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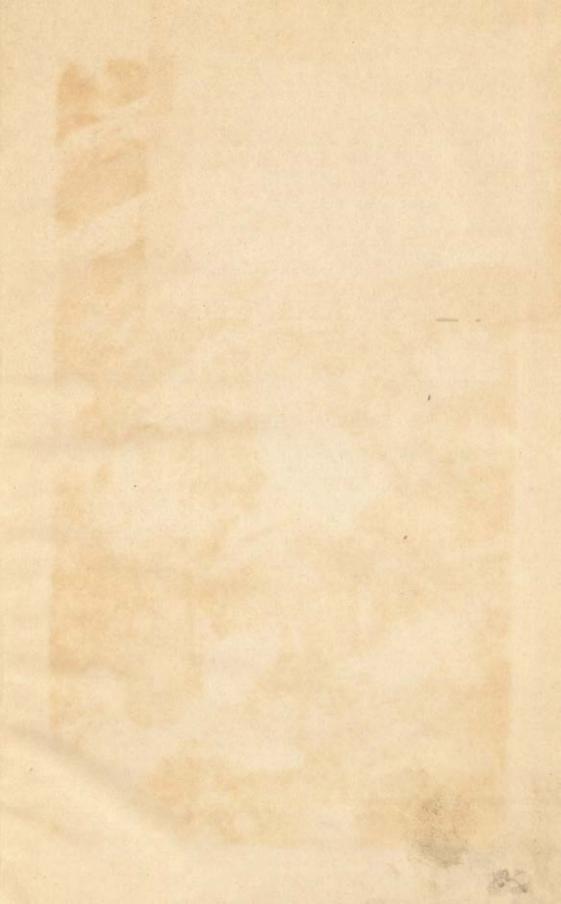
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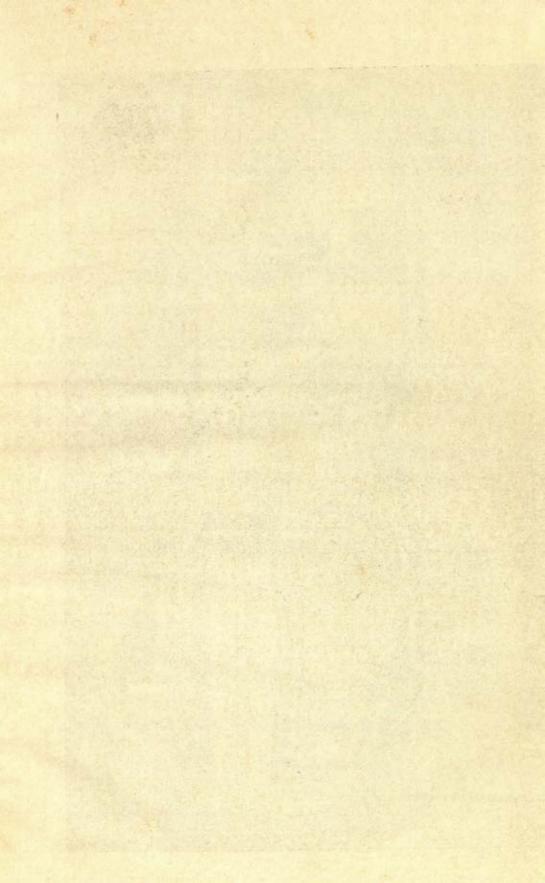


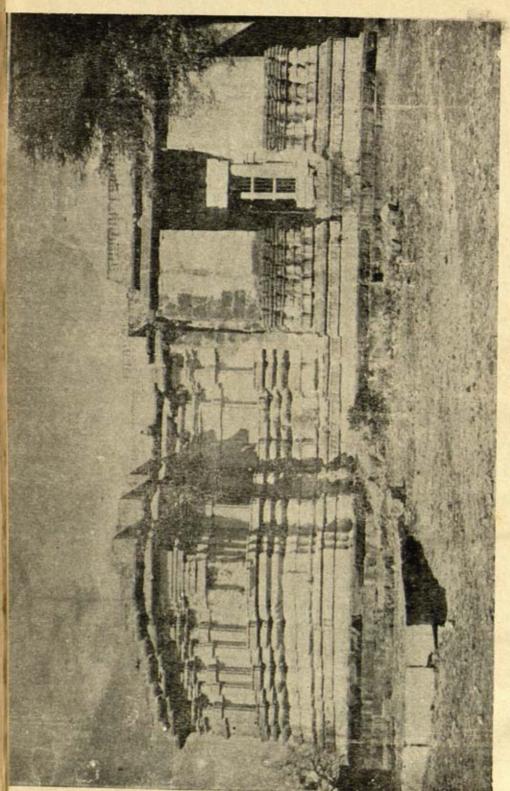


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Rāmanārāyaņa Temple, Popularly called Khölesvara's Matha, Ambe Jogai

YĀDAVA INSCRIPTIONS FROM AMBE JOGAI

By

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होशिआरपुरम् विश्वेश्वरानन्दसंस्थानम् HOSHIARPUR VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE

सर्वेऽधिकाराः सुरक्षिताः

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प्रकाशकृत् — विश्वेश्वरानन्द-संस्कृत-भारतभारती-अनुशीलन-संस्थानम् , पंजाब-विश्वविद्यालयः

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PREFACE

The value of the four inscriptions studied and edited in the following pages for a proper understanding of the later Yadava history, particularly of the reign of Singhana, the greatest member of the dynasty, can hardly be overestimated. Two of these epigraphs are edited here with their facsimiles for the first time. The Rāmanārāyana Temple Inscription, though originally published with a photozincograph by G. Bühler, is included here for the sake of completeness, and a perusal will convince anyone that the present edition marks a considerable improvement over Bühler's. A glance at the monograph will highlight the wealth of historical information enshrined in these records.

The press copy of the work was ready as early as in March 1968, but owing to some circumstances beyond my control it could not see the light of the day earlier. It is reproduced in the following pages without any material change.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge gratefully the valuable help that I have received from various quarters in the production of the present work. The idea of editing these inscriptions anew was suggested and the estampages for this purpose were kindly supplied by the late Dr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, Director of Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra; I remember him on this occasion. I am highly grateful to Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V.V. Mirashi for checking the readings and offering some useful suggestions. I am greatly indebted to Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director, Vishveshvaranand Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab [University, Hoshiarpur, for including the monograph in the Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, and to Dr. K. V. Sarma, Reader in Sanskrit, Vishveshvaranand Institute, for taking keen personal interest in its publication. But for his valuable help it would not have been

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possible to see it published so soon. My thanks are due to Shri S.K. Pande, photographer, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, for preparing the photographs illustrating the work.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Deptt. of Ancient Indian History,
Culture and Archaeology,
University of Nagpur,
Silver Jubilee of Indian Independence,
15th August, 1972.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASWI Archaeological Survey of Western India.

BG Bombay Gazetteer.

DHNI Dynastic History of Northern India, by H. C. Ray.

EHO Early History of the Deccan, edited by G. Yazdani.

El Epigraphia Indica.

GOS Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

IA Indian Antiquary.

JNSI Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

SMHD Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan (Dakşinacya Madhyayugina Itihasaer Sadhanē).

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Note. The asterisk (*) and the floral mark (*) occurring in the edition of the Inscriptions indicate the letters, words, figures and marks supplied by the editor.

