsā taṛgaṅghōpabhōgya-
17. ṭa | tad-adhipatir-ath-ādyō=nantavarmmā njṛp-ṛndraḥ samabhavad-iti rūḍhā Gaṅga-nāṃnā
18. tatō njṛpaṃṇīm bhūτō yataḥ sa cha4 purāṇa-cha tādityam=atra | Kōlāhal-āhavyam=abhūt=sura-
sadma-tulyaṃ tasmin=kra-

Second Plate, First Side

19. mēṇa patibhir=vṛṣa=brbhr=vṛṣa=brbhr=brbhr=vṛṣa=brbhr=bhūvē || [8] Rājyaḥ(jya)-ṣrī-bhrīti Mārasīṃh-
[ha⁴]-nṛṣipatau jyeṣṭhē kim-āṭu-āśmahē dūr-dāṇḍa-ārjita-bhūtāl-ātitha-Ramā-ka-
20. nṛṣha-graḥ-ānandinaḥ | kin-na syāma vayaṃ⁵ bhuj-āśi-latikā samvē(ṣamvē)ṣhṭatāṃ
vairinā[r][9] | kṣṭh-āranyam-iyaḥ=cha kārī-latikā dyān-ṇaḥ samā-
dvēpi dvēpi⁸-kula-pramāṭhīḥbhir=api prāptaḥ Kali-
22. āṅgā kila | taḥ Kāmēpnuvava-paṇchama[r]-nṛṣpa-vara=yauddhavaṃ Kaliṅgatāḥ samaṁ
prāpta[r]̄ | draṣṭu(ṣhtu)m=iv-āṛṇpavād-udagamat-Kūrmv-āvatārū Hariḥ || [10]̄
23. Kūrmma-svāмиni sākṣhiṇī Trinayāṇaḥ tasmin=Mahēndraṃ gatō Gokarpī-si mahōḍadhau
viyati vā sūrryē tath-ēndāv=api | Kā
24. liṅgim bhuvam-āharad=bhau=va(bs)Lād=any-ōpabhuktān=chira(rā)=lākṣhmī=ch-ēty=atha
25. kartt-āsan Kāmēpnuvava-mahīpateḥ | yasṛ-śīta=putra-pautr-ādyā rājānaḥ khyāta-vikra-
māḥ || [12] Sūṣṭ-ārthaha⁵-nīśiḥṭha-matir-dvi-
26. shad=anta-kārī sarvārthi-vargga-paritōṣapaḥ-bētur-ēkaḥ⁸ | āchāratō=pi muni-puṅgava-ma-
(mā)rōga-chārī tasmād=abhnā-nṛpa-vaṛō
27. bhuvī Vajrahaṣṭāḥ || [13] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi sa vajra-hastas=Trikaliṅga-
nāthāḥ | ko Vajrahastād-a-
28. paraḥ prithivyān vajraḥ patad-vārayitaṃ samarthāḥ || [14] [Vya]ptē Gaṅga-ka(ku)l-
ottamasya yasasā dik-chakravālē śāsi-
29. pradyōt-āśmālinaṃ yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādinā | sindūrār-at śāndra-paṅkha-paṭa-
laḥ kumbha-shāliṃ-pa-

¹ The name intended seems to be Aṃśudatta and not Aśvadatta as found in the Nagarī plates and elsewhere.
² The same reading was apparently intended in the Nagarī plates.
³ The Nagarī plates read svargī-vargī-ōpabhōgya.
⁴ This reading should be adopted in the Nagarī plates also.
⁵ The Nagarī plates have kiṁ=ch-amākam-iyā.
⁶ Read devēpī for deōpēpī.
⁷ The akṣhara was originally omitted.
⁸ Read sāst-ārthatā.
No. 34]  
DASGoba PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

30 tākēśhv=ālimpanti puna[h\^]\* punaś=cha haritām-ādhumanā vāraṇaṇa(pāṇ) || [15\*] Mahāśēḥ Naṅgamā tasya Pārvat-iva Pāṅikānaḥ | tasmāt-\-

31  
Syām=abhūd-vīrō [Rā^]jajō mahipatiḥ || [16\*] Sa Rājarājō dvijarāja-kāntir-bhujaṅga-rāja(jā)mana-varṇyā-kā(kṛ)rttiḥ | śrīmatayā=ādhaṅ-kīrt-

32 [Rā^]jajō svā-vikrama-nyakṣṛta-Dēvārajāḥ || [17\*] Tasya-āgrah-mahishē rājōī nāmnā yā Rājasundari | Lakṣmīrūr-Nārāyaṇa-vā-śa Cha-

33 ndrasya=sva cha Rōhiṇī || [18\*] Tatās-tasyām=abhūd-dēvas=Chōdagēgō nār-ēsvarāḥ | kahō[p]\*

34 || [19\*] Dhārtī tasya Sarasvatī samabhavaṁ-nānan=na chēt=piṭavāṁs=tat=ārāsvatam= ārya-vā(bā)lakatamahā śrī-Chōdagēgō payaḥ | tāḍrī-

35 g=Vēḍa-matiḥ kathāṃ nipiṇṭā ṣāstrēṣu tāḍrī=ka-thāṃ tāḍrī-kāveya-kṛitīḥ kathāṃ pariṇat[i\^]\*] śilpēśu tāḍrī=ka-thāṃ[th]ām || [20\*] Khaōśin

36 dīkṣāla-śeṣhām-ayam=akṛta pada-dvandvaṁ=stasya vairi-kshāmābhīr-chūḍā-śriy=āptaṃ stutir-itī kriyai Chōdagēgś-eśa\*] rasya | nū-

37 nāṁ pūrṇaḥ sudhānusūḥ para-nṛpa-dhava-cēhhatra-vu(bu)dhy-āpahartā māṁ-īty= aṅgasya vriddhīṃ tyajati yata iva trasta-chītraḥ prāvṛ-

Second Plate, Second Side

38 t || [21\*] Grihātī sma karah bhūmer-Gaṅga=Gautamagāṅgayēḥ | madhyē paśyatsu vrīrēṣu prauḍhaḥ prauḍha-stryī iva || [22\*] Pratibhaṭa-ka-

39 [ra]\*]-śastra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryayad-rudhiram-avani-nishṭhan=nō bhava=ṝvad-ēva | nija-

30 kara-dhrita-śastra-chchhannaṁ-bhīm-āṅgam=ēṅ=akṛta dharaṇi-

31  
Śayyāḥ(yāṁ) dvandva-yanḍhēśu Gaṅgēḥ || [23\*] Yat-tējaḥ-parībhūṭa-satru-nagara-prōd-

32 bhūṭa-dhūṁ-ōṅga(dga)mair-bhūyaḥ Khāṇḍava-dāhi-saṅkī Manaśo dēvā kha-

33  
Parī bhūrvaḥ ||[] svar-nupitad=asi-dhāraya ripu-gaṇad=vrīttāntam-ākaraṇya cha prō(prau)-

34 dhīṁ-tasya nuvantī Ganga-nṛpaṭet=bhuṁ vīḥāya dhruvaṁ(vam) || [24\*]

35 Krōḍhē(dh-ō)dvya[d\*]\*]-dvipa-mēghā-vrīndini mada-śrō(sro)tasvāṭo[ti]-durgamē chačcha-

36 [r\*]-khāda-ṭaṭi(dīt)-prabhāvati nadāṁ(dan)-nārācha-vai[r\*]-ōdayē [[]] mat-sainyē jala-

37 āga[ma][\*]-pra-

38  
Tinkhau jētuṁ pravarttē kaḥ | ūṛō=pā(p=licted)vadams-Trilōchana-vibhūr\*vam=r(b̄)-

39 ddō=munanā sarh(as)garē || [25\*] Nirmmanth-Ōtkala=Rāja-sindhum-apam-

40  
Rāṁ Gaṅgēsva(ēva)raḥ prātaptivān=eka[h\*] kṛttira(tti)-sudhākaraṇaḥ prithutamah lakṣhamā

41 daryāyā samāṁ(mam) | māyad-danti-sahāsra(sra)-maś-nāya-nīyutāṁ

42  
Rannā(ta)nāyē=saṅkhyaṇī vā tat-sindhō kigm(m=i)maṁ prakarṣham=athāvā vṛū[brū]-

43 mas=tad-unmāṭhīnaḥ || [26\*] Pādau yāya dhar-[antaraṅkhaṣa(a)sakha]-nābhē]

44 kecha sar[v\*]-diṣṭā[h\*] śrōtē niṣṭē yugaṁ rāv-īṇu-yuga[ma\*] mūrdhē=āpi vā dyaṁr-asas-

45 [[] prāśadaṁ Purā[ru]śottāmaṇa nṛpitāḥ kō nā-

46 ma karuttō kṣa[ma]\*]=tasya-śṛtya-nṛpīpār-śṛtyaṣṭhānam caḥkṛē-thā Gaṅgē-śva-

47 raḥ || [27\*] Lakṣhamī-nāma-grihīṇā prāyōṇi-

\* The Nagarati plates read guruv-veckhilttau.
\* The Nagarati plates offer a slightly different reading.
\* The dvāra is superfuson.
\* This visarpa is of a peculiar form and may have been intended by the scribe for the jñānāmpīṣṭu. But see

\* ne 138 below."
dhir-asau sambhāvitasya sthitir-nām dhāmī svasa(śvaśa)rasya pujyata iti kahir-āvdi-
(bdhī)-vāsā[d*]=-dhruvaṁ(vam) nirvīṇṇāḥ Purushō-

ttamāḥ pramuditas-tad-dhāma-labhād-Ram-āpy-etàd-bhartṛ- grihaṁ varāṁ piṭṭi-grihaṁ-
prāpya pramōd-ānviṭā || [28*] Tvaṁ

[Kū]rmm-ādhipa nisāhala tvam-api bhō vyaḷ-ēndra dhairyaṁ vaha tvam[ṇ*] prthivi iṣṭhm-a-
ṁ-bhaja tvam-adhunā vṛa[bra]ḥmājya dyā(gā)ḥau bhava | śri-Gū(Ga)ug-ā-

dhipa-va[ba]dha-simha-visarad-ghōṣhāj-jagad-[v]vyāpinō diṁ-nāgēsau bhayāch-chalatsu-
jagati kampēta vā yat-kramāt || [23*] Āra-

myā-nagarāt-Kalūga (va[ba]la)pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛti-prākār-ārapeśa-tōraṇa-prabhri-
tiyō(tō) [Ga]jāgā-tajasthāt-tataḥ | Pārthā-āstrai-

r-vyudhi jārjarikṛta-namad-Rādhāya-gāt-ākṛtir-Mandār-ādri-patir-ggatō raṇa-bhuvō
Ga[ba]-ghmā

ṇāḍava(d=ba)hir-asay kirti-pau(ya)sā līpant vā bhāvinā daṭṭha prārthi-gaṇayā
eṃa-nichayaṃ sāṅkalpin Od vā[ba]hu||

nirdagdh-āri-pava(pura)=cha bhāvita-ṇa[na]vas-tasya pratāpareṇ(r=ṇa) vā kin-en-anaya-
[t*] kṛtavān-asau stutī-padaṃ āri-Chōḍagāṅ-gēvaraḥ || [31*]

Varṣaṅaṁ saptatini vīrāḥ kṣaṅg-sambhogam-ācharat | diṁ-nāyakān-pratihārān-viḍhāy=

āśāmu(su) sarvva-

taḥ [32*] Kīṁ prāpta mahiṣi tapōbhīr-astuliḥ āri-Chōḍagaṅgeṇa sā dévai-stutya-
gunaṛ-vvibhūṣita-vapuḥ Ka-

Third Plate, First Side

stūrikāmōdinī | n-ā-Vishṇuḥ prthivī-patiḥ prabhaṁ-ātī-āsmin-Haraṇau vā bhuvō rakṣa-
ārtham dhṛta-jamani svayam-asau Lakṣhhāṃ prasūtāṁ vā || [33*]

Tasyān-taṭo-jani jagat-tritay-aīkā-vīrāḥ Kāmāṃṇaṃvas-tri-jat(a)(g)a-de-ka-vadāṃya ēṣaḥ
||(sūryaḥ prātā-

pa-vibhāveṇa jagat-prasiddhaḥ(ddha)-kirttee(ṛtīḥ) śaśāṅkam-adhārikritavān-viṣuddhyā ||
[34*] Gaṅg-Īśa-sūnō-vvivu(bu)dha-āṣraya-

sya drīpyad-dvishad-vaṃśa(vaṃśa)-vibhūdi-saktēḥ [*] Kāmāṃṇāva-āṣaṇa Kumāraṅkatvaḥ
anāmataḥ kēvalam-arthaḥ=pi || [35*]

Prāpya=ōdaṃ śaśāṅkasya vardhata[m*] nāma vārdhīḥ | vardhāte kirtti-chandro=yaṁ
chitraṃ Kāmāṃṇaṅ-ō[dayē]dayē || [36*] Nand-artu-

vyōma-chandra-pramita-Saka-samā-vyāpta-kālē dinēśe chāpastē=nya-grah-aughē
de[ba]lavati ripuḥu prakṣhayāḥ prāpta-

vatsu [*] āsmin-mūrdh-ābhikṣhitē nṛpī-pa-vaśa-tanayē sarvva-lōk-aīkā-nāthē ārima(t)-
Kāmāṃṇāva=ēṣe jagad-abhavad-idan-lat-tad-ā-

1 The Nagari plates have ‘ghōṣhā jaga’.
2 The Nagari plates read ‘jgūta which is better.
3 The Nagari plates have dattā=ch-āṛhi”.
4 The Nagari plates read kīṁ vā nō.
5 These two aksara are redundant and were penned through by the engraver.
6 The aksara pa had been originally omitted and was later inserted.
Third Plate, Second Side

nanda-pūrṇāḥ(ṛṣṇam) || [37*] Kāhir-ārṇavād-ajani chandra-kal-ēti vārttā Kāmārnava-vātā tu saktā-īndu-dīvākar-ābham(bham) ||[*] kirtitr-pratāpar-mithunaṁ saha- 66

66 chāri lōkē śīshyaty=ahō para-nṛpāṇ-anurāga-sūnyān || [38*] Tasya=āśī-ñī(n)iordialta-vairikārāndra-kumbha-ni-

67 rmmukta-mauktika-phalany=asig-ukṣhitāni [||] Kāmārnavaśya ripu-saṁhāti-hēvav-kāla[ṣ]a-sandhyā-prabhā-āpta-bha-ga-

68 ṇa iva bhānti yuddhō || [39*] Drīpyad-vairi-chāmūrm-nmayā kavalīta n=āsivain may-āsvā-dit=ēty=ānyonyaṁ kahalē

69 tu nirṇāya-vidhau khadga-pratāp-ōchchhayā ||(||) mādhyasthyāṁ gamit=ēvan=ānimālārā kirttir-yadiyaṁ vra(bru)ṁ=ālōchya=ēha mahādbhir-ī-

70 ty-u[pa]*gataḥ Dhātaṁ īruti ch-āaḍarāt(rēt) || [40*] Aśrākṣit=sa Hiraṇyagarbham-āparaṁ lōkāṁ Mahēśāṁ puru=ṛṣṭhī=arthō yāṁ vivadanta ēva=

71 vadana-vṛttaṁ=tadīyō=dhunā [||] krudhdhō yat=sa Hiraṇyagarbham-śkarōt=Kāmārnavaśas=tataṁ sampannaṁ jātaṁ jagad-yata iha pratyakṣaṁ

72 taḥ prāṇināṁ(nām) [||] 41* Sapt-ambhōcchāṁ=vaṁanti kshirit=ati-tarāṁ nāga-kūrmmeśvarāgpāṁ śīhyyāṁ vāṇichchha(oха)=tāyān-tad=āpi punar=ayain ka-

73 lpatas=tatra bhāraṁ [||] ( ) Dhātraṁ Kāmārnavākhyāṁ sa chaṁ nija-tulanāṁ(na) nirjyayat-svarṇa-bhāraṁ=īhūryō bhīyas-tulāyāṁ sthītaṁ

74 ti dharaṇēr-bhāra-va(h)āhulyam-āpaṁ(tam) || [42*] Hṛṣjā-ṣuṣṭa-jan-ākīrṇa-vidvajjane-manōharaṁ(ḥ) [*] daś-aśvī(ḥ)bīḷaṁ-skarōd-rājaṁ-Kāmā-

75 rṇava-mahāpaṁ || [43*] Śri-Chōdagānga-nṛpāṭer-mmahiśī tato=nyā tasya=āndiraś Ravi-kul-śdbhāva-rājaputrī [||] yādy-āpi Dhāstu-

76 r-upam=ajani sundatrināṁ s=ēyam sudhānus(ḍhānus)-vadanaṁ svayam=ēva jātā || [44*] Yad-rūpa-śila-gati-vartanayā prasiddhā

1 The Nagarī plates read "ō-kālē."
2 The Nagarī plates read correctly read "ēva.
3 The Nagarī plates read āruttēvaṁ" or āruttē "vaṁ."
4 Read "garē lōkē.
5 Kī was originally engraved.
6 The Nagarī plates read visodanti yē cha which is better.
7 The Nagarī plates read ruddhō which is better.
8 The Nagarī plates read Dhēṣā.
9 The Nagarī plates read "tu.
10 The Nagarī plates read mandēram(m)." 11
11 The Nagarī plates read ruchī.
12 The Nagarī plates read dhām-ēṣhur.
13 Originally sandesha was engraved.
14 The Nagarī plates correctly read prabhitāḥ.
DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE II

Scale: Four-ninths
Fourth Plate, First Side

96 samākarnyatatāṁ(tām) dhātri pīṭhati liṅgati svar-aḥchalaḥ prāṣādāti tvad-yaśo dīn-nāṭhāḥ praśima(mānti) yasya pa-

97 ritaḥ arṣaṭah(ah) paddiṁ liṅgati [[56*]] ānandaṁ vidadhāti chātasi bhavat-kūrttir-uggaṇa-grāhinaḥ sūttā dōha-

98 dam=arthinaḥ cha manasi śri-Rājar(a)ra dhruvam(vam)(vam) || || s-eśyaṁ karṇa-patham samėtya ṛṣidvē śāléva-

99 tē vairiṇaḥ svam-Pehaḥ-ānuvidhāyināṁ nahi nijō bhāvaḥ kvacıkū ṛṣiyatē || [[57*]] Āśayaṁ bhūvi paṁcāvinā(vinā)sita-

100 samāḥ keśām-āri-lakṣmi-madāḥ kṛtvā jītvā-chāpa-chāṅchala-bhūja-dam-bhōir=urvaṁ-patiḥ [[*]] rājyam prājya-yaśa-

101 sta(s-tu)haṁa-kirāṇaḥ[na]-śrōṇi-raśā(sād)-āsanād=udgachen ṛṛ-ṛuḥūta-gīta-charitaḥ śri-Rājarājī nipaaḥ || [58*] Tasya=ānaujo

102 nriṣatī-rāja-padē=bhiṣhiktaḥ sūkti-priyah parimiti-ādi-nriṣa-praṣastiḥ [[]] pa(prī)thvā-patiḥ kali-mal(l-ōhi)[j]hiṁa-dharmma-śu-

103 ddhō(ddhaḥ) kārya-keśamaḥ prabhuṁ=sāv=-Aṇīyaṅkaḥbhīmadeḥ || [59*] Chī(Vr)-ādhiśhīta-saṅgara-ādri-śīkarē śāṅkha-svaṁ-āśāṣe k[ṛ]h[ṛ]h(ḥ)[ku]-

104 nē(t au)-ōdhbhima-mad-ēbha-kumbha-vigala-mukt-āvālī-pu[m]jīte [[]] harṣād=ugra-nījā-praṣaṇa-dahara=ṣranga-brug(ah) vidvēṣāṁ

105 rājūnām=ānaṇa-paṁkajāṇi nriṣatīrda(c-gga)tvā=ānayad=yaḥ śrīyaṁ(yam) || [60*] Kṣhir-āvdhē(śdhe)ṣ=amrītaḥ sur-āṣura-bhūja-vyāpāra-vikāhō-

106 bhītāc=chandrasy-ārddham-abhūt-tad=apya=adhīyāyav=Īśānam-ekāṁ kīla | chaṁcha[dw]-[d-bh]-va(ba)saṁ saṅgara-bhūvi

107 tvat-khadga-dhōra-jalāj-jātasa=tv-ahṣa=dig-śvarān-prithu-yaśas-chaṁdraḥ samāliṅgati || [61*] Yat-prayāga-samū-


109 ndha-kaṁdra-siṁ[na]h(ah) | Lakṣmiḥ-hṛiḍ-âkarasāṇa-mantra-siddhir=nuṇyastvam-āsir =Aṇīyaṅkaḥbhīmadeḥ(ah) || [63*] Daśā-varehāṇi viṛō-sau nīrjītā-

110 rāti-maṇḍalāḥ | Aṇāṅgaḥbhīma-bhūpālo dharitriṁ samapālayat || [64*] Puraḍh-ānarga-vikramah kul-grihaṁ

111 yō daṇḍa-nīti-śriyah(ah)* saty-ācāra-vihaḥ-ācāra-charitaḥ puṇyaḥ(yu-si)ka-hā(pā)ṝyaṇaḥ || tasya=āsid=A-

112 na(nīyaṅkabhitī-nripatēr-arṣddh-âṅga-lakṣmiṁ ska(sva)yam a[n]ēṣayena pāṭṭamahishī Vāghalla-

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1 The Nagari plates read su-manasa.
2 The Nagari plates wrongly read su-śtīm-ṛ.
3 Elsewhere we have kastmāpā-sa-lakṣmī-ṁkaruḥ.
4 The Nagari plates correctly read samrītāḥ.
5 The Nagari plates read dhātu-rajaḥ-sampūrṇitā.
6 This stanza is not found in the Nagari plates.
7 The daṇḍa is superfluous.
Fourth Plate, Second Side

113  dāvi bhuvi || [55*] Tulita-pitṛ-guṇa-aughahā sūnur-aśid-amushyā niratāyita-tējō1-yauvan-ā-
114  vāpita-rājyaḥ | prāṇa-nripati-chāḍā-ratna-ročih-piśangkita-charaṇa-sarōjō Rājarā-
115  jō nripālaḥ || [66*] Yasya-śodad-vājī-vrinda-prakhara-khura-put-āghāta-nirdārit-ōrvī-
sambhūtām bhūri bhāsva-

116  t-kara-nikara-guṇaḥ(ṇa)2-syūta-sandram3 prayāṇo(ṇē) | vistirṇām karṇa-tāl-āhatibhē(ṇhi)-
ravirat-ōnmatta-sēṇā-gajānma(ṇā)m-a-
117  shṭānam dig-gajānām=mukha-paṭa-tulanām=ādadhē dhūli-jālam(lam) || [67*] Yasmin-śāsati śāsit-śri-nikaraiń2 sa-
118  myak=samudr-śvma(mba)raṁ prthvimaṁ pārthiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājē nripē |
chakram=Mādhava ēva taikshaṁya-
119  m-adhikaṁ kaukhyaṁ chintanāṁ śāstr-ābhyaśa-vidhau Vidhau cha jaḍatā kāle Kali(ēḥ) ārāyatē || [68*] Yat-kirtti-dugdha-ja-
120  lai (dhrē)-bhuvan-āntarālān sa[m*]pālavyā dāratarām=unsa(chohha)ltasya bhānti | tārā-
gaṇāḥ[hu] sphuta-ruchō gaganē sa-
121  mantānūṁ(t-sū)kshem-ātisūkśhama-taraḷā iva viprūhas=to || [69*] Tyāgē śauryē iva satyō cha Karṇa-Ārjuna-Yudhishthhirā-
122  ṛ | sadīśë=yam=maḥāvīrō Rājarājō narādhaṁ ī || [70*] Śy-yama śrī-Rājarāja-narēndraḥ 
sakale-jagan-nata-sama-
123  sta-guṇ-ālāṁkīta-diganta-viśrānta-viśāla-kīrttē=Adīṭē-iva sva-mātuḥ śrī-Vāghhaldēvyaḥ 
puṇy-ā-
124  bhivṛddhy-arthāṁ śākāvīḍē(bḍē) vinēa(viṃśa)ty-adhik-ālādaśa-satē(ta)tarme śrī- 
Pūrūśottama-kohā(kshē)trē sāgara-tīrē sū-
125  ryy-ōparāgē Utkala-dēsē Śayīlō-vishaya Āṭṭhaẏīsa-khaṇṭō Kōrad-ākhyā-
grāmaṁ sa-jala-
126  sthala-khētra[m*] sa-machchhaya(tya)-kachchhapa[m*] sa-viṣap-āraṇyan ā pu(pū)rva-
śiddha-chatuḥ-sīmāntīnā-nānā-gōṭre-
127  bhīyō Vṛ(ṛā)maṇēbhyāḥ dhāra-pūrvvakam-ā-chandārīk-ōpabhōgāy-ākarikṛtya prā-
dāta(dēt) || atra Vṛ(ṛā)maṇa-nāmā-
128  ni likhyantē | Ka(Kā)jyapa-gōtraḥ Viddanāryya-s-tinsa(s-trinśa)d-vāty-adhikārī [**] ēṭan-madhyaḥ Kauśika-gōtraḥ
129  Vidyākarāryyō vinēa(varṇśa)-ti-vāty-adhikārī [**] Rudrakāryyyah Śivakarāryyyah Mādha-
vakarāryyyah Naraśimḥya-
130  ryyaḥ Har(ṛḥ)harāryyaḥ ete pratyēkam sapta-sapta-vāty-adhikārīnaḥ [**] ēṭe Kauśika-
gōtraḥ [**]-Kēsavav(a)vṛyyō daśa-vāty-adha(ḥi).

1 The Nāgarī plates read tējē.
2 The Nāgarī plates read mbaḥ.
3 The Nāgarī plates wrongly read sāndrē.
4 The Nāgarī plates read 7-śmara-puṇaiḥ.
5 The Nāgarī plates offer a different reading of the stanzas.
No. 34] DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

131 käri [*] 'Ādityāryyō daśa-vāty-adhikāri [*] [ētau*] Kaunḍinya-gotraḥ(trau | ) Chandrakarāryyaḥ paśccha-vāty-adhikāri Kāśyapa-gotraḥ [*] Nārāyaṇ-

132 ryyaḥ Gadādhara-ryyaḥ Nārāyapaśr[*]imā Siddī(dhhē)śvarasārmma Rāmadēṿryyaḥ Gaṃśvārasārmma Dhanakaraśārmma Rudraśārmma(rmmā) Kēṣa(ṣa)-

133 vaśa[r*]imā Jayakaraśārmma(rmmā) Ālōśyāgramaśārmma Payān(u)ndasārmma hōtri- Madhavāsārmma(rmmā) Vāsudēvaśārmma Vu(Bu)dharasārmma Nāgūsa-

134 rmmā ēṭe Bhāravāja-gotrāḥ [*] Ēṭmaṇva(mba)va(rā)ryyaḥ Madhūsārmma Gaṃśvara- śārmma Rudrasārmma ēṭe Pārśāra-sagotrāḥ [*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

135 Kriṣṇapayājvā Kāmadē[va*]jārmma Viṣṇuayājvā Vu(Bu)dharasārmma Gadādharaśārmma Kāmadēvārasārmma (chaṇḍā)śārmma ēṭe Kāśya-gotrāḥ [*] [Ana-]

136 ntaṇasārmma(rmmā) Rādhitara-gotrāḥ [*] Padmākarāryyaḥ Bhūgayaḥvā Gāḍādharaḥtā Vra(Bra)hmaṇasārmma Vāsakāsārmma ēṭe Kūsi-kā-gotrāḥ [*] Gāḍa-

137 dharāryyaḥ Chandrakaraśr[*]imā Kālōśārmma ēṭe Kriṣṇētrēya-sagotrāḥ [*] Suja(iṇ)i- yajā(jvā) Dēvāpālasārmma ēṭo(tau) Kuddālaka-gotrō(trau | )

138 udgāṭi-Puruṣhōttamaśārmma Ḥariśārmma Hariharasārmma Pajjunaśārmma Trilōche- trāh ēṭe Vatsa-gotrāḥ [*] Pūrṇa-kārā-

139 ryya-s-tathā Govē(vi)ndasārmma[s*] Kō(Kau)ndinya-gotrāḥ(trau) [*] Mannāyasārmma Kēśavaśārmma ēṭau Kāpi-gau(gō)trau [*] Tantōyajvā Kēśava*]jārmma

140 Jagēśvar-ahitāgniḥ Pannāyisārmma Suja(yisārmma Puruṣhōttamāryyaḥ Dāmōdaraśārmma Rāmadēvāsā[rmmā]

141 ē[tē*] Kriṣṇētrēya-gotrāḥ [*] Padmanābhāryā(ryyaḥ) Gāṛgga-gotrāḥ [*] Kṛaha(ṣa)- śārmma Vatsa-gotrāḥ [*] Kītusārmma Ghrītakōṣṭha(Kauśī)-

142 ka-mō(gō)traḥ [*] Ālōśārmma Dāmōdaraśārmma ēṭau Kāśya[pa*]gōtrau [*] Dhṛitikara- śārmma Vā-

143 [r*]ahagāṇa-gotrāḥ [*] ēṭe pratyēka[m*] griha-vāṭi-mātri-ātha(dhī)kār(rī)ṣaḥ [*] Viy[v]iśvārō Vatsa-gō-

144 trō dvi-vāty-adhikāri [*] Dhrmū-nām[i]uknaḥ griha-vāṭya-schatasraḥ [*] griha-vāṭi- bhūmiḥ paṇcādaśa-

145 vāṭi-parima(mi)ta [*] tatra Vidyākaraśyyaḥ pāniya-grāhi [*] śrt-Puruṣhōttamadēvāya ēkā griha-vāṭi [*]

146 Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthan-tad-rakshih-phala-siddhyē | mad-dharmmaḥ paripālyō- yah bhūpā-pārī-chandrayā-tārakaḥ(kam) || [71*] Mā bhūda-s-pha-

147 la-saukā tē para-dattēti pārthiva | sva-dattād-ahikah punyōḥ para-datt-ānupālanah- (nam)|| [72*] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā ya-

148 taśe-raksha Yudhisṛihṛ[a] bhūmiḥ dēva-dvijātināḥ dānāḥ=ṣū[r*]yā-nāpālanah(nam)|| [73*] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ[*] vā yō hariṣa vasu-

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1 The name is doubtful but may be Trilōchehārya. The visarga looks like the one in line 44 above.
2 Originally gō was engraved. The intended reading may be Kōpi.
3 Originally s was engraved and cancelled and ṣ was separately incised. This s was later changed to ṣ.
149  ndhārān(rām) | sa vishtāyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pitribhūbheḥ(hbiḥ) saha pachchā(cha)yāte || [74*]
Nirjale pṛantare deśe śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ || [74*]

150  sarppā hi jāyante vra(brā)hmadāy-āpāhārakāḥ || [75*] ī śam=ekāṁ svarṇam=ekam vā
bhūmēr-apy=ardhām-āṅgulam(lam) || haran=narakam=āpno-|| [75*]

151  ti yāvavā(d-ā)-bhūta-samplavan(vam) || [76*] Yāvad=Gai(Gau)ṛi-Mahēśau jagad-adhika-
raṣaṁ yāvad-avdhau(bdhau) prahasthau(hriṇṭau) Latyaḥ(kshmi)-Paṅkṣeühākahe

152  dyunti-divasa-pati yāvad-ātāu vibhātaḥ || vajāv-adhau yāvad-āptau bhuvana-nyaminath
m[ṛj]i(bihṛtī-qa) bhāvam-aḍyāṁ tā-|| [77*]

153  vat=kīrtti-pratāpau jagati viya(ja)chhā(ya)tāṁ Rājarājasya rājīnāḥ || [77*] Tasy-ājñayā
yathā-jñānam Gaṅ-gaṅvaya-gaṇe-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

154  n-prati | praśasti-rahanāḥ(nā)-ālokaṁ=Appanaṁ || [78*] ||[78*] śilpinā Lōkāyin=
ōtkīrṇam-iti ||[78*] Ālamvā(lanivā)yana-gō[traḥ]

155  9Kī(Kē)savāryyo daśa-vāty-adhikārī ||

1 The name may also be Ayyana. The reading of the same name in the Nagari plates requires modification.
2 There is a small dot between the double ṗaṇḍas.
3 This line begins from about the middle of the previous line.
DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE 111

SEAL

(from a Photograph)
No. 35—KURUD PLATES OF NAREN德拉, YEAR 24

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAB G. DIKSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying copper-plate grant, published here for the first time, was found by a farmer while ploughing his field at Kurud, about 27 miles north-east of Raipur, in the Tahsil and District of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. It was brought to the notice of Mahant Lakshmi Narayan Das, President of the Mahakoshala Congress Committee, Raipur, who subsequently passed it on to Shri M. P. Dwivedi, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, for acquisition under the Treasure Trove Act. It was through the kindness of the latter that I secured the grant for decipherment and I am obliged to him for kindly according me permission to edit it in this journal. The plates have since been purchased by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, and are at present preserved in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum at Raipur.