INTRODUCTION

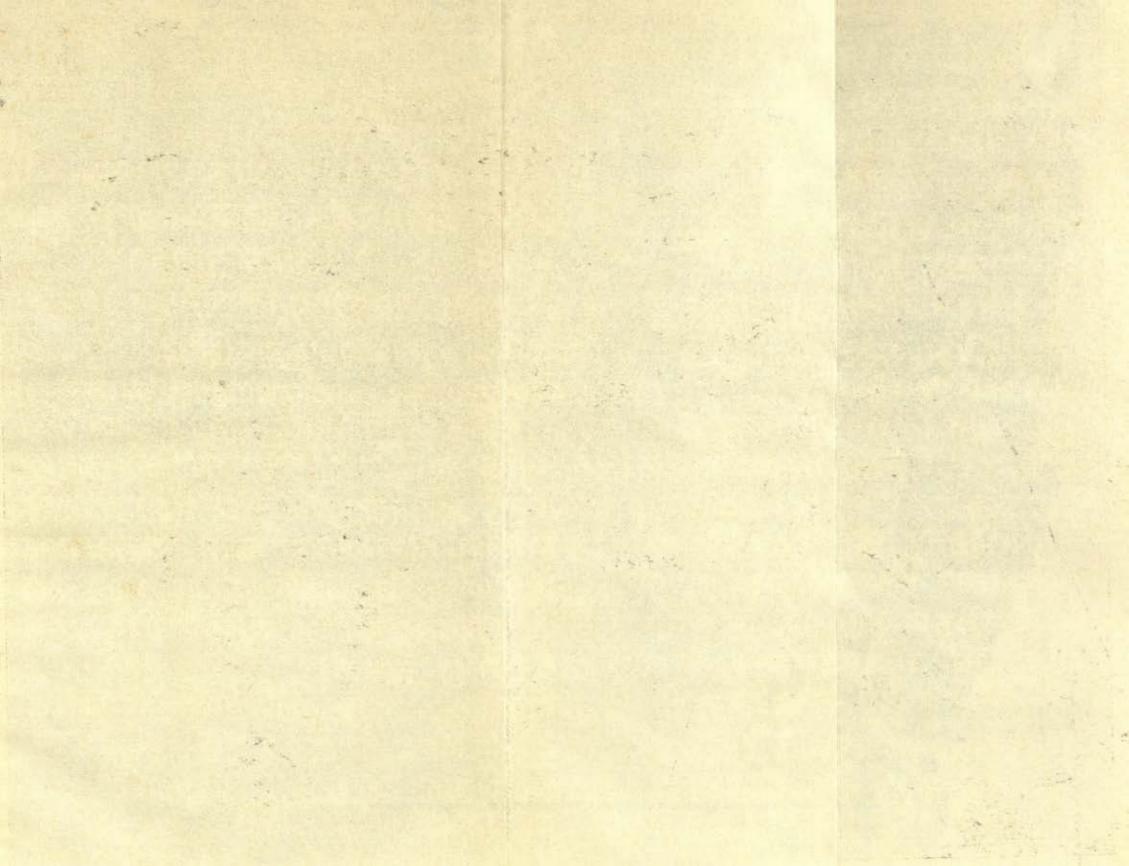
II I would to a second

The stone-slabs bearing the four inscriptions edited hereunder are situated in the village Ambe, also known as Ambe Jogai, in the Bhir District of the Marathwada Division of the Maharashtra State. Three of these inscriptions were published with a Marathi introduction and rendering, but without facsimiles, by G. H. Khare in the Sources of the mediaeval history of the Deccan (Marathi), Vol. I, pp. 55-76. However, as these inscriptions were published only in Marathi, they were not accessible to the generality of historians1, and as the facsimiles were not published, scholars interested in them were deprived of a means of checking the readings. It was, therefore, generally felt by historians that these records should be published with facsimiles and an exhaustive introduction in English discussing the historical information contained in them. Moreover, since the first publication of these epigraphs more than thirty-five years ago, much new material bearing on the Yadava history has come to light, which has rendered a re-appraisal of these inscriptions imperative. In view of these facts, these records are being edited here atresh from the excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the late Moreshwar G. Dikshit, the then Director of Archaeology and Archives, Government of Maharashtra. The remaining fourth inscription was edited with facsimile and an English introduction and translation by G. Bühler in James Burgess's Report on the antiquities in the Bidar and Aurangabad districts.2 But he had left many a lacuna

^{1.} Except for the late A. S. Altekar (Early history of the Deccan-hereinafter referred to as EHD-Part VIII, Ch. II), no historian has utilised these inscriptions. E.g., H. C. Ray, Dynastic history of Northern India, II, Chs. XIV-XV; A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat (Bombay, 1956), Ch. IX,

^{2.} Archaeological Survey of Western India, (ASWI), Vol. III. Having been known for a long time, this record has been utilised by historians like Bhandarkar, Ray, Altekar and Majumdar.

in his reading of the inscription and quite a few of his readings, besides making no sense, are not borne out by the facsimile published with his article. I am, therefore, editing this inscription also from an estampage kindly placed at my disposal by the late M. G. Dikshit.



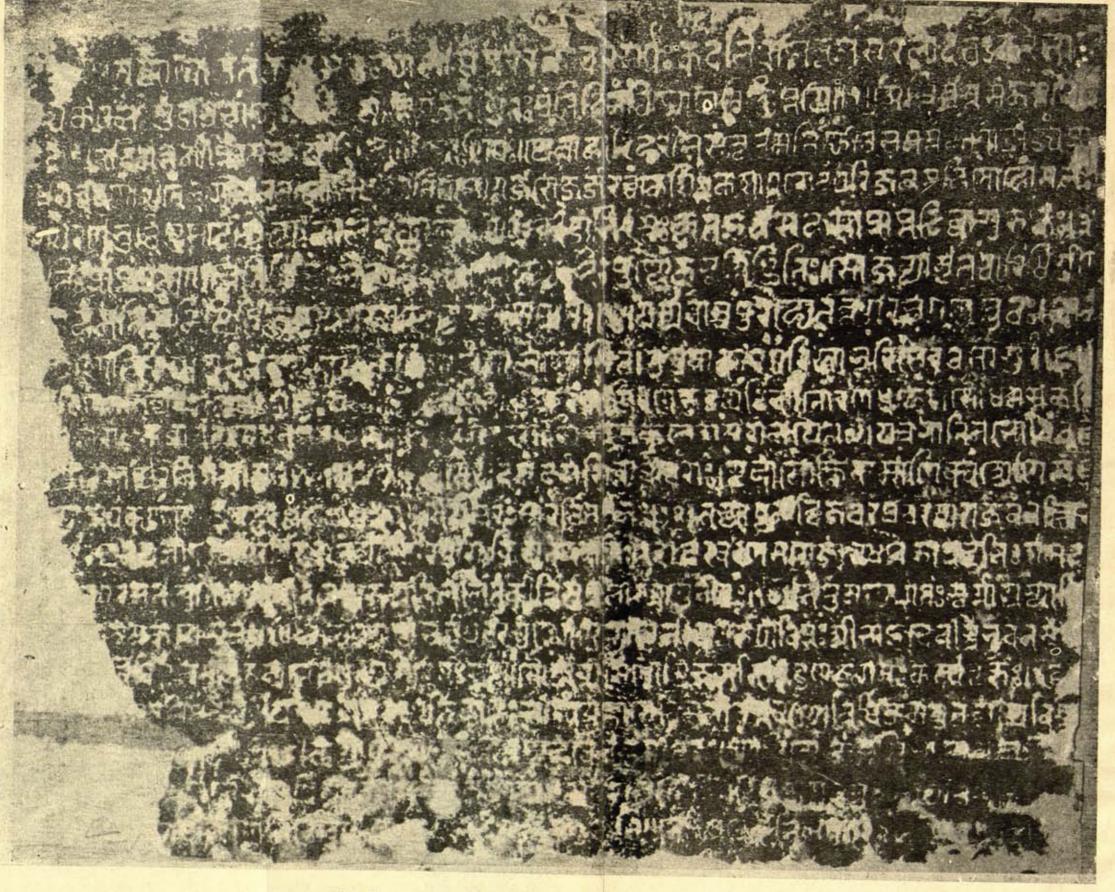


Plate I. A Fragmentary Inscription of Kholesyara, Ambe Josai

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF KHÖLESVARA FROM AMBE JOGAI

This inscription was first noticed briefly by G. H. Khare,1 It is cut into a stone-slab built up in the wall of a little shrine to the south of the Mother-in-law's tank on the Mayamocana-tirtha situated to the west of the temple of Jogeshwari at Ambe Jogai. Since the proper right portion of the slab is broken away, some letters in the beginning of all the lines are lost, and the lower part of the slab is buried underground, the later portion of the epigraph has also been irretrievably lost. The extant portion of the inscription has twenty lines2 comprising the first twenty-one verses and the beginning of verse 22 of the Yogesvari temple inscription edited below as No. III. Many of these stanzas are also found in the Sakalēśvara temple inscription (No. II). As the latter portion of the inscription is no longer extant, it is not possible to ascertain its object. It is possible that the lost portion might have contained some additional information about Kholeśvara and that the composer of its formal portion might have been different from those of the other records under study.3 But all this is but a conjecture.

As stated above, the extant protion of the inscription is literally identical with vv. 1-21 of No. III and, consequently, does not make any new addition to our knowledge of the Yadava history. But a few

Sources of the mediaeval history of the Deccan (hereinafter referred to as SMHD), p. 55.

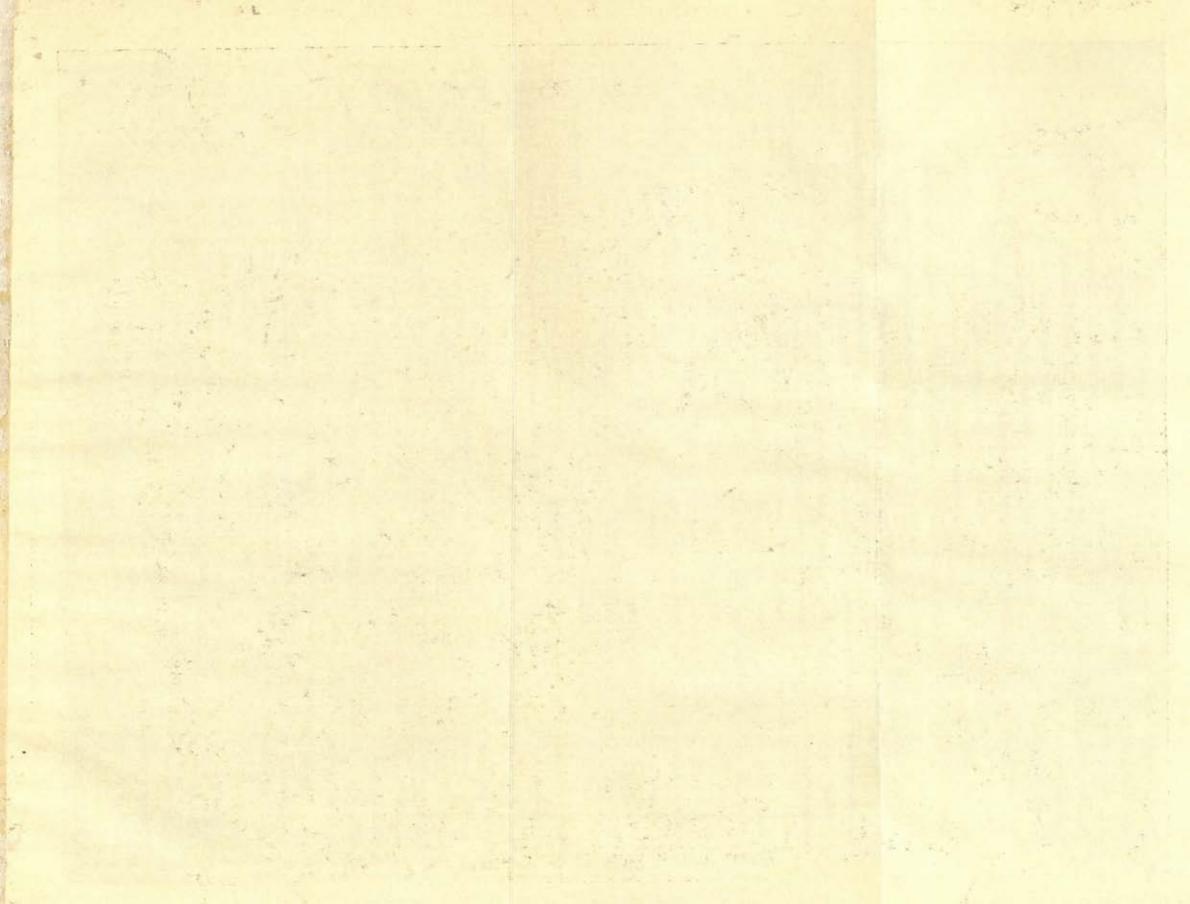
Khare, however, states that the portion of the inscription after line 16 is buried. But the set of estampages before me clearly shows 20 lines.

^{3.} Twenty-one stanzas of the extant portion of this epigraph being identical with those of No. III, it appears very likely that both were composed by the same author.

interesting points about it may be noted. The lines in this inscription contained a comparatively smaller number of letters than those in No. III. This is obvious from the fact that whereas in No. III the first twenty-one verses are accommodated in only 19 lines, they cover 20 lines in the present inscription. As in No. III, the stanzas are numbered. The serial numbers of the verses are sometimes flanked by two vertical lines (dondas) on either side and sometimes by a single line. In the opening line, the prsthamatras are not used at all, while they are invariably employed in all the subsequent lines. Although the text of the preserved portion of the epigraph is the same as that of No. III, some of the names and words are differently spelt. Thus in verse 2, the name of the reigning Yadava emperor is given as Simhana as against Singhana in No. III.1 In the words gurjaro and jarjaratvam in line 4, the letter j is not duplicated as against the corresponding portion of No. III where it is duplicated. The concluding word of verse 3 is clearly spelt as turuskah in the present record in place of turukkah in No. III. In line 6, between murti" and "schitih, there is no visarga in the present inscription as in the corresponding portion of the other record. Many other instances of such minor differences can be cited, but there is no use multiplying them here.

As will be shown in the sequel, the Yogesvarl temple inscription (No. III) is later than the Sakalesvara temple inscription (No. II). And, as the extant portion of the present inscription is identical with the corresponding portion of No. III, the two inscriptions appear to be either contemporary with or not far removed from each other in point of time. Therefore, from the chronological point of view, it would have been in the fitness of things to group the present inscription as No. II or III. But as Khare has placed it first in his edition of the inscriptions, that serial number is retained here for convenience of reference.

^{1.} This is the form of the name found in No. II also.