The charter consists of a set of three copper plates, each measuring 5-9" broad and 3-2" high, secured by means of a circular ring passing through holes in the left margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a seal, about 2-6" in diameter, which has on its countersunk surface the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi, standing on a lotus, with two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers held in their upraised trunks. In the topmost portion of the seal appear the figures of the sun and the moon, represented respectively by a small pellet and a crescent. A double line in the centre divides the seal into two compartments, the lower of them containing the legend in two lines, in raised characters in low relief. The seal was apparently cast from a mould. The weight of the plates, together with the seal and the ring, is 66 tolas.

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, of which five each appear on the second side of the first plate and both sides of the second while the remaining six lines are engraved on the first side of the third plate. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are blank.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet, assignable to the fifth century A.D. and commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the śarabhapura kings, and resemble closely those of the Pipardula plates in having less angular forms. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend occurring on the seal and the imprecatory verses at the end of the charter, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, it may be noted that ri takes the place of subscript ri in some cases (cf. lines 7-8). The consonants are sometimes doubled in conjunction with r.

The charter was issued by king Nārendra from his camp of victory at Tilakāvara on the 4th day of Vaiśākha in the 24th year of his reign. The legend on the seal indicates that this Nārendra was the son of Śarabha who had 'conquered the earth with the sharp edge of his sword'. The charter was issued in confirmation of an earlier grant made by the deceased father of the king. It is addressed to the residents of the village of Kāṇavaka, situated in the Chullādaśīmā bhoja (or in the bhoja bordering on Chullāda) and states that the village was granted by the deceased king to one Bhāratavāmin or Bhāratasvāmin belonging to the Dhāraṇī gōtra, after taking a bath in the Gaṅgā, for his own religious merit and was registered by a charter written

1 JHG, Vol. XIX, pp. 139-46 and Plates.
2 [The suggestion is unsupported by the language of the record. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]
3 This name is spelt as Bhārat in line 6 and Bhāratasvāmin in line 9.

(263)
on tāla leaves. This charter was burnt in the course of a conflagration in the donor's house; but it was known to the secretariat that the village continued to be enjoyed by the donor unhindered. ¹ King Narën德拉 confirmed the grant to Śākhipravī, son of Bhāsitratma, by means of a charter incised on copper plates, together with all the rights such as bhūga, bhāga, dhānya and hiraṇya, for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased father.² The dātaka of the grant was the secretariat itself.³ The record was engraved by one Śrīdatta or Datta.

King Narën德拉, son of Śrāvha, is already known to us from his Pipardula plates issued in his 3rd regnal year. The present charter, issued in his 24th regnal year, indicates that he had a fairly long reign. Neither the Pipardula plates nor the present inscription give any pedigree and the ruler is mentioned with the simple title Mahārāja. The legend appearing on the seal of both the records says that Narën德拉 was the son of Śrāvha, who was perhaps the founder of the Śrāhahapura dynasty. It is also noteworthy that the Gaja-Lakshmi motif is common to the seals of the grants issued by the kings of this family and this may go in favour of assigning Narën德拉 of our record to the Śrāhahapura dynasty. The editors of the Pipardula copper-plate inscription have rightly suggested that Śrāvha mentioned in the legend on his son's seal is probably no other than Śrāhaharāja, the maternal grandfather of Gōparāja who died at Eran in 510 A.D.⁴

The only point of interest in the present inscription is the reference to the original charter which is said to have been written on āla leaves and was later confirmed by the present document. There are many instances of older grants being renewed or confirmed by subsequent rulers; but this is probably the only instance, so far noticed, where it is expressly stated that a charter was written on tāla leaves.

Kurud, where the plates were found, is hardly 27 miles from Raipur and about 8 miles north of Āraṅg, both of which are known to be the find spots of charters belonging to the Śrāhahapura dynasty. The present plates again support the conclusion drawn by the editors of the Pipardula plates that the rule of this dynasty was mostly confined to the environs of Raipur and that their capital Śrāhahapura probably lay in the neighbourhood of Sirpur.⁵ In the excavations at Sirpur, a small gold coin of king Parvanmātra was found in the lowest stratum which was superimposed by buildings attributed to the Pāṇḍava kings. This also shows the early associations of the Śrāhahapura kings with Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the Mahānadi. Knowing these details, it is clear that the river Gaṅga, mentioned in the present record, can only be the Mahānadi which is one of the most important rivers in the region. It would be improper to connect it with the famous river Ganges.⁶

Tilakōsvara, where the king was camping at the time of making the grant, cannot be identified with certainty. There is a likelihood of its being some celebrated temple in the vicinity of Kēśavaka, probably the small village Keshwa standing on the bank of a nullah bearing the same name about

¹ The words of the inscription have not been taken here literally in the analysis of the contents. See below.—Ed.
² [See below.—Ed.]
³ The mention of the odākara as the dātaka of a charter is rare in inscriptions.—Ed.
⁵ IHQ, Vol. XIX, p. 144,⁶ The detailed results of these excavations conducted in 1933-55 on behalf of the University of Sāngār and the Department of Archaeology, Government of Mādhya Pradesh, are now under publication.
⁷ For a river called Gaṅga on account of its sanctity, see the Paithan and Purushottampuri plates of Yādava Rāmachandra, where the Gaṅga is styled as Gaṅga. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 317-18; above, Vol. XXV, p. 203. [If all the rivers are called Gaṅga, their individual names become meaningless. The Godāvarī has been called Gaṅga because one of its names was Gautama-gaṅga (of above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 251, text line 37; note also its other names Gautam, Gautama-sambhara, etc.). The Mahānadi could hardly have been called Gaṅga without any qualification. See below, p. 287.—Ed.]
SEAL

(from a photograph)
5½ miles to the south-east of Mahasamund in the Tahsil of that name. ¹ Chullâda-sima-bhôga, by which the adjoining district or division was indicated, appears to be represented by modern Charoda, a village 7 miles due east of Keshwa.

**TEXT**

**Seal**

1  Khadga-[dhâ]râ-jita-bhova[h*] Šarabhât-prâpta-janmaha[h*]

2  nripat(eš-šri)-Nârendrasya [sâ]sanah ripu-[sâ]sana[m*][š*]

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**First Plate**

1  Siddham* [š*] svasti [š*] vijaya-skandha[v*]at-Tilakôśvara-vâsakât-paramabha[g*]

2  vâtô mâtâ-pitri-pád-ânuddhyaśat[Śri-mahârâja-Nârendraḥ Chullâdâ-

3  sima-bhôgna-Kêśavakô Brâhmaṇa-purâsarân-pratìvâsi-

4  kutumbinas=samâjânyapayati [š*] vîditam-astu vah yath=âya[r*] grâma[h]

5  paramabhatāraka-pâdai[h*] Bhârûtasvamâ[r*]-Dhâranî-sagôtrîy[a]

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**Second Plate, First Side**

6  Gaṅgâyâ[n*] majjana[n*] kurvadbhî[h*] tâla-patra-âsana[n*] sva-pûny-âbhivri-

7  ddhayê dattaka[n*] tach=-cha tâla-patra-âsana[n*] griha-dâghâ dâgdam=îty-adh-亚马逊

8  karaṉ-âvadhâraṇayâ prâk-prabhri[bb*]ty-avyavachchhêda-bhôgên=âya[n*] grâ-

9  mô bhujyata iti "" adhunâ Bhârûtasvâmi-putra-Śâukhasvâminē

10  paramabhatâraka-pâdânâ[n*] pûny-âpyâyanâdâ(y-âi)va tâmra-âsas-

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**Second Plate, Second Side**

11  nêm-ânumodita ity=âvam-upalabhya-asy=âjñâ-âravaṇa-vrîdhâyâ

12  bhuûtvâ yathô(thâ)-kâlam-uchita-bhôga-bhâga-dhânya-bh[j]râ[ny-âdôr=up-

13  nayam karshyith=ēti || bhavishyatâ=cha bhûpas[n*] kuśal-ôpâtam-ana-

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¹ See Sheet No. 2 of the Majmuli map of the Mahasamund Tahsil; also Sheet No. 64 K of Survey of India, which gives the location of Charoda and the Keshwa nullah only.

² From the original plate.

³ Rips-[âsina]k is the reading in this place on the seal of the Pipâlula plates.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The name appears as Bhârûta in line 9 below.

⁶ Read gîka-dâghâ.

⁷ The upsâs are unnecessary.

⁸ Read karasiyathâki.
14 darśayati || dūtakam-advikaraṇa[m٤] || Vyāsa-gītā[ú٤]jē=ch-ātra śōkān-udāha-
15 ranti || Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sāgar-ādhibhī[ḥ٤] | yasya yasya

Third Plate

16 yadā bhūmisa-tasya tasya tadā phala[m٤] || Pūrvva-dattān dvijātibhyō ya-
17 tnād-rakṣaṇa Yudhiaśṭhira ["'] mahūṃ mahimatān śṛēṣṭha dānāc=chhṛēyō-nupāla-
18 na[m٤] Saśāti-varaha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ ["'] śāchbhē-
19 ttś ch-ānunmāntā cchha(cha) tāny-ēva narakē vasēt ["'] pravardhamāṇa-vija-
20 ya-rājya-saavva(saavva) tārē chaṭurvviśa(ṛvviśa) tīmā 20 4 Vaisākha-di 4
21 utkī(ktī)rūpaḥ Śrīdattēnēti ||¹

¹ Termination of the record is indicated by two curved strokes.
No. 36—NOTE ON KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACUMUND

The Kurud copper-plate inscription has been edited by Dr. M. G. Dikshit in the foregoing pages (pp. 293 ff.). He has, however, failed to grasp what appears to be the most important historical information supplied by the epigraph.

The record purports to say that the village of Kusavaka was originally granted by the Paramabhasraka-pada, while he had been taking a bath in the waters of the Ganga (Gaṅgūyāṁ majjanāṁ kurvadāhīḥ), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Bhaśrutavāmin or Bhaśrutavāmin by means of a charter written on palm leaves, but that, as a result of that document being destroyed by a conflagration in the house of the donee, Mahārāja Narendra, son of Sārabbha, re-granted the village from his camp at Tilakāśvara in favour of the original donee's son Sānkhavāmin for the merits of the Paramabhasraka-pada, since it was established by official investigation (adhitkarana-āvadāhrāraya) that the village was continuously in the possession of the Brāhmaṇas. As Narendra's father Sārabbha is apparently identical with the homonymous maternal grandfather of Gopārāja, who died in the army on behalf of the Gupta monarch Bhānugupta at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh in the Gupta year 191-510 A.D.,1 Sārabbha and his son Narendra may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. If Narendra re-granted the village in question to Sānkhavāmin about the first quarter of the sixth century, the latter's father (apparently dead at the time of the present charter) should have originally received it from the Paramabhasraka-pada about quarter of a century earlier, i.e. sometime about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Dr. Dikshit identifies the Paramabhasraka-pada, who originally made the grant, with Mahārāja Narendra's father. This is, however, not supported by the language of the inscription, the word 'father' being conspicuous by its absence from the context. Moreover the Paramabhasraka-pada seems to have had his headquarters in the neighbourhood of the river Ganga far away from the Raipur District where Narendra and apparently also his father Sārabbha were ruling. Then again the imperial title Paramabhasraka, along with Mahārājādhivirāja Parameshvara, is known to have been popularised by the Imperial Guptas since the fourth century A.D.2 and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Mahārāja Narendra's father Sārabbha enjoyed the title Paramabhasraka (and presumably also Mahārājādhivirāja Parameshvara), side by side with the Imperial Guptas, about the end of the fifth century. We know that Sārabbha's daughter's son Gopārāja was a feudatory of the Guptas and it seems quite likely that Sārabbha himself also owed allegiance to the same imperial house. Since the Guptas had their capital at Pātaliputra on the Ganga, the grant being made by the Paramabhasraka-pada while taking a bath in the holy waters of that river is easilyexplained. As the Gupta power was fast declining since the closing years of the fifth century, it is intelligible how Sārabbha's son Mahārāja Narendra, ruling considerably away from the centre of the Gupta empire, issued his charters as an independent monarch without referring to his allegiance to the Gupta emperor. But his respectful mention of the Paramabhasraka-pada, to whom Narendra's family must have owed complete allegiance originally, shows that he still considered himself, however nominally, a subordinate of the Imperial Guptas. It has to be noted that Narendra confirmed the earlier grant for the merit of the Paramabhasraka-pada and not of himself or of his parents. It has, however, also to be noticed that he was powerful enough not to describe himself even vaguely as Paramabhasraka-pada-āvudhyāna like such nominal

2 See IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65; Vol. XXIV, pp. 75-77.
feudatories of the Guptas as the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa, Rudrādaśa and Bhulunḍa.¹ At the same time he also does not use the Gupta era like some other erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, who did so with or without some kind of reference to their former overlords.¹

As we have elsewhere² observed, the influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and the use of their era noticed in South Kōsala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining area) suggest that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Again in connection with the discovery of the coins of a South Kōsala king named Mahēndrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya (414-55 A.D.), we observed that Gupta suzerainty was probably acknowledged by the rulers of South Kōsala.³ The Kurud copper-plate inscription of Narēndra seems to support the above observations inasmuch as it shows that South Kōsala formed an integral part of the Gupta empire as late as the close of the fifth century when the charter, confirmed by Narēndra, was originally granted by a Gupta monarch in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Raipur region of that country. It is of course impossible to identify this Gupta emperor without further evidence; but the manner in which he is twice mentioned by Narēndra in the present charter seems to indicate that Gupta political influence was not totally absent from South Kōsala even about the beginning of the sixth century.

² *CL. Select Inscriptions*, pp. 370 ff., 374 ff.; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 1229, etc.
⁴ Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 83.
No. 37—HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2

(Plate I)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND T. N. SUBRAMANIAM, MADRAS

The text of this inscription has already been published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 553. It is taken up here for detailed study in view of the fresh light it throws on the history of its period. The record is incised on two faces of a pillar found at Hema\vati in the Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur District, Andhra State.

The inscription under discussion is in the Tamil language and script with an admixture of Grantha characters for words of Sanskrit origin. It is couched in chaste language and incised fairly correctly. There is no orthographical peculiarity requiring special mention. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

The object of the record is to register the gift of some land to the temple of god Maṅgēśvara at Perunjeru in Śriai-nāgu, a sub-division of Nigarilīśa-maṇḍala, by one Śīkkaḷūḍaiya-śeṭṭiyār who is described as Vadhā-vayhāri and dēṭīmaṅkṛya; the gift was made with the permission of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Uṇṭaiyūpavaiya-ūdhēnabha Śrī-Maṅēśvaraṇ Tribhuvanamalla Mallīśa Chōḷa-mahārāja in the month of Āvaṇi in the cyclic year Vyaya, which was the second regnal year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottungachalādaśa. It is further stated that the gift was placed in the hands of Isāṇaśīva, the sthānapati of the temple of Tirumaṅgūrāram-udaiyār with the libation of water by the illustrious hand of the king.

It is not clear from the record to which of the reigns of the three Chōḷa kings bearing the name of Kulottunga it belongs. The cyclic year Vyaya corresponded with 1046-47, 1106-07, 1166-67 and 1226-27 A.D. In no case did any of these years coincide with the 2nd year of the reign of any of the Chōḷa kings bearing the name Kulottunga. While the other dates did not fall in the reign of any Kulottunga at all, the first one coincided with the 37th year of the reign of Kulottunga I. But the palaeography, the difference in the regnal years 2 and 3 and the mention of Tribhuvanamalla Mallīśa Chōḷa-mahārāja make it impossible to assign this record to the time of that monarch.

Tribhuvanamalla Mallīśa Chōḷa-mahārāja mentioned in this inscription as ruling over the Śriai-nāgu, a sub-division of Nigarilīśa-maṇḍala, with Perunjeru as his capital figures also in other epigraphs found in that locality. A record engraved on a stone set up at the southern entrance of the Oddappa (Śiva) temple at the same place, dated in Śaka 1084, Vṛiṣa, Pūsya,

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1 The other two faces of the pillar contain two separate records. The third face bears an undated inscription (ŚII, Vol. VI, No. 554) in the Tamil language and script registering the gift of two ppeace of gold placed in the hands of Isāṇa-jiyar by Dēvarangaiyan Taṅcūvāra Úttamaśīva Valavadarayaś of Śeyū in Tonḍai-maṇḍalam (i.e. modern Cheyyūr in the Madhurantakam Taluk of the Chingleput District), from the interest of which was to be maintained the worship and a śānti-vadhā close in the temple for the merit of his father and mother in the shrine of Śrīvairamīśaṇa Śivaramadēva consecrated by him. The fourth face of the pillar contains an incomplete and undated inscription (ibid., No. 555), in Kannada, of the time of the Western Chāḷukya king Jagadekamalla containing a portion of the prasaṃti of a person who is described therein as the son of Iruṅgōla Chōḷa-mahārāja.

2 Nigarilīśa-maṇḍalam was the same as Nojanabāvādhi renamed as such by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I after his conquest of the region and was a 'Thirtytwo Thousand country' comprising portions of the Bollary and Anantapur Districts of Andhra and parts of the Kolīr and Tumkur Districts of Mysore.

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1 SII, Vol. IX, No. 268.
Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrāmaṇa, corresponding probably to 1162 A.D., December 25, Monday, mentions the chief as ruling over Śīra-nādu (same as the Śīrai-nādu of the Tamil record) from his capital at Hētējērū, which is only another form of Perunējērū, as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin Vikrama (i.e. Taila III). There is also another inscription incised on a pillar at the same place, dated in Śaka 1090, Sarvajit, corresponding to 1168 A.D., mentioning this chief as a feudatory of Chālukya-chakravartin. He was the son of Irungōla Chōja-mahārāja of the Nīḍugal family.³ Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōja-mahārāja mentioned in the record under review is evidently the Nīḍugal Chōja chief and his known dates range from 1162 to 1179 A.D. Then the cyclic year Vyaya mentioned in the record should be the one coinciding with Śaka 1088 corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. This being the 2nd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-chālīgādēvā, he should have ascended the throne in 1165-66 A.D. It has already been pointed out that none of the three kings bearing the name of Kulōttuṅga-chālīgādēvā ascended the throne on this date.¹ But curiously enough we find another Chōja king of the imperial family of Taţājērū, Raţādērāja II, counting his reign years in some of his inscriptions with this year as the starting point,² and it is also known that he did not succeed to the Chōja throne as direct heir in the male line. The Pallavāryaśaṃštī inscription³ states that Rājārāja II chose as his successor on the throne Rājādērāja II as there was no regular and proper heir in the male line available then. Pallavāryaś (whose full name was Tiruch-chīrambalam-udāiyān Perumānambij, who was the trusted chief minister of Rājārāja II and was responsible for this selection, is stated to have made after the coronation of Rājādērāja II, the udāntaśam and the nādu act with the king in unison and also to have suppressed [the hostile elements] from doing [any] high-handed action.⁴ The actual expression māgai kegyūdapanāyūn parivartita used in the inscription is significant. It is clear therefore that the accession of Rājādērāja II to the Chōja throne was not unanimously accepted by the officials and the public and that there was some opposition to the choice, but that Pallavāryaś overcame the opposition and compelled it to surrender and accept the selection. Who were those that opposed the selection and how they were subdued are not explicit from the inscription. But it is stated therein that Pallavāryaś was successful in his attempt only to some extent (oruṣadi) and even that possibly with very great difficulty.⁵ For making this selection, Pallavāryaś, according to the record, brought some princes from Gāṅgai-konḍaṭapura (Gāṅgai-konḍaṭapura ....... darupi iru[k]ēra pilaiṣaḥai ....... yēṇam paṇṇu .......). The use of the word pilaiṣaḥ in plural denotes more than one prince, although only one person⁶ was selected from among them and crowned as Rājādērāja. It is quite possible that the other prince or princes who were brought to the capital

1. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 157.
2. Ibid., Vol. IX, Nos. 268 and 273. See also note 1 at p. 299 above.
3. The inscription being in the Tamil language and script, it is not possible to take him as one of the Telugu-Chōda. In fact, no Telugu-Chōja prince is known to have borne the name of Kulōttuṅga. He can be only a prince belonging to the Imperial Chōja family of Taţājērū.
6. The translation given above, Vol. XXI, p. 192, has not brought out the full force of the original text and at places conveys a wrong meaning not borne out by the text. The word mīgasī literally means 'up-lifted arm'. If the word is taken as mīgasī with a short i, then it would mean 'excess'. Even then, it will convey more or less the same idea.
7. That Pallavāryaś was successful only partially has not been brought out in the translation of the record, referred to above. It runs as follows: "and made the udāntaśam (assembly) and the nādu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus (he) brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (in this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions".
8. The authors have obviously taken the word ivārai occurring in the text (line 12) to mean one of the princes (pilaiṣaḥ) brought from Gāṅgai-konḍaṭapura. But the word ivārai cannot mean ivārai or ivārai. See above, p. 224, n. 1.—Ed.]
from Gaṅgāsīkapāṇḍaḷapuraṃ but not selected were the hostile elements alluded to in the Palla-
varāyanaṇaṭṭai record. Then Kulottungaḥoṣādeva of the inscription now being edited was
probably a rival of Rājādhīrāja II. A study of the course of events in the reign of this king would
also lead us to such a conclusion.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhīrāja II is 16. We know that two
sets of dates are found in his inscriptions, one counting some date between the 28th February and
30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other, as already indicated above, suggesting
some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. Thus the latest regnal year of 15
would correspond to 1178 A.D. or 1181 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 A.D. for the commence-
ment of his reign. Even though we have his records up to his 16th regnal year, it is to be noted
that only inscriptions up to his 14th regnal year are numerous while those of the last two years are
very few. A record from Puṅgaṇūr refers to the same regnal year of this king as podinālandā-
ṇa panmaraṇaṭṭai, i.e. ‘the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year’, and this is probably due
to there being two different dates for the commencement of his reign. In the light of the above,
we may not be far wrong in taking the 16th regnal year of his inscriptions as having been reckoned
from the earlier of the above two dates of accession. It will thus be seen that the records of Rājā-
dhīrāja II are found in the Tamil country only up to about 1178 A.D. He was succeeded on the
throne by Kulottunga III whose inscriptions show that his rule commenced between the 6th and
8th of July, 1178 A.D. The circumstances under which Kulottunga III came to occupy the Chōla
throne are not clear; but one thing seems to be certain. Rājādhīrāja II was not dead when
.ulottunga III ascended the throne and began to rule the country in his own name. A large
number of Rājādhīrāja’s inscriptions are found in the Bhimavara temple at Drakāhārama in the
Godavari District extending for a period of more than 30 years thereafter, thus practically covering
the reign of Kulottunga III till its very end. The following is a list of such inscriptions recording
gifts to the temple published in the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IV, in which both the Śaka
and regnal years of Tribhuvanachakravarthi Rājādhīrājadēva are quoted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1223</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>1193-4</td>
<td>Mentions some Śeṭṭis of Śakkarakkottam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1311</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>1194-5</td>
<td>Text not available. A.R. Ep., 1893, is the only evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1332</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>1195-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1279</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1257</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>1205-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1118</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1212-3</td>
<td>Mentions some Śeṭṭis of Śakkarakkottam.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following inscriptions found in the same temple and published in the same volume recording
similar transactions quote the Śaka years and the regnal years of a king whose name is not

1 A.R. Ep., No. 389 of 1921.
2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
mentioned therein but who can be no other than Rājādhīrāja II, as these dates work out
correctly only for him and not for any other king known so far.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Regnal year</th>
<th>Śaka year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1218</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>1198-7</td>
<td>Mentions Gotika of Vēngī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1092</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1197-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1123</td>
<td>1201-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, there is also an inscription¹ dated in the 31st year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhīrājadēva, without mentioning the equivalent Śaka year and recording the gift of a lamp in the time of the Vēlanāṭi chief Kulōttunga Prithvīvara whose inscriptions are found to range from 1186² to 1199³ A.D.

But a close study of these inscriptions as well as the history of Vēngī in this period will show that the suzerainty of Rājādhīrāja there was only in name and that the country was ruled by the local chiefs who were practically independent, owing only nominal allegiance to Rājādhīrāja. It can be surmised from the above that this king was practically driven out of the Chōja kingdom in 1178 A.D. by his rival Kulōttunga III and that he found an asylum in Vēngī as a refugee where he was probably treated with all the honours due to a king but nothing more. It would thus appear that Kulōttunga, though he failed in his attempt in 1165 A.D. to get the Chōja throne, finally succeeded in the attempt made subsequently in 1178 A.D.

To have made an attempt to assert his right and to capture the Chōja throne in 1165 A.D., even while Rājarāja was alive, Kulōttunga must have had at least some chance to succeed. Otherwise he would not have daringly ventured on the project. The troublous condition then prevailing in the Tamil country was probably propitious for him to launch the scheme. About this time a civil war broke out between two Pāṇḍya princes, Kulasēkharā and Parākrama, for the throne of Madurai. Parākrama obtained the help of the Ceylonese while Kulasēkharā was helped by the Chōjas. This war, which seems to have dragged on for some five or six years, did considerable havoc to the entire Tamil country and struck terror into the hearts of the people. Pallavarāyar who was responsible for the selection of Rājādhīrāja to the Chōja throne was the officer entrusted by the Chōja king Rājarāja II with the task of restoring Kulasēkharā to the Pāṇḍya throne. From the Pallavarāyaṇa-pēṭṭai record, it may even be surmised that the installation of Rājādhīrāja as co-regent was hastened by the quick movement of events in the Pāṇḍya country. The Kōṅgō king Kulōttunga I was the uncle of the Pāṇḍya prince Kulasēkharā, the candidate supported by the Chōjas of the main line, and he also took an effective part in the war as suggested by the Ceylon chronicle.⁴ A record from Nerūr in the Tiruchirappalli District,⁵ dated in the 17th regnal year of the Kōṅgō king Kulōttunga, registers the gift of a village to his purūḥisa as yātrādāna before starting out on an expedition

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¹ SII, Vol. IV, No. 1100 (No. 247 of 1893).
² Above, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithvīvara, Śaka 1108).
³ A. R. Ep., 1909, App. B, No. 97; see also part ii, para. 76.
⁵ A. R. Ep., 1928, App. B, No. 336. The name of the Pāṇḍya prince is partially lost and only karadēva is now available. The MacKenzie transcript of this record (South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol. II, No. 716), where also the name is partially lost, has, however, the letter ki at the beginning and so the name can be restored only as Kulasēkharadēva.
to Madurai to get the kingdom for his nephew (marumagaṇē) Kulaṇēkha. This Koṇug Kulottunga came to the throne in Śaka 1073 (1150 A.D.) as evidenced by an inscription of his from Vijayamaṅgalam in the Coimbatore District giving the year 131-1 of his reign as corresponding to Śaka 1085. Thus the Pandyan civil war had already commenced and probably reached the second stage before his 17th year, i.e. 1166 A.D.⁴ The time was thus favourable for the pretender Kulottunga of the inscription now being edited to embark on his attempt to get the Chola throne.

In this inscription, the Niḍugal Chola chief Mallidēva Chōla-mahārāja figures as a subordinate or rather as acknowledging the overlordship, in a way, of the pretender Kulottunga. This chief had been the loyal feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who were the invertebrate enemies of the Imperial Chōlas of Taṅjavūr. Thus, in the two inscriptions of this chief found at Hēmavati itself, dated respectively 1162 and 1168 A.D. in the years immediately preceding and following the date of the present record, he mentions himself as the feudatory of the Western Chālukyas. There must have been some special reason for Mallidēva-chōla to adopt this course in the intervening period. He being only a feudatory would not and could not have adopted this course unless it had the backing of his overlords, first the Western Chālukyas and later Kalaśchuri Bījala.

A verse in the Tamiḻ Nāvalar Charitai⁵ refers to the victory of the Chōla king Rājarāja II over Kalyāṇapura. It states that the gates of the cities Kapāḷapuram (i.e. Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas), Lāṅkāpura (the capital of Ceylon) and Kalyāṇapura (the capital of the Western Chālukyan kingdom) were always open to him. Another verse in the final benedictory portion of the Takka-yāga ppaparai⁶ states that Rājagambhiha, i.e. Rājarāja II, removed the crown of the imposter (bhraṣṭha) and crowned the Raṣṭha to rule over the great 'seven and a half lakh country'. This incident though mentioned in literature is not referred to in his meyykkiriti. The omission of any reference to this incident in the meyykkiriti of his Tamil inscriptions which extend upto his 18th regnal year shows that the king had not undertaken the campaign against Kuntala up to that year and that consequently the campaign must have taken place on some subsequent date. An inscription⁷ from Drākṣhārāma dated in Śaka 1085 and the 18th regnal year of Rājarāja II (1163 A.D.) registering the gift of a lamp by Paṇḍāmbikā, queen of the Vēlaṇṭi Chāḷa chief Rājendrāchōḍaya, contains a panegyric of this feudatory in which it is stated that he conquered Kuntala and the Kaliṅga kingdoms and that the rulers of those countries ran away as soon as they heard the news of his starting on an invasion. That being the first year of his rule his conquest of Kuntala must have been achieved only then (i.e. 1163 A.D.). Kuntala in those days referred only to the kingdoms with Kalyāṇa as its capital where Kalaśchuri Bījala was then the reigning monarch who had by then usurped the throne of his erstwhile overlord, the Western Chālukya king Tailapa III, but had not yet completely brought the entire kingdom under his control. In 1162-63 A.D., while 'in the course of a state progress undertaken with a view to secure the possession of the southern provinces', he was encamped at Balliṅāṅavē⁸ in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. The Western Chālukyas, deprived of their throne and capital, were then

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¹ A. R. Ep., 1905, No. 598.
² [This date has been assigned by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar as that of the commencement of the war (above, Vol. XXV, p. 83).—Ed.]
³ Karattumū-kalikkanū-kalruṇā-skaṇḍavandān
irattumū-kapāṭam iṅ-tirappāy paṇḍ-iṅapagnoste
 urattumū-jirattumū-kapāṭan-tiranditād uṇḍg-Ilakka
 purattumū-Kaṇṭapattumū-Kalyāṇapurattāmu (verse 128).

[The claim might have been an empty boast.—Ed.]

Pirāṭṣaṇapecī paṭṭam-gatī-śalīpaṇa-yaṇamkam parrakka
Irāṭṣaṇapecī paṭṭam-gatī-śelīpaṇa irājaṅgharaṇa vālītaṇavē (verse 774).

⁴ SU, Vol. IV, No. 1113.
⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 225
holding some outlying provinces with the help of some loyal feudatories. Just about this time Tailapya III died. And we find Jagadékamalla III styling himself as the Western Chālukya monarch some time in 1153 A.D. Tailapya III seems to have had other sons also. It was possibly to instal Jagadékamalla on the throne that Chōla Rājarāja II had to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to definitely postulate the course of events that took place and identify the king installed on the throne by the Chōlas. But this much seems certain that Rājarāja II intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa and installed one of the claimants on the throne. Naturally this would have been resisted by the other candidate for the throne as also by the Kalachuri king Bijjala who had by that time usurped the Kalyāṇa throne. This is evident from the title Rājigachāla-manobhāngata assumed in 1171 A.D. by the Uchhauji Pāṇḍya chief Vijaya-pāṇḍya who was then ruling over Nājambavāṭi as a feudatory of the Kalachuri. The setting up in 1165 A.D. of Kulōttunga as a pretender to the Imperial Chōla throne was probably the outcome of the above.