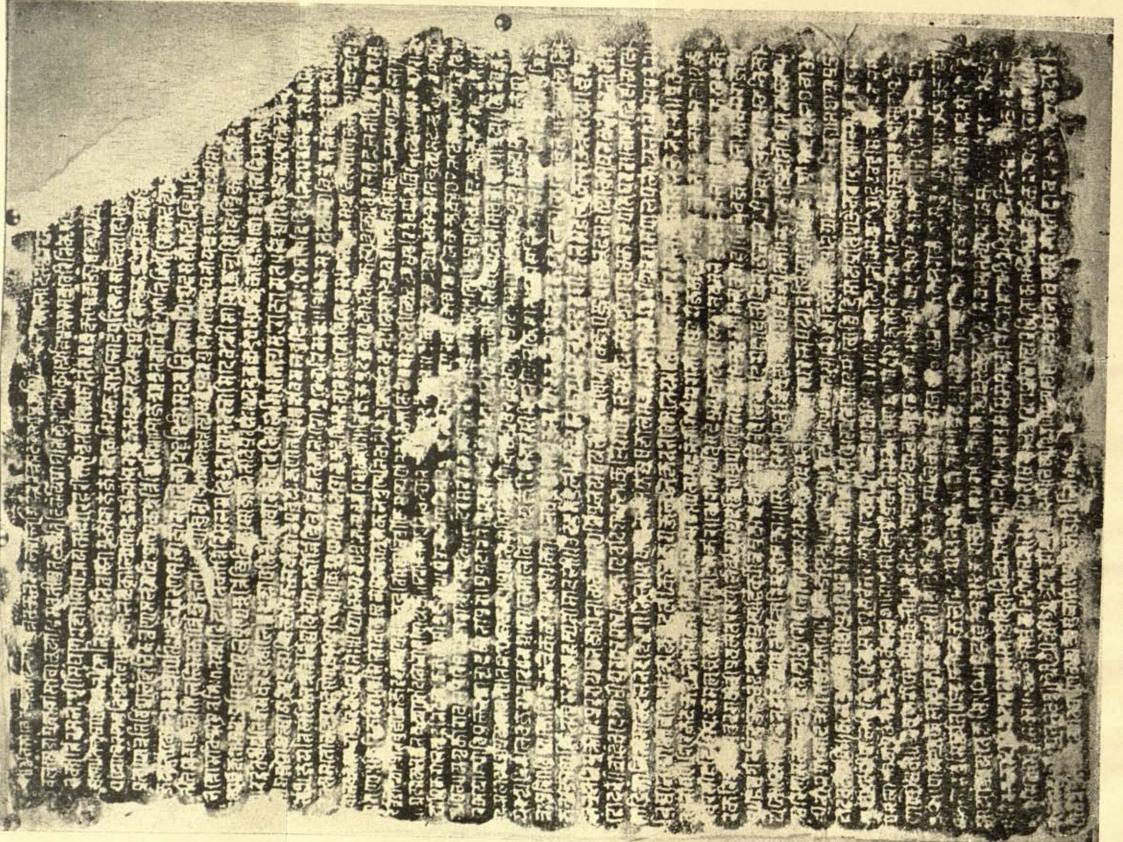


Plate II. The Sakalesvara Temple Inscription of Kholesvara, Saka 1150

THE SAKALĒŚVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF KHŌLĒŚVARA, ŚAKA 1150

The epigraph, as stated above, was first brought to light by G.H. Khare who published it with a Marathi introduction and a free rendering in the Sources of the mediaeval history of the Deccan (Marathi), Vol. I, pp. 55-68. The Marathi portion of the inscription was reedited by M.G. Dikshit first in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsšādhaka Mandala Quarterly, Vol. XXX, Parts 1-2, Suppl., p. 5, and later in the Marāthī Samsšādhana Patrikā, Vol. IX, Part 1, pp. 23-30. It has been recently dealt with in detail by S.G. Tulpule in his Prācīna Marāthī kārīva lēkha, No. 23, pp. 118-23. It is edited here anew from a fresh estampage which I owe to the kindness of M.G. Dikshit:

The stone-slab bearing this record rests at present against a wall in the garden of Bansilal Marwadi outside the village of Ambe in the Mominabad Taluk of the Bhir District, Maharashtra State. But as indicated by the inscription itself, the slab must have originally belonged to the Sakaleśvara temple which is situated about two miles to the north-west of Ambe. According to Khare's information, it was brought to its present place by an English army officer. The inscription covers a space measuring 3'9" x 2'6". There are altogether forty-seven lines of writing. As the upper portion of the slab on the right side is broken away, the concluding portion of the first twelve lines is lost, the number of the aksaras thus lost in each line varying from 12 to 2 in a diminishing order. But this loss is not irretrievable as the missing letters can be restored with the help of the Yogesvarl temple inscription, also found at the same place. Each line contains forty-seven to fifty-seven akşaras except the last one which has only twenty-five letters. Each akşara covers a space of about 1" broad and 1" high. Even though a few letters here and there have become illegible owing to the inscription having been exposed to the

^{1.} Poona, 1963.

inclemency of the weather for several centuries, the record is, on the whole, in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are of the Nagari alphabet regular to the period to which the epigraph refers itself. The letters are generally well formed and do not present much difficulty in decipherment. medial u turns normally to the left, but we have one example where it turns to the right ("dadbhuta"). The prsthamatras are employed throughout the record, though occasionally this rule is not observed as in namo, line 11, yenao, 13, libhyate, 135. Sometimes, in one and the same word, once the prsthomatra is used to denote the medial ē, while the second medial ē is denoted by a stroke above the letter, as in teluingike, 123.1 Normally, the letters are carefully executed and they can be easily distinguished from one another. But often this distinction is not maintained and a confusion is likely to result if one does not take the context into account. For instance, there is not much difference between v and c, as in "vicara" 111. Sometimes v and b are clearly distinguished, the latter having a notch or a cross-bar in its loop, as in °balo, 14 (notch), and Nimbadeva°, 116 (cross-bar); in the Marathi portion, b is formed with a complete cross-bar, e.g., °baü°, 135, Ambēo, 136; but sometimes this distinction is not clear, of "vimala" and "buddhih in 1 12. In many a place t, n and bh are similarly formed and, but for the context, cannot be distinguished from one another, cf. "syonnata, 11, yena", 13, and bhuyad, 12. Likewise, s and m have often the same form, as in sanastam, 13. In dha, the aksara and the medial sign for a are joined by a horizontal line,2 In writing nn. the second member is added below the first, as in "varnnana, 1 17, and ranarnnava", 1 32.3 Two (sometimes only one) dandas are employed as the punctuation mark at the end of verses and verse-halves as also of sentences in the prose portion.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit except for lines 35-41 and 46-47 which are in what the author styles as Mahāraṣṭra-bhāṣā. The Sanskrit portion is partly in verse and partly in prose. The

Also cf., tëlumgo, l 4, where the medial ë is denoted by a top-stroke, while a preshamātrā is employed in writing the medial o.

^{2.} So also in dho and dhau.

^{3.} As will be shown in the sequel, a different method is adopted in No. IV.

stanzas, which are composed in a variety of metres, are beautiful and, from a literary standpoint, are of a considerably high standard. There are altogether twenty-seven verses. The first twenty-three stanzas, which are in the nature of a praśasti, are not numbered, while the remaining four verses following the Marathi portion are numbered independently.¹

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Both jihvamaliya (l 1) and upadhmaniya (l 2) are sparingly employed. The consonant following r is sometimes duplicated, e.g., $sarppa^\circ$, l 1, $kirtii^\circ$, l 3, martii, l 6; but this rule is more often violated than followed, e.g., $gurjar\bar{o}$ and jarjaratvam, l 4, $rviśva^\circ$ and $rguna^\circ$, l 6. The subscribed th is formed like ch. An anusvara is invariably employed in place of final m. As noted above, there is a confusion between v and b; in some places, b is used for v, as in bipulam, l 21. It is interesting to note that ri is never used for r, as in so many contemporary records.

The Marathi portion is also important as it furnishes us with a specimen of pre-Jñānēśvara Marathi prose. Although it is styled Mahāraṣṭra-bhāṣa, there is in it a good deal of admixture of Sanskrit, and expressions like nāma grāmō dattaḥ and tathā Amrapurē, 136, form part of it. Among other interesting features, mention may be made of u-ending of masculine and neuter nominative singular forms, as in desu, 136, kāmatu, 1139 and 40, saku, 145, etc. Interesting from lexicographical point of view are the words like baila, aḍu, sumka and kāmata which are either borrowed or adapted from Kanarese.

Line 45 gives the date as Śaka 1150 (in figures only), the cyclic year being Sarvadhārin. No other details are given. But the date is regular as the cyclic year Sarvadhārin actually fell in expired Śaka 1150 (1151 current), corresponding to A.D. 1228-29.4 The inscription refers itself to the time of the great Yādava king Singhana and his general Kholēśvara. The object of the epigraph is to record certain grants made by Kholēśvara in favour of the god Sakalēśvara.

^{1.} I.e., 1, 2, 3 and 4 and not 24, 25, 26 and 27.

^{2.} For the linguistic peculiaritie, of the Marathi portion, vide S.G. Tulpule, Pracina Marathi koriva lekha, pp. 119-20.

^{3.} For a discussion on these words, see M. G. Dikshit, op. cit., pp. 26-28.

^{4.} L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian ephemeris, Vol. IV, p. 58.

The inscription opens with a benedictory stanza invoking the blessings of the elephant-headed god, i. e., (Ganesa). The next two verses enumerate the more important military exploits of the reigning Yadava king Singhana (vv. 2-3). Then follows a detailed description of the personal qualities and military achievements of his general Kholēśvara. This description is partly in verse (vv. 4-23) and partly in prose (11 24-34). The prose portion gives us a catalogue of the virudas1 assumed by Kholēśvara, giving us an insight into his conquests and qualities of character. Lines 35-41 give an account of the various grants made by Kholeśvara for the enjoyment (visēsa-bhogāya) of the god Sakalēśvara from time to time. Verses 24-26 are of an imprecatory character enumerating the calamities that would befall a sinner who obstructed or revoked the grants. The next verse (27) exhorts the future rulers of his own family as also those of other families to continue the grants. Then follows the date as specified above and the information about the writer and the engraver of the record (11 45-47) and some auspicious formulas.

The inscription was written by one Rāma, the paṇḍita-in-charge of the Records Office (śrīkaraṇa-paṇḍita). The arrangement for engraving it on the stone slab was made by one Nāaikya, son of Sarēsa (Sarvēśa), a servant (sānūnugu) of Mēdipau and Ādhivāṇiya. We are told that the whole record was first written out on a bhūrjapatra (bhurju) and then engraved (kaṇḍarilī), from the beginning to the end, on the slab. This statement is interesting inasmuch as it gives us information about the mechanical processes involved in the execution of an inscription: first it was written out on bhūrjapatra and then

^{1.} Called namavali (125) or rajavali (133).

^{2.} Tulpule, (op. cit., p. 122), gives the name of the writer as Śrikarana Panditasuta; but the relevant reading appears to be pandita Rāmēna and not pamdita-sutēna as suggested by Tulpule (pp. 121, 123).

^{3.} Tulpule describes Saresa as the follower or servant of śri-Svasti, śri-Medipau and Adhivāṇi (p. 121). But this does not appear to be correct. The expression śri śvasti śri appears to be part of the preceding auspicious formula. This is also supported by another consideration. If we accept Tulpule's view, it would be dificult to explain why the honorific śri is employed only for Svasti and Medipau and why Adhivāṇi is excluded from this privilege, while the relationship of all the three to Naaikya was the same.

engraved on stone or metal as the case may be. Unfortunately, we have no information about the author.1

The grants made by Kholeśvara to the Sakaleśvara temple, which are recorded in Marathi, include the following: the village Laghu-Bauci in Amradeśa; many sources of income (baumulika)2 created at the royal residences or military cantonments in every village in the four dēśas, viz., Āmbēdēśa, Kējadēśa, Ausadēśa and Udagiri (dēśa): one gold coin and a flower-basket from each of the markets3 and residential wards at Amrapura; cautha measures of food grains and 1/4th cowrie shell in lieu of gold4 from each of the four garrisons in the four dēśas, every month, for the maintenance of the free feeding houses (sattras) for the priests; one cowrie to meet the expense of betel leaves for the god; 1/8th (evidently of the produce) from the land, even if it was meant for the cultivation of the pundra variety of cane,5 as a sarva-namasya (tax-free) gift; 3 malas6 near the tank at the village Bilvapali and I from the unclaimed land near the village; 1 mala in the village Rahatavandi; 1 mala near the temple; another mala to its east; thus all-told 7 malas; fourstringed flower garland from every flower-vendress in the market; 6 oil-mills for oil, 1 kāmata8 to the south of Ambē and another to

^{1.} Tulpule thinks that Śrikarana Panditasuta was the author of the record (op. cit., p. 122). But this does not appear to be correct. Firstly, as we have seen above, the correct reading should be Rāmēna. The reading sutēna proposed by Tulpule is grammatically incorrect. Secondly, in epigraphic records a distinction is made between the writer (lēkhaka) and the author, the duty of the former being of a mechanical nature, viz., writing the record given to him for the guidance of the scribe. Often he wrote the record on the stone or plate itself. Vide D.C. Sircar, Indian epigraphical glossary (Delhi, 1966), p. 171, under lēkhaka and likhita.

From Sanskrit bahumulika. Dikshit (op. cit., p. 25) reads it as ghaudālikā and takes it to mean a tax on horses.

^{3.} Hafavafi. As pointed out by Dikshit (ibid.), it may refer to markets held on certain days.

^{4.} I.e., tax in coins. Tulpule (op. cit., p. 120) reads sana (festival) in place of svarna.

^{5.} The pundra variety of sugarcane is still grown in Maharashtra.

^{6.} Field where fruit-trees are grown.

^{7.} As suggested by Dikshit (op. cit., p. 26), it may also denote a place where the Persian wheel was employed to draw water.

^{8.} I.e., field cultivated by employing labour.

its east; 1 cautha for the salt, from the village Saya; 5 areca nuts on the transaction of every gold coin called asn; 1 adu after every asu at Morivava; 1 bundle on the sale of dry fodder and grass; on the betel leaves sold by weight or in lump, 25 leaves, while on those sold by auction, 12 leaves; a cess named sumka on vegetable-vendors and fruits; 1 kāmata each in the villages Cāţusa, Ādasa and Javalagāva; a malā and a field in Salivāva.

The epigraph affords us a wealth of historical information about the Yadava king Signhana and his generalissimo Kholeśvara which we may now proceed to study. Singhana, we are told, had destroyed the multitude of all his enemies and his spotless fame had reached the very ends of the quarters. As regards his specific military achievements, it is said that he captured in a moment the whole of the extensive kingdom of Arjuna, which was very prosperous and rich in horses and elephants, and destroyed Dhara, the ornament of the earth, caused the death of Telunga, split up the powerful Gurjara, drove Kēśi to such a state of helplessness that he started plucking out his hair, compelled the Hosala (Hoysala) king, together with his retinue, to take shelter in the water of a pool, drove the Coda to the sea, caused the death of Subhata on the battle-field, repnlsed the Gauda in a play as it were and drove away the Turuşka to the quarters (vv. 2-3). These two stanzas eulogising the conquests of Singhana are reproduced verbatim in inscriptions I and III edited in these pages.5

That Arjuna was defeated by Singhana is known to us from several Yadava records. 6 Fleet was inclined to identify king Arjuna

For references to asu in Mahanubhave literature, vide Dikshit, op. cit.,
 p. 27.

^{2.} A copper coin of small value.

Tulpule reads 12 in the text, but gives the figure as 10 while giving the rendering of the Marathi portion. Vide Tulpule, op. cit., pp. 123, 121.

^{4.} In dealing with the Marathi portion I have derived great help from the learned writings of Dikshit and Tulpule.

^{5.} These verses, as stated earlier, are partially damaged in the present inscription. They are restored here with the help of No. III,

^{6.} Bahal inscription of Singhana, verse 14, El, III, p. 113; Madanpur inscription of Kanhara, verse, 10, ibid., XIX, p. 22; Purushottamapuri pls. of Ramacandra, verse 4, ibid., XXV, p. 209; Paithan pls. of Ramacandra, IA, XIV, p. 314. The Raja-prasasti of Hemadri's Vrata-khanda (Collected works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, III, p. 195, verse 43) avers that Singhana killed king Arjuna

with Arjunadēva, the Vaghēla chief of Anhilwad. He overcame the chronological incongruity that the Vāghēla Arjunadēva ascended the throne after the reign of Singhana had come to an end by assuming that the former might have held command under his father Visaladēva (A. D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and so have been a contemporary of Singhana. R. G. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, regarded him as identical with Arjunavarmadēva, the Paramāra king of Mālava. The present inscription settles this point beyond doubt as it associates Arjuna with Dhāra, the Paramāra capital, which is said to have been stormed by Singhana. The Uddari stone inscription also describes Singhana as a lion in curbing the pride of the rutting elephant, that is, Arjuna, the king of Mālava. That Singhana seized the king of Dhārā is also averred by Hēmārdi.

The statement that Singhana killed Subhata in the battlefield is important inasmuch as this exploit is not known from any other source so far. This prince may be easily identified with the Paramāra ruler Subhatavarman, father of Arjunavarman. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the Mungoli Inscription, Singhana's father Jaitugi, is credited with defeating, among others, the king of Mālava, who could be none else than Subhatavarman. It is quite likely, therefore, that Singhana may have accompained his father on his Mālava expedition or that the latter may have entrusted the Mālava campaign to his able son Singhana. We have no means to judge the veracity of the claim that Subhatavarman met his doom at the hands of Singhana.

The Tēlunga (Andhra) contemporary of Singhana was undoubtedly the Kākatīya king Ganapatidēva (A.D. 1198-99 to 1261-62). Like our

Though there is no independent evidence in support of this claim, Altekar accepts it as probable (EHD, p. 534). The Suktimuktāvali of Jalhana (vv. 16-20, cited in ibid. p. 150, fn. 6) states that Simha uprooted Arjuna because of the training in the science of elephants (gaja-šikṣā) he had received from Janārdana.