The donor, Śikkaḷ-ūṭaiya-Śeṭ̄ṭiyār, who had the grant given away by the hands of the king, i.e. Kulōttunga, is described in the record as Vaddha-yaṇavahāri-dāsimukhya which may be translated as 'the senior merchant and leader of the dēśi community'. In some of the later inscriptions, this is expressed as Śrīman-mahāpāṭtavāyavāri Ubbaya-nānā-dāsimukku mukkīyam āga in Tamil and Śrīman-mahāvāyaṇavahāri ubbaya-nānā-dāsimukku mukkīyam āga in Kannada. It would thus appear that Śikkaḷ-ūṭaiya-Śeṭ̄ṭiyār was also a member of the merchant-guild known as Nānadeśi and as '500 valiant men', which had its head-quarters at Aiyāvali, the modern Aihole. An undated inscription from Pirāngmalai in the Ramanathapuram District contains a panegyric of this body from which we will see that it had something to do with another organisation known as Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar. Another undated inscription from Tirukkōvalūr in the South Arcot District recording the transactions of the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar contains substantial portions of the above prakāśi. A record from Tīṭṭagudi in the South Arcot District dated in the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II registers the benefactions to the temple made jointly by the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāḍu of the 79 nāḍus and the dīsai dīsai vēśinga dīsai-śiyirattu aśiśīryurav. Probably the two bodies Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar and the Dīsāi-śiyirattu-aśiśīryurav were two branches of the same parental organisation of the Nānadeśi. The organisation Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar which came into being about this time very soon

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2 Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, Dg. 43. [This inscription is dated in 1164 A.D. The earlier part of the record praises a king named Jagadékamalla whose indentification is problematic.—Ed.]
3 The same title is found assumed by one of his predecessors, viz. Tribhuvanamalla-pāṇḍya who was a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Rājamāditya VI, to commemorate the frustration of the designs of Rājiga, i.e. Kulōttungachāla I (Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, H. 68). But this does not seem to be a family title and it does not also appear to have been born by the intervening members. The title was probably renewed now in view of the appropriateness of the situation. Rājiga here probably stands for Rājarāja II.
4 Ep. Cor., Vol. XI, Dg. 42 and 43.
5 It would be interesting to note in this connection that the Kulōttungac-Śeṭ̄ṭi (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cōḷaś, Vol. II, p. 115) mentions Sanōgamāḷa and Nallama as the names respectively of the father and the elder brother of this Kulōttunga (III). These names sound more as of Telugu-Kanada origin.
7 Ibid., Hs. 72, 73.
8 SII, Vol. VIII, No. 442.
9 Ibid., No. 129
10 Ibid., No. 291. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar in Tamil inscriptions. The record from Jambai in the South Arcot District (A. R. Ep., 1906, No. 67) of the 3rd year of Tribhuvanachakravatīr Kulōttunga mentioning the Śittirāmāḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar of 79 nāḍus has to be assigned to Kulōttunga III, taking Rājakēśari as a mistake for Parakēśari.
11 The expression ubbaya-nānadeśi of the above inscriptions probably denotes these two branches.
Second Face

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obtained a firm footing in the Tamil country and was very influential throughout the reign of Kulottunga III. We may not therefore be wrong in surmising that this organisation paved the way for the ultimate success of Kulottunga in getting the Chola throne.\footnote{There seems to be no evidence in favour of this conjecture.—Ed.}

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records and also suggested the possibility of the identification.

TEXT

First Face

1 Harãḥ [\[\*\]] Svasti Śriḥ [\[\*\]] Tribhuvan-
2 nachchakravartti Kulottuṅa-
3 ga-śōḷaśvarṣa=iyaṇḍ=iraṇ
d Vadā=āna Vyaya-samvatsarā[\text{tu}]ā
5 Āvaṇi-māsattu Nigarilī[ōjā]
6 la-maṇḍalattu-Çohirai-nāṭṭu-
7 p-Peruṅjeru-il tirn-virājem pa-
8 ṣṇi=yaruḷugīʈra Śrīman-mahāma-
9 ṣṇalēva(āva)rāṇ=Uraiyr-ppura-
10 varādhāvāraṇ Śrīmāhēśvara-
11 p Tribhuvanamalla Malli-
12 dēva-śōḷamahārājaṇa Vāḍḍha-vyavah-
13 āri dēśi-[muk][-]hyar Śikkal-udaiya
14 śeṭṭiyār inda ārinaga-
15 riyil Maṅgēṣvaradēvaṟkku=t-
16 tiruv-amudupadikku=ddānam
17 panna vēndi-kkon-
18 du Mōrvaykku vaṭjakkil
19 Vaḷḷayakkiṟaiṭṭku-ikkila-

\footnote{The loop and \text{es} are clear. Only the \text{ā} symbol is indistinct.}
\footnote{The letter \text{d} in the Grantha script is in this line; the symbol for \text{d} is engraved in the previous line.}
\footnote{The syllables rāṣraś are incised above the line.}
Second Face

20 kk=i[v*]=śrāl=a[ndha]kūṭṭaiyum=adīr=
21 kollaiyum araśar āṛt-hasta-
22 ttāḷe Tirumaṅgiśvaram-uḍai-
23 yār sthānapati Iśānaśivar kai-
24 yyi(yi)lē nīr-vārpittu=kkuḍu-
25 ttār Śikkal-uḍaiya-sēṭṭī-
26 yār [[*]] inda dharmattukk=aḷivu-pa-
27 nūvār Gaṅgā-tṛattu āṛt-
28 Vārāṇasiyilē Visvē(śvē)śvara-
29 dēvar sannidhiyilē brahma-hatyai-
30 yun gō-hatyaiyum paṇḍaṇi)nār
31 pukka narakam puguvār [[*]] Śivam=astu [[*]]

TRANSLATION

(Obeisance to) Hara (Śiva). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Āvaṇi of the cyclic year Vyaya, corresponding to the 2nd year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttungachōḻadeva, Vopaṭṭha-vyayāhāri dēśi-mukhyan Śikkal-uḍaiya-sēṭṭīyār having got the approval of the illustrious Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Uṟaiyor-puravur-āṭhīśvaran Śrīmādhēśvaran Tribhuvana-malla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja who is pleased to rule (his country with the capital) at Perunjeru in Śirai-nāṭu (a sub-division) of Nigariliōṭa-maṇḍalam, for a gift (of land to provide) for the sacred food offerings to the god Maṅgeśvaradēv in this illustrious city (śrīnagarī), had the spring (śrāl) including the garden (kollai) land comprised in it, to the north of Mōṛāy and east of Vaiṭṭiyak-kirai, placed in the hands of Iśānaśiva, the sthānapati of the temple of the god Tirumaṅgiśvaram-uḍaiyār, with libation of water by the illustrious hands of the king. Those destroying this charity will go to the hell to which those who commit the murder of Brāhmaṇas and cows in the saṃśīdhi of (the god) Viśvēśvaradēva at Vārāṇasi on the banks of the Gaṅgā (go). Let there be peace!
No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OUTACAMUND

As noticed by A. Führer in his *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 1891, p. 46, there are four inscribed copper plates preserved in the temple of Yōga-badari (one of the Pañcha-badari) at Pāṇḍukēśvar (lat. 30° 19' 56" N., long. 79° 35' 30" E.), 54 miles north-east of Śrinagar, in the Garhwal District of the Kumaun Division of Uttar Pradesh. A tentative translation of the inscriptions was published in 1875 by E. T. Atkinson in a collection of inscriptions from the temples of Kumaun and Garhwal and circulated with a view to securing information about the identification of the places and personages mentioned in them. The text of only one of these records was later edited by R. L. Mitra in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, pp. 71 ff., with a photolithograph. As, however, the work was not done quite satisfactorily, F. Kielhorn afterwards re-edited the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXV, 1896, pp. 177 ff. A detailed analysis of six records from Kumaun and Garhwal including the above inscriptions was also published by Atkinson in *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.-W.P.), 1884, pp. 469-85. But the analysis was based on inaccurate transcripts of the original records. Some years ago, information reached the Government Epigraphist for India that impressions of all the four Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate inscriptions had been secured for the Lucknow Museum. At his request, the Curator of the Lucknow Museum sent the impressions to the Government Epigraphist's office for examination and transcription. The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.

I. Plate of Lalitaśrīradāva, Year 22

This is a single plate engraved only on one side. It measures about 24·4"×15·6" excluding a projection (with a squarish hole in it) about 4" long on the proper right side. The royal seal appears to have been originally fixed on this projection as is the case with the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the same king published by Mitra and Kielhorn. We know that the seal of this king had on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper left with a legend in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twenty-eight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each akṣara being about "4"×"4". The engraving seems to be deep and carefully executed and the writing is apparently in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of about the ninth century and are the same as those used in the published copper-plate inscription from Pāṇḍukēśvar. The use of initial ā and ē and final ṭ are noticed in the record. The upadhmāṇīya is employed in line 3. B has always been denoted by the sign for v. In line 25 there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 1, 2 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imper- catory verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of śās or samāsa-bhūyastva. In respect of orthography, the inscription closely resembles the published record of the king, referred to above, and some other epigraphs of the period. Some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with r. The anusvāra is wrongly used in some cases for the final m which, however, is usually retained before v. The dental nasal has been used for the anusvāra in anyādi cha in line 16. Sh has been used in place of ś in Khasha in line 15 and ś instead of s in "āśeṣa" in line 13, while ī is found instead of ī in "ṭhirṣa" in line 25. The word sahasrāṇi is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form šahasrāṇi in the previous line.
The charter is dated in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the Vishuva-sukrāṇī, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the 22nd year of King Lalitaśūradēva’s reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the Uttarāyana-sukrāṇī as well as to the 3rd day of the dark half of Māgha in the king’s 21st regnal year. Kielhorn suggested that this date may be the 22nd December 853 A.D. As the date of the present record was also known to Kielhorn through its rough translation published by Atkinson, he noticed the curious coincidence that the details work out faultlessly with the 25th September 854 A.D. He further observed, “The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśūradēva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in 853 A.D., and in the whole of the 9th century A.D. there are no two consecutive grants which would suit the two dates so well as A.D. 853 and 854 do.”

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikēśapura by Paramabhatṭaraka Mahārāja-dhirāja Paramēśvara Lalitaśūradēva who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukēśvar, was the son of P.M.P. Ishtaganađēva and grandson of Nimbara. The names of the mothers of Lalitaśūradēva and Ishtaganađēva were Vēgādevī and Nīśadēvi respectively. Lalitaśūradēva’s own queen is known, from a Bāgēśvar inscription referred to below, to have been Sāyadēvi (possibly the same as Sānadēvi mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of year 21). King Nimbara, who is not endowed with imperial titles and may have been the founder of this royal line, is said to have been devoted to the god Dhūraji (Śiva) and the goddess Nandī-bhagavati, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaun Division is called Nandīdēvi. There is a river called Nandakini rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Trisul in Pargana Badhān, lat. 30° 16’ 10” N., long. 79° 46’ 5” E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandidēvi, which is situated near Tantarakhark above the village of Satōl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbara’s son and successor Ishtaganađēva; but he is called paramabhatṭaraka and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalitaśūradēva is also endowed with the same characteristics as his father.

There is an inscription at the temple of Śiva called Bāgēśvar (Vyāghrēśvara) situated at the junction of the Gōmati and Sarjū in Pattī Katyūr in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 1056-58. A note on the same record is also found in E.T. Atkinson’s The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, pp. 469-70. It was, however, not noticed that the text of the inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghrēśvaradēva. The defective nature of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first of the three charters, as they are given in the absurd forms Śri-Bhasantanađēva (read as Masantanađēva in the translation and Basantanadēva in Atkinson’s account) and Śīyasvarāvairamvairamadēva. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as śri-Kharparadēva, his son śri-Kalyāṇarājādēva and his son śri-Tribhuvanarajādēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalitaśūradēva of our record. His name has been read as śri-Bhadēdeva, although the reading paramabhatṭaraka-mahārāja-dhirāja-paramēśvar-śāhīya-śri-Bhā- dēdeva seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalitaśūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbara and Ishtaganađēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalitaśūradēva’s son, in which the grant was made. Little therefore is known about the duration of his rule and about the relation of this group of rulers with those mentioned in the other two charters incorporated in the Bāgēśvar record."

1 Of Bhūraīṭya Vidya, Vol. XII, 1931, pp. 149 ff.
The present inscription records the grant of some land which was in the possession of a person named Dēnduvāka and was lying within the jurisdiction of the administrative unit called Thappalasāri forming a part of the vishaya or district of Kārttikēyapura. The name of the vishaya shows that it was the district round the city of Kārttikēyapura which was apparently the capital of Lalitaśrādēvā. For the religious merit of himself and his parents, the king made the grant in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhäṭṭāraka installed by Bhāṭṭa Śrīpurusha in a village called Garuḍāgrāma. It is interesting to note that the king, who claims to be a devout worshipper of Mahāśvāra (Śiva), made the grant in favour of Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu. It is said that the temple of Nārāyaṇa should get some help from the Brahmachārins attached to the tapōvāna at Badarik-āśrama. This shows that Garuḍāgrāma was probably close to Badarik-āśrama. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts (mahādān-ākṣapata-lādhikrīta), whose name was Piṭika. The same official is also mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the 21st year of Lalitaśrādēvā’s reign; but the name was wrongly read there as Yijaka. The record was engraved by Gaṅgahadra from the draft of the original prepared by Áryaṇa who was in charge of the Department of War and Peace (mahāsandaṅkhivigrāh-ākṣapata-lādhikrīta). Both these persons are also known from the published inscription of Lalitaśrādēvā.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kārttikēyapura is identified with Bājināth or Vaidyanāth (lat. 29° 54' 24" N., long. 79° 39' 28" E.), a village in Pargana Dānpur of the Hazūr Tahsil in the Almora District. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson, the city was built by a Katyūrī king of the Katyūr valley in Kumaon on the ruins of an older city named Karvārapura. It is not improbable that the name Kārttikēyapura is a Sanskritized form of the aboriginal name Katyūr. Possibly Kartīpurā of the Allahabad pillar inscription was just another Sanskritized form of the same name. Badarik-āśrama is modern Bādrināth (lat. 30° 44' 29" N., long. 79° 32' 1" E.), which is a village in Pargana Malla-Paṁkhanda, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, and contains the celebrated temple of Bādrinātha or Bādari-Nārāyaṇa. The tapōvāna referred to as located at Badarik-āśrama may possibly be identified with modern Tapoban or Dhaulpur, a village on the left bank of the Dhauli river about nine miles from Jōshīmaṭ. It is considerably away from Bādrināth; but the Bhavishya-Badari lies near it. Thappalasāri and Garuḍāgrāma cannot be identified.

TEXT

1 Siddham Svasti [¶*] Śrīmat-Kārttikēyapurāt = sakal-āmara-dī[tt]janu-āmala-vipulabhakti-bhāva-bhara-bhar-ānandō-āmit-ōttamāṅga-saṅgi-viśvā-kirtī-viśvā-kōti-kōti-śvēt-aikatā-

2 u-anayaka-pradipa-dipta-dīḍhīti-pāna-mada-rakta-charaṇa-kamalā-āmala-viṃḍula-va(ba)ha[la*]-kiraṇa-kēśara-śirit-āśeṣa-viśeṣe-mōshi-ghan-e-tamas-ōtjasās = Svardhūmi-d ha u t a-jaṭājū-

3 ū jsya bhagavatō Dūrījātē = prasādān = nija-bhuj-ōpārjītāt = nirjītā-ripu-timira-lavdhō(bhī-ōdaya-prakāśa = día-dākhiṇyā-ṣaṭyā-sattva-śīla-ṣauchā-ṣaury-au-
dārya-gāmbhīrā-maryād-āryavṛtt-āśa-


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1 The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, p. 469.
2 Select Inscriptions, p. 257.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.


10 v[i]([ja]) Pīthuḥ-śiva dōrddandā-sādhipita-dhanur-manaṃda-va(ba)a-[vai]śambha-vass[ā]- vaśikaría-gō-pāla[n]lai-nisēkhrūkita-dhārāhārendraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraaka-mahārājādhārā- paramāśvāra-ōrīmal- Lali-

11 taṭordēva kuśali | śīmat-Kārttī[keya*]pura-viśhay[ō] samapagat[na]-sarvājan= ēva niyogasthā[na]-rājaj-śājanaka[r]-ājaputtra-śājāmā[y]-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta-āhakkura- mahāmanuṣya-ma-

12 hāka(kā)rtākṛti[t]-jīka-mahāpratīhāra]-mahādandaṇyaka-mahārājapā[r]-āra[bha]-[kumāra]-māty-ōpārīka-dussādyasaḥdhaniya-da[da]-āparādhiḥ-chaurōddharaṇika-saukī- kā-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-vaṃga-

13 ka-gauṃika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārl[ri]-kāṣe[śe]-dhaḥbhūgadhirikita-[hastaya]- śvēśhrav[a]-lavyāprītaka-dūta-prēśhāna-da[da]-pīkā-da[da]-pādē[śi]-a-gamāgami-khā-

14 dāgik-ābhithvaramāṇaka-rājasthānya-viśhayapi-bhāgpati-[tara]pati-vaspati-khaḍjakaraka- pratīṣṭa[f]-śītānādhārikita-va[r*]mapalā-kōṭṭapāla-gaṭṭapāla-kŚṛṭapāla-prā[n]-tāl-

15 pāla-kā[śrava]-daṃgōmahishyadhirikita[ta]-bhaṭṭa-mahattalām-ābhira-vanik-śrēṣṭhī-pūrogān= s-āśātādasa-prakṛtya(ty-a)dhīṣṭhā Śrīnīyān═[Khaṇḍhasa]-[Kirta]-Dravīḍa-Kaṅkṣa-Gau-


17 na[ksha] Vṛa[Brāhma]-ōṭarā[n-ya] thārham mānayati vō(bō)dha yati samājā[payatya- a[etu] vas=saṃvī[saṃvī]-dita[m*] upari-sāṃsūkha-viśhayē Thappalasā[r]-i-pratīva(ba)- ddha-Dēnduva-ka-paribhujayām-


* The word is also found in the form rāṣākṣa, the same as rāṣākṣa of later records.
THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR — PLATE I
I. Plate of Lalitashuradeva, Year 22.
No. 38] THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR 281


20 li-chāru-niritya-gēya-vādy-datta-pravarttānā khaṇḍa-sphatita-sa[m]karaṇāy bhritya-pādamūla-bharaṇāy cha abhinava-karma-karaṇāy cha Garuḍa-grāmam bhaṭṭa-Sripuruṣa

21 shēna pratishṭhāpita-thāghatāḥ Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakāya śāsana-dānēsa pratipaditaṁ prakṛti-pariḥāra-yuktam-a-chāta-bhaṭa-pravēsam-ā-kiṅchit-pragrāhyam-anāchchēdyamān(dyam) ā-chandrā
dē
dē


24 darik-śāraniya-tapōva-pradāva[ba]ddha-vra(br)[bra]hamahār(i)n[saṁ] sa(ya)t-kiṅchit-sāthyaṁ(dhyāni) tattva karttavyān tat-s[rvvar]aṁ vra(br)[mahākar[i]rihiṃ karṇīyān(ya[m]) pravarddhamāṇa-vijaya-rājya-samva[saṁ]v(a)[saṁ]v(ā) dvāviśa(viśiṣita)timē

25 22 Kārttika-vadi 15 [*] dūtak-ōttara mahādānākshanastalādhiṅkṛta-śrī-Śaṅk[ha[*] Mahāsandhivrāhakṣapalādhiṅkṛta-śrīmad-Ārṣṭa-vachanā[ta]*] ūṇk-ōtk(i)ki(ṛ)ṇa[i]n[*] Śrī-Gaṅgahadhra[*] [*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvā-

26 sudā bhukti[a]n rājabhās-Saṅgar-adhiḥ[Dh][*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā phalām(lam) [*] [*] Sva-dattām-parā-dattāmavattān[vā] yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) ū bhāṣṭāmva-(a)tiṃ va)ra-sa(śa)sahāśra[sar]ṇi śva-viśhāyāḥ jayatā kṛi-

27 mij[*] [*] Shashāiṃvă(šītiṃ va)ra-saha-sahāsraśi svarggē tisṭhātī bhūmidah ś śeṣeḥbhētā ch-anunmāṇa chha(chha) tāỹ-ēva narāk vasaṃ[∗] Gām-ekantu(kā)ṇ-cha suvarṇaḥ-cha bhūmer-apy-ekām-aṅgulaṁ(lam) ṣu bhītvā narakam-ayāti ṣu vā-ad-

28 bhūti(ta)-saimdvalva(vam) [*] [*] Iti kamala-dal-āṃvu(vbu)-vindu-ālāṃ śīyam-anavatūtya mana(nu)ṣṭaya-jivitān-cha | śa(sa)[kalam-imd-udāhṛita-cha vu(bu)[ddhvā] na hi puru-shaḥiḥ para-k(i)rttayā vilōyaḥ(pyāḥ) [*] [*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) May there be success ! Hail ! From the prosperous (city of) Kārttikēyapura ; through the grace of the holy Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) who has destroyed the strength of the dense darkness that robs all discrimination, by removing it with the shower of filaments which are the abundant wide-spread pure rays of the lotuses which are his feet, red with the intoxication from imbibing the bright lustre of the ligats that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the cresses of the points of the beautiful crowns and coronets on the innumerable heads of all the lords of the gods, demons and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion ; (and) whose matted hair is washed by the Ganges ;

1 Metre : Anuṣṭubh for this and the following three verses.
2 Read viṣhāśaṃ for āvā viṣhāśaṃ.
3 Metre : Puṣṭiṣṭūra. There is a design here indicating the end of the writing.
(Lines 3-5) (there was) the illustrious *Nimbāra*, whose splendour shone forth as he overcame the darkness that was his enemies by the strength acquired by his own arms through the grace of Lord Dhārjaśe; whose body was adorned with kindness, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, liberality, profundity of character, propriety of conduct, noble behaviour, wonderful achievements and a multitude of other qualities; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men (or, who was an incarnation of the seed of the great Santāna tree of the blessed); whose fame was pleasant like that of the kings at the advent of the Golden Age; (and) whose person was endowed with fortune (derived) from the lotus-feet of the holy Nandā;

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious *Mahādevī Nāśādevī*, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Iśṭagānaḍēva*, who eclipsed the array of stars as by the moonlight by the elevation of his banner of fame as he drew out excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, cut open with the edge of his sharp sword;

(Lines 6-11) his son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious *Mahādevī Vēgādevī*, (is) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Lalitaśāradēva*, who played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Viṣṇu in the boar incarnation), fit for the burden, in lifting up the earth that had sunk into the distressing mud of the sin of the Kali age; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanish before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brows when (his adversities) begin to collect great strength; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of wreaths of flowers of the bracelet's dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous (lady, viz. the) fortune of victory, as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mute, yet ringing, sword and arrows; (and) who keeps (other) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Pṛithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bent bow;

(Lines 11-17) (he), being in good health, pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the officials assembled in the illustrious district of *Kārttikeyapura*, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects1 headed by the Rājans (fudatory rulers), Rājačakas (chieftains), Rājapuras (princes), Rājāmātyas (ministers), Śāmījunīyas (feudatories), Mahāśāmantaś (great feudatories), Thakkaras,2 Mahāmanushyas, Mahākārtikās (possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs), Mahāpratikās, Mahādvānāyakas,3 Mahārājāpramātāras,4 Sarabhaṅgas,5 Kumārāmātāyas (Amātāyas or executive officers enjoying

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1 The *asāhādaṇa-prakṛiti* is also mentioned in other records (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 12). The expression *s-ahādaṇa-prakṛiyā-yuṣṭa* qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 229). The word *asāhādaṇa* has been used in these cases in the sense of 'all'; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 336, note 4; Vol. XXX, p. 115.

2 The word *thakka* is believed to have derived from the Turkish *te-gin*. Both *thakka* and *mahāmanushya* appear to indicate noblemen or zamindars.

3 Literally the 'great door-keeper'; but the *Mahāpratikārā* seems to have been the head of not only the palace-guards but also of the king's body-guards.

4 'the great leader of forces'. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrate.

5 *Mahārājāpramātāra* is no doubt derived from *pramātāri* (i.e. a person who gives evidence or proof) found in some records. He was possibly a counsel to the king in matters judicial.

6 *Sarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon.
the status of a Kumāra), Upakāsas (provincial governors), Duṣṣādhyasādhanikas, Dākāparādikas, Chaurōdākarṣikas (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves) Sāulkikas (superintendents of tolls), Gauāmikas (superintendents of police stations), Tadāyukakas, Viniyukakas, Paśjākapatārikas (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, Dūtas (envoys), Prāvakaikas (officers in charge of sending messengers), Dādākikas, Dāndāpālikas (police constables), Gaṃgāminas (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), Khaṭṭikas (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), Abhirvaramānakas (special messengers), Rājasthānīyas (governors or landlords), Vishayapatis (rulers of districts), Bhāgapatīs (officers in charge of Jāgāra), Tarapatis (superintendents of ferries), Aṭtapatis (superintendents of cavalry), Khaṇḍarakṣikas, Pratīkārikas, Sthānādikārikas (Thānādārās, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), Vartmapālas (superintendents of roads), Kōṭāpālas (superintendents of forts), Ghaṭāpālas (superintendents of landing places on river banks), Kauārvāpālas (superintendents of cultivated lands of the Khās Mahāl), Prāntipālas (wardens of the Marches), Kīrōvālavāgāmahishādikārikas (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), Bhaṭṭas (minstrels), Mahāuttamās (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (and) foremen of guilds, down to the Khāsas, Kīrātas, Pārāchikas, Kaśikas, Gauḍas, Hūpas, Uḍras, Mādīs, Saṃhitās, Khaṇḍālīs, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers (probably, policemen and peons), servants and others and to other enumerated and unenumerated people living in dependence on our lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people headed by Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

Lines 17-24: Observing that the moving world of the living is as unsteady as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze and noticing that life is without substance just like a bubble of water and knowing that fortune is as vagillating as the tip of the ear of an elephant cub, for the attainment of beatitude in the next world and in order to cross the sea of mundane existence, I have been assigned by the grant of a charter, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and of my own, on the auspicious day when the sun enters the (autumnal) equinox, such land as is being enjoyed by Dēnduvāka (and is) within the bounds of Thappalasārī in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at Garuḍagrāma by Bhaṭṭa Śrīpurusha, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings, oblation of rice, etc., (and) dancing, singing, music, sacrifices, etc., for the repair of what may be broken or cracked and for the maintenance of servants and attendants as well as for the execution of new work; (the said land is to be) endowed with the exemptions arising out of its nature (as a free gift), not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, nothing to be accepted (as rent or tolls from it), not to be resumed, (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as a piece taken out of the district (to which it belongs), as far as its proper boundaries and pasture lands, together with trees, gardens, springs and cascades (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the donee) enjoying (the grant) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

1 The Kaṇṭiliya Arhataśtra says that officers purified by the fear-test should be appointed to āsanna-kārya, i.e. emergency work. The Duṣṣādhyasādhanika was probably an official of this class.
2 We know that grants were often made sa-dākāparādikā, i.e. together with the right to enjoy the fines for the ten offences. The Dākāparādikas were probably officers who dealt with the ten offences, viz. theft, murder, adultery, use of abusive language towards others, untruthfulness, slandering, incoherent conversation, covetousness, desire to do wrong, and tenacity for wrong. Cf. Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 189, note 4.
3 Tadāyukakas and Viniyukakas appear to be subordinate ruling officers appointed not by the crown but by the governors or vice-roys. Cf. Sel. Ins. pp. 351, n. 1; 354, 357, 360, note 9.
4 Dādākikas may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying Dāndāpālikas is apparently the same as the modern Oriya Dāndāpāla, i.e. a village watchman.
5 The Khaṇḍarakṣa (cf. Khaṇḍapāla) may have been the officer in charge of a small territorial unit, or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins.
6 The Pratīkārika was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 286.
troubled by the above-mentioned peoples or by others in the slightest degree by seizure, restraint, robbery or in any other way. Whoever will act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence. Something proper may be done in regard to the dwelling of that god by the Brahmachārīns attached to the tapovana belonging to Bādarik-āśrama; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the Brahmachārīns.

(L. 24-25) In the twenty-second year of the increasingly victorious reign: year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika. The Dūtaka (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Pūkka, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (The plate has been) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gangabhadra from the words (of the document written by, or, under the order or instruction of) the illustrious Āryaṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

(Lines 25-28) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.

II. Plate of Padmaṭadēva, Year 25

This is also a single plate inscribed on one side only. It measures about 23 1/2” in length and 17 1/2” in breadth with a projection about 4 3/8” long containing a squarish hole, meant for fixing up the seal, towards the proper right. Like the inscription of Lalitaśāra edited above, this plate also contains 28 lines of writing, the size of the aksharas being similar.

The characters closely resemble those used in the inscription of Lalitaśāra; but the date of the charter, as is indicated by internal evidence to be discussed below, must be several decades later. In line 26, there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 2, 3, 4 and 5. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of only one benedictory stanza at the end, the entire charter is written in prose of an ornate style. The orthography is similar to that of the records of Lalitaśāra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like āsīv for āśīv in line 13, kīrā for kiṣora and āhīra for ābhīra in line 14, yathārahāna for yathārahān in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that ā in a number of cases has been changed to anusvāra; cf. gatāṃ for gatān and sthān for sthān in line 10, etc. But the anusvāra is replaced by ā in anyāśās-cha in line 16 and ā in viśkati in line 26. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśāra’s records discussed above.

The date of the charter is given as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year of king Padmaṭadēva who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the first half of the tenth century A.D. Line 21 refers to the ullaṇa-saṅkrānti as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikēyapura by Paramabhuṭāraka Mahārajaśīvā Paramāśvara Padmaṭadēva who was the son of P.M.P. Dēṣṭadēva and Mahādevī Padmādevī, the grandson of P.M.P. Ichchaḥṣadēva and Mahādevī Śīnuḥdevī, and the great grandson of Śalōpāditya and Mahādevī Śīnuḥvalīdevī. Like Nimbara, grandfather of Lalitaśāra, Śalōpāditya is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as devoted to the god Chandraśekhaṇa (Śiva) and the goddess Nandādevī. His successors Ichchaḥṣadēva, Dēṣṭadēva and Padmaṭadēva are endowed with imperial style and are called paramamahēśvara and paramabrahmasancaya just as Nimbara’s successors. Padmaṭa was probably named after his mother Padmādevī. It will be seen that both Lalitaśāra and Padmaṭa ruled from Kārttikēyapura. There are, however, some indications that the latter ruled several decades later than the former. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the orthographical peculiarities of the present inscription, which have already been discussed above and appear to indicate a later date. There is also some indication in the style. It appears that the description of the
progenitor of Padmaṭa's house as dāna-dama-natya-kaurya-kauṣṭṭīya-dhārīya-keśam-āgy-aśparimita
guna-gan-akaliolī-Sugara-Dilīha-Māndakī-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhāgrātha-Dakṣerātha-prahṛiti-
kritanuga-bhūpala-charita-sāgara is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbara,
founder of Lalitaśūra's house, as dayā-dākshāya-natya-sattva-sīla-touka-kaurya-ādārmāya-mārayā-
dārayavṛtā-ācārāya-kārīya-varyā-dāl-guna-gan-dānakī-śārira... kritanuga-āgama-bhūpala-laśita-kīrti.
Expressions like pushpa-pahta-nīvaśam kīrti (i.e. having incised the charter on a heated copper
plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitaśūra. It may further be noted that the list
of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitaśūra. The two lists
are common with the exception of Mahāśaṁantādhīpata (in addition of Sāmanda and Mahāśaṁanta),
Vishayavṛtikā (in addition to Vishayapatī) and Kūṇḍapatai found in the present charter and
Pratiśūrika mentioned in Lalitaśūra's grant. The Pratiśūrika may have been the superintendent of
gladiatorial combats in which pratiśūra (literally opponents), i.e. prize-fighters, took part. The
function of the Kūṇḍapatai cannot be determined with certainty; but, if the word kūṇḍa may have
indicated different branches of such combats, possibly the Kūṇḍapatai may be taken to have been
the same as the Pratiśūrika. Whatever that may be, the addition of the Mahāśaṁantādhīpata
and the Vishayavṛtikā in the list of Padmaṭa's officials seems to suggest that he flourished
later than Lalitaśūra. In that case, the house of Lalitaśūra may have been overthrown shortly
after his son's rule by Saṅgāditya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at
Kārttikāyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padmaṭa also ruled
from that city.