^{1.} BG, Vol. I, p. 525, fn. 4.

^{2:} Early history of the Deccan (Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 150.

Arjuna-Malavi-ksitipati-mattanātanga-mada-dalana-pañcānana. Mysore Archaeological Survey Report, 1929, p. 143.

^{4.} Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 195. v. 44.

^{5.} EI, V. p. 33.

inscription, some other Yādava records also style Singhana as the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the Tēlanga king.¹ But Mahādēva is also credited with the same achievement.² It is doubtful, therefore, if Singhana actually killed the contemporary Kākatīva king whom he had himself released and reinstated on his ancestral throne. It is probable, however, that he participated in the battle in which his father Jaitugi had had killed Ganapati's uncle Rudra³ or his father Mahādēva.⁴ In view of more than one king laying claim to the same achievement it is equally likely that Singhana and Mahādēva inherited this title from Jaitugi.

Singhana sent a number of expeditions against Gujarat and Lāṭa, and, but for the last one, all of them were crowned with brilliant success. In one of these expeditions aimed against Lāṭa, the Cāhamāna ruling chief Siṁha⁵ and his brother Sindhurāja breathed their last and the latter's son Saṅgrāmasiṁha, also known as Śaṅkha, was taken prisoner but later released by Siṅghaṇa, as we learn from the Gujarat chronicles.⁵ The death of the Lāṭa chief Siṁha⁵ in the battlefield is also referred to in the present inscription (II, 30-31).⁵ On another occasion, Śaṅkha besought the help of Siṅghaṇa in recovering Cambay which Viradhavala, son of Lavaṇaprasāda, had forcibly occupied. Simultaneously, the Paramāra king Dēvapāla also marched against Gujarat to help his Cāhamāna feudatory in regaining Cambay. The Yādava forces crossed the Tapti and the people were panicky.⁵ Lavaṇaprasāda,

Uddari stone inscription, Mysore Archaeological Survey Report, 1929,
 p. 142,

^{2.} Sangur inscription of Mahadevaraya, EI XXVII, p. 194.

^{3.} Raja-pradasti, op. cit., v. 41, p. 195.

^{4.} Yenamadala inscription of Ganapāmba, EI, III, v. 5, p. 97. Also cf., Siddhēdvara-cariia, p. 112; Pratāpa-carita, p. 30.

It is not improbable that Simha belonged to the same Cāhamāna family of which six members are known to have ruled over Lāţa from the Hansot pls. of Bhartrvaddha, V.S. 813, EI, XII, p. 197.

^{6.} Hammiramadamardana (GOS No. X), Act II, p. 17; Vasanta-vilāsa (GOS No. VII), Canto V, v. 42.

^{7.} The name is given as Sihadi in the present inscription.

^{8.7} Verse 36 of the next inscription also refers to the beheading of the king of Bhrgukaccha.

^{9.} Vasanta-vilāsa, Introduction, p. ix : Hammīramadamardana, Introduction. p. v : Kīrti-kaumudi, Canto IV, vv. 43-63.

minister and de facto ruler under Bhima II, retrieved the situation through a clever strategem which split up the members of the confederacy and entered into an alliance with Singhana, as we learn from the Lēkha-paddhati. As we shall presently see, the defeat of Dēva-pāla is also mentioned in our record. On both these occasions, the Yādava forces seem to have been led by the Brāhmana general Khōlēśvara. On yet another occasion, however, the Yādava forces, led by Khōlēśvara's son Rāma, were routed by the Yāghēla chief visaladēva, a fact admitted by the Yādavas themselves.

King Kēśi, with whom Singhana came into conflict, has not been satisfactorily identified so far. In all probability, he is identical with Jayakēśin III, the Kadamba king of Goa, who ruled from A D. 1187-88 to 1215 or 1217.8 In his war with Jayakēśin, Singhana seems to have received valuable help from his feudatory Candradēva who is known to have been flourishing in A. D. 1250. In the Tasgaon plates of Yādava Kṛṣṇa, dated Śaka 1172 (A. D. 1250), he is said to have addressed the enemies of the Yādavas variously. He addressed Jayakēśin as follows: "O Lord, if you are Jayakēśin, the king of the sea, then drive the group of horses."

The Höysala antagonist of Singhana was Ballala II. Shortly after his accession, Singhana concentrated his attention on preparing to avenge the disastrous defeat inflicted by the Höysala king Ballala on Bhillama V in the battle of Soratur. By a series of expeditions Singhana brought a large portion of the Höysala kingdom comprising Bellary, Anantapur, Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts under his control, and it continued to be governed by the Yadavas throughout the thirteenth century as indicated by a large number of Yadava inscriptions found there.

Bhandarkar, op, cit., p. 153. fn. 3: Hammiramadamardana, Introduction.
 pp. viii-ix; H. C. Ray, DHNI, II, pp. 1024-25.

See infra No. IV. For details of Singhana's campaigns against Gujarat,
 vide Altekar in EHD, pp. 533, 537, 539; The Struggle for Empire, pp. 189-91.

^{3.} The regnal period of Jayakeśin III is variously given by historians. Thus, Fleet assigned him to the period A.D. 1187-88 to 1210-11 (BG, I, ii, p. 571). Moraes says that he ruled up to A. D. 1216, (Kadamba-kula, p. 167). A. D. 1215 or 1217 is given as the lower limit of his reign in that Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1925-26. App. C. Nos. 437, 439 and App. E, p. 83.

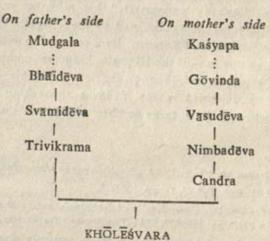
^{4.} EI, XXVII, v. 19, p. 214.

^{5.} EHD, p. 532.

The Còla contemporaries of Singhana were Kulöttunga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Råjarāja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and Råjëndra III (A.D. 1246-1279). In the present state of our knowledge, however, there is nothing to substantiate the claim of Singhana to have won a victory over any of the Cōla kings.

His claim to success against the Gauda king and the Muslims does not fare better. According to the Patna inscription, a lesser general of Singhana had defeated a Muslim ruler. As suggested by Altekar, it is not unlikely that in the course of his expeditions in Gujarat and Malwa, Singhana may have been involved in some border skirmishes with the Muslims.

We may now pass on to the information supplied by our inscription about Singhana's general (sainyādhipati) Khōlēśvara, also called Khlōēśa, (v. 15) and Khōlladēva (v. 9), and styled 'king', kṣmā-pati (vv. 4, 8). The inscription supplies details about his descent both on his mother's and father's side. On his father's side the descent is traced to the sage Mudgala who was ever engrossed in meditating on Lord Śiva. On the mother's side the descent is derived from the sage Kaśyapa. In other words, Mudgala was his own gōtra, while the gōtra of his mother's family was Kāśyapa. The descent on both the sides may be given in a tabular form as follows:



Only vague praise is bestowed upon Kholeśvara's ancestors. The only interesting details that can be gleaned about them are as

^{1.} EI, I. pp. 340-41.

^{2.} EHD, p. 540.

follows: Bhāidēva is said to have performed some sacrifices (v. 6). Svāmidēva was a patron of scholars (v. 6). We are told that the whole of the agrahāra¹ of Umbarapanktika was sanctified by the birth of Trivikrama (v. 8). This shows that Umbarapanktika was probably the home town of Khōēśvara.

Next, as regards his mother's descent. Gövinda is said to be the foremost among good kings (kalyāṇa-bhabhuj, v. 11). Vāsudeva was always absorbed in worshipping Vāsudēva, i.e., he was a Vaiṣṇava (v. 12). Nimbadēva is described as a veritable wish-fulfilling tree to the supplicants and a lion to the elephants that were his enemies (v. 13).

Although Nimbadēva is described as verily the moon to the water-lilies that were the Brāhmaṇas (v. 13), the very tone of the description leaves no room for doubt that Khōlēśvara's mother hailed from a ruling family. As we have already seen, Gōvinda is clearly described as a king (bhabhuj). On the other hand, Khōlēśvara's ancestors do not seem to have had any pretension to royal power; none of them had either a regal title or a military achievement to his credit. They took pride in performing Vedic sacrifices and enjoying agrahāras. Khōlēśvara was probably the first member of the family to exchange the hereditary priestly profession for a military career, and by dint of his own ability, he attained the status of a great general and a a feudatory chief.

Kholeśvara is naturally described in most glowing terms. Thus, he is said to have been an abode of fame, an adorament of the universe, of sharp, pure intellect, an ocean of nectar that is gentility, a treasure of virtues, terrible in fierce war, sacredness incarnate, risen to a high position by his prowess, endowed with unrivalled valour, foremost among those whose speech was purified by a sense of propriety, character and discretion, another Viśvāmitra as it were, capable to create another set of the three worlds, equal to Agastya in drinking the ocean, viz., all his enemies, successful allround, of handsome form, respected throughout the world, so on and so forth (vv. 4, 8-9).

Besides this general description we also get glimpses of the brilliant military career of Khōlēśvara. The Gurjaras, it is said, were destroyed by him with his fierce sword on the other bank of

^{1.} I.e., a rent-free Brahmana village.

the river Mēkala-kanyakā (Narmadā) and were still crying together with the goblins or jackals (phērava), who had had evidently come there in search of flesh.1 Kholeśvara is further styled as extirpator of the stalk (i. e., neck) of the lotus-head of the Gurjara king Sihadi (Gurjjara-vara-Sihadi-sirah-kamala-mula-nal-otpatanakara, 11 30-31). The Yogesvarl Temple inscription also contains this statement in somewhat different words: Having split up the Gurjaras and cut off the head of the lord of Bhrgukaccha, Kholesvara planted a column of victory in the sea (v. 36). Sihadi is undoubtedly identical with the Cahamana chief Simha who was ruling over Lața (central and southern Gujarat) with Bhrgukaccha (modern Broach) as his headquarters. According to some scholars, he is probably identical with Sahajapala as well as with the unnamed king of Lata mentioned in the Vasantavilāsa and the Kīrti-kaumudī (VI. 57).2 Although Simha is not mentioned by name in the Vasanta-vilasa and the Kīrti-kaumudī, the Hammira-mada-mardana informs us that he was a king of Lata. The last-named play further tells us that when Simha's kingdom was invaded by the Yadava army his Malava ally (the Paramara king Devapala) deserted him and, consequently, he was forced to seek the help of Viradhavala, son of Lavanaprasada, the de facto ruler of the Caulukya kingdom during the reign of Bhima II. The Hammira-mada-mardana is reticent about the subsequent fate of Simha; but the evidence of our inscription enables us to conclude that Viradhavala probably did not come to the rescue of Simha who had proved his friendship to be untrustworthy by allowing his relations with the neighbouring powers, viz., the Paramaras and the Caulukyas, to be determined by sheer opportunism, and that he lost his life in this encounter with the Yadavas. We learn from the Hammira-mada-mardana that Simha's brother Sindhurāja also lost his life at the hands of the Yādavas and that his (Sindhuraja's) son Sankha was imprisoned.3 The Yadava forces on this occasion were evidently led by Kholesvara who, being a resident of Vidarbha, was thoroughly acquainted with the terrain.

A.K. Majumdar identifies the Yadava adversary of Simha with Jaitugi, the father of Singhana. But in view of the explicit assertion

^{1.} This is the same as verse 25 of the next inscription.

^{2.} A. K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 154.

^{3.} Hammira-mada-mardana (GOS, X), pp. 5, 17.

A.K. Majumdar, op. cis., p. 154.

in our inscription that Sinadi (Simha) was killed by Khōlēśvara who was a general of Singhana there can be no doubt that the expedition against Simha was sent by Singhana under the leadership of Khōlēśvara.

A. S. Altekar held the view that the defeat and death of Simha took place in c. A.D. 12221 or 1223.2 But the available evidence merely indicates that the event must have taken place sometime before A.D. 1228, the date of the present inscription. This is in full conformity with the evidence furnished by the Hammīra-mada-mardana, the only work bearing on this question, which was composed sometime between A D. 1220 and 1230. How long before this date the event took place cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

In verse 22 Kholeśvara is styled as the destroyer of the king of Bhambhagiri, while a viruda in line 30 describes him as the forestfire for setting ablaze the family of the Abhira king Laksmideva, the lord of Bhambhagiri. Verse 35 of the next inscription also refers to the destruction by Khölesvara of the lord of Bhambhadri. He is evidently the same as Laksmidhara, the "lion of Rambhagiri" who, according to Hēmādri, was killed by Singhana.3 The Uddari stone inscription4 and the Paithan5 and Purusottamapuri6 plates of Ramacandra also refer to this feat which is, however, attributed to Singhana. G. H. Khare suggested the identification of Bhambhagiri with the village of Bhambhori in the Ahmadnagar District or Raja's Bham near Yeotmal.7 Mirashi, on the other hand, proposes to identify it with the hill near a ruined old town called Bhamer, four miles to the south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner taluka of the West Khandesh District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill littered with many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as

^{1.} EHD, p 535, fn. 4.

^{2:} Ibid., p. 536.

^{3.} Bhandarkar, op cit., p. 195, verse 44.

^{4.} Mysore Arch. Surv. Report for 1929, p. 142 t.

^{5.} IA, XIV.

^{6.} EI, XXV, p. 209, v. 4.

^{7.} SMHD, 1, p. 60.

'Rājā's houses'.¹ The latter view appears to be more probable. Now, as we have seen above, Hēmādri, the Uddari stone inscription and the Paithan and Purusotta mapuri plates ascribe this achievement to Singhaṇa, whereas our inscription credits Khōlēśvara with this exploit. It is obvious, therefore, that the line of Lakṣmīdēva was actually destroyed by Khōlēśvara on behalf of his overlord Singhaṇa.

In line 27 Kholeśvara is styled as the master of the kingdom of Bhojadeva, the Paramara king of Cahamda, while the next inscription (verse 30) avers that the angered Bhojadeva, king of Camhada, who had mustered four-fold forces, was conquered by Kholesvara in the battle-field.2 As suggested by Khare,3 Cahamda (or Camhada), the headquarters of Paramara Bhojadeva, may be Chanda, the principal town of the district of that name in the Vidarbha Division of Maharashtra. In the colophon of a manuscript of the Campu-Ramayana it is said to have been composed by one Bhoja, king of Vidarbha. Whether the two Bhoias were identical cannot be determined. At least there is nothing to suggest that Bhoja, the author of the Campu-Ramayana, was a Paramara king. As the main Paramara kingdom of Malwa was, at this time, ruled over by Devapala, and not by the illustrious Bhoja, Khare is inclined to hold that Bhoja of our inscription, like Paramara, was a family, not personal, name of the king and that Bhoja of Chanda had nothing to do with the Paramara dynasty.4 But this goes squarely against the evidence of the present inscription which clearly states that Bhojadeva hailed from the Paramara line. There is also no doubt that Bhojadeva in this case was a personal, not family, name. It is interesting to note in this connection that a stone inscription in the Bhadranaga temple at Bhandak, 16 miles north-west of Chanda, records the installation of an image of Naga Narayana and the repairs to the temple in Saka 1308 by a Paramara.5 This shows that a branch of the Paramara dynasty ruled in this region. It is not unlikely that Bhoja of our inscription belonged

^{1.} EI, XXV, p. 203.

Both the spellings of the place name, Cahamda and Camhada, appear
to have been current. The first spelling is found in the present inscription and
the second one in the next inscription.

^{3.} SMHD, I, p. 59.

^{4.} Ibid.

Hira Lal, Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar (2nd edition, Nagpur 1932), No. 18, pp. 15-16.

to this dynasty. The Paramara rule in this region was thus brought to an end, or at least temporarily eclipsed, by Singhana's general Kholeśvara.