According to Atkinson¹, a copper-plate grant of Dēṣaṭa, father of Padmaṭa, is preserved in the
temple of Bālēśvar in eastern Kumaon. It was issued from Kārttikāyapura in the 6th year of the
pravardhamāna-viśayavṛyāya of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Ēśāla district by
Dēṣaṭadēva, it records the grant to Vijayaśeva of the village of Yamuna in that district. This
plate gives the names of Saṅgāditya and his queen Siṁhavali (or Siṁhavali) followed by those of
their son Ichehaṭadēva and his queen Siṁhudevi, whose son was Dēṣaṭadēva. The record
was subscribed by the chief civil officer Bhaṭṭa Harikārma, by the chief military officer Nandāditya,
and by the scribe Bhadra. Nothing definite can be said about the details, quoted above from Atkinson's
account, without examining the original plate.

The inscription records the grant of the following pieces of land situated in Drumati which
formed a part of the Taṅgaṇāpura viṣhayā as well as in Yōśi probably also forming a part of the
same viṣhayā: (1) four pallaṅka (habitations) in the possession of four persons named Dīrgādītīya,
Buddhabala, Śīlaṇḍīya (Śīvādīya) and Gaṇḍītīya in Drumati; (2) fifteen bhāga (allocation of
land) belonging to Panigra in Drumati; (3) Tōgalī-vṛty (possibly a piece of land originally offered
for the maintenance of a person called Tōgalā) in Yōśi; (4) a Karṇānta-sthalikā (barn) so situated
in Yōśi near a sākrama (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅga and between Khaṃportara
and Uliṅk; (5) a piece of land, measuring one Dronavāpa according to the measurement current in
the locality, near a pārīvuta tree at Kākasthalikā-grāma in Drumati; (6) a piece of land, measuring one
Dronavāpa according to the measurements of the locality and belonging to Dhanāka, at Randhavaka-grāma in Yōśi.

In a paper entitled Dronavāpa, Dronavāpa and Aḍhavāpa, published in the Bhāṛata-Kavumādī,
Part II, pp. 943-48, I have suggested that the original Dronavāpa as known in ancient Bengal was
probably equal to 16 to 20 Bengal Bighās (between about 5½ and 6½ acres) of today. Whether the
Dronavāpa of the present record indicates the same area of land cannot be satisfactorily determined.
Literally a Dronavāpa signified originally an area of land that required one Drona measure of seed
grams (or their seedlings) of the staple crop for sowing. It is said that the two pieces of land

¹ Op. cit., p. 471. For Atkinson's note on the records of Padmaṭa and Subhiksharāja, see ibid., p. 472. As p. 474 he says that the grant of Dēṣaṭadēva recorded the gift of the village of Yamuna in the possession of Narāyaṇa-
varman in favour of Vijayaśeva.
measuring one Drāpacāpa each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandāka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarīnātha or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the pālīkās, the ṣṛṭīs and the karmāṇa were granted by the king in favour of the god Badarikāśramabhaṭṭāraka having engraved the charter on a heated copper-plate and having endowed the grant with the customary exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift, whose name seems to be Bhaṭṭa Dhaṇḍara. The charter was written by Nārāyaṇa-adattta, who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace and was engraved by Nandabhadra whose name seems to associate him with Gaṅgabhadra mentioned in the records of Lalitaśūra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Kārttikīśapura and Badarik-āśrama has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitaśūra. Yōći is no doubt the modern Jōshīmāṭh or Jōṭīdīhmā (lat. 38° 38′ 24″ N., long. 79° 36′ 24″ E.), famous for one of Śiva’s Jōṭīśir-līgas, in the Pāinchnaṇa Pargana of the Garhwal District. I have not been able to identify the district named Taṅganāpura and the subdivision named Drumatī, although Taṅganāpura seems to be the district round modern Jōshīmāṭh and Drumatī a region not far from it. Taṅganāpura is mentioned along with another vishaya called Antarāga in the inscription of Padmaṭa’s son Subhiṣkaraṇa, edited below. In The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, p. 357, Aikkinson suggested that the district of Taṅganāpura lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of Antarāga in the Doab between the Bhāgirathī and the Alaknāndā. The people of this region may be identical with the Taṅganās or Taṅganās of early Indian literature. The villages of Kākasthulikā and Randhavaka cannot be identified; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jōshīmāṭh. The Gaṅgā or the upper course of the Ganges has also been mentioned in connection with one of the pieces of land. In describing the liberality of king Dēṣāṭa, father of Padmaṭa, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. Prāchya or the eastern, Udchya or the north-western, Pratitohya or the western and Dakhināhytya or the southern. The non-mention of Madhya-dēsa, between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between a place in the East Punjab and another in the East U. P., is probably explained by the fact that the king’s dominions were included in that land and that only distant countries required to be named. It seems that the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions, often mentioned separately in the Purānas as two additional divisions of India, have not been taken cognizance of. It may alternatively be suggested that by the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

TEXT

4 śāurya-saṃśārya-dhāraya-kṣaham-ādu-aparimita-guṇa-gaṇ-ākalita-Sagara-Dilās-Māndhātṛi-Dhun-

1 Cf. IHQ, Vol. XXI, p. 304.
2 From impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read satābhātā.
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5 ras-tai(e-trai)loka-ananda-jananmā [Na*]dādēvi-charanā(na)-kamala-lakshmi(kshitaḥ) sama-
dhigat-āhimata-vara-prasāda[da*]-dyotita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-Salōpādityas-tasya
putras-tat-pād-āmū.

6 dhṛṣṭo rājñī mahādevi śrī-Sīnghūvālidēvi tasyām-utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra-
(bra)hmanyāḥ paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājaḥ-dhiraḥ-paṃrāddanaḥ Kali-kalusha-mātā-gaṃ-gaṃ-adhara-
vatāḥ paramabhaṭṭaraka

7 putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mā(ma)hāvē śrī-Sīnghūvē tasyām-utpannaḥ paramamāhe
śvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmanyō dīn-ānātha-kripa-āṭtra(tu)na-saraṇāgata-vatasaḷaḥ Prāchya-
Oddheya.

8 Pratīchya-Dākṣiṇātmya-dīvīvara-mukhyānāṃ-sanavata-hīma-dān-āṃrit-aṅrdriṣṭa-kara-
samastā-śrīta-śrī-dhara-vaṃrādānaḥ Kali-kalusha-mātā-gaṃ-gaṃ-adhara-vatāḥ paramabhaṭṭaraka

9 ka-mahārājaḥ-dhiraḥ-paramēśvara-śrīmad-śaṣṭaṭādēvas-tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādevi śrī-Padmallādēvi tasyām-utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)
hmanyāḥ parama-

10 bhāṭṭaraka-m(ma)hārājñī-dhiraḥ-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Paṃrādēvaḥ kusāli | Taṃgāṇāpura-
vishayay samupagatāṁ(tān) sarvāṇā-śrī niyōgasthāṁ(ethān) rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtra-
rājanāmya-sā.

11 maṇta-mahāsaṃanta-mahākā(ka) tattākṛti-mahādaṇḍanāyaka mahā-prathāhāra-mahāśa-
maṇtaḥpita-mahārāja-pramāṇa(mātāra*)-saraḥbhagā-kumārāmithy-śpariṣka-duṣṣādhyasa-

12 dīn(dha)niika-dīnāparādīkika-chaurūddharaṇika-saulika-gaṃlīka-śadāyukta-śrīṣaṣṭikā-
paṭṭākāpāchārika(kā) śrīdhabhañgādhibhir-bhūyaśvavat(ādha)va(ba)lavyāpatikā-dūtā-prāchena-

13 ka-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍāpaṇi-vaṃśayavyāṣṭrākā-vaṃśagamaṇa-śrīdhik-āhītvaramaṇaka-ra-
justhāntyā-viśaya-vatipati-bhūgaṇcika-nāgaṇcika-tarapati-śaev(ā)pati-khā(kha)*ja-

14 rakṣha-śrībhāṣadhibhir-vartmapāla-koṭṭapāla-gaṃḍṭapāla-khāṭtrapāla-prāntapāla-thakkum-
maḥauṃshu-yā-sīlo(ś)ravaṇavāgsmaḥiṣadhibhir-bhūṭa-mahatām-āhi(hi)ra-vāpik-

15 avēśbhi-purūṅg(ā)n s-aḥtādsā-prakrity-udhishṭhāniyāṁ(yān) Khās-Kirāṇa-Dravida-
Kaliṣa-Gauda-Hūny-O(n-ō)n(a)gra-Mel-Andra(nḍhra)-Chāṇḍāla-paryantāṁ(atān) sarvā-
va(n)nṛvāṣāṁ(ā)n samasta-ja(ā)nabadān-bhāṭa-chāṭa-sāvākā-

16 dīn-anyāśecha(ī)krtāt-krtttātān-śmat-śaṃ padm-āpajīvinaḥ pratiṣṭānāsya sa
Vṛ(ī)nāpraṇā-āṭtarāṁ(rān) yathārthah(ān) mānayati vō(bō)dhayatā samākṣayatā-astu vāc
samāvin(a)svādvitam=upar(a)-śa(nān)*

17 sūchā-viṣaya-pratītva[ba]ddha-(ba) Druṃmati-(ba)ddha[n] Dirghāditya-Vu[Bu]ddha-
(ba)la-Sidāditya* Gaṇādityānā mahīnājānām paribhujamāṇa-pallikā-chatarasm tathā tasmayā śrīv
Druṃmatān Panḍaraṇaya pu-

18 iheṣasā-bhāgastathā Yous(ā)-pratītiva[ba]ddha-Togāla-vṛttāt-aparam-apī karmāṃbā-
mīṇikāhītā Khayaη(ō)n[ba]ra-pari[che]hīmn(ī)n* Ulikā-pari-

19 chohinā=aṇap[ā] ca tasmayā śrīv Druṃmatān Kākasthalikā-grāmā pārē(rā)vata-vṛkshahalih-hhē bhumī tādiya-tādiya-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā ca Yōśi-pratītiva[ba]
-ddha-Ra[n]dha vaṃśa-grāmē Dhanāka

20 seta-bhumī tādiya-tādiya-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā[*] Etā(shā) drōṇa-dvaya-vāpā
bhūr-Nandakūṇa māṇyena gra(gr)iḥivā Va[Ba]darikāśrama-bhāṭṭarakṣya pratipāditā
[*] Maṅā ca sa(n)nṛvā[ai]v[ai](ē)shā) pallikā-vrī[ṛ]ttī-

1 Read yathārthaṃ.
2 The intended name may be śivāditya.
3 Read tasyāmśeṣa or anyāṃśa.
4 Read apāraṇī.
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21 karmmānt-ādi-bhūmi-sahita Uttarānyana(anca-saṁkrānto(ntau) mātā-pittṛor-ātmanās-cha puṣya-yaśo(ā)bhividadhayā pavana-vighaṭit-sva(sva)tha-pattra-chañchoka(bha)la-taraṇa[m]a(jivāvokam-va-lōkya jala-va(du)dvu(du)d-ākāra-
23 vādy-urṣti-pują-pravartannāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-puna[ḥ]saṁsārāya cha bhagavatēḥ(tē) śrī-Va(Ba)darikāraṇa-bhaṭṭārakāya pratipādītāṁ(tā) puspha-paṭṭa-nyaṇaḥ kṛitva pra-kṛti-pariḥāra-yuktā a-chāta-bhaṭa-pra-
24 veśy-ā-kiṅchita-pragṛśya(hyā) anāchehṛdī-ā-chaṅdr-ārkka-śhiti-samā(m)kālikā viśhayaud-uddhṛita-piṇḍa śva(sva)śām-īśṭa-paryāntā ssa(sa)-viṣh-ā-ām-ūdhpāda-prayarvya(n-ō)pētā ra-ābhyāya-saṅkal[la]a-pra-
25 dāya-sametā dēva-Vṛā(Bṛ)haṃa-ja-hukta-bhujaṃ-ṃaṇa-ṃaṇa-vārjita([]*) yatas-sukhaḥ paribhujat-
   āparīṁ-nirṛdiḥsahr-[anyAIR-[*]vā] [sva]japam-ap[ś] dharaṇa-viḍhara-ḥa-paripanthe-ādik-
   āpadāvāv[va]na kaiṅchita-karaṇyam-
26 nyathā-jaṣṭa-vāyatikrama(mē) maha-ḍhu(hā)[hy] syād-iti ([*]) pravardhāmāna-vijaya-rājya-
   satva(satva)vrinda-viṣṭha(viṣṭha)vṛinda Samva(Sarv)Saṁsāra(sarva) 25 Māgha-vādi
   43[*] dūtako-pētra mahādākṣapalālāhikṛtā-Śrī-bhaṭṭa-Daṇḍa-[ra[h] [*]]
27 likhitatā-ma[nyā[*] mahāśandhivighrābhakapaṭalālāhikṛtā-sūri-bhaya-naṁstāṭey-uktinam[=]
   ādam śri-Nandabhadṛṣṭa([*]) Bhū raṇaḥ pṛāṭhaṭa-ṣvāha Rāmac bhūyō bhavaḥ pṛāṭha
   ṹnya nāraṁg[rah[=] [*] sām[ā]nyo]=
28 'yaḥ dhamma-[sētu[*]ṣrīpāṇiḥ kālē kālē pālanyō bhavadbhiḥ]*

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (city of) Kārttikeyapura ;

(Lines 1-5) (there was) the illustrious Saṅgāditya who was established in the purifying rays that manifested over the expanse of the earth as it glittered under the sun of his valor established in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies and acquired by his own slender arms which had been purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the holy Chandrāśēkhara (Śiva) who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre resulting from the extirpation of the mass of darkness by the light issuing from the nails of his feet which are covered by the rays of the beautiful gems attached to the crowns of all the lords of gods and demons; whose body was purified by great penance and stood above all stains of the Kali age; (the force of) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacy of the three powers (viz. the majesty of the king, the power of good counsel and the power of energy); who being endowed with a multitude of numerous qualities such as charity, self-control, truthfulness, valour, heroism, patience and forbearance, was the repository of deeds (such as those) performed by Sagara, Dīlpa, Māndhāṭri, Dhuṇḍhumāra, Bharata, Bhagiratha, Daśaratha and other kings of the Golden Age; who caused delight in the three worlds; who was distinguished by the lotus-feet of Nandādevi ; (and) who was the sun in the whole earth that was illuminated by the brightness of the agreeable boon which he obtained (from the goddess);

* Read "nīrāya-ārthaḥ.
* Read bhūṣaṇa upariṃ.
* Read evapūpi.
* Read karāvyā-myāṭā-jāṭā.
* It seems that the writer had at first written ị which he later crossed and wrote j. The engraver possibly failed to notice that the first figure had been cancelled and thus incised both the figures.
* Read "nāṭṭāniśṭhirnaṃ".
* This line begins from below the akṣara sa of the word Nandabhadṛṣṭa of the previous line.
* Metro : Śālīni.
(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Sīṅghūbalidēvi, was Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Ichchhāṭṣaṭavī, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); (and) who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 6-9) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Sīṅghūbalidēvi, was Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Dēśaṭṭavī, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); (and) who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; who was compassionate towards the poor, helpless, wretched and afflicted and the seekers of protection; whose hands were wet with the water taken for making offerings of gold continuously in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udichya, Pratichya and Dākṣinātīya countries (or, from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters); who crushed the entire circle of his enemies; who destroyed the elephant that was the sin of the Kali age; (and) who was an incarnation of the righteousness of the Golden Age;

(Lines 9-10) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Padmālālidēvi, in Paramahāṭṭāraka Mahārajādhīrāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Padmaṭṭavī, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); (and) who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 10-16) (he) being in good health pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the functionaries, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of Ēṅgāpura, headed by the Rājās, Rājānakas, Rājaputras, Rājāmaniyas, Sāmantas, Mahāśāmantas, Mahākārīkātikas, Mahābāganāyikas, Mahāpāṭhāras, Mahāśāmanāṭṭapadis, Mahārājāpranāṭoras, Sarabhanīgas, Kumārīmaniyas, Uparikas, Dūssudāyasāhāmanikas, Dūsudāyasāhāmanikas, Chaurōddharanikas, Šāulkikas, Gauṁlikas, Tādāyukakas, Vīnayukakas, Pratāpāčhārikas, Āsādhabhāṣādīkhirukas, Hāstīyavaiṣṭavaiśāpyāmikas, Dūtās, Prāṣāyikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāśikas, Vīsahayavyāpīkālas, Gaṅgāmikas, Kuṭāgikas, Abhitvaramāṇikas, Rājāsthāniyas, Vīsahayapīkālas, Bāhagapīkālas, Kāndapīkālas, Tarapīkālas, Aवapīkālas, Kāndarikas, Sāhanādikīras, Vartupālas, Ghaṭṭapolas, Kheṭrapālas, Prāntapālas, Thākuras, Mahāmanishyas, Kīrōravāvaiśāpamahishādikīras, Bṛātās, Mahātamas, Abhīras, Vaṇikas and Śrēṣṭhinas; to all habitations (and) to the people down to the Khaśas, Kīrītās, Dravīḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauṇas, Hāpas, Udās, Medas, Andhras and Čānḍālas; to the soldiers, policemen, servants and others, and to other enumerated and unenumerated living in dependence on my lotus-feet; as well as to the neighbouring people headed by the Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 16-20) Four paliṅkās in the possession of Dirghādītya, Baddhabala, Śrīdītya (Śivādītya) and Gāṇādītya attached to Drumati which is attached to the above-mentioned district; and also fifteen allotments of Paṭāgara in Drumati in the same (district); and also the orīti of Tōgalā attached to Yōśi; also a Karmānta-sṭhalikā; another (i.e. Karmānta-sṭhalikā) in the same (district), attached to Yōśi, on the western bank of the Gaṅgā, near the bridge (and) demarcated by Khaṇḍēntara and Ulikā; another (piece of) land in the region of the pavement under the Parāvata tree at Kākṣṭhalikā-grāma in Drumati in the same (district) measuring one Drōṇāvāpā according to the customary standard of its locality; and another (piece of) land belonging to Dhanāka at Rāndhavaka-grāma attached to Yōśi, measuring one Drōṇāvāpā according to the customary standard of its locality. (Of all the above pieces of land), the land measuring two Drōṇāvāpas have been obtained at a price by Nāndōka and have been dedicated (by him) to Bādārikāṭrama-bhaṭṭāraka;

(Lines 20-26) I, too, observing the living world to be as unsteady in movement as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life is void of substance like a bubble of water, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear, have assigned by the grant of a charter and having incised it on a plate of heated copper all this (land) together with the
land covered by the pallikās, the vṛtti, the karmāṇa, etc., on the occasion of the sun’s entry upon his northern course, in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of mundane existence (and) to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, to the holy (and) illustrious Badarikāśrama-bhāṭṭāraka for providing, incense, flowers, singing, music and dancing and for worship as well as for the repair of what may be broken or damaged; (the said lands are) to be endowed with the nature and exemptions (attached to free-holdings); not to be entered by the soldiers and policemen; free from the taking of anything (as rent or tolls); not to be resumed (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure; as pieces taken out of the district (to which they belong) as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land reach; together with (and including) the trees, gardens, springs and cascades; along with (the right to enjoy) all future dues payable to the king, (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of the gods and Brahmā; Wherefore (the donees) enjoying (this grant) in comfort shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint and robbery or in any other way. Whosoever may act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

(Lines 26-27). In the twenty-fifth year of the increasing reign of victory: year 25, the 3rd (?) day of the dark half of Māgha. The Dātaka in this case is the illustrious Bhūta Dhanara who is the Mahādān-ākṣhapata Śīkhvīrīta. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyanadatta who is the Mahāsandhīvīrīta-ākṣhapata śīkhvīrīta; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhādara.

(Lines 27-28) (One of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

III.—Plate of Subhiksharājadeva, Regnal Year 4

This is a single plate measuring about 22-2” in length and about 19-2” in height. Its corners, especially the upper right and the lower left, are damaged with the result that a number of letters at the end of lines 1-7 and at the beginning of lines 39-42 have broken away. Fortunately, however, the lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practically the same size as those discussed above, it contains no less than fortytwo lines of writing. The size of the aksharas (about “3” x “3”) is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitaśūra and Padmaṅa.

The characters closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmaṅa whose son, as we shall presently see, the issuer of the present charter was. The inscription contains the ordinary numeral figures for 4 and 5 (line 38) as well as the initial vowels a (lines 13, 25-26, 32, 40), ā (line 19), ılma (lines 26, 27, 29, 39), u (line 39) and e (line 33) and the final form of t (lines 38, 40). The language of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of seven verses indicating the usual imprecation and benediction at the end of the charter, it is written in prose throughout. The peculiarities of language and orthography are the same as those of the inscription of Padmaṅa. Both the visarga and the upadhānīya have been applied in “tapamānā-bhāma” in line 11. The anuvāra has been wrongly used for the final ा in niyogasthaṁ in line 13 and has been further modified to ā in “niyān-khaśa” in line 17. It is substituted by ā in “anyān-khaśa” in the same line and by ɑ in “r-vinaśa in line 26 and in saṃsāra in line 34 and by ɑ in chaychala in line 33. In some cases the anuvāra has been used superfluously; c.f. khanyāna in 35, sukaṁḥ-pāra in line 37. In śrīyāṁ (line 42) ṛ has been used for r. The word upadṛḥa has been used in the neuter (line 37) and saktā (Prakrit santaka) is employed in the sense of ‘belonging to’. We may note also the use of tvaśa for tr and dvaya for duśi. Interesting is the use of rājānaśa in place of rājānaṁ” (line 39). Although the rules of sandhi have not been observed in the prose portion, in some cases (cf. khanḍāṁ ashta in line 19) the last word of the second pada of a verse has sometimes been joined in sandhi with the first word of the third pada (cf. lines 39-40).
The grant is dated in the fourth regnal year of king Subhiksharajadeva. The date cannot be verified; but the record may be assigned to a date about the second quarter of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of Subhikshapura by king Subhiksharajadeva. There is no doubt that the city was named after the king and was his capital; but whether it was situated near about the king's ancestral capital Kārttikēyapura cannot be satisfactorily determined. 1 Subhiksharaja is said to have been the son of king Padmaṭa and Mahādevī Iṣānadēvī. The description of Padmaṭa's ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padmaṭa himself. The description of Padmaṭa is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaikartana, Dādhihi and Chandragupta. This Chandragupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Rāja Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramādityas appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramāditya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty. This is one of the rare cases in which a royal court-poet has preferred the personal name of Chandragupta to the more popular titles Vikramāditya and Śāhāsākā. The liberality of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjan inscription of Amoghavarsha. 2 Unlike his predecessors who were Śaivas, king Subhiksha was a devout worshipper of Vishnu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the vishayas or districts of Taṅgaṇāpura (already known from Padmaṭa's record) and Antaraṅga made by king Subhiksha in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durgā-bhāṭṭārīkā who is said to have been installed in a locality called Harshapura. This group contained the following pieces of land probably all of them attached to a village called Nāmbarāṅga-grāma: (1) land styled Viḍimalākā belonging to Vācchhauṣṭika lying within the jurisdiction of Nāmbarāṅga-grāma and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (2) land of (or, at) Hīṭhasārī measuring eight Nālikāvāpas; (3) land at Viḍipākā测量ing four Drōṇavāpas; (4) land styled Vannalaka, belonging to Bhūgara and measuring three Nālikāvāpas; (5) house-site belonging to Subhāṭṭākā, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Khoṣu as well as another plot called Kāṇḍayīkā; (6) land called Sāṭkā, measuring two Drōṇavāpas and belonging to Prastara and others; (7) land styled Yākshāśāna, belonging to Gōvit and Nāṅgāka and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (8) land called Talasāṭkā, belonging to Viḥāra and measuring ten Nālikāvāpas; (9) land called Kāhikarau, belonging to Vannuvāka and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (10) land called Gāṅgāraka, belonging to the Śrīśeṣṭhin Jivāka and measuring eight Drōṇavāpas; (11) land called Paivitta, belonging to Jivāka, Śāhāisṭīya and Ichchhabala and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (12) land called Kāṭitāśa测量ing two Drōṇavāpas; (13) land called Nyāyapāṭtaka, belonging to the people of Nāmbarāṅga and measuring ten Drōṇavāpas; (14) one hastaka (probably a piece of land that has fallen in the possession of a person) of Paṅgara who is known also from Padmaṭa's charter; (15) land called Viḍībala, belonging to Vācchhhabala and others and measuring six Drōṇavāpas; (16) land called Khoṣakhoṭṭārāka, belonging to Śāhāisṭīya and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (17) a pālliṅka (habitation) in the possession of Tuṅgka that measured six Nālikāvāpas and was attached to the Karmāṇa (barn) of Śrīharshapura (probably the same as Harshapura).

The second group of the pieces of land was granted in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭāraka installed on the bank of the Vīṣṇu-gaṅgā. This group contained the following pieces: (1) land called Anūpa lying within the jurisdiction of Varūshikā-grāma, belonging to Nāhāllāka and others and measuring nine Drōṇavāpas; (2) four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attaka and measuring one Khāriṅvāpas; (3) land called Jāṭiṅpāṭa

1 Atkinson suggested that Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Kārttikēyapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 483).
together with Ijīra; (4) two pieces of land at Samijīa measuring nine Drōgavāpas; (5) land called Gōvaraka lying within the jurisdiction of Pairī-grāma, belonging to the sors of Atakka and measuring twenty Drōgavāpas; (6) land called Ghassurūka, belonging to the inhabitants of Yōyika-grāma and measuring two Drōgavāpas; (7) land called Śhāra measuring one Drōgavāpa; (8) land called Valūvṛtādīśī measuring three Drōgavāpas; (9) land called Ihaṅga measuring five Drōgavāpas; (10) land called Rūlaṅṭi measuring three Drōgavāpas; (11) land called Tirināīa measuring three Drōgavāpas; (12) land called Kuṭānasīlā measuring three Drōgavāpas; (13) land called Gaṇādārīkā measuring three Drōgavāpas; (14) land called Yagā measuring one Drōgavāpa; (15) land called Karkāvālā measuring three Drōgavāpas; (16) two āstas (the same as āstaka discussed above) of Paṅgara; (17) land called Dālūmālaka, belonging to Dhanīka and measuring two Drōgavāpas; (18) land at Grāmīdāraka, belonging to Sirabala and measuring two Drōgavāpas; (19) land called Sūshāvānā, belonging to Ichchhavardhana and Śīkāhīya and measuring five Drōgavāpas; (20) land called Karkarātaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the Vishaya and measuring four Drōgavāpas; (21) land called Chidārīkā, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three Drōgavāpas; (22) land called Pannakārālīkā, belonging to the villages of Chaḍadvaka and measuring twelve Drōgavāpas; (23) land called Lāhāramāṇā, belonging to Tāṅgādīya and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (24) land called Grāmīvārakanā attached to the Karmānta at Yōsī and measuring fifteen Drōgavāpas. These lands were granted together with a Maṭhikā meaning a hut, cottage or cell.

The third group of the pieces of land was granted to the god Brahmāsvara-bhaṭṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land: (1) Ravapallikā attached to Śvāyikā lying to the west of Sisankāta, to the east of Anvārīgatīka, to the north of the Gaṅgā and to the south of Samāhakagrāma; (2) Grihaṇḍakāpātikā belonging to Vantaka of Śvāyikā and measuring seven Nālikāvāpas.

All these lands including two pallikās were dedicated by the king in favour of the three gods, viz. Durgādevī, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmāsvara, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself with the usual exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The term Drōgavāpa has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. The measurement of a Nālikāvāpa cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word nālikā is not recognised by them like drōga in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v. nāli, nāli (i.e. nālikā), it is said, "According to the Abhidhānapaṭīpīka, 484, the nāli measure is the same as the paṭāka (Sanskrit prastha); but from the Pṛthūmokha Sūtra, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil nāli is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Magadhes (Prat. 81)." It seems therefore, that the nālikā was originally regarded as the same as prastha which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as one-sixteenth part of the drōga. A Nālikāvāpa of land thus appears to have been 1/16 of a Drōgavāpa originally. A klāri or klāri was usually regarded as equal to sixteen drōgas. A Khārivāpa of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a Drōgavāpa. A very interesting feature of tenancy or ownership of soil is indicated by the references to pieces of land said to have belonged to all the inhabitants of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, to all the people of Yōyika-grāma, to all the inhabitants of a Vishaya or district, to the agriculturist house-holders of a locality, and to the inhabitants of a locality called Chaḍadvaka.

The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift whose name was possibly Kamalaśīla. The charter was written by Īśvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandabhāraka who is also known from Padmaṭa's grant. Īśvaradatta of this record seems to have belonged to the family of Nārāyaṇadatta who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace under Padmaṭa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōsī and Taṅgaṇāpura has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. Yōsī is modern Jōshimaṭh and
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Taṅgaṇaṅpurā was probably the district round it. The identification of the vishāya of Antaraṅga and the localities called Harapura, Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, Varēshikā-grāma, Pāri-grāma, Yōyikā-grāma, Chadavaka, Ravarpallikā, Sisākāṭa, Anvārangiketa, Samēhakā-grāma, etc., is uncertain. The Gaṅga or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of land as in the case of Padmaṭa's charter. The bank of the Vishnu-gaṅga has also been mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to Vishnuprayāg which is a halting place on the bank of the Alaknanda at Pargana Painkhand. "The name Vishnunganga", says the Garhwal District Gazetteer, 1921, p. 204, "is also given to the river (Alaknanda) for some distance of its course above this Chatti (halting place) owing probably to the existence of the Vishnukund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of rock between the Dhaulī and Alaknanda rivers, one and a half miles from Joshimath."