In lines 27-8 Khōlēśvara is described as the very southern wind for subduing the haughtiness of the army of Hēmādi, King of Bāṇakhēṭi. Now, two kings bearing the name Hēmādri are known to us, viz., (i) Hēmādidēva of the Nikumbha family known from the undated Patna inscription as ruling in the Chalisgaon region of Khandesh,¹ and (ii) Hēmādridēva ruling at Ţekkali (modern Barsi-Takli, Akola District) in Śaka 1098 (A. D. 1176).² Of these two chiefs of the name Hēmādri, the first was evidently a contemporary of and owed allegiance to Singhaṇa, for he is styled as "a lion to the elephants that were the enemies of the illustrious Singhaṇadēva." Khare has, therefore, indicated the possibility that this Hēmādri may have at first risen in rebellion against Singhaṇa early in the latter's reign but was defeated and compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Yādava king by Khōlēśvara. There is nothing inherently improbable in this suggestion.

Mirashi, however, identifies our Hēmādri with the Hēmādridēva known from the Barsi-Takli inscription of Śaka 1098.⁵ He prefers to read Parņakhēţīya in place of Bāṇakhēţīya⁶ and depending on Hēmādri's statement that the Yādava king Mallugi took a town named Parṇakhēţa from his enemies and, while residing there, carried away by force the elephant force of the Utkala king, holds that Parṇakhēţa captured by Mallugi and the place of that name where Hēmādri, said to have been defeated by Khōlēśvara, was ruling must have been situated somewhere to the east of Khandesh, possibly in Vidarbha, and proposes to identify it with Patkhed, about four miles to the south-west of Barsi-Takli. He reconstructs the course of events as as follows: Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hēmādri of the Barsi-Takli inscription; while he was a mere boy, Hēmādri vanquished Rājula, son of Mallugi, who was advancing on

EI, I, pp. 338 ff.

^{2.} Ibid., XXI, pp. 128 ff. Hemndri, minister of Yadava Ramacandra and a famous Dharmasastra writer, is out of question in the present context.

^{3.} Śrimat-Sińghanadeva-vairi-karafi-kanfhiravo ya-tkarah. EI, I, p. 342, verse 16.

^{4.} SMHD, I. p. 59.

^{5.} EI, XXI, pp. 128 ff.

^{6.} Banatvēfiya of Khare.

Tekkali with a large army; finally Kholesvara defeated him early in the reign of Singhana.1 There are, however, two main difficulties which come in the way of accepting Mirashi's view. Firstly, the reading of the place-name in our inscription is clearly Banakhetl. and not Parnakhett as suggested by Mirashi.2 Thus the very basis of the supposed connection between the capture of Parnakhēta by Mallugi and the defeat of Hemadri at the hands of Kholesvara The other stumbling block is the chronological consideration. In the Barsi-Takli inscription, Hemadri is said to have vanquished Rajula, son of Malugi. Even if this Malugi is regarded as identical with the Yadava king Mallugi, as held by Mirashi, it may be reasonably assumed that his son Rajula must have attacked Hemadri as his father's general. Now, the reign of Mallugi came to an end about A. D. 1160.3 while Singhana, whose general Khōleśvara is said to have defeated Hemadi, ascended the throne in A. D. 1210. Thus, there is an interval of about fifty years between the end of Mallugi's reign and the commencement of Singhana's, in other words between Hemadri's victory over Rajula and his own suppossed defeat at the hands of Kholesvara. Even otherwise, there is a gap of thirtyfour years betbeen the only known date of Hemadri of the Barsi-Takli inscription and the earliest known date of Singhana. Thus the whole reconstruction appears a priori improbable.4

Kholeśwara is said to have put Rāmapāla to flight (128). The name of the country ruled over by Rāmapāla was given in the present inscription, but it has now become quite illegible. However, in the next inscription, which describes him as a very death to his foes, he is said to have been a king of Vārānasī (v. 32). From the manner of his description he appears to have been a powerful ruler. He is evidently identical with the Kāšī-pati (Lord of Kāśī) who, according to the Patna inscription, was defeated by Singhana. No

^{1.} El. XXI, pp. 130-31.

^{2.} My reading has been kindly checked by Prof. Mirashi himself.

^{3.} EHD, p. 519.

^{4.} The following points also deserve consideration in the present context;
(1) Except phonetic similarity there is nothing to vouch for the identification of Mallugi and Malugi; (ii) Mallugi is known to have had two sons, Amaragangeyaand Karna; Rajula is not known as his son from any other source.

^{5.} EI, I, pp. 341-42, v. 7.

chief of this name ruling over Vārāṇasī in the time of Siṅghaṇa is known from any other source. No doubt the Pāla king Rāmapāla had once ruled over Vārāṇasī, but he was dead some eighty years prior to Siṅghaṇa's accession. Moreover, Vārāṇasī was at this time, under Muslim rulers. It was, therefore, suggested by Altekar that after Vārāṇasī was occupied by the Muslims, the scions of the Hindu family ruling there might have escaped to Madhya Pradesh and carved out small principalities for themselves. They might have styled themselves as lords of Vārāṇasī and occasionally come into conflict with Siṅghaṇa. The prasastikāra may have given the name of this chief as Rāmapāla as he was aware of the rule of Rāmapāla at Varāṇasī at one time. While this explanation fails to carry conviction, no other conjecture on the question need be hazarded and the question must be left open for the present.

In line 29 Khōlēśvara is compared to Rāma in storming Lankā that was the inaccessible fort of Toragala. This exploit of Khōlēśvara is also mentioned in the next inscription (v. 34) where the name of the fort is spelt as Toragalla which, we are told, had become unassailable even to arrogant rulers but was reduced by Khōlēśvara in no time, In view of the fact that the fort at Torgal, near Kolhapur, retained its importance even during the period of Muslim rule, its capture was indeed a great achievement of which a seasoned general could justifiably be proud.

Kholeśvara is further described as a very hatchet to cut off the root that was the head of the powerful Nagana (130). Verse 33 of the following record also states that Kholeśvara struck off Nagana's head in battle. This chief is not known from any other source.

Khōlēśvara is also compared to an eagle (vainatēya) in destroying the multitude of snakes, namely the confederacy of Vāvannadēśa (1 29). We know nothing about Vāvannadēśa.

Kholeśvara also claims some success against the king of Kalinga (127). But as the reading of the relevant portion of the inscription is rather uncertain, the nature of this exploit cannot be determined.

Even as the Rāṣṭrakuṭas and the Yādavas styled themselves as the lords of Laṭṭalura and Dvārakā respectively.

^{2.} EHD, pp. 540-41.

As we shall see presently, Khōlēśvara probably led a campaign against Kōsala or Chhattisgarh region. It is not unlikely that in the course of this campaign he may have come into conflict with the Gangas of Kalinga, Singhana's Eastern Ganga contemporaries were Rājarāja III, Anangabhīma III and Narasimha I.1

A viruda in line 31 describes Kholeśvara as a very storm in destroying the forest that was the haughtiness of Devapala, the powerful king of Dhara. This Devapala is undoubtedly the same as the Paramara king of that name who succeeded Arjunavarman about 1217 A. D. Obviously, the traditional hostility between the Paramaras and the Yadavas continued in his reign. With the death of Arjunavarman, the Paramara power was broken and all his successors were weak. It is quite likely that Kholeśvara won an easy victory over Devapala. It is likely that as a result of his defeat Devapala lost the Nimad region to Singhana. This is suggested by the discovery of a hoard of twentyfour coins of Singhana in the village Kotha of the Harsud Tehsil, East Nimad District, Madhya Pradesh.2 As we have already seen, on another occasion the Cahamana chief Sankha induced Singhana and Dēvapāla to make a common cause against Lavanaprasāda. The allied forces advanced causing great consternation among the people of Gujarat. But Lavanaprasada saved the situation by employing spies who created dissension between Devapala and Singhana. A treaty of peace was concluded between Singhana and Lavanaprasada about A. D. 1231. It is possible that being angered over the apparent deceit of Devapala, Singhana may have attacked and defeated him. On this occasion the Yadava forces were led by Kholesvara, as we learn from the present inscription.

Khōlēśvara is styled as a great Varāha (Boar incarnation) in lifti