TEXT

1 Siddham Śrīmat-Subhikshapurāt—samasta-sur-āsura-pati-makuta-kōṭi-sannivisha-viśaṭa-maṇi-kīraṇa-vichchhurita-charaṇa-nakha-mayūkha-ōthkāta-timira-patala-prabh-āvadā-

2 ta(t-ā)tiṣaya-sakti-mahāyāsū(a) bhagavata-ś-Charanā(ś-ś)kharāya charaṇa-kamala-rajahl-pavitrirakita-nījā-bhuj-ārijjīt-ārjīt-ānēkā-riṇu-chakra-pratishtiśthit(śthi)ta-pratāpa-bhāskara-bhāṣita-[bhuvān-śbhōgh-āvīrbhā]-


5 dhīgat-ābhimata-varā(ṛa)-prasādē(ṛa)-dyōtita-nikhiha-bhuvaṇ-śadītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ ārī-Salōṇādītyaḥ

6 hēsvarāh paramavra(bra)hmayaḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājāhiraśa-paramēśvara-sīrīmad-I[chchha]tadēvas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātā rājī māhādēvi ārī-Sūṅgha(ba)lidēvi tasyānī-utpannaḥ pa[ramamā]-

7 mamēhēsvarāh(bra) paramavra(bra)hmayo din-ānātha-kripa-āturah(bra)-śaraṇāgata-vatulaḥ Prāchhyā-śāchihya-Pratihya-Dākṣiṇāyā-avijavara-mukhyaṇām-anavarata-hēmān-dān-amrit-ā[ṛdkītā]-


1 From impressions.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Padmaṭa's record reads here "atiṣaya-śama-sakti".
4 The sign for viśarga here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of anuvāra.
10 ta-prapām-ōpanīta-kari-tura-va-vībhūsha-ānava[r]a-prada-va-prakṣīt-āśeṣha-Va(Ba)li-Vai[kartana]-Dadhichī-Chandra-gupta-charita-ś-catur-udadhi-parikhā-paryanta-mēkhāla-dāmanḥ kṣīteśa-bharatā paramabhaṭṭā[r-]*ja-
11 mahārājādhirāja-paramēvāra-śrīmat-Padmāṭīdēvaḥ(vaṣa)-tasya(sya) putras-tat-pād-ānuḥyātā rājñī mahādevī Śrīmad(id-ī)ānadevi tasyām-utpannaḥ(aṇaḥ)-paramaśāna[n]-
12 ka-dūr-āpasārita-Kali-timṣana-nikara-hēl-ākuṇita-sakala-kalā-kalāp-ālakṛita-ārāraḥ[*] bhu-
vana-vikhyāta-durmmad-ārāti-śamantana-vaidhaya-vikhyāta-dān[a]-daksh-aika-guruḥ pratipaśa-lakṣmi-haṭha-haraṇa-
13 khaṇḍita-praḥaṇḍa-dōrddanda-darpā-prasaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakā-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvāra-śrīmat-Subhikṣāharaṇādēvāḥ kuśali | Tenaṃ-pūpāra-viṣhaya eva Antaraṇg-
vishayaḥ cha samapativāṃ(tā)n-sarvānāvā eva niyoga(staṃ(stān) rāja]-
14 rājānaka-rājaputra-rājāṃtya-sāmanda-mahāśamaṇa-mahākā(ā)tātrikta-mahādeva[n]-
nāya-mahāpratiṭhā-mahāśaṃāntadhipati-mahārājapramāta-śara-bhaṅga-kumā-
rāmatyā-ōparika-duḥśādyasyasa(ā)dhanaṅka-dā[śāpa]-
15 rādhikā-chaurōḍḍharaṇaka-śauktaka-śauktaka-(vvi)niyūktaka-pātākāpačāhārīk-āśā
doḥaṇa-āgarāhikā-hastaya-vōṣηṭha(aṣṭra)va(ba)lāvyāptikā-dūtā-pṛṣē(aḥa)n-
16 rāmāṇa-raja-śāṃtiyā-viṣhayapati-bhūgapti-kāṇḍhapati-śrasta-ṣṭhā√apati-khaṇḍaraṅka-
śrā[ṃ]dhikṛita-vartma-pāla-kṛtacchā-pāla-ghaṭicchā-pāla-śhettapāla-prāṇatpacchā-ṭhakura-
mahāmanuṣya-kiṣau(ō)raṇa-vāgāmīśrī-bhaṭṭa-ma-
17 [ba]ttana(m-a)b(bh)ra-vāpik-chhṛṣṭha-bhur[ga]-sa-śāṭadaśa-prakṛty-adhisha(ah)a-
18 kṛttita-ākī-
19 Viṣṇu-lakṣaṇa-bhuṭṭīḥ shapānī nālikānān vāpā[*] [*] tathā Hīthāṣārya[ṛ]h[*] buḥkṛṣṇām ṛṇḍam ashta-nālikā(kā)-vāpa[m [*] tathā Vāṭi-pāla[ḥ-] bhūkṛṣṇām cha-
turuṇān drūṇānān vāpā[*] [*] tathā Bhūgaru-satka-Vanōla-ābhishāna-bhūkṛṣṇā-
[ṛ]h[*]

1 Read tēmīra.
2 Read yīn Khala.
3 Read "anyūnāśca.
4 Read "aṃgāra-vāpa.
5 The akṣara ṛṇḍa is incised on an erasure.
6 Read "chatur-drōga-vāpa.
7 We may also suggest bhūkṛṣṇa-trayam nālikā-vāpas and similar corrections in the other cases below; but the corrections shown in the text appear to be preferable.
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20 ttraya(tri)-nō(mā)likā-vāpaṃ tathā Śubhaṭṭaka-satka-sāraṇaṃ Khōnu-bhūmi-samaddhi
   (ni)vittāṃ Kaṇḍayikā-parichitaṃ tathā Prastar-Āka-Bhutriṇāṃ² satka-Śaṭṭeka-nāmā
   bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṃ(-pad |) tathā Gōvīna(n-Na)ūga-satka-Ya[ksh]a-
   śhānā-

21 bhīdhāra-bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta |) tathā Viḥāra-satka-Talashaṭak-śhīh
   dhānanaḥ bhūmi[h*] dasa-nālikānāṃ vāpaḥ tathā Vannuvāka-satka-Kāharaś-kā
   abhīdhānaḥ bhū-khaṇḍā[ni*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṃ tathā śrīśhī(śhīh)-Jivakā-satka-
   Gaṇgēra-

22 ka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ashta-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta |) tathā Jivakā-Sīhāditya-ī-Chicchhava-
   ba[li]ni[na*] satka-Śaitṛita-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpa*[ ] tathā Kaṭaśila-nāmā
   bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta |) tathā Nāmva(na)ba-
   raṇgiya-samanta-ja(jānapatāna[nāni]

23 satka-Nyāyapatāka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dasa-drōṇa-vāpa*[ ] tathā Paṅgara-hastakam-
   ekāṇām tathā [Vacechhajva(ba)alasha-Vīva[ṇṇa]-Kama-Dārjīyāka-Pratham-śīhīyānāṃ satka-
   Vāḍiva(ba)abhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] saha-drōṇa-l-drōṇa-vāpa*[ ] tathā Śīlāditya-satka-

24 Khārakshīṭākika-nāmā bhūmi[h*] shaṇi[ṇa] nālikā(kā, nām vāpaḥ) tathā Śrīhāshnu-
   pura-karmānta-pratīva(ba)ddha-pūrvvapa-parimāṇa-Tuṅgaka-paribhujyāmanā-palika[kā
   ] ēta bhūmayaḥ pali[ka] ochha[cha] Śrīharṣapuri[riy]a Śrī-Durgā-bhāṭṭarīkā-

25 ya(yai | ) tathā Varōshi-kā-grāma-samva(mba)ldha-Naḥālakā-Vijjāta-Dujiṣṭa-Ātuṅga-
   Niṣchaya-Tuṅga-Śhāvyaka-Varāha-Sīṭṭaka-satka-Ānūp-śhūlāhāna-bhū khaṇḍānām
   nava-
   drōṇa(na)-vāpaṃ tathā Atakā-putṛṇām naptṛṇān[cha*] satka-Ānūpe bhū-khaṇḍa-
   chatu[shaṭa]-

26 ya[n khārī-vāpaṃ tathā [Jā]tipaṭa[n]a-nāmā bhū[h*] Ijjarar-sam[avat]am(ta | ) tathā
   Śumījayaṃ bhūkhaṇḍa-dvayaṃ nava-drōṇa-vāpaṃ tathā Atakā-putṛṇāṃ satka-Paṭr-
   grāma-pratīva(ba)ddha-Govaraka-abhidhāna-bhūmīrvvina[r-viṁśati]-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta | )
   tathā Yōyī-

27 ka-grāma-nvīśānānāṃ satka-Śhāsṣrakā-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṇa-
   (puta | ) tathā Śhāhara-nāmā bhūḥ drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta | ) tathā Valīvaṛda[sil]lā-nāmā
   bhū[h*] ttr[aya(tri)]-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta | ) tathā Ihaṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] paṭcha-
   drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta | ) tathā Rulaṭhi-nāmā bhū[h*] [ttr]-

28 ya[trı)-drōṇa-vāpaṇa(puta | ) tathā Tiriṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṇ-(puta |
   ) tathā Kuṭṭaṇiśa[n]a-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṇ(puta | ) tathā Gaṇoḍā[rīka-
   nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṇ(puta | ) tathā Yuga-nāmā bhū[h] drōṇa-vāpaṇ-
   (puta | ) tathā Karkaṭa-yālā-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-

29 vāpaṇa(puta | ) tathā Paṅgara-hastē(sta)-dvayaṃ tathā Dhaṅka-satka-Dālimulaka-nāmā
   bhūḥ dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṇ(puta | ) tathā Śrīva[ba]la-satka-Grāmīdā[ṇ]aka
   bhū-
   khaṇḍa[ni*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṃ (pam | ) tathā Ichhavardhana-Śīlādityayōs-satka-
   Šūṣṭavīmāṣ bhūḥ paṭcha-drōṇa-

¹ The intended reading may also have been "Bhūttānām or tryaṇānāh"
² Read "dhānāh.
³ Read "nālikā-vāpaṃ |"
⁴ The rules of Sandhi have been ignored here.
⁵ Read "nālikā-vāpaṃ |"
⁶ Read "nālikā-vāpaṃ |"
⁷ It is difficult to determine if "vāpaṃ is a mistake for nāmā."
d


33 sauta-nalikā-vāpā bhagavatē Śri-Vra(Brappeda)mēsv ra-bhāṭṭārakāya [[*] Ṛtō(tā) bhū- mayō(yah) pallikē dvā cha mayā mātā-pitrōṛ-ātmanās[=]cha puṇya-yādv-bhivirddhayē pavana-vighaṭṭit-āsattva-patra- chačha(čha)la-taraṅgā-jīvalōkyā(kam)-ma-

d

d
37 dbhēda-prasravā-ōpētā ndē(ō)ya-Vra(Brap)ha-maṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāṇa-varjījīta yatas= sukhaṁ mā(pā)żramāryēṇa paribhūjamāṇamāṇa[ṛ=][=]valpam--API dhāraṇa-viḍhāraṇa- paripanā-thādik-ōpadravāna[=]kaiścit-karttā[*]-

38 vyam-ato-nyath[=]ājē[=]vyātikramē mahā-drōhaḥ śyād-iti [[*] Pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-rājya-sahāva[sarē chaturtbhē Samva(Samva)t 4 Jē(Jye)ṣṭha-vadi 5 [[*] Dūtakō- ttra mahādānākshapalādēhikṛta-ārī-Kam[al]-

1 Read vishayīṇāṁ.
2 Read chatur-drōga-vāpē.
3 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Līkaramēṇa-nā(mā)[=].
4 Read sīsakāta-sīmāyaṁ.
5 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Gāmiṇyārakā-nā(mā)[=].
6 The intended word may be sammedhyā, ‘a sacred locality’, or sombhēda, ‘a confluence’.
7 Read “śīṃ” or śīṃagāḥ.
8 Better read Gaṇgāyā uttarattā.
9 Read svalpam-API.
10 Read ’dvārō ma.
11 Read karttāyē-tō-nyathā.
No. 38]  

THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

297

39 [*][*] Likhitam-idañ mahāsandhivigrāhāṣapalāṭādikīta-śrī-śāvara-dattāna
[*][*] [U]tkirṣṇā(ṛpa)gī-cha śrī-Nandadhrenā(ṇa) [*][*] Va(Ba)-hubbhīr-vvasudhā bhuktā
rājānaisa-śagar-ādibhir-yasya[ *] yasya yadā bhūmi-

40 [s-tasyā] tasya tadā phalan(lam) [1[*] Sāhashtimva(ḥtih va)raha-sahaṛaṇī svarggā
tishṭhati bhūmidhā[ *] āchhēttā ca-anumanta cha tapy-śva narakamva(kṣ 'va)-
sēt[1[*] Anudakēṣavaraṇyōṣhna sūṣka-kōṭara-vāśaṇa[1[*] krīṣṇa-[sa]-

41 [ṛpā hi jālyantē vara(ḥra)hama-dāyaḥ harantī mēyi] Bhो rājānāḥ prāthayatē-śaha
Rāmā(ḥ) bhūyā bhūyā prāthaniyā narāṇḍrā[ḥ][[*] sāmānyō-yaṁ dharmā-sētura-
nṛpāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālaniyō bhava[dbhīḥ[1[*]

42 [Iti kamalā-dā]ksam(bu)-sinduvā-lōlā[] kṣ(ṛ)yam-anuchintya manushya-jivitaṁ-cha
[*] sakalam-idañ-udāḥṣītaṁ-cha vu(ḥ)ddhā na hi purushai[1[*] para-kṛttayō
vīlōpyāḥ[1[*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (city of) Subhikshapura ;

(Lines 8-13) (Similar to lines 1-9 of Padmaṭa’s charter.)

(Lines 8-13) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī
Padmālaḍēvi, (was) Paramabhājaraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramēvara, the illustrious Padmaṭa-
dēva who was a devout worshipper of Mahēṣvara (Śiva) ; who was extremely hospitable to the
Bṛhmaṇas ; who surpassed all the activities of Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhichi and Chandragupta by
continuously making offerings of elephants, horses and ornaments presented (to him by various kings)
with obeisance from the end of the countries of all the directions that were rendered by himself
devoid of prowess of the arms and were divided into various parts by the expansion of the radiance
of his unseathed shining sword ; who was the lord of the earth which has the girdle on the hips
extending as far as the most of the four oceans ;

his son, who meditates on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Isānadēvi, is
Paramabhājaraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramēvara, the illustrious Subhikṣharājādēva ; who is
a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu ; who is extremely hospitable to the Bṛhmaṇas ; whose body
is adorned with all the arts acquired with ease and who has removed far away the
collection of the darkness (of ignorance) due to the Kali age by the lustre of the light of the scripts-
tures completely mastered (by him) ; who is the unique preceptor, expert in imparting initiation
into widowhood to the women of the ferocious enemies who are famous in the world ; who de-
stroyed the expansion of the arrogance of the strong staff-like arms of the enemies by forcibly carry-
ing away their fortune ;

(Lines 13-18) (List of officials, similar to that in Padmaṭa’s record.)

The remnants of the last akṣara suggest la. The intended reading may therefore have been Kamalaḥi-

[*] Read “śrī-śāvara”.
[*] Read rājaḥṣeṣa-“Sa”.
[*] Read “ddhīḥ | yasya.

*Metre : Anuṣṭubh for this and the following two verses.

*Metre : Śālīṃ.

*Metre : Puskṣpiṇḍrā. There is a design here to indicate the end of the writing.
(Lines 18-33) The various pieces of gift land dedicated to three deities as detailed in the introductory discussion above.

(Lines 33-38) The purpose of the grant and the privileges going with rent-free holdings as in the corresponding sections of the records of Lalitāśūra and Padmaṭa.

(Lines 38-39) In the **fourth year** of the increasing reign of victory: **year 4**, the **5th day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha**. The Dūtaka in this case is the illustrious Kamalaśīla who is the Mahādānākhapāṭalādhiṃkṛita. It is written by the illustrious Iśvaradatta who is the Mahāsandhīvigrāhakapāṭalādhiṃkṛita and is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 39-42) (Imprecatory and benedictory verses.)
No. 39—TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

(A Plates)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

The two copper-plate grants which are being published now were brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao, the then Assistant to the Director of Archaeology, Baroda, in January 1953 when he was conducting trial excavations at Mota Machiala which is a small village about seven miles to the north-east of Amreli, the headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay State. The information regarding the plates was supplied by Shri Jami, a pottery-marksmith employed during the excavations. Shri Rao brought the inscribed plates to me when I was camping at Amreli. I examined them on the spot and purchased them from their owners for the Archaeological Department, Baroda. My thanks are due to Shri Rao and Shri Jami for bringing these records to my notice.

The grants belong to the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi, A to Dhrusena I and B to Dharasena II. Grant B had a thick coating of rust and many scratches on it. Both the plates were chemically treated by Shri Mathur, an Assistant of the Archaeological Chemist in India, who was working on the preservation of the wall paintings in the Tambekar Wada at Baroda. This made it possible for me to photograph the plates. I am highly indebted to him.

The characters of the records belong to the Southern Class of alphabet. Noteworthy are the forms of the jihvamāliya and upadhāmiya occurring in Grant B (line 16 and 18). The final consonants are represented with a horizontal bar on the top (cf. t in line 23 and m in lines 24-25 of A). As regards orthography, the consonant following r in a conjunct is doubled. The doubling is resorted to before y also (cf. pād-ānudhyāta in line 11 of A). Among the instances of wrong spelling may be mentioned the use of ri for rī. The language of both the records is Sanskrit. The imperative portion at the end is as usual in verse, the rest being in prose. Both the charters purport to make gifts to Brahmānas. Many of the villages and areas mentioned in them could not be identified. But these seem to have been situated around Mota Machiala where the plates were found.

A. Grant of Dhrusena I, Year 206

The two plates of this grant, which are engraved on their inner sides only, have two holes at the top for rings with which they were origianally secured. Both the rings are now missing. The plates measure 11½'' × 6½'' each. They were found in a very good state of preservation.

The charter was issued from Valabhi by the Maitraka king Dhrusena I. It bears the date: Sāraḥ 206, Āsvayuja 5 and purports to record the grant of a piece of cultivated land (śīla) known as Thunṭakakolika in the eastern part of the village of Suvarṇakya (or, less probably Kasuvanakya) included in Śinaḥarāṭaka-sthali. The land was 100 pādāvaras (Bighā) in area. The gift was made to the Brahmānas Gaṅgaśarman, Gaṅgadeva and Chunuka of the Śāndilya gōta, who were students of the Vaiṣṇava school of the Śukla-Yajurveda.

1 The plates were purchased for Rs. 20 from Bhāmji Nanji of Mota Machiala. Machiala is generally spelt Māchiala.
2 The inscription reads Thunṭaka which seems to be the name of a person of the Kōlika community. This person seems to have been the possessor of the land.—Ed.]
3 See Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, part i, pp. 77-78, note 5. [The exact area of a pādāvāra is unknown.—Ed.]
4 [See below.—Ed.]

(299)
The Dāšaka who executed this grant was Pratihāra Mammaka and the scribe was Kikkaka.

Dhrusvasaṇa I succeeded his brother Drōṇasimha. Including the present grant, seventeen of his charters are known so far. His earliest known grants are those of year 206 (552 A.D.) and the latest of year 226 (545 A.D.). Taking into consideration the latest known grant of his predecessor and the earliest known record of his successor, a reign of about 30 years from 519 A.D. to 549 A.D. may be attributed to him.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Śinabarāṭaka-sthali seems to have been a small revenue sub-division and may correspond to a modern Thāṇā. Dr. H.G. Sastri has identified Śinabarāṭaka with Simarana, 7 miles north of Kundala in Saurashtra. I do not agree with this identification. The donees resided at Kāsahrada which is of course Kāsandra, 12 miles northwest of Ahmedabad.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti ([*] Valabhitah) prasabha-prañat-āmitrāṇāṁ Maitrakaṇā(ṇā)m-atula-bah-sapatna-
       maṇḍal-ābhoga-

2 sahaśakta-saṅprahāra-saṭa-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārijja-ōpajjīt-ānu-
       rāgō-mu-

3 rakta-maula-bhṛitya-mitra-śreṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājya-ārīḥ(ārīḥ) paramāḥesvarāḥ āri
       sēnāpati-Bhāṣakaṇaḥ tasya su-

4 tas-tat-pāda-rājorupa-nakha-pavitrikrita-śi(śi)raḥ sīrō-vanata-satru-chūḍā-mañi-prabhā-
       vichchurita-pāda-nakha-

5 panktu-dīdhīhiḥ dī(ṭi)maṇātha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramāḥesvarāḥ sēnāpati-

Dharasṇas=tasya-śuṇjaḥ

       Dharmarāja iva vihi-

7 ta-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir-akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā paramāsvāminā
       svayam-upahita-rājya-ā-

8 bhiṣhaṁ-mahā-vigrahaś(śā)puṇa-āvapūta-rāja-ārīḥ paramāḥesvaro mahārāja-Drōṇasimhaḥ
       sīnhā iva tasya-śu-

9 jāḥ sva-bhuja-balāna para-gaja-gaṭ-ānī(nī)kānāṁ-ēka-vijayi(yi) śaraṇa-saṁśinām śaraṇam-
       avabodhā śastra-ārtha-tattva(ttvā)nāṁ

10 Kalpataru-iva suḥriṭ-prañayināṁ yathābhilakṣhaḥ(shi)ta-phaḥ-ōjābhogaḥ paramabhaṭṭavataḥ
       paramabhaṭṭāraka-

11 pāṭ-ānuddhyātō mahārāja-Drūvasenaḥ kuśalī sarvāṇ-ōva svān-āyukta-mahātara-
       drāṇgika-chāṭha-bhāṭa-drūvasaṭhā-

12 nādhiṣhaka-vaṇḍaṣūṣṭi-kārṇaṁ-sapta-ḥaṣṭa-ṣaṁbhodhāyaḥ yathā-saṁbadhyamāna-kāṇaṁ-ānudarśayat
       astu vascanāviditam yathā ma-

1 Maitraka-kāśa Gouḍā, Part II, Appendix 5, p. 33.
2 (Drūvasena acknowledged the suzerainty of a Paramabhaṭṭāraka whose identity is difficult to determine although originally the Maitrakas must have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas. — Ed.).
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

13 yā Śinabaraṭaka-sthaly-antarggata-Suvarṇapakiya-grāma-pūrvva-si(h)mi
Thumṭaka-kōlika-prajāyamāna-si(s)iṭṭā pāḍāva-
14 ṛgga(rta)-śaṭa-parisarā s-ōparikarā sa-dītya-dāna-karaṇa saḥ-ānyais-cha kṛttit-
kṛttit-ādānaiḥ

Second Plate

15 sarvva-svad-dhasta-āpara-kāhep[(pa)](ni)[*]yā Kāśahrada-vaśtavya-Brāhmaṇa-Gaṅgāsarmma-
Gaṅgadeva-Chunukēbhyaḥ[*]
16 Śāṃḍilya-sagōtra-Vājī(ś)ya-saṃep-saharndhribhīyō mātā-pitrō puṇy-āpyanay-siṭmānasya-
ch-aikhi-āmushmikya-ya-
17 th-ākhitashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam-ā-chandr-ārkk-arṇīya-kshiti-sarit-parvata-sthiti-samā-
kalinnā putra-pauṭra-ānva-
18 ya-āhōga bali-charu-vaiśvādev-ādyānāṃ kriyāṇāṃ-utsarpan-ārtthām bhūmi-chchhidra-
nyāṇya brahmādēya nisra(s)hehta ya-
19 ta ēṣhām-uoḥitayā brahmādēya-sthityā bhūjjatām kriṣhataṁ pradīṣataṁ vā na kaiśhīt
svalp-āpy-ādhāvī vichāra-
20 pā vā kāryyā | asmad-vaṃśajjar-āgami-nripatibhiḥ-oh-ānityaṅ-āśvāryyaṅ-āsthirāṃ
mānushyaṃ samānyam cha bhū-
21 mi-dāna-phalam-avasagchchhadbhir-aṃ-sad-dāyā-umantavyaḥ [*] yaḥ-oh-āch-
chhindyād-chchhiyāmanāṃ v-ānūmāṇḍita
22 sa paṃchabhār-maṃhā-panatakaiḥ s-ōpapatakaiḥ saṃyuktaḥ svaḥ-āpi ch-ātra Vyāsa-
gī(ṣ)īś-sloka bhavanti|
23 Shasṭhiṃ varaśa-sahasrāṇī svarge mōdāḥ bhūmīdaḥ [*] chchhitā bhūmīdaḥ cha
tāṇy-śva naraṃkā vasēṭ [*][*]
24 Sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ vā yō harēta vasundhārāṃ [*] gavāṃ šaṭa-sahasrasya hantuh
prāṇātī kīliyam [*][*]
25 Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣ-Sagar-ādibhīṣ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya
tasya tada pa(ph)alam [*][*]
26 sva-hastō mama mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasaya | dūtakṣaḥ pratihāra-Mamakṣaḥ likhitam
Kīkkaṇa [*][*]
27 Satv 200 6 Āśvayuja-śuddha 5 [*][*]

B. Grant of Dharaśena II, Year 252

This charter consists of two plates written on the inner sides. They are secured with rings passing through two holes made at the top of the plates. The plates measure each 12\frac{1}{2}\times 8\frac{1}{2} inches. When the plates were received for examination, the right side ring was missing but the left side

[1] [The reading of this name is Thēṃṭaka.—Ed.].
[2] [This may be a modification of dattī.—Ed.].
[3] [The reading of these letters is sarvva-śmaṭ.—Ed.].
[4] [The reading is Chumukēbhyaḥ.—Ed.].
ring with the seal held the plates together. The extant ring has an oval seal which bears in relief the usual bull emblem of the Maitrakas with the legend Śri-Bhāṣṭakkaḥ in relief.¹

The charter, dated Saṃvat 252 Vaiśākha-ba 15, was issued from Valabha by Dharasena II who succeeded his father Guhasena. The last known date of Guhasena is the year 248 (567 A.D.) and the earliest known date of Dharasena’s successor Śilāditya I is the year 286 (605 A.D.). Hence Dharasena II may be assigned a reign of about 30 years, i.e., from 570 to 600 A.D. The gift recorded in the charter was made by the king for the merit of his parents as well as of himself. The document was written by Skandabhaja and the executor of the grant was Chchhibira.

The charter purports to record the gift of the following plots of land and irrigation wells to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudra who was a student of the Maitrāyanīya-Vārāhaka kākha of the Yajurveda and belonged to the Lāmakāyana gōra:

(a) a piece of land 200 pāḍāvartas in area on the northern border of the village Bhāṣṭivaṭa, as also a step-well irrigating 8 thirtytwo pāḍāvartas of land on the eastern border of the same village;

(b) a step-well irrigating 20 pāḍāvartas of land in the southern border of Śavinipadraka, and

(c) a plot of tilled land known as Pēraka² in the northern border of the village of Bahudhanaka as also a piece of 100 pāḍāvartas of land in the western border of Bhabhala-patāka.

¹ These places cannot be identified. Dr. H. G. Sastri, however, has tried to identify Bhāṣṭivaṭa with Bhaḍabhaḍiyā, a village some 2 miles to the south-west of Hāthab.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [[*] Valabhaḥ] prasabha-praṇat-āmitraṇāḥ Maitrakāṇām-atula-bala-sapathamaṇḍal-ābhoga-sahasaka-samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratatōpaḥ pratāp-ūpanata-

2 dāna-maṅ-ārjav-ōpārjit-ānurāg-nurakta-maula-bhrīta-mitra-śrēni-bal-āvāpta-rāja-āriḥ(ārīḥ) paramamahēśvarah Śri-sēnāpati Bhāṣṭārkas-tasya satasa-


4 vaḥ paramamahēśvarah Śri-sēnāpati Dharasenaḥ tasya-ānujas tat-pād-ābhishra(pra)ṇāma-prāśastarsa-vimala-mauli-maṇir-Mmanv-ādi-praṇil(n)ita-vidhi-vidhiḥa-dharmma Dha-

5 rmmāraṇaḥ iva


6 hāvanaḥ Śri-mahāraṣṭra[ḥ] Drōṇaśīnaḥ śīniḥ iva tasy-ānujaḥ sa bhūva-balā-paramāṇa para-gaja-ṛṣṭ-ān[n]kāṇām ekā-vijayi sarān-aśāḥnāḥ sarānām-avabōdhdḥ śāstrā-

7 rtha-tavāḥ(stvā)ḥ Kalpa[tarun-ijva suhhīt-praṇayina[m] yath-[ā]bhilaś[hi]ta-kāma-phal-ōpabhūgada[ḥ] paramab最快．最快；mahārūjā Śri-Dhrusenaḥ tasya-ānujas tach-charap-

araṇvīda-pra-

¹ The plates were purchased for Rs. 25 from Koli Amba Soma of Mūṭa Māchhīlī.
² [The reference is to the area covered by the step-well.—Ed.]
³ Pēraka seems to be the name of a person who was enjoying the income of the land.—Ed.]
NO. 39] TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA 303

8 māti-pravidhaut-āśēha-kalmaahā su-viśuddha(dōha)-sva-[chārit-ō]daka-kshālita-sakala-kalānka[h*] prasabha-nirjīt-ārāti-paksha-prathita-mahims(mā) param[a]dīyabhaktah śrī-ma-

9 hāraja-Dharapaṭṭas-tasya-anujas[=]tat-pāda-saparyy-āvāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[h*] āau(sai)savā-srabhṛiti khaḍga-dvi[tt]ya-bhūr-śva sa-mada-para-gaja-ghat-āśphōtana-prakāi-

10 ta-satva(ttv[aa]-niksahā tat-prabhāva-pranāt-ārāti-chūjā-ratna-prabhā-saṁsaktva-saṁy-pāda-nakha-rāmi-saṁhast[ti[h*]] sakala-smi(emri)/t-śra[n]/ni)ta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-pra-

11 jā-hridaya-ra[mj]nau[dd-anal]vitha-rāja-sabdō ru(ṛ)pa-kānti-sthail[ryya]*-gāmbhitṝya-buddhi-
saṁpadbhī[ḥ] Smara-saśā[jīk-ā]*dhrirāj-śodāhi-Tra(Tri)daśaguru-Dhanēśan-atiśayana[h*]

.āraṇ-āga-

12 t-ābhaya-pradāna-pratayā tra(tṝnuva[ad-āpāt-āśēha-svā-śa[kyar-pa]la[a-pāda-čāri(ṛ)]=]va sakala-bhuvana-manḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ paramamahēśvarah mahā-


sa[ha]-jākṣa-śa[kha-śiṣṭā-viśēṣa-viṣmāpit-ākṣa-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisri-

[ṣbṭ]-

15 nām-amaṇḍalayitā dharmyā-dāya[ān-ās]pa[kaktā(ṛttā)] pra[j-ōpahitā-kāri[ṃ]-ụa]plā-

vānāṃ darjāyitā Śrī Śrī-Sarasvatyō-ṛ-āḍhivāṃsya saṁhath-ārāti-paksha-lakshmi-

parikāhō-

16 bha-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ōpsanapṛpta-vimala-pārthiva-ār[i]ḥ paramamahēśa[śva]raḥ
mahāraja-śrī-Dharasēnas-kuṇāl(li) sarv[ṃ-ṃ]veṇ=āvukta-ṃviṇyuktaka-ṃdrāgīka-

Second Plate

17 mahattara-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvādikaraṃika-saulkika-vartta(rtma)pāla-pratisṛṣka-raja-sthāniya-kumārāmātyā-ṛdi(dīj)ni anyāhā-cha yathā-saṁhathya[ṃ]nākān samā-

18 jñāpayatya-astu va[h*] samvidita[ṃ] yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ(trō)ḥ-ṛṣṇy-āḥyāanāyā

-ātmānaḥ-ahāhīk-ānuśahīka-yathā-bhūlātita-phal-avātpayā Bhāttīvāta=

19 grāmē uttara-si[i]ṃni pādā-vartta-[ā]-ta-dvayānym(yam) || pūrvva-si[i]ṃni dvātrīniṣṭitāi-pādāvartta-

parisarā vāpi tathā Šānavipradaka-grāmē dakhīna-(i)ṃni viṇās(viniśa)ti-pādā-

20 vartta-parisarā vāpi tathā Bauhbanaka-grāmē uttara-si[i]ṃni [P]ēraka-pratyayā* si(i)ṭā | tathā Baubhāla-paṭakē avara-si[i]ṃni pādāvartta-śatam(tam) || s-ūdraṅgā.4

21 ess-ōparikarān sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hirany-ādaśyaṃ s-ōtpadyaṁmā-viṣhṭī(ka)n samasta-

rājāyān-ṛdi-mahā-hā-praksh[a]ṇ[ur]na(ni)ḥ bhūmi-chhādha-ṃyaśYA Maī-

22 trāyāṇi(n)ḷya-Vāraha-śāmaka-śāmaka-saṅgōtra-ḥṛmaṇa-ruḍrāya bali-ḥaru-vaiśvakṛ-

āgihōtr-ātiṇa-paścica-mahāyānjikānā[ḥ*] kṛi(kri)yaṇṭāṃ samu-

1 [Read tasyāntōma].—Ed.

2 [Read trīśākṛt].

3 [The reading is pratyayā].—Ed.

4 The letters Śmaṇ appear before this so. Read s-ūdrāṃgam-s-ūdrāṃga.
23. tsarpaṇ-ārtham-ā-chaṇḍr-ārk-āṅava-saṅit-kahiti-sthitī-sama-kālinaṁ putra-pō(pau)tvā- 
(tūr-ā)navya-bhōgyaṁ(gyaṁ) udaka-sarggōṇa brahmādyāṁ nīśrīṣṭaṁ yatō-ṣy-āḥcitayaḥ 
bra-

24. ādēya-sthitī[ā] [bhun]jataḥ kriṣa(sha)taḥ karir(sha)yataḥ pradīśaṭō va na kaśchit- 
prātishēdhē vartttayam-āgāmi-bhadra-nītpatibhiḥ ch-āśmad-vāṇiṣa(vaṃsā)-

25. jair-ani[tyaṁ-aiśvaryyāṁ-asthiraṁ māṇushyaṁ] [sāṁ]yaṁ cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam- 
avagachhe-haddr-syay-āsmada(d-da)yau(yō)-numaa-tavyaḥ [paripālayavya- 

26. āc-cha ["*] yas-ech-ai[n]nam-ājhechhīndyād-ājhechhīdyāmanāṁ] v-ānumōdēta sa paṅchabhiri- 
mmahū-pātaṅkais-ā-epa-pātaṅkāi[="*] samyukta[="*] syād-itī-uktāṁ cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāśē-

27. na Vyāsēṇa ["""] Śa(sa)hṣiṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō tīṣṭhaṁ bhūmidāḥ ["*] a(a)chēchhēttā 
ch-ānumantā cha tāne(ny-y)va narakē vasaṁ || Pūrvva-ta(da)ittāṁ 

28. dvijātibhīṁ yatnād-ṛakṣa-Yudhishṭhirā | mahāṁ mahīmatāṁ śrēṣṭha dānāch-chhrēyō- 
nupālanaṁ(nam) ["*] Bahubhī- 

29. revvasudhā bhuktā rājabhī[="*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ ["*] yasya yasya yadaḥ bhūmis-tasya tasya 
tadā pha-

30. lam-itī || likhitāṁ sandhīvirgragra(gra)hādikṛita-Skandabhaṭṭēna || Dū ° Chchibbīraḥ Sam 
200 50 2 Vaisākha-ba 10 5 ["*] 

31. [ava]-haustō mama mahā[rāja]-āśr-Dharasēṇasya || ||
TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

SEAL OF DHARASENA II

(from a Photograph)
No. 40—PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRHAISTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This set of four copper plates was found at Peddabammidi in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. They were forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit the grant from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter. The plates are now in the possession of the Andhra University, Waltair.

Each of the plates is 8" long and slightly less wide in the middle (3") than at the ends (3·2") They are held by a circular ring with a diameter of 3·5". The seal soldered to the ring has on its surface the emblems of a bull, a conch, the moon, a goose, a fly-whisk, a flag and a tortoise. The plates and the ring with the seal weigh respectively 94 and 54 tolas. The outer side of the first plate has no writing. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the second and third plates have eight lines of writing each. The fourth plate has seven lines of writing on the first side. The second side of this plate has traces of writing; but, though individual letters can be read here and there, no sense of this part can be made out; hence no attempt has been made to read it. There are thus altogether 47 lines of legible writing which are in a good state of preservation.

The alphabet belongs to the same type of the Gaudâya script as is used in the Nadagam, Madras Museum, and Narasapatham plates and many other Eastern Gaṅga grants. The sign for v has been used to indicate b.

The language is Sanskrit and the legible portion of the inscription is written in prose with the same twelve verses in the introductory portion, which are found in several other copper-plate grants of the king who issued the charter. As a matter of fact, the whole of the introduction (lines 1-41) is a verbatim reproduction of that in the Nadagam and Madras Museum plates and varies very slightly from that in the Narasapatham plates.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the class nasal is used instead of anuṣūraṇa, although there are a few exceptions. Many of the consonants are doubled after r. T is sometimes doubled before r; but usually we have the form tra. There are many mistakes in the text of the document. Often one letter is put for another and the vowel signs are omitted or wrongly put. Sometimes letters and even words are omitted while the visarga sign is frequently omitted.

The grant was issued from a place, the name of which begins with ka and ends in nagara. The second letter is doubtful, and there is no room for a third letter before nagara. The name may be a mistake for Kaliṅga-nagara.

The grant was issued by Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahârajâdhirâja Vajrâhasta (III), the overlord of the three Kaliṅgas and a devout worshipper of Mahâśâvara, and records the grant of the village of Santarama (line 42) in favour of Pallaya, son of Dādârâvâna and his wife Dalâmâvâ (lines 45-46). The village was situated in the district (vishaya) of Kâluvarattâ, a name which also occurs in the Nadagam plates (line 57). The epithet su-a SUVâra-parivâkita, applied to the donee,
perhaps alludes to some deeds of valour performed by him, and the grant may be a reward for that. The illegible portion presumably contained the boundaries of the land granted together with the imprecatory verses.¹

The grant was made in the Śaka year 982 (line 44) on Thursday the fifth of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara. The date regularly corresponds to the 28th December, 1060 A.D.² The donee is said to belong to the Vēsyā family (line 45). Vēsyā may be taken as an error for vēvyā (prostitute), for the interchange of ś with s frequently occurs in this record. But it is hardly likely that a man’s ancestry should be traced to a prostitute in a public document. So it may be suggested that the word stands for Vaiśyā.³

TEXT⁴

[Metres: verses 2, 6, 12 Anushṭubh; verses 7, 8 Gītī; verses 5, 9 Mālinī; verses 1, 3, 11 Sārdulavikritiḥ; verse 4 Vamsāsthya; verse 10 Vasantaṭilakā.]

First Plate

4 śhītisaya sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuhva-nirmmaṇ-aika-sūtraḥhāra.
5 sāstka-chuḍāmaṇībhṛbhṛba(r-bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇasvāmināḥ prasādā[†]
6 samāśādīt-āikaṃsaa(ākha)bhērī-paśchamahāhāsavda(bda)-dhavalachehhattra-hēmahnā-
7 mara-varvarishakhāvahāchana-samujva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrjayamahiṃmaṇan-ne-
8 ka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-sampalavilhā(bhī)-vijaya-lakshmi-maṇi-giṇg-it-ōtari(tum)ga-bhu-

Second Plate, First Sīd.

9 ja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ Trikaliṅga mahībhujān Gaṅgānāṁ-anvayam-alāṅka-
10 rishn[ōḥ]* Vishnūr-ivikram-ākrānta-dhāra-maṇḍalasya Guṇamahāṛṇava-maha(hā)-
11 rājasya putraḥ ||0|| Pūrvvaśi bhupatibhir-vvibhajya vasudhā yā paśchabhiḥ pa-
12 ścāddhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramābhujaya va(ba)lāt-tāṁ-eśa eva svāyaṁ(yam | ) ś-
13 kṛitteya vijītya sa(sat)trā-nivāhān śrī-Vajrabhastās-chatuṣeṣṭvāri-
14 nūṣṭa[m]*maṭy-udāra-charitaḥ sarvāṃ-arakshit-samāḥ ||1[∗] Tasya tanaye Guṇḍama-

¹ [See below.—Ed.]
² I am indebted for this calculation to Prof. V.V. Mirashi.
³ Pāṇiḍa-kala-varma is referred to in line 13 of a record of Madhukārṇava (JAHRS, Vol. VIII,
⁴ From a set of impressions.
⁵ Expressed by symbol.
Scale: Three-fourths
No. 40] PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 992

15 jā(jō) [ha(va)][r*]ha-trayam=apālayata mahīn(him) || tad-anuṣṭhāṇaḥ Kāmārṇavadāvāḥ paścāṭ-

16 trimśatam=avda(bda)kāṇ || tasya-anuṣṭhāṇaḥ Vinayaḍītya[h*] samās=tiṣṭhag[h*] || tataḥ Kā-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 māṛṇavāya-jātō jagati-Kalpabhūruhāḥ || yō-rājya-rājita hạs-chochhāyō Va-

18 jrahaṣṭḥ=vanī[2*]-patiḥ || praṣchāya[da]ta=n-mada-gandha-luvdhā(bdhā)-madhupa-

19 vyālīdha-gaṇḍā-

20 n-gajān=artthibhyas=samadāt-sahaaram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇ[h*] || sā(h) sa(s)ā śrīmā-

21 n-Aniṣṭhakahī[bdh]ma=nrīpapatīr-Ggaṇḍ-ānvay-ōttanaṃsakāṛ paṇḍchatrimśatam=a-

22 vrda(bda)kāṇ=samabhunakpr[i]thvīm stutāḥ pārthivāḥ || [3*] Tad-agra-sūṇāḥ Surarāja-

23 sūnāḷ [sa(s)maḥ] samastāḥ sa(s)ma(mi)t-āri-maṇḍalāḥ ["*] sma pāṭī Kāmārṇava-

24 bhūpapatīr-bhuvāḥ sa-

25 mṛdading(mān)āṛtha=saṃmāñ samuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

26 ttajamaṃ-ḍopa(mā)ṃ-

27 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

28 ttajamaṃ-ḍopa(mā)ṃ-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

29 nā ṯuṇḍhā=niṣṭh=saṃvuṣṭa(jja)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anuṃana Mahā Chī-

Third Plate, First Side

25 kṣatṛ-trīṇi varāhaṇi dhātri-valayam=alaghu-jē(ṭē)jē-nirjīj-it-rūti-chakrah || [5*] Tatō

26 dvē(dvai)māṭuras=tata(sya) Madhu[kā[bdh]m]rṇavō nrīpah ["*] a(a)vati sm=āvanm=

27 etām=avdā(bdā)mē(n-e)-

28 kāṅṣa(n-na)-vinmāṣatā(tim) || [0] [6*] Atha Vajrahasta-nrīpapatīr-aṅgra-guptā-ākhila-guṇi-jan-

29 āgra-

30 [ga*]jya[h*] ["*] Kāmārṇavā[bdh]t["*] kavē(v)iṃdra-pragyāmān-āvadāśuba-kīrttiḥ

31 || [7*] Śrīyā iva Vaidumva(mb-ā)-

32 nā-sthā-payaḥ-payoṣṭhā=saṃubhāvāyā-ṛṣya ["*] yah samajāṇi Vinaya-mahāśe-

33 vyāḥ śṛt-Vajrahasta iti tanā(na)yaḥ || [8*] Viyād-ṛtu-nidhi-samkhyāṃ yāti Śāk-āvda(bdha)-sa-

34 ūṅne dinakriti Vṛshabha-sthē tē Rōhiniḥ-bhē su-lagnē ["*] Dhanushīcha sita-pakṣē Śūryya-

35 vārē tṛ̥tiyaḥ(ya)-yuṣi sakala-dharitri(trī)m rakṣhitum yō-bhishitaḥ || [9*] Nyāyē(yyē)na

Third Plate, Second Side

33 yatra samāṃ=scharitum tri-vāṛgga(varṛgga) ma(mā)rggēṇa rakṣhāti mahīṃ mahita-

34 pratē["*] nirvṛtyā-

34 dhīyāḥ=cha nirāpadaḥ=cha śchachcha-prajāḥ bhuvhi bhavanti vibhu(bhū)timattyāḥ || [10*]

Vyāptē Ga-

1 The Naṣaspatam plates read maḥīṃ.
2 This vātaka is redundant.
3 After this, read niṣṭhāḥ=cha as in other inscriptions.
4 Read sa(s)maṃ as prajā.
35 nga-kul-ottamasya yassa(sa)āśā(vā)la(laih) śachi śahi pradyotāsti tāmalinēna yasyā(saya) bhuvani(na) prahlā
dā-sampādinā [*] se(sai)ndūraṃasti śtri-puṅkal-patālā(laih) kumbha-sthāla-pattakēśā-
(shvā)limpanti
37 punaḥ puṇas-chaharitām-adhuh(m)raṇa vai r̄aṇān || [11*] Ā(A)nura(rā)geṇe(na) guṇinō
yasya
38 vakṣhā-mukh-āvja(bjaj)yoḥ [*] āś(i)nē Śrī-Sarasvatīyāv-anukulē virājata[h]∗ ||0|| [12*]
K[ai]-
39 nagara paramamāhēsva śvir paramabhaḥṭāraka mahārājādhirāja Trikaliṅgadhi-
pati-śrimadva Vajra hástādēvah[h]∗ kuśalī samast-āmātya-pramukha-jana-

Fourth Plate, First Side
41 padān-sam[āhā]ya samājñāpayati viditam-astu bhavā(vat)āna Kōluvar(t)anti-vi-
42 shayā Santaram-ākhyā-grāmā-schatuh-sīmāvachchhhina-sa-jalā-sthala[h]∗ [sa*]-[rvva]-pi
43 dā-vivarjitaṃ-ā-chand-ārkka-ksha(kshitt)ī-sama-kalān yāvan-mātā-pitrör-āttmanah
44 puṇya-yasī bhivriddhaya kara-vasū-nidhi-Śākvdē(bhē) Makara-māsa-śu-
kla-pakṣa-parichamyāṃ Guro-vārā || Vēya(Vaiśya) vaṁśi-ōdhbhavah [* Dādōrśva-
46 nas-tasya bhāryyā Dalēmaṇā tayōḥ putrāya Pallayāya chira-kālam ārā-
47 dhya sva-pauruṣha-parīśhitaṃ yāta datta iti ||

1 The intended reading is Kālīṣa-nagarat. The Narasapatam plates have sa dēcaḥ before this.
2 Read śrimad Vaṭjra.
3 The dōndra is superfluous.
4 There are traces of eight letters after this. [The entire passage from Vēya to iti was incised after having
erased what had been previously engraved. The name of the donee’s father in lines 45-46 is written as Drādōrśva
so, although the subscript r in the first akṣara and the a-mātra in the second appear to be traces of the original
engraving. The actual name may have been Dādōrśva. In chēriṅkāla (for chikrāla) in line 46, the a-mātra
of ri similarly belongs to the original writing. Traces of the eight akṣaras after the end of the re-engraved record
in line 47 read tāhyyāṃ Pōtaya-Kītāpā which is followed on the reverse of the plate (in lines 48-49 of the original
record, which were erased by tāhyyāṃ viśaka-pūrayati(t)ēśa-kānaṇaṃ kriṇaṃ pradottamām asmābhinām
bhāvibhir bhāvīmūnītai . . . . . . . This shows that the grant of the village of Santaram (possibly not Santarama)
had originally been made in favour of Kētaya and Pōtaya but that later it was transferred to Pallaya and the sentence
mentioning him as the donee was reengraved after having erased the original writing. The word tāhyyāṃ at the
beginning of this sentence shows that the previous sentence, on which Vēya . . . . . . . iti was later incised, contained a
description of Kētaya and Pōtaya, the original donees of the charter. Pallaya pleased the king by his valour
(pauruṣa) and the latter gave him the village after having honoured him for a considerable time (chikrālaṃ
āṭadāyī). For sva-pauruṣa-parīśhitaṃ read parīśhitaṃ kāvyas or parīśhitaṃ kāvyirē, cf. above, vol. XXIII, p. 73,
text, line 53.—Ed.]
PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982 — PLATE II

Scale: Three-fourths

SEAL

From Photographs
No. 41—BHARAT KALA BHAVAN PLATE OF HARIRAJA, V.S. 1040

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the middle of 1955, I received from Rai Krishnadasji, Founder and Honorary Curator of the Bharat Kala Bhavan now attached to the Hindu University, Banaras, a pencil-rubbing of this inscription for examination. As the inscription was found to be interesting, I requested Rai Krishnadasji to secure the plate for the Kala Bhavan and let me have an opportunity to examine and publish the inscription. Accordingly I received the plate for examination about the end of 1956. My sincere thanks are due to Rai Krishnadasji for the kindness shown to me. The find-spot of the plate and the story of its discovery are unknown. But it is stated that the plates were purchased from a resident of Tikamgarh in the former Orchha State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

This is a single copper plate measuring 13-8" in length and 6-6" in height. The plate is thin (about 0-05" in thickness) without either any seal affixed to it or any emblem incised on it. There is, however, a small hole (about 15" in diameter) at the centre of the top margin, apparently meant for hanging the plate from some suspender. There are altogether thirteen lines of writing on the obverse of the plate, the reverse being blank. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The weight of the plate is 59 tolas.

The characters are early Nāgāri of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble some of the contemporary inscriptions of the region such as those of the early Chandellas. As regards the palaeography of the record, it may be pointed out that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood by the engraver. The letter v has been endowed with a top mātrā. In a few cases, the letters m and s have the same form (cf. samast-dh in line 4 and rāhugrash-mattā in line 6) although the usual forms of these akeharas have been employed elsewhere. The letter r has two different forms, one of them being indistinguishable from ch (cf. nikara-ruchita-chamara in line 3 and somara...tara-tarasa in line 4). The ch-like form of r has, however, been used only in a few cases. The aksara v looks like ch in some cases (cf. tva in line 5). The form of ksh in daksinā in line 9 is interesting. The dovā has often been put so close to the aksara that it looks like the ā-mātrā of the preceding or the e-mātrā of the following consonant. It may be observed that medial ē of both the śir-mātrā and prishtha-mātrā types has been used in the inscription.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in an admixture of prose and verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the representation of the class nasal by the anusvāra generally. Final m has often been changed to anusvāra wrongly. The influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the use of ū for ū in many cases and of j for y in jō in line 12. There is one case, where ū has been used for s (cf. śrōtaḥ in line 10). The inscription is dated in V.S. 1040. There are no details regarding the day when the grant was issued excepting the fact that it was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in V.S. 1040 if the year is regarded as expired and Kārttikā. This eclipse occurred on the 30th July 984 A.D.

1 It may be noticed that some contemporary records like the Nanyara plate (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp 201-04 and Plate) of Chandella Dhaṅga, dated V.S. 1056 (988 A.D.) were similarly issued without any seal or representation of any royal emblem. The cooper-plate grants of the Later Chandellas generally bear the representation of Lakshmi or Gajalakshmi which was the emblem of the family but no seal of the usual type.

2 Cf. the Nanyara plate referred to above.

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The inscription begins with the Śiddham symbol followed by two stanzas in the Upajāti metre. Verse 1 speaks of the bhūpādhya (king of kings) Nilakaṇṭha who belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty. Verse 2 mentions the adhirāja Harirājadēva who was the son of Nilakaṇṭha and defeated many enemies. These two stanzas are followed in lines 2-5 by a passage in prose, which describes Harirāja’s achievements in vague terms. Then comes the date referred to above and this is followed by the grant portion of the document (lines 6 ff.). It is stated that Mahārājā-dhīrāja Harirāja, while he was staying at Syaḍōpī, took his bath in the waters of the Vētrañā on the occasion of a solar eclipse and granted two hala measures of land in the village of Taṇḍā-grāma (or Kataṇḍā-grāma) attached to Lalitapuravāla together with a site for no less than ten houses in the village of Tithāsēvani-grāma. The grant was made in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Dēda who belonged to the Bhāravāja gōtra, the three pravṛtta and the Vājasāṇéya tākhā. The donee was the son of Śanti and grandson of Dharma. In lines 12-13, there are some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the representation of king Harirāja’s signature (tīr-Harirāja-divasya). This type of authentication of a document is often found in its copy engraved on the copper plates. But in the present case the above passage is preceded by the passage kahāra saha, the meaning of which is not clear. We know that the akṣhara tīr or the expression sahi is found in many records in the place of the kings’ full signature. Similarly some documents show the representation of a spear-head instead of the royal sign-manual. Can it be suggested that Harirāja’s practice was to write the akṣhara ka instead of his full name? The passage, however, suggests that the letter ka was written by Harirāja in addition to his name.

The Pratihāra king Nilakaṇṭha and his son Harirāja are both already known from an inscription from Chanderi in the Guna District (in the former Gwalior State) of Madhya Bhārata. This epigraph has not yet been published; but it has been noticed in Bhandarkar’s list, No. 2107, and has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The inscription belongs to the reign of Pratihāra Jaitravarman and mentions Nilakaṇṭha who was followed in succession by Harirāja, Bhimadeva, Rānāpāla, Vatsaraṇī, Svarṇapāla, Kṛttīkāpa, Abhayapāla, Gōvindarāja, Rājarāja, Vīrāraṇāya and Jaitravarman.

The record under study shows that Harirāja was ruling independently over the area around Syaḍōpī, modern Siron Khurd about ten miles to the north-north-west of Lalitpur the headquarters of the Sub-division of that name in the Jhansi District of U.P., while the Chanderi area, which is in the same neighbourhood and where his descendant Jaitravarman is known to have ruled, may also have formed a part of his dominions. An inscription1 from Siron Khurd itself shows how that area formed an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj, at least down to V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.). In a Khajuraho inscription2 of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.), Chandella Dhanagha, who ruled over the territory to the east of the kingdom of the contemporary Pratihāra ruler Harirāja, acknowledges the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vināyakapāla as his overlord. Some records of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, such as the Karhad plates3 of Śaka 880 (959 A.D.), refer to the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj on the forts of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor in Rājasthān) and Kālaśājā (in the Banda District of U.P.) which soon came to be a stronghold of the Chandellas. But the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors over these southern areas of their empire gradually declined under Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure. Although the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves disappeared from this scene with the death of Kṛishṇa III about 967 A.D., the Gurjara-Pratihāras appear to have failed to re-establish their hold in the Gwalior-Bundelkhand region. The Mau stone inscription4 of Madanavarman shows that, before his death about 1002 A.D., Chandella Dhanagha

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2 Ibid., pp. 127 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 284 (verse 30).
obtained exalted sovereignty (i.e. became an independent monarch) after having defeated on the battle-field the king of Kanyakubja (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor). The Pratihāras of the Jhansi-Guna region must have been originally, like the Chandellas, feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj and they may have actually represented a branch of the imperial family. Pratihāra Nilakantha, who may have been originally a viceroy of the Jhansi-Guna area under the emperor of Kanauj, seems to have assumed independence, like his Chandella contemporary Dhaṅga, in the second half of the tenth century when the Gurjara-Pratihāra power was declining.

In Dhaṅga’s Khajuraho inscription, his father Yaśōvarman is described as ‘a scorching fever to the Gurjara’. These Gurjara have been usually indentified with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, since in another verse of the record Yaśōvarman is stated to have easily conquered the Kālañjar-ādri (i.e. the hill-fortress of Kālañjar) which is known to have been fromerly an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. This suggestion, however, seems to be unwarranted in view of Dhaṅga’s acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vināykapāla in the same record. The suggestion that Yaśōvarman captured Kālañjar from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is equally unlikely as in that case the name of the Rāṣṭrakūtaš should have been included in the long list of Yaśōvarman’s adversaries as given in verse 23 of the record. This list (which is apparently exaggerated but no doubt points to at least to some genuine successes of the Chandella monarch) includes the Gauḍas, Khaśas, Kōsalas, Khśmras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Chēdis, Kurus and Gurjaras, and Kālañjar seems really to have been conquered by him from one of these powers. The inscription under study shows that the Pratihāra house represented by Nilakantha and Harirajā ruled in the immediate neighborhood of the territory of the Chandellas in the Khajuraho-Mahoba region. It is therefore possible that the Gurjara adversaries of Yaśōvarman were no other than these Pratihāras. It is also not unlikely that Kālañjar may have been conquered from this branch of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Soon afterwards, however, these Pratihāras appear to have become feudatories or subordinate allies of the Chandellas. According to the Khajuraho inscription of 954 A.D., Dhaṅga’s dominions extended in the west up to Gopagiri (Gwalior) and Bhāsvat on the Mālavansā (possibly Bhīla on the Betwa). This claim may be somewhat exaggerated; but during the rule of Dhaṅga’s grandson Vidyādha, the Kachchhāpahātás of Dubkund in the Sheopur District of the former Gwalior State are known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chandellas, although that area originally formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.

The Muslim historians seem to include the fort of Gwalior in the dominions of the same Chandella ruler who was the contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmiūd of Ghazān. Epigraphic records of the Later Chandellas, such as the Deogarh rock inscription (V.S. 1154–1098 A.D.) of Kirtivārman, the Augasi plate (V.S. 1190–1134 A.D.) and Mau inscription of Madanavārman and the Semra plates (V.S. 1223–1167 A.D.) of Paramardin show that at least the valley of the Betwa formed an integral part of their kingdom.

\[4\] The Barah plate of Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja I records the revival of a grant of an agrahāra in the Udumbara vīshaya of the Kālañjarā maṇḍala in the Kanyakubja bāhu (above, Vol. XIX, p. 15).
\[5\] Ray, op. cit., p. 674.
\[9\] Ray, op. cit. p. 692.
\[11\] Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207–10. The grant was issued when the king was staying at Bhailavāmin (Bhilā).
Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śiṣṇuṣṭhāpa has already been discussed. Whether Harirāja had his headquarters at this place or was merely camping there temporarily cannot be determined. The river Vētravati is the modern Betwa. Taking a bath and making grants on the occasion of an eclipse are highly meritorious according to Hindu scriptures.1 The gift-hand was situated in Taudā-grāma (or, Katakudā-grāma) and Tithāśeṣā-viśēṣa-grāma, the first of which is clearly stated to have been attached to Lalitapuravālā. Lalitapura is no doubt modern Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P. But whether āśa is the designation of an administrative unit like vīṣāya or the name of another locality like Lalitapura (the two forming a composite geographical name) is difficult to determine. I am not sure about the location of the villages.

TEXT2

1 Śrīdhāmaś [**] Visvaśva-pratiti Praśhrāva-vatsaś śvaba hūva bhūva bhūva-adhīpa-Nīkakaśīṁhaś || (x) bhrāmaya(ma)m-anōtanaś śvaba bhrāmaya suśvaba (śuśvaba) bhrāmaya yasōś śuśvaba yasaś jagat-samagraha (gram) || [1*] Tenā.-

2 jana prāpaśa-jaeda-anurāgaḥ sūtāvāsāhā Harirājadēvāḥ || mahaśavē pēna nitaṁtām śītaśā vijyita sainyaśa dvishatān jayaśārī || [2*] Kalyaśa-kā.-


4 hata-rupāja vālaśājana-galata-sakrala-saka-saśvā-jaśvā-jaśā Ribyāmūrya (śīmvyāmūrya) kriśvā-samara-brūmīhaḥ ||

5 rātiśa-varggaḥ || Madana iva taruṇaśa-jana-nayaṇa-ānanda-janaṇaḥ || sasaśa-prabhā śvahitasākaśa-kalāvīkala-kauashnu muṣiši-karaḥ || Sarī.-

6 vataša 1040 aśvahā Śiṣṇuṣṭhāpa mahārājāhāra-spriśaśa-Hariśājaśeṇa Vētravatyaśaśa anātvaśa hūva-grasë(ā)i divakarī māttā(ā)i-pi.-

7 trōrśa<s>maṇaḥ</s> puṣṭya-sasaśa bhivridhaya Śāmaśāva-gōtraśa Vājīśaśvaśa-kālaśa ||

8 trāya || Vṛā(ā)maṇaśa-Dēdaya || Lalitapuravāla-samvāmaḥ(ba)dhya-mānaka-Taudā-grāmaśa hala-dvaya-prakālīta brūmīhaḥ pradattā Tithaśeṣa.-

9 ni-grāmaśa griha-dasaḥ śhānaṁ śhānaṁ || āghitenāḥ pūrroda-bhāga śrōpita-pāshāpun-(vaḥ) ||

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1 See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.
2 From the original plate and impressions.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 Read śāntaṃ. Originally ṛaṛaḥ had been engraved and the superscript a (instead of the subscript a) was later modified so as to make it look like t.
5 This doṣa and some others below are superfluous.
6 Read loka.
7 Originally ṛaṛaḥ had been engraved and ye was later somehow transformed into dyē.
8 The subscript a here looks more like the sign of medial a.
9 The subscript a here looks more like the sign of medial a.
10 Read punjaṃ-śrāṅgāṃ.
11 Read Vājīśaśa-vāsā-saśa-
12 Or, "māṇa-Kauṣṭhā-grāmaṃ.
13 Read sthānam. The idea is sthānam cha praśantuṁ.
14 Read tadāgam.
10 yāṁ ārō(arō)taḥ | uta(tta)ra-dīsi(ṭī) srōṇa(ta)b | tathā prāghāḍikā1 cha | tāvata(vat)
   suva(ta)-pautr-ādibhyah2 pradattah3 yāvاصh-chāṁdr-ārka-ta(ta)ra-
11 kā-mēdinī4 || Saṁ(Ṣaṁ)kha[ṣṭa] bhadr-āsana[ṛ]h5 var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāha-
   naḥ || bhūmi-dānasya chihnaṁ phalam-ḍīta-Purāṇdara || [3] Da(Ba)hubhir-vvasuddhā-
   (dhā)
12 bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-śādibhīḥ ||] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam-
   (lam) || [4] Sva-datt[ḥ] para-datāṁ(taṁ) vā jō(yō) ḫarētu(ta) vasu-
13 tdha(ndha)rā[m]5 ||] shashir-v[v]a[r]sha-sahapṛ(ṣrā)ṇa visṭhāgāṁ(yāṁ) jāyati(tē)

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1 The intended reading seems to be prāghāḍikā which may indicate a boundary mark such as a pillar.
2 The idea is suta-pautr-ādibhyah upobhāṣya.
3 This refers to idam lājunam.
4 Read śāmāṅgā tuaḥṣaṭaṁ.
5 These two akṣaras look like suga in the original.
6 Read saha. Originally āhā was engraved for ḫā. The real meaning of the expression is doubtful.
7 This is the representation of the king’s signature on the original document copied on the plate.
No. 42—Kauvatal Plates of Sudeva, Year 7

A. N. Lahiri, Ootacamund

These copper plates were received from Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Secretary, Mahakosal Historical Society, Raigarh, who seems to have secured them from a gentleman residing at Kauvatal in the old Sarangarh State.

The set consists of three rectangular plates, each measuring about 7.4" × 4.2". They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the thickness and diameter of which are .6" and 3.375" respectively. The ring passes through a square hole bored in the middle of the left margin at a distance of about 1.5" from the left edge. The square hole measures .5" on one of its sides. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether 25 lines. Each of the four inscribed faces of the plates has six lines of writing, while the fifth has only one line. The seal soldered to the ring is 3" in diameter. It has a circular border and is divided in almost equal halves by two straight lines. In the upper half Laksmit stands facing front on a lotus with her right hand bent upwards and the left hand hanging downwards; her two sides are two elephants pouring water over her; and in the left and right fields are a chakra and a kankha respectively. In the lower half is the legend in two lines, below which there is the representation of what looks like a purna-kumbha. The three plates weigh 75 tolas, while the seal together with its ring weighs 25 tolas.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls the 'Central India Alphabet'. The average size of the letters is about .3". Medial i is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting i as in the Thakuridiya plates of Mahâ-Pravararâja. The final form of t occurs in lines 18 and 19 and the jihaumlida in line 18. The numerical signs for 7 and 10 occur in line 24. Of orthographical interest is the spelling of words like sâmamata for sâmanta, tridasa for tridaša, tâmra for tâmra, singha for sînha, etc. Consonants are generally doubled in conjunction with r, although there are a few exceptions.

This is one of the six known records of Mahâ-Sudâvarâja (i.e. Sudâva-mahârâja) of the Sarbhaapur family and bears the date: year 7, Mârgâstraha-di 10. The charter was issued from Sîrpurâ. The object of the record is to grant the village of Sûnitâ situated in Hâkiri-bhâga to Bhatta Purandarasavâmin of the Pârâsara gôra and Vâjasañśayâ šâkhâ. The wordings of the grant are almost identical with those of the other records of Sudâva. The name of the gift village and that of the division in which it was situated are written on an erasure in line 4 while the name of the donee's gôra in line 9 and the latter part of his own name in line 10 are similarly written on erasures. This may be due to the scribe who had at first committed an error but later noticed and corrected it.

[The inscribed faces of the plates and the seal attached to the record have been illustrated in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1945-46, Plate facing p. 12.—Ed.]

The inscription was first noticed by Pandit Pandeya in IHQ, 1945, pp. 294-96, and discussed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the same journal, 1944, pp. 62-63. They were also noticed in Ancient India, No. 5, p.49, and in A.E.Sp., 1945-46, p. 12, No. 53 of App. A, and Plate.


Above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 22 and 23.

The five published records are: (1) Khairiar plates, year 2 (above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.); (2) Sarangarh plates (ibid., pp. 281 ff.), (3) Arang plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 ff.) ; (4) Sîrpur plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.) ; and (5) Raipur plates, year 10 (CII, Vol. III, pp. 197 ff.).

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Unlike Sudêva's other records, issued from Śarabhapura, the present grant was issued from Śripura. Śripura seems to have been the new capital of Sudêva. King Sudêva, the donor, is mentioned as the son of Mahâ-Durgarâja (i.e. Durga-mahârâja). Mânâmâtra was so far known to be the father's name of both Sudêva and Pravara of the Thakurdiya plates. Mânâmâtra was therefore another name of Mahâ-Durgarâja. The dūtaka was Mahâsâmanta Indrabalarâja who was the sarvâdhikârâdhikrita (Chief Minister) of Sudêva. This Indrabalarâja has been identified by some scholars with the Pâṇḍuvarahâ king of that name. It is interesting to note that the powers of the Śarabhapuruśya kings were soon afterwards usurped by the Pâṇḍuvarahâ. For it was from Śripura that Mahâsîva Tivara, grandson of Indrabala, issued his charters. The engraver of the record was Gôlasînâha, already known from the Thakurdiya places, also issued from Śripura.

Of the geographical names occurring in this inscription Śripura is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of the Madhya Pradesh. The location of Sunikâ and Hakiri-bhôga is unknown.

TEXT

Seal

Kram-śadhigata-râjyasya vikram-śtkhâta-vidvisha[h] [*]
śrîmat-Sudêvarâjasya sthirâh jagati śâsanah[nam ||]

First Plate

1 Om[+] svasti [*] Śripurâd-vikram-śap(h)pa)nata-sâmana(ah)m(a)n-ta-maküta-châdâ-mapi-prabhâ-prasâk[-f]-
2 mbu-dhanta-pâda-yugalô ripu-vilâsinî-sâmah(ma)nt-ôdharapâ-hêtur-vaśas-vaśudhâ-
3 gô-praâh paramabhâgavatô mêtâ-pitri-pâd-ûnudhyâta[a] śrî-Mahâ-Durggarâja-putrâ-
4 śrî-Mahâ-S[ duże]varâja[a] Hakiri-bhôgiya-Sunikâyâ[r] prativasî-
5 nas-samâjânapayati | Viditam-astu vō yathâ-sâmâbhir-ayañ grâmaḥ Tri(Tri)dâs-
6 pati-sadana-[su]kha-pratiskhâkarô yâvax[fr]âvi-sâsi-târâ-kirâpa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

7 ghôr-śabdâkâram jagad-avatishtâtâ tàvad-upabhôgyah sa-nidhih(dhi)=s-ôpanidhih-
8 r=a-châta-bhaṭa-pravâsyah sarvva-kara-visarj(a)[r]ji]ta[a]h mêtâ-pitrôr-ôtmanâsa-cha
9 puny-ôbhivirddhayâ Pârâsâ(asa)ra-gôtrayâ Vâjasanâyîne Bhâṭṭâ-Pura[th]*
10 darasâminâ[+] tàmb[r]jra[mra]-sâsana[n]-âtisri(sri)ja[r]h [+] te yûyam-ûvam-upa-
11 labhyâ(bhya) ajñâ-ôravanta-vidhêyâ bhûtvâ yath-ôchitarâ bhôga-bhâgam-upanaya-
12 nta[+] sukha[mn*] prativasatya[tha]h [*] bhavi[shya]ta[r]s-cha bhûmipâlân-anudarâsâyati [*]

* IHQ, 1945, p. 275; 1946, p. 83.
* Above, Vol. XXII, No. 6.
* From Impressions.
* Expressed by symbol.
* The passage Hakiri-bhôgiya-Sunikâyâ[r] is engraved on an erasure.
* The characters above seem to have been cancelled. The letters Pârâsâ[sa]ra are written on an erasure.
* The letters do[r]s are incised on an erasure.


EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Second Plate, Second Side

13 Dānād-vaśīśṭhaṃ-anupālanajāṃ purāṇā dharmikāshu niśchita-dhiyar[\*]
14 pravānti dharmikāṛ[\*]tasmā[\*]=dvijāya suvishu(śu)ddha-kula-pratīya dattā-(ṛ[\*]
15 bhuvan bhavatu vō matir-eva gūptuṃ(ptum ||) Tad-bhavadbhir-apy-eśā(śā) dattir-anupā-
layi.
16 tavyā || Vyāsa-gtādā=ch-āstana(trna) ślōkān=udāharantī || Apnar=apatyāṃ
17 prathamaṃ suvarṇaṃ bhūr=vaśīśṭhavi sūrya-sutā-cha gāvah [\*] dattās-trayas-tē-
18 na bhavanc(vac)nī lōkā yaḥ=kāśyopānā(nam) gāṇ-cha mahīś(ṇ)-cha] dadyāt [\*] Shashtī-
(shṛ)-varsha-

Third Plate, First Side

19 sahasrāṇi svarggē m[ō]dati bhūmidaḥ [\*] āchchhēttā ch-śanumantā cha tāny-śeva
20 narakē vasē [\*] Bahū[bb]hir=vasudhā dattā rājabhīḥ Sagar-adibhī[ḥ] [\*] yasya ya-
sya yadā bhūmis-tasya ta[ṣ]ya tadā phalani(lam)) Svadattā[ṃ]\*] parasadattā[ṃ]\*] vā yatnā-
22 d-arakha Yudhyādbhīr [\*] mahī[ṛ]\*] mahimātaṃ ārṣeṣṭha dānān-ehreṇ-ōnupāla-
23 m-iti(m) iti | sarvādhikārādikrita-śrī-mahāśāmā(m)aṃta Indrabhīraja-\*]
24 =ch-ātra dūtakaḥ [\*] pravardhamāṇa-vijaya-savvamsa\* 7 Mārg[ś]āśr̥ṣha-di 10 [\*]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 U[\*]kṛṣṇaṃ Gōlaśīghō(uḥ)-śrībhū[na]|
No. 43—KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA,
GANGA YEAR 383

(1 Plate)

P. BANERJEE, NEW DELHI

This set of three copper plates belongs to the Maharaja of Kalahandi in Orissa. The plates were published by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-27. According to Mr. Rajaguru, they were originally found in a village called Chhipurupalli about sixteen miles to the east of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, Orissa. The plates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India from the Maharaja of Kalahandi in 1962-53. I edit them from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates measure 74" × 28" each. They were strung originally on a ring with a seal; but the ring had already been cut open before the inscription reached the Government Epigraphist for India. The seal attached thereto is very much obliterated. Of the three plates, the first and third are written on their inner side only, while the second contains writing on both the sides. There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the inscription. The last line contains only three aksharas.

The characters belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. and resemble those of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 304), Indian Museum plates of Dēvendrarvarman (Gaṅga year 308), Chicacoe plates of Satyavarman (Gaṅga year 351), Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358), etc. Some of the letters show varying forms; e.g., ḷ in o kāraṇa in line 1, sakala in line 3, and kamala in line 4; m in Amara in line 1, Mahendra in line 2, Bhūpendravarmam in line 11, valmika in line 17, and Mahāvrat ṛṣi in line 23; and we have in line 3, vara and charaṇa in line 7 and taru in line 16, etc. The script is a curious admixture of northern and southern forms. The letters ṣ and ṣ are denoted throughout by the same sign. The language of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit. The whole of it has been composed in prose. As regards orthography, the anuṣṭhāna and viṣṇava have very frequently been omitted. There are mistakes such as the use of i in the place of i, of ri in the place of ri, of ṣ in the place of sk, etc.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of some land to a Brāhmaṇa called Narayana Jāḍyālgāthē, son of Narayana probably belonging to the village of Mahāvrat ṛṣi. The donor was Anantavarman Vajrabhastra, son of Būpendravarman of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. The charter is dated in the year 383 of the augmenting and victorious reign of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era. But several scholars now hold that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 494 and 498 A.D. If this view is accepted, the date of the present inscription would fall in the period 877-81 A.D.

No other inscription of Anantavarman Vajrabhastra, the donor of the present grant, has come to light as yet, nor is his name mentioned in any other grants known so far. Regarding his

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* Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.
* [See below, p. 322, note 2.—Ed.]
ancestry nothing more is known from the present record beyond that he was a son of Bhūpendra-varman. Fortunately, however, the name of Bhūpendra-varman is found in a few other inscriptions, e.g., the Chidivalasa plates and Nāpitavātaka grant. The first of these records is dated in the Gaṅga year 397 and the second, though undated, has been assigned to the same age. These two grants were issued by Dēvendravarman, son of Bhūpendra-varman who is apparently identical with his namesake of the present record. The identification is supported by the dates of the records as well as the close similarity in the phraseology of their introductory portions. Thus Bhūpendra-varman appears to have had two sons, viz. Anantavarman Vajrahasta and Dēvendra-varman. The latter, as the date of the Chidivalasa plates would show, was the younger brother and successor of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present charter.

From the Chidivalasa plates we learn that Bhūpendra-varman was called also Mārasimha and his father’s name was Vajrin. In the opinion of Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, Bhūpendra-varman was identical with Rājendra-varman of the Mandasa plates of the Gaṅga year 342 as the names Rājendra and Bhūpendra are synonymous. Mr. Sarma identifies Vajrin with Vajrahasta of the Parlakimedi plates. He further observes that this Vajrahasta was none other than Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates of the Gaṅga year 304 as the style and phraseology of these inscriptions would tend to show. Mr. Sarma proposes the following genealogy:

```
Rājendra-varman
  /      \
Anantavarman (Alamanda plates, Gaṅga year 304) alias Vajrahasta or Vajrin
  /      \
Dēvendra-varman (Indian Museum plates, Gaṅga year 303; Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 310)
  /      \
Rājendra-varman (Gaṅga year 314; Mandasa plates, Gaṅga year 342) alias Bhūpendra-varman
  /      \
Satyavarman (Chicacoile plates, Gaṅga year 351)
  /      \
Anantavarman Vajrahasta (the present record of Gaṅga year 333)
  /      \
Dēvendra-varman (Chidivalasa plates, Gaṅga year 397; Nāpitavātaka grant); may be the same as his namesake of the Nirakarpur plates discussed below
  /      \
Anantavarman (Tekkali plates, Gaṅga year 358).
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3. *loc. cit.*
In the absence of any definite proof, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma can only be regarded as tentative. Though Bhūpendra and Rājendra are synonymous, it cannot be held as certain on that ground that they were one and the same person. As noted above, the Chidivalaśa plates mention Mārasinha as the second name of Bhūpendravarman. But nowhere in the inscriptions discovered so far he has been called Rājendra. Again, though it is quite possible that Vajrin was identical with Vajrahasta of the Paralakṣimedi plates as suggested by Mr. Sarma, it is difficult to agree with his suggestion that he is identical also with Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates. It is equally plausible that Vajrin or Vajrahasta and his son Bhūpendravarman reigned somewhere between the date of Anantavarman of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 and that of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present record of the Gaṅga year 383. This will not go against the question of phraseological affinities between the Paralakṣimedi plates of Vajrahasta and those of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358) or of the present grant. Nothing definite, however, can be said until further evidence comes to our aid. It may be noted that the Nirakarpur plates mention one Dēvendrarvarman and his father Bhūpendravarman. The praśasti portion of the inscription shows similarity to that of the present record as well as of the Chidivalaśa plates mentioned above. This would suggest that they were identical with their namesakes of the Chidivalaśa plates and the Nāpitavātaka grant.

The donor of the Nirakarpur plates was Udayakhaṭṭi, son of Ugrakhaṭṭi and grandson of Dharmakhaṭṭi of the Kadamba family of Kaliṅga, which owed allegiance to the Gaṅga rulers. Besides the Nirakarpur plates, the Kadambas are mentioned also in several other inscriptions. The Paralakṣimedi plates of Vajrahasta mention one Ugrakhaṭṭi who is described as the ornament of the Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidusanti. This Ugrakhaṭṭi was the governor of an area including a village called Hōmaṇḍi which was given to one Rājputra Kārṇaṇḍa by Dāruparāja, son of Chōla Kāṃdarāja, in the reign of king Vajrahasta of Kaliṅga. The Paralakṣimedi plates are not dated. But, as shown above, the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta mentioned therein was perhaps identical with Vajrin, father of Bhūpendravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Dēvendrarvarman. If this is accepted, Ugrakhaṭṭi of the Paralakṣimedi plates was probably identical with the Kadamba chief of the same name mentioned in the Nirakarpur plates of Dēvendrarvarman. Again, the Nirakarpur plates show that Udayakhaṭṭi, son of Ugrakhaṭṭi and grandson of Dharmakhaṭṭi, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpendravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the present grant) and the latter's brother Dēvendrarvarman.  

1 JBRs, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
2 JBRs, Vol. III, pp. 221 ff.
3 [The correct reading of the name is Hōmaṇḍi which was wrongly deciphered by Kielhorn. It is given as Hōmaṇḍi in an endorsement on the outer side of Plate III of the grant. Cf. JAS, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]
4 [The correct reading of the name seems to be Kāṃḍi. Apparently the same name is given as Kāṃḍi in the endorsement, according to which he received the hamlet of Vapavāṭa (spelt Vapavāṭa in the main charter) attached to Hōmaṇḍi from Rāṣṭrā Udayakhaṭṭa who was the son and successor of Ugrakhaṭṭi of the main charter according to the Nirakarpur plates.—Ed.]
5 JBRs, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.
6 It may be mentioned in this connection that one Dharmakhaṭṭi and his father Bhimakhaṭṭi are mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates (JAHRS, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.) of the Gaṅga year 520 and the Mandasa plates (A.R. Ep., 1918, pp. 138 ff.; JBRs, Vol. XVII, p. 184) of the Śaka year 976. A Kadamba chieftain of the name of Dharmakhaṭṭi is also mentioned in the Vissapataṃ plate (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff.) of Dēvendrarvarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 525. The Kambakyas plates (A.R. Ep., 1927-28, App. No. 9; Journ. Bomb. Hist. Soc., Vol. IV, pp. 27-28; JAHRS, Vol. X, p. 916 ff.) of Śaka 1103 also refer to the Kadamba chiefs named Dharmakhaṭṭi and Udaykhaṭṭa. From the widely separated dates of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to hold that, though some of these Kadamba chieftains bear the same names, they are not to be considered as identical because of the identity of their names alone but should be placed in different periods. [There is difference of opinion among scholars about the dates of the Mandasa and Kambakyas plates.—Ed.]
The writer of the charter was Sarvadēva. The name of one Sarvadēva occurs as the engraver of the Chicacole plates of Dēvendravarman (Gaṅga year 251) also. Mr. Rajaguru thinks that the date of the Chicacole plates should be construed as 361 and the two Sarvadēvas are to be treated as one and the same person. But there is a difficulty in accepting this suggestion. We know that Satyavarman, son of Dēvendravarman of the Indian Museum and Tekkali plates dated respectively in the Gaṅga years 308 and 310, issued his charter in the Gaṅga year 351. Thus it is difficult to place Dēvendravarman of the Chicacole plates in the year when Satyavarman was ruling.

The names of the localities mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified. It is interesting to note that to the names of the donee and his father are also attached the names of the localities to which they belonged. These names are given as Nārāyaṇa Jaḍyālākṣetra and Mahāva-grāma-gōta Nārāyaṇa. Jaḍyālā as the name of a village is mentioned in the text of the present inscription (line 13). The practice of affixing the name of a village or locality to its resident is even now prevalent in different parts of India and outside.

**TEXT**

**First Plate**

1 Oṁ Svasty-Āmarapur-ānukārika[h] sarv-atya-ṛtu-sukha-ramani(q)ya(ya) vijaya-
2 vata[h] Kalingā-āga-nagar-ā(dhi) vāsaka(kat) Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śī(śi) khara-prati-
3 shṭi(shṭijasya sa-[char-ā]chara-gurū[h] sakala-bhumani-nirmāṇa-nika-sūtradhārasya
4 śaśānka-chu(chū)jāmāṇi(ṛ)bhagavatō Gokarpasva(svā) minas-charanja-kamala-yugala-pra-
5 nāmād-vigata-kali-kalañkō-nēk-āhava-sakshi-vāma-jājajita-jaya-savda(bīḥ)

**Second Plate, First Side**

6 pratā-pāvatanat-samasta-sāmanta-čakra-čuddi-maṇi-prabhā mañjari-
7 puṇja-raṇjitā-vara-charan[ha] sita-kumuda-kund-e[n] dvā(dv-a) vadāta-diśē(dē) śa-vini-
8 rgata-yaśaḥ paramamahēśvarō mātī-pitrī-pād-ānyau(nu) dhvastā(st-ā)-
9 rāti-kul-āchalō naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākhinyāḥ(nya) sau[r] yaudhīrya-
10 satya-tyāg-āddhi(di) guṇa-sampad-ādhāra-bhūtō Gaṅ-gāma(ma)la-kula-

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*JBS, Vol. XXV, pp. 10 ff.*

*[See below, p. 322, note 2.—Ed.]*

*From inked impressions.*

*Denoted by symbol. Rajaguru does not read this symbol. The minor errors in his transcript of the inscription have not been noted in every case.*

*Read ṣuṣāḥ.*
No. 43] KAHLANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA,
GANGA YEAR 383

Second Plate, Second Side

11 tilakā-śrī-mā(hā)rāja-Bhūpendra-varmma 1-sūnunā  śrī-Anantavarmanmādēva-

12 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Vajrahastadēvēna(ha)  idāni(nū) sūmā-lingāni likhyantē [[*]


14 līta-sāmāyān tataḥ Purvvasāmān diśi halaṃdu-vriksha(ha)s-tata(ta) bhātaki-

vriksha-sa-ta.

15 anuād-anantaraḥ dhanāmaya-vriksha-s-tata[h] tinentri(ntri)nīkā [[*] A(ī)gneymā(yān) diśi

sa[r̥]rōpita-sīlā [[*]]

16 Dakhāpisāyā[ra] diśi nānā-vriksha-ākula-śārtī garetātāh 4 tinentri(ntri)nīka(kā)-tarūh

tasād-a.

Third Plate

17 py-anantaraḥ vā[va]mī[mi]kas-tatō nimvah(mba)-vriksha-tasād-apy-anantaraḥ .pri-

(punah) tinentri(ntri)nīkā sita ta-

18 tō-nantaraṃ iva hākōla-mūla[m [*] Naik[r̥]r̥ityā[r̥] diśi sa[r̥]rōpita-pa(pā)sā(shā)ṇah [[*]

Pāchimāsāyā[r̥]nh(māyāh) diśi[ś]*]

19 vā[va]mī[mi]sūkha(ka)-tasād-anantaraṃ timira-nimvoh(mbaḥ) pāchima-dis-śītā-vēya-

vōyaya 4 diśi u-

20 bhaya-grāma-sa[r̥]milita-sām-ārī(ārī)tya(ta)-rāja-sāsan-Ārōpita-sīl-aiva  Uta(tta)rasāy[ṛ]h[*]

diśi vi-

21 sā(sha)-vrikshaḥ tasād[*]-dhananmaya[h]  vā[va]mī[mi]ka-halaṃdu-tinentri(ntri)-

kah(kāh) [[*] ubhaya-grāma-mārgtas-taṃkāh(ka)-saḥtau(ta)-bhūmih [[*] Ga-

(Gā)-

22 āgāya-vañña(varīṇā)-pravardhamānā-vyayā-rājyē samvatsaras-aṭā-tini 383

samvachchhare(samvatsaraḥ) karah [Phālguna-pratī[padi[*] a-

1 Read 'saṃvarmād tasya.
2 Sandhi has not been observed here.
3 The sentence remains incomplete. The mention of the donors and the gift land, found in lines 21-23 below,
should have been made here—Ed.
4 [Better read 'ākula-ārī-śrītā-vratatāh.—Ed.]
5 Read 'āśī-ārīta-Vāpayaṃ. [Or, 'āśī teva Vāpayaḥ.—Ed.]
6 Read samvatsaratā-sāta-trayē कृ-सिद्धव-चन्द्र—Ed.
7 Its meaning is not clear to me. [The reading intended is apparently sāhasarika-karaḥ meaning 'annual
rent' (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115.)—Ed.]
23 [kha(t)]:-pāṇcha-jējäh Mahāva-grāma-gōṭra(tra):-Nārāyaṇa-su(su):nu-Nārāyaṇa-Jādyālā-kahē-
trāya2 [*] Pālanē dharma-śetūh [*] Sarvadēvēna.

24 likhitā(ṃ [*])

1 I am not sure of the import of this passage. [The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to quote
the amount of annual rent to be paid in the month of Paṅguna every year. The word dējā reminds us of dēkā-
taka-rūpa 150 in another karu-śāsana of this kind (cf. JRAS, 1932, p. 5).—Ed.]

2 [The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to mean that the donee's name was Nārāyaṇa and
that he received a piece of land (or its revenue income) in the village of Jādyālā. Lines 13 and 20-21 seem to suggest
that the gift land lay along a road between the villages of Jādyālā and Vūkha and that there was a pond in it.
The name of the donee's father was Gōtra-Nārāyaṇa and he was a resident of Mahāva-grāma.—Ed.]

3 There is a mark after this letter.
No. 44—**INScriptions of the Time of Yajvapala Göpala**

(4 Plates)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Several stone inscriptions of the Yajvapala or Jaipalpala, king Asala (or Asala), his son Göpala and grandson Ganapatı, all of whom had their headquarters at the hill-fort of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the old Gwalior State now in Madhya Pradesh), are known to scholars, although none of them has been properly edited. Most of these records were noticed by M.B. Garde in a small article on this dynasty of rulers published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 242 ff. They have also been enlisted in D. R. Bhandarkar’s *Inscriptions of Northern India* as Nos. 562, 576, 597, 603, 628, 636 and 642. While Bhandarkar’s No. 562 (from Bhimpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1319=1292 A.D.) and No. 576 (from Rāi in the same District, dated V. S. 1327=1270 A.D.) belong to Asala (son of Nṛvarman, grandson of Chāhāda and great-grandson of Paramādi), No. 597 (from Basarudi in the same District, dated V. S. 1335 (1279 A.D.), and No. 603 (from Narwar), dated V. S. 1339, Jyēśhā-sudi 8, Wednesday (5th May 1283 A.D.), belong to the reign of Göpala and the second of the two records speaks of Jayapala, who was the legendary founder of this dynasty and was popularly known as Jajapalla, and of Chāhāda (Chāhāda), who was an ancestor of Göpala and was responsible for the capture of Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura-durga or the hill-fort of Narwar). No. 628 of Bhandarkar’s List, dated V. S. 1348, Chaitra-sudi 8; Thursday (27th March 1292 A.D.) comes from Suraayya (Shivapuri District) and belongs to the reign of Ganapatı, while No. 636 (in the Gwalior Museum) is dated in V. S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) falling in the reign of Ganapatı and refers to Rāgā Chāhigadāvā (wrongly read as Adhigadāvā), who was a feudatory of Göpala. Bhandarkar’s No. 642 (from Narwar) is dated V. S. 1355, Kārtika-vadi 5, Friday (26th September 1298 A.D.), and represents king Ganapatı as the son of Göpala, grandson of Asala, great-grandson of Nṛvarman (Narvarman) and great-great-grandson of Chāhāda.

Some other records bearing dates in the later years of Göpala’s reign have been noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, as well as in H. N. Dvivedi’s *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (Hindi), Gwalior, 1947. These are Dvivedi’s No. 140 (from Narwar, dated V. S. 1341=1284 A.D.), No. 152 (from Balārpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1342, Jyēśhā-sudi 3; Monday=23rd April 1285 A.D.) and No. 154 (from Pachrai in the same District, dated V. S. 1345, Vaīsākha-vadi 2, Saturday=9th April 1289 A.D.). C. also his No. 140 from Narwar and No. 158 from Barhātar in the same District.

Similarly Dvivedi’s No. 175 (from Balārpur, dated V. S. 1356=1299 A.D.) and No. 177 (from the same place, dated V. S. 1357=1300 A.D.) belong to the later years of Ganapatı.

The above records will show that Göpala’s dates range between V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and 1345 (1289 A.D.) while Ganapatı’s dates fall between V. S. 1348 (1292 A.D.) and 1357 (1300 A.D.). A number of coins issued by Chāhāda and Asala were discovered by Cunningham: The dates on the coins of the two kings range respectively between V. S. 1294 (1) and 1311 (i.e. 1237-54 A.D.) and between V. S. 1311 and 1335 (i.e. 1254-79 A.D.) respectively. Chāhāda is no doubt the same as

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1. The suggestion that the name of the family was Chāhāmāna (Ray, *DHFI*, Vol. II, p. 834, note 1 and pp. 1103-04) is clearly wrong. The family name was really Jajapalla which was Sanskritised as Yajvapalla and associated with a mythical progenitor named Jayapala or Jayapalla.

2. Some of these Annual Reports were not printed.


(323)
Jāhir Deo of Firishta and Chāhar-i-Ajar of Minḥājud-din. He was a contemporary of Sultan Nāṣiruddin (1246-66 A.D.) of Delhi and has been described by Minḥājud-din as ‘the greatest of all the Raes’ in the tract comprising ‘Gwālīr, Chandīrī, Nurwūr and Mālwā’ and as having 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command. In A.H. 649 (1251 A.D.) he is stated to have been defeated by Ghiyāsuddin Balban on behalf of the Sultan and the fortress (at Nurwūr according to Firishta), ‘which was constructed by him among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered.’ But the said subjugation of Chāhaḍa of Narwar was apparently nominal as Chāhaḍa and his son Āsalla could not have issued coins of their own if they were really subordinates of the Sultan. We have now also some coins of Gaṇapati. It is well known that the Muslims considered the issue of coins to be a monopoly of independent monarchs. After Gaṇapati nothing is known about the Yajvapāla or Jājapella dynasty which may have been overthrown by Sultan ‘Alāuddin Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.). On this point we have no information in the Muslim chronicles. The statement that Chāhaḍa was the builder of the fortress of Narwar seems to be wrong. We have a copper-plate grant issued from Nalāpur-mahādurgā in V.S. 1177 (1120 A.D.) by an independent Kachchhapaghāta king named Virasimha who was the son of Śrādasimha and grandson of Gaganasimha. We have also seen how Chāhaḍa claimed only to have captured Nalagiri, i.e. the hill-fort of Narwar.

About the beginning of 1955, I camped for a few days at Shivapuri, headquarters of the District of that name in the present Madhya Pradesh, and copied a number of inscriptions of the reign of king Gopāla in the said area, one at Sesai and fifteen at Baṅglā. These records were found on stone pillars commemorating warriors killed in fighting and often bearing representations of footmen, horsemen and elephant-riders engaged in battle and of fallen warriors worshiping the Siva-liṅga or enjoying the company of celestial damsels in heaven. In some cases, the persons are represented as worshipping the Siva-liṅga jointly with their wives, implying thereby that the ladies committed Sati on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Generally only one face of the pillars bears such a representation above an inscription; but in some cases all the four faces have carvings although only one of the faces bears an inscription. Many of the pillars have their head fluted and crowned with a pinnacle.

The inscriptions exhibit considerable carelessness of the scribes. The characters are Nāgari of the ordinary type and do not call for any special remark. It may, however, be pointed out that, in respect of calligraphy, these inscriptions cannot be compared with the beautifully engraved Yajvapāla (Jajapella) prakāśita preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The writing on many of the pillars is more or less damaged. The language of the records is corrupt Sanskrit, although the corruption of the language is more remarkable in some epigraphs than in others. A few of them are couched in verse. The orthography and grammar of the inscriptions are greatly influenced by the local dialect. The root yudā has been used to indicate ‘to die in fighting’, and the word yuddhāta has been used with reference to a person who had fought in a battle and died in the course of the fight or as a result of it. All the pillars bearing the inscriptions published below were raised to perpetuate the memory of certain warriors who died this kind of heroic death which was extolled in ancient India as highly meritorious. It is also apparent that the wives of some of the warriors committed Sati on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. Unfortunately the language of the records is generally defective and does not bring out the intended meaning quite clearly. This characteristic of leaving the meaning intended by the scribe in many cases to be guessed by the reader is generally noticed in the private medieval records of the Malwa-Rajasthan region and has already been referred to above.

1 Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī, Briggs’s trans., Vol. I, p. 239; Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty’s trans., Vol. II, pp. 600-91 and note; cf. also p. 175. Chāhaḍa ascended the throne earlier than 1234 A.D. as in that year he is stated to have defeated Malik Nusrat-uddin Tayasīlī, a general of Sultan Iltutmish, on the bank of the Kali Sindh.
2 JOS, Vol. VI, p. 542; Bhandarkar’s List, No. 906.
4 See Vol. XXX, pp. 192-93.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

No. 44] INSRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

1.—Inscription from Sessai, V. S. 1341

Sessai is a village about nine miles from Shivapuri, the headquarters of the District of that name. An inscription on a memorial stone-pillar in this village was noticed in the Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for Saalvat 1971 (No. 21), and in Divvedi’s Gwalior Rājyaksh Abhilekh, No. 141. Unfortunately the Report does not appear to have been published, while Divvedi fails to notice that the inscription belongs to the reign of the Yajvapala (Jajapalla) king Gopala.

The epigraph contains twelve lines of writing and covers an area about 12” by 9”. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The record bears the date: V. S. 1341, Pausha-vadi 1, Monday. The details of the date are irregular, but may refer to the 25th of December 1284 A.D.

The inscription begins with the symbol for Siddham, followed by the word svasti. King Gopaladēva is then introduced with a string of epithets including Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājājdhirāja Paramēśvara and Paramamahēśvara. Then it speaks of the rāja or rule of Jaitujahmanda, the slave of the servant of cows and Brähmaṇas. Although his relations with Gopala is not specifically indicated, he was undoubtedly a subordinate ruler under the Yajvapala (Jajapalla) monarch. He seems to be the same as Mahākumāra or Kumāra Jaitravarman called Jaitavrahmadēva, Jayatavrahmadēva or Jēyatavrahmadēva in the Bangla inscriptions (Nos. 3-5; cf. No. 15) edited below. He probably enjoyed the status of a sub-king or Yuvārāja. His mention in these records may be compared with that of a feudatory in some medieval inscriptions of Madhya Bharat and Rajasthān.1

The object of the record is found in lines 5 ff. It has been stated that Rā Malayadēva of the family called Darācārya was juddha (i.e. yuddhita in the sense of ‘dead as the result of fighting in a battle’) in connection with a case of cattle-lifting at the protōli (i.e. a street or ward) of Sessai-grāma. It is further stated that his elder wife named Māhinidē (i.e. Māhinidēvi) and younger wife named Nāvuladē (i.e. Nāvuladēvi) also became juddha. It is clear that Malayadēva lost his life while resisting the operations of certain cattle-lifters at the village of Sessai. His two wives were probably killed by the enemies who appear to have invaded Malayadēva’s residence at the village.2 The sentence that follows says how the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was caused to be made by Rā Hirmāna and Rā Haṃsāraja who were respectively the elder and younger sons of Malayadēva. The contraction rā, used in connection with the names of Malayadēva and his sons, stands for rāuta which was derived from Sanakrite rājaputra and was commonly used as a title of subordinate chiefs.

Sessai-grāma is no doubt the village where the inscription has been found.

TEXT*

1 Siddham svasti śrīḥ | * Prakṛt(kri)yā-virājamāna-|| sakala-vira(ru)d-ā-
2 vai-samālakarita- | * paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājājdhirāja-
3 paramēśvara(śva)ra-paramamahēśvara(śva)ra-mahārāja-śrī-prithi(thvi)ja-

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1 See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 192, 193 and note 1.
2 The language of the record may of course also suggest that the two wives of Malayadēva took part in the fighting with the cattle-lifters.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.
5 The danda are superfluous. The expression prakṛti-yā-virājamāna seems to mean ‘flourishing in the exalted position’. One may also suggest prakṛtiya for prakṛti.
6 The danda is unnecessary.
Baṅglā is a small village about five miles to the east of the fort of Narwar. Near the village there is a vast stretch of rocky waste land covered with thorny shrubs. This area extends from the border of the village to the river Baru which is a small tributary of the Sindh and runs about a mile to the east of the village. It is studded with a number of memorial stone pillars, many of which are inscribed. A good many of these inscriptions refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of the Yajyapāla (Jajapēla) king Gōpāla against the Chandella monarch Viravarman whose known dates range between 1261 and 1286 A.D. We have selected

1. The intended reading may have been ṛāja-pati.
2. The ādhas are superfluous.
3. The intended reading is śrimad-Gōpāladeva. It has to be noticed that no word has been used to indicate Gōpāla’s relation with the person mentioned in the following line, who was apparently the former’s subordinate. This relation could have been expressed by writing Gōpāladeva prithivi-patav (cf. Select inscriptions, pp. 283, 285, 324, etc.).
4. Read śrimaj-Jāi1. The correct form of the name seems to be Jaitravarman.
5. I.e. rūta.
6. The language is defective, but the meaning is clear. Pratītī means a street or ward of a town or village. Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 333-34 (verse 13), 337; Bose, History of the Chandellas, p. 156. The fight was in a pratītī of Sēsi in resisting gō-grāhama by some enemies. Sanghādu may stand for Sanskrit sanghatsa, ‘a battle’.
7. This is the same as yuddhīta meaning ‘died in fighting’ as found in some of the Baṅglā inscriptions edited below.
8. Read bhāryā devi sthā.
9. Read jēṣṭhā bhāryā.
10. I. e. Mahāvidēt.
11. Read bhāryā.
13. The language of the passage is defective. But the meaning seems to be that the two wives of Malayadeva lost their lives in the hands of the cattle-lifters. The intended reading of the passage may have been sahasā yuddhīti sthā meaning that the two ladies were killed in the course of the battle violently.
14. Read sāhā.
15. Read jēṣṭhābhā.
16. I.e. rūta.
17. The intended reading seems to be sāhāyām meaning Hīrnāsa-Hamsa-sādābhāya. The word tasāy may also mean Malayadēvaya. But in that case sāhāyām should have to be added to the text. The pillar seems to have been raised in the memory of Malayadeva and his wives by his two sons.
18. This refers to the memorial stone bearing the inscription. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.
19. Read kriti-tāti.
20. Read Sainavat.
21. Read yuddham.
seven (Nos. 1-7) out of those records for publication, although the remaining eight records (Nos. 8-15) have also been noticed in an appendix. Seven such epigraphs were first briefly noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, for V. S. 1991 (1934-35), 1938, pp. 8, 12, 25-26 (Nos. 7-13), and then in Dvivedi’s List, Nos. 133-39. Although these meagre notices are not free from errors, they should have attracted the attention of scholars, which they rightly deserve. Unfortunately even the authors of the recently published works on the history of the Chandellas have not taken their evidence into cognizance.¹

The date of the battle between the forces of Gopal and those of Viravarman, in which the partisans of the former lost their lives, is quoted in six of the records (Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12) as *V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday*. It regularly corresponds to the *28th March 1281 A.D.* In one case (No. 3), the week-day, is quoted as Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, instead of Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, of the other cases (Nos. 1-2, 4-9, 11-12; cf. also No. 10), and in five cases (Nos. 1, 7-8, 10 and 15) the year is given as *V. S. 1337*. The confusion about the week-day is apparently due to an error of the scribe concerned. But the reference to both V. S. 1338 and 1337 to indicate the same year may be explained away. If the year is regarded as Kārttikā, V. S. 1338 current was the same as V. S. 1337 expired.

In some cases, the warriors specifically claim to have obtained victory in the battle. It is clear that the army of Viravarman invaded the kingdom of Yajnapāla (Jayapāla) Gopalā and succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter’s capital Nalapura (Narwar). But the Yajnapāla forces then offered battle and repulsed the invaders. The Chandella king thus seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Yajnapālas after having gained some initial success. The battle referred to in the inscriptions probably lasted only for a day. A large number of soldiers on Viravarman’s side must also have lost their lives; but there is no record of that besides vague claims on behalf of the partisans of Gopalā in the records under study. The battle is stated to have been fought on the banks of the river variously called Valuvār, Vālukā, Valuṇ, Vālīkā, Valukā and Valuṇ which is no other than the modern Barua. The identity of the invading king Viravarman is made clear by his mention in one record (No. 2) as Chandella (Chandella), by another (No. 1) referring to his association with Jējāhutī, and by two others (Nos. 8 and 11) describing him as the lord of Jējāhukti and the king of Jējāhutī respectively. Jējāhutī and Jējāhukti are variant forms of the same applied to the Chandella dominions, Jējāka-bhukti, Jējāka-dēsa and Jējāka-māṇdala which are often mentioned in the records of the Chandellas themselves.² Two of these records (Nos. 1 and 11) further say that Viravarman was accompanied by four other kings who were no doubt his allies or vassals. But no other details about these rulers are given.

The records from Bānglā throw some light on the interpretation of a passage in the Dāki copper-plate grant of Chandella Viravarman which bears the date *V. S. 1337, Vaishaśaka-sudi 15, Sunday.*³ The inscription, which is now lost, was secured by Ellis in 1848 from Dāki, 4½ miles to the east of Bijāwar in Bundelkhand, and he supplied a note on its contents (based on a hopelessly inaccurate transcript) to Cunningham who succeeded in suggesting some corrections on the basis of a transcript (also erroneous) that was prepared by him from an impression of the record.⁴ Kielhorn equated the date with the 4th May 1281 A.D. which is just a little over one month later than the date of the

³ Bhandarkar’s List, No. 600.
⁴ See Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. XXXI, pp. 74 ff.
Baṅglā inscriptions (viz. 25th March 1281 A.D.). It will be seen that the same year was regarded as V.S. 1336 in most of the Baṅglā inscriptions and as V.S. 1337 in the Dāhi plate and in several epigraphs from Baṅglā. According to Ellis, his copper-plate inscription records the grant of the village of Dāhi in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named 'Balbhadra Mallaya, an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery, who has conquered the Rajas of Nalpur, Gopal-Madhuban, Hatta, Har-raj, Gopagiri, Sardhi, the Turks, and rulers from Kashmir'. Cunningham pointed out that the grant was made by Chandella Viravaran of Kālaṇjara in favour of Mallaya of the Kāṣyapa gōra, who conquered the lord of Narwar (Samaraṇyagōparājītā Naḷapura-pati) and the ruler of Mathura (Gopāla Madhuvanakādhāpī) and Hariśāja of Gwalior (Gopagiri). Although Cunningham's transcription and interpretation are apparently defective, later writers (including the authors of the most recent works on the history of the Chandellas, referred to above) have generally accepted his views. But Bhandarkar rightly suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Chandella king Viravaran mentioned in the Dāhi grant was the Yajvapāla king Gopāla of Naḷapura. There is little doubt that the Dāhi grant mentions Naḷapura-pati Gopāla as one of the rulers vanquished by Mallaya who was probably a general of Viravaran. The Chandella prāṣastikāra, who composed the record, seems to have given here a partisan's reading of the results of Viravaran's invasion of the kingdom of Gopāla.

Inscription No. 1 is a record in five lines of prose composition beginning with the symbol for Siddham. It says how, when Paramābhāṭṭāraka Mahārājā Chātra-rāja Gopāla was ruling from Naḷapura-durgā, Mahārājā Viravaran of Jējāḥutī arrived at Naḷapura together with four other kings, on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1337. It further says that Rajaka Visala, who was the husband, fought in the field near the river Valuvā and that mahāsāti Dhūmādevi became famous. There is of course little doubt about the intended meaning of the inscription, although it has not been made quite clear by the scribe. Apparently Rajaka Visala, no doubt a feudatory of the Yajvapāla (Jajapāla) king Gopāla, died while fighting against the invading army of Viravaran and his wife Dhūma burnt herself on his funeral pyre.

Inscription No. 2 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the word Siddhiḥ. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The metre of the two stanzas at the beginning of the record is Anushtubh. The verses speak of the same thing as the prose part that follows. Rāyā-rātā Gajavāha-rātā Vändana, who was the son of Rātā Dēva and grandson of Rātā Bhōja, is stated to have fought on the bank of the river Vōlukā or Valuva at Naḷapura in a battle against the Chandilla (Chandella) Mahārājā Viravaran on behalf of Mahārājā Gopāla on Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1338. The name of the river is quoted as Vōlukā in the versified portion of the inscription and as Valuva in its prose part. Vändana, who enjoyed the titles Rāyā-rātā and Gajavāha-rātā, was no doubt a feudatory of king Gopāla. Although it has not been made clear by the language of the inscription, Vändana must have died in the battle. In verse 2, the chief is stated to have fought (i.e., died fighting) on the back of a horse after having killed many soldiers of Viravaran's side.

Inscription No. 3 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date Saṃvat 1338 and the word svasti. It then speaks of Paramābhāṭṭāraka Paramēṭṭāraka Gopāladēva, Mahākumāra Jaitavaraṇadēva (i.e., Jaitavaraṇadēva) and Mahapradhāna Rā (i.e., Rātā) Dējaī without specifically mentioning the relations that must have existed among the three. There is, however, no doubt that the Mahapradhāna (also called Pradhāna in Nos. 10 and 15 and Mantrin in No. 9) was serving directly under the Mahākumāra (also called Kumāra in No. 15 below) who was a subordinate of Gopāla. All three appear to be described as belonging to what has been called Jajavakullavāma which may be a mistake for Jajvapāla-varṇa or

2 Cf. his List, No. 600.
Jajapēlla-vaṁśa. The title Mahākumāra born by princes is well known from the inscriptions especially of the later Paramāras. Jaitravarman seems to have been the eldest son of Gōpāla and the de facto ruler of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) kingdom during the later years of his father's reign. He, however, seems to have predeceased his father as the latter's throne passed after his death to his other son Gaṇapati. The title Mahāpradhāna appears to have been borne by the chief administrator or minister of the kingdom.

The record then speaks of Rā (i.e. Rāuta) Haradeva who was the son of Rā (i.e. Rāuta) Kumvarāśa (Kumvarasīna) and is probably stated to have belonged to the Chaṇḍāla-māṇika family. Whether Chaṇḍāla is a mistake for Chaṇḍāna cannot be determined. The inscription next speaks of the battle fought in the field near the Valubā river. It does not mention the Chandella king, with whose forces the battle referred to in the record was undoubtedly fought. The inscription ends with the date: Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, which seems to be a mistake for Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.

Inscription No. 4 begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the date: V.S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. It is then said that at that time, when Mahārāja Gōpāla was ruling at Nalapura-durga and Rāvata Jayatvarmahādeva (i.e. Jaitravarma-deva) and Mahāpradhāna Dējai were running the administration, a battle was fought with king Viravrahmadēva (i.e. Viravarman) in the field near the river Valubā. The title rāvata was derived from Sanskrit rājaputra and seems to have been used as a variant of rāuta. The concluding part of the inscription mentions Rājaputra Arai-tha (i.e. Arisinha) and his son Dhadahā as well as Rājaputra Sīhāja. These three persons must have died in the battle, although that fact has not been clearly stated. The last sentence of the inscription seems to refer to a lady who committed Satī.

The language of lines 1-8 of Inscription No. 5 is similar to that of lines 1-9 of Inscription No. 4. The concluding part of Inscription No. 5 speaks of certain persons whose names are doubtful but may be: Rājaputra Lasibhaṭa, Vatha, Dējai, Rā (i.e. Rāuta) Sīhadatta (i.e. Siṃhadatta), Sīhadatta’s son Rān Daṇghaṭa, and Mamaladeva. Although the word used with reference to these persons is merely yuddha, there is no doubt that they died in fighting in the battle against the invading forces of Viravarman. The concluding words of the inscription are unintelligible.

The language of Inscription No. 6, which is indifferently engraved, is exceptionally corrupt. After the Siddham symbol followed by the word siddhiḥ and the date: V.S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, there comes a metrically defective stanza referring to the battle fought on behalf of Gōpāla on the bank of the river Valubā. The fourth foot of the stanza is unintelligible. The following portion in prose speaks of the battle fought during the sovereignty of Mahārāja Gōpāla-pati Paramēvara Paramamālēvara Gōpāla. It seems to state further that Gōtinduṇa, son of Jadēva (Jayadēva), fought against Viravarman and won victory in the battle after having killed ten soldiers of the other side.

Inscription No. 7 consists of five stanzas in the Anushṭubha metre followed by the date: V.S. 1337, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday. Verses 1-2 of the inscription speak of a hero. His name seems to be Gīyaka whose father was a distinguished archer and whose sons were named Indra and Vatsa. Verse 3 says how there was a terrible battle between Viravarman and king Gōpāla on the bank of the river Valubā. Verses 4-5 state that Gīyaka, who was devoted to his master and taught the science of archery to his sons Indra and Vatsa, died in fighting (yuddha) after having defeated the enemies in battle and offered the glory of his victory to king Gōpāla.

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1 See Ray, op. cit., pp. 882 ff. For a Mahākumāra in the Kalachuri family, see ibid., p. 860.
2 For two Mahāpradhānas appointed by a Chaulukya king, see ibid., p. 1033.
3 It is also possible to think the Sīhāja was a resident of a locality called Dhadahā. 
Inscription No. 1

1 Siddham^2 \text{[\textast]} Sarīvat 1337 Chaṭtra-sūdi 7 Su(Śu)krē | adya-śa ha śrīman-Nalapura-
durgṛ(ṛ) | samasta-[rāj-āva]-

2 l-samālāmkrīta\, paramahatātārak-ēty-ādi-mahārājādhirāja-ētrīmad-Gō-
pāladeśā-vi(jjaya-ṛījā | ity-asmin kāle varttamānē Jējāhati-saṁ₆-mahārā-
ja-śrīmad-Viravarmadēvaḥ chaturbhi rājāḥ sixera[Nalapurē samāyātaḥ | Valu[v]ā-
nadi-

5 kṣhētrē | 'pati-Visala-sat-Rāṇēkōṣ yuddhītaḥ | mahāsati [Dhū]mādevi prasiddhā\,\,\, |}

Inscription No. 2

1 Siddham^1\,\, Siddhiḥ | Kāryē Gōpāla-

2 bhūpasya Vāṁdāṇo raṇa-\{naṁ\}-

3 diṭaḥ | pautraḥ śrī-Bhōjadeś-

4 vasya putrō Dēv-ābhidhaya

5 cha || [1\,\,] Vōlukā-saritas-tīrē

6 sanita(grājū) Viravarmmanādah | yu-

7 yurīdhē\,\,\, turag-ārūdhō niḥtya su-

8 bhaṭāṃv(a-ḥi)hūn || 2 Sarī 1338

9 Chaṭtra-sūdi 7 Śukra-vārē | śrī-Nal-

10 purē | mahārāja-śrī-Gōpāladeśa-

11 kāryō Charṇḍilā\,\,\,\, mahārāja-śrī-

12 Viravarmma-saṅgrāma-vyatikarē\,\,\, | rā-

13 uṭa-Bhōjadēva-pautrō rāuta-Dēv[a]-

14 putrō rāyārūta-gajāvāhārāu-

15 ta-Vāṁdāṇo Valuā-nādi-nāvē(tatē)

16 yuyudhō |\,\,\,\, |\,\,\, |
Inscriptions of the Time of Yajvapala Gopala—Plate II

2. Inscriptions from Bangla. V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 2

Scale: One-third
No. 44] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

Inscription No. 3

1 Siddham[*][*][Sarhvat 1338 sta(sva)stih || śrīman-Nalla(la)pura-durgāt ||
2 paramah(ma)bhaṭṭāraḥ paramśta(sva)raḥ paramah(ma)māha(hē)sva(sva)-
3 ra[h*] paraṭa(ma)graḥ(raḥ) paramarāja[h*]1 arā(ā)ṣṭā-mad-Gopālla(la)dēvā(vaḥ | )
4 mahākumāraḥ arā(ā)ṣṭā-[Jai]tavrāhmadēva[h*]4 mahāpra-
5 dhānā(nah) rā-. [Dējai] | Jvajvakulla*-vāṁśe | śva[m] kāla(lē)
6 varttamāne || Chaunāhamāṇikah[ka]7-kula(lē) varṇdyö | *
7 rā-Kūmvarāśeṭh*-putraḥ rā-10 Ha[rā]dēvā[h*] | yuddhē Valū-
8 bā-nadyā[h*] kṣhētraḥ(trē) panchamapayēkaśu11 yuddhaṁ12 | Chaitra-su-
9 di 2 Sa(Sa)nau12 dinē ||

Inscription No. 4

1 Siddham[*][*] Sarhvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Su)krē |
2 adya-śeṣa śrīma[n*]-Nalapura-durgṛē(rggē) | mahārā-
3 jādhiraśa-āṣṭī-Gopālla(dē)va-vijaya-rā-
4 jyē tasmin kālē varttamāne rā[vata]-
5 Jayatavrāhmadēva14-mahāpradhāna-Dējai-
6 parigrahā-gadaṇi-vyaparita-samayē14
7 rājā[ja]-āṣṭī-Viravṛahmadēva17-sahgrāmē Valuvā-

1 This is No. 316 of A. R. Ep., 1964-55, Appendix B.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 The expressions paramaguru and paramarāja are not generally met with in the string of royal epithets found in inscriptions.
4 The correct form of the name, given here and in No. 15 as Jaiṭa*, in No. 4 as Jayata* and in No. 5 as Jēgata*, seems to be Jaitvarmadēva.
5 I. e. raṣṭā.
6 If this may be regarded as a mistake for Yajvapāla or Jajapēla, king Gōpāla and his subordinates Jaitvarman and Dējai all belonged to the same family. As suggested above, Mahākumāra Jaitvarman may have been a son of Gōpāla.
7 It is difficult to determine whether the first part of the family name is a mistake for Chaunāha.
8 The danda is superfluous.
9 I. e. ruṣṭaco-Kumbrusimha.
10 I. e. ruṣṭa.
11 The meaning of the passage is obscure. Is the intended reading paścha-paddātikāś?
12 This word seems to have been used here in the sense of yuddhīkāḥ found elsewhere.
13 This seems to be a mistake for di 7 Sukaṇ as quoted elsewhere.
14 This is No. 220 of A. R. Ep., 1964-55, Appendix B.
15 The correct form of the name, given as Jayata* here, Jaiṭa* in Nos. 3 and 15, and Jēgata* in No. 5, seems to be Jaitvarman.
16 The language of the passage is defective. But it apparently refers to the time when Jaitvarman and Dējai were conducting the affairs of administration during the reign of Gōpāla.
17 The correct form of this name as given in Nos. 1-2, 8-9 and 15 is Viravārman.
Inscription No. 5

1 Siddham* [[*] Sarhvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Su)křē
2 ady-āśa ārīma[n*]-Nalapura-dugrē(rge) | mahā-
3 rājādhīrśajā-āri-Gōpāladvā-vi-
4 jaya-rājyē tasmin kālē vatta(rtt)a-mā-
5 na(nē) | āri-Jēyatvra[hmade]va[mahāpradhāna-
6 Dejē′ | parigraha . . . gada[i*]-vyāpāre(rji)-
7 ta-samyā' rājā(ja)-āri-Vīravrahmadvā.10
8 saṃgrāme Valuka-nadi-[kāhēr]-āv[ās]-
9 [ta]-yudham(ddham) | rājaputra-La[sibhaṭa |] Vatha[h*] Dejē
10 rā11-Siḥadatt-āsya12 putra[h*] rānū(ñā)
11 G[augho]n[a[h*] | Mamal[ha]dēva[h*]
12 yudham13 || śē(kahē)trē Sabhammas[yja14 ||[h*]]

Inscription No.6

1 Siddham* | Siddhī || Sarhvat(vat) 1338
2 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukṛē [[*] Vālkā-
3 saritas-trī yuddham saha Vīra-
4 vyārmannah16 | Gōpāladvā-kā-

---

1 The name seems to be the same as Arisintha.
2 These persons must have lost their lives in the battle referred to.
3 This obscure passage seems to mean that a person named Vaṭita who was a resident of Devāsa (modern Dewas?) lost his life in the battle and that his wife committed Satī. Devāsa-Vaṭita may also mean two persons named Devāśa and Vaṭita.

4 This is No. 221 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 The correct form of the name, given elsewhere (Nos. 3-4, 15) as Jaiitā or Jayataa, seems to be Jaitavarman.
7 This name is elsewhere given as Dējai. The following dāda is superfluous.
8 For this defective passage see note on the corresponding passage in No. 4 above.
9 Read samayē.
10 The correct form of the name is Vīravarman as given in some of the inscriptions (Nos. 1-2, 6-9, 15).
11 I.e. rūhu.
12 Read Sīhādatrē kāṣya.
13 This word has been used to indicate the fact that the persons mentioned lost their lives in fighting.
14 The passage is obscure but may mean that the persons in question died while fighting in an area belonging to a person name d Sabhamma.
15 This is No. 215 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.
16 Read ‘vārmanṇād.'
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA — PLATE III

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA. V.S. 1388

Inscription No. 4

Scale: One-half
INSRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

5 ryē janmamitadhi rāṣṭa-mahganaṁ | [[^*]
6 Nalapura-dāru(dū)rāgāt mahaṁ-
7 rājāshi(visri)rā[ja*s]pati-pana(ra)-
8 mēsva(visv)ra-paramamāhēsva(light)-
9 mēsva(visv)ra-paramamāhēsva(light)-
10 mēsva(visv)ra-paramamāhēsva(light)-
11 rāṇaṁ Jadēvā-suta-Gōtiniḍuṇa
12 Vīravarmmanā saha
13 yuddhāh deśavatāhī jā-
14 nāṁ hri(ha)tvā yuddhāṁ jītaṁ(tam) ||||^*

Inscription No. 7^*

1 mūravyām-svyāhata-parākramaṁ | Dhanurddhara iti
2 khyātō . . . ' ku[la*-sahbhavaḥ || 1 G[ya]kas-tanaya([sa-ta][sya*]) va[ba]bhūva va[ra]-
3 vi[kramaḥ | ath-saitya suta[v]a-[tṛi]-vaśa[va]] [ta] va[ba]bhūva va].[a]
4 Śrī-Vīra[varmmanā] sākāṁ Vālukā-ṭaṭī-[a]-ṭaṭā | tadā pra[va]-
5 r[t[i]ṭaṁ ra[du]ḥ yuddhāṁ [Gōpāla-bhūhku[j]aḥ || 3 Vairiṇaḥ samarā
6 jītvā datvā( tvā) [sva]-vijaya-aṭiṣaya( yam | ) [ārīmat-Gō]pālā[v]a y[a][mi]-
8 bhyāsta-dhanur-āgamaḥ || [mu[n]itāh(bhiḥ) saṃstuta-s-tātra [Gīya]kō
9 bhuvi yuddhitaḥ || 5 Saṃvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra ||

APPENDIX

None of the other eight inscriptions from Bāṅgā copied by me can be completely deciphered owing to unsatisfactory preservation and careless incision. They are briefly noticed below.

---

[^*]: This is a metrically defective stanza, the meaning of the fourth foot of which is obscure. If a name like Rāsa Mahāna is read here, it will not tally with the name given in line 11 below.

[^*]: This stands for the Sanskrit word krūḍḍha; but the preceding word, the reading of which is doubtful, is unintelligible.

[^*]: The reading of the passage is doubtful. If the name of the hero is read here as Gōtiniḍuṇa, it will not tally with the one given in line 8 above. It is difficult to determine whether the reading intended is Gōṭiniḍuṇa, (3rd case-ending) or Gōṭīnādvaṇa (1st case-ending) or Gōṭīnādvaṇa (8th case-ending).

[^*]: The language of the passage is defective and its reading doubtful; but it seems to refer to ten persons of the enemy’s side, who were killed by the hero in whose memory the pillar was raised.

[^*]: This is No. 222 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B.

[^*]: There appears to be a symbol for Śīḍham at the beginning of the line.

[^*]: The name of a family quoted here is doubtful.
No. 8.—This is No. 214 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 12 lines of writing in the inscription. Of these, lines 1-8 run as follows:

1 Siddham1 [[*]] Vaghēlāka-vaniṣa(śē) Simhē-nāmā dhanurdhārō
2 va(ba)bhūva [[*]] tasya putro Gaṅgēkō va(ba)bhūva | asya
3 putrau Īndaubaka-Kaukau va(ba)bhūvataḥ | Nalapura[sthā]-
4 rājō Gopāladēvasya kāryeṇa Jējāmu(bhu)kti-
5 sva(sva)kēṇa Viravarmanapē saha Vālkē-nadi-
6 tīre Īndaukō pita Gāṅgēkēna bhratē cha
7 Kaukēna sahitō rāpē yuddhitaḥ || || ||
8 Sarī 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra-dinē ||

These lines state that Gāṅgēkē (son of the archer Simhē or Simha of the Vaghēlāka family) died along with his two sons named Indauka and Kaukau in fighting against Viravarman, lord of Jējābhukti, on behalf of king Gopāla of Nalapura. The heroes appear to have claimed descent from the Chaulukya-Vaghēlē dynasty of Gujarāt. The description of Viravarman as the lord of Jējābhukti is interesting to note. This form of the name of the Chandelā territory is more Sanskrit than Jējāhuti mentioned in Nos. 1 and 11. The year of the Vikrama Sarīvat is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 15 instead of 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

Lines 9-10 of this inscription cannot be fully deciphered. Lines 11-12 appear to be engraved by a different hand. Their language is also very much defective. The last sentence of the record in these two lines appears to read aya Īndaubauya pacē ke idāsim-ashām kumēriā nayau vartita. This may mean that eight girls committed Sati on the funeral pyre of Indauka. The word nayau seems to be a mistake for marāya(m*).

No. 9.—This is No. 215 of A. R. Ep., 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether eight lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:

1 Siddham1 [[*]] Siddhi[h [*] Sarāvatu(vat) 1338
2 Chaitra-sudi(di) 7 Su(Su)kṛē
3 Nalapura—durgē śrī(śrī)—rājādhīrāja—Gō-
4 pāladeva[h *] | man[tr]—yō(śrī)—Dējā—parigruha—ga-
5 dani || rāja[*]—śrī(śrī)—Vi(Vi)—ravramhaddee Valuā-
6 nadē śhē(kshē)trē yuddhān(ddhān) Kāli-Suya-Lēlē.

1 Expressed by a symbol which has not the usual globular mark at the right end and looks slightly different from the other cases of its use in the epigraphs published here.
2 The name may have been Simhē or Simha. In the latter case, we have to suggest Simhē-nāmā or Simhi nāmā.
3 Expressed by symbol.
4 The name is given as Dējē in Nos. 3-4, as Dējē in No. 5 and as Dēja in Nos. 10 and 15. He was the Mahā-pradhāna of the Jayapāla (Jajapēlla) kingdom. No. 10 calls him Pradhāna. In the present epigraph he seems to be called a Mautrīn.
5 Read Viravarmanadeśa.
6 These are probably some of the persons who died in fighting.
LINES 6-7 OF THIS RECORD APPEAR TO CONTAIN SOME ADDITIONAL PERSONAL NAMES. THERE IS PROBABLY REFERENCE TO A LADY COMMITTING SATI IN LINE 8.

NO. 10.—THIS IS NO. 223 OF A.R. EP., 1954-55, APPENDIX B. THERE ARE ALTOGETHER NINE LINES OF WRITING. OF THESE, LINES 1-5 READ AS FOLLOWS:

1. Siddham\(^1\) \[\text{*} Sustainability\] \[\text{vat}\] 1337 Chaitra sudi...\(^3\)
2. \(\text{Su}(\text{Su})\text{krē} \text{Valuā-}nadi-sh(\text{kahe})\text{tra}...
3. \text{āri-rājādhāra}(\text{ja})\text{-Gō-}
4. pāladēva\[^\text{h}\] pradhāna-Dēja\[^\text{a}\] mada-
5. \text{ni-kārya}...\ldots \text{rāja Vi(VI)ra}—


THE YEAR OF THE VIKRAMA SĀtvat IS QUOTED AS 1337 AS IN NO. 1 AND 7-8 AND NOT AS 1338 AS IN NO. 2, 4-6, 9 AND 12.

NO. 11.—THIS IS NO. 218 OF A.R. EP., 1954-55, APPENDIX B. THERE ARE ALTOGETHER 5 LINES OF WRITING. THEY READ AS FOLLOWS:

1. \(\ldots\text{sudi}\[^{\text{i}}\] 7 \(\text{Su}(\text{Su})\text{krē} \mid \text{ady-}\text{cha} \text{ārīman-Nalapūrē} \mid \text{maha}...\)
2. \(\ldots\text{mad-Gōpālādēva}\[^{\text{h}}\] \[^{\text{[*]}\}
3. \[\text{[Jē]jāhuti-rājā(\text{ja})-[āri-Vira[vra]hmalō[\text{dēva}]h\[^{\text{[h]}\] chatu[rbhī] rā-
4. \ldots\text{saha Nalapūrē samāyātāḥ | Valuā-nadi}...
5. \ldots\text{jēkō yuddhitaḥ} ||

THE TEXT OF THIS RECORD IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF NO. 1 EDITED ABOVE. MOST OF THE HAOMASE CAN BE FILLED UP WITH THE HELP OF THAT INSRIPTION.

NO. 12.—THIS IS NO. 217 OF A.R. EP., 1954-55, APPENDIX B. IN LINE 2, \ldots\text{tu} 1338 Chaitra-
sudi 7 \(\text{Su}(\text{Su})\text{krē} \) CAN BE READ. THIS DATE SHOWS THAT THE PILLAR Bearing THE INSCRIPTION WAS RAISED IN MEMORY OF A PARTISAN (OR SEVERAL PARTISANS) OF YAJVAPALĀ (JAYAPALLA) GŌPĀLA ON HIS (OR THEIR) DEATH IN FIGHTING WITH THE INVADING FORCES OF CHANDĒLLA VirāVARMAN. BUT THE DETAILS OF THE RECORD ARE NOT CLEAR.

NO. 13.—THIS IS NO. 225 OF A.R. EP., 1954-55, APPENDIX B. THE INSCRIPTION IS VERY MUCH DAMAGED.

NO. 14.—THIS IS NO. 226 OF A.R. EP., 1954-55, APPENDIX B. IT IS A FRAGMENTARY RECORD. NONE OF THE DETAILS GATHERED FROM NO. 1-7 CAN BE TRACED IN THIS EPIGRAPH. IT SEEMS TO BELONG TO THE REIGN OF YAJVAPALĀ (JAYAPALLA) GŌPĀLA, AS THE WRITING CLOSELY RESembles THAT OF THE OTHER RECORDS. BUT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO BE SURE ON THIS POINT.

\(^{1}\) Expressed by symbol.
\(^{2}\) The figure for \(7\) seems to have broken away here.
\(^{3}\) The name is quoted elsewhere as Dējā (Nos. 3-4), Dējā (No. 8) and Dējā (Nos. 9, 15). He is called MAHĀ-
PRADHĀNA in Nos. 3-5 and MANTRIN in No. 9.
\(^{h}\) Madani (of No. 10 below) seems to be a mistake for padani found in this context in Nos. 4-5 and 6.
\(^{1}\) The word lost before sudi was no doubt Chaitra. It is, however, impossible to say whether the year was quoted as 1338 or 1337.
\(^{*}\) The word damaged here evidently stood for Samastā.
No. 15.—This is No. 215 of 1954-55. The inscription is in 11 lines, of which lines 1-6 read as follows:

1 Siddham[*] Siddhi[*] Sarvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śu-
2 krī̄. Na(Na)lapura—durgē rājādāli(dhi)-
3 rājā(ja)-āri(āri)—Gōpāla dēva[ḥ*] || Kum[ā]ra—āri(āri)-
4 Jaitava(bra)[hma]dēva[ḥ*] | pradhāna—Dējā—pariga(gr)ā[hā]
5 madani*.
6 rāja. jaye [āri]—

Line 10 reads: Valuṣu—nadi-vi(i)—ra—śe(kshē)[īre] judeh(i)udd'na .

* Expressed by symbol.
* The year of the date agrees with that in Nos. 1, 7-8 and 10, although in Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9 and 12 it is given as 1338.
* This word is madani in Nos. 4, 5 and 9 but madani in No. 10.
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BY K. V. RAMESH, B.A. (Hons.)

[The figures refer to pages, n a figure to footnotes, and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; Chron. = Chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. = deity; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = family; fe. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription, inscriptions; k. = king; l. = locality; l.m. = linear measure, land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = officer, officer; pl. = plate, plate; pr. = prince, princes; prov. = province; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; s. = Southern; s.n. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tn. = town; tk. = taluk; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work; wt. = weight.]

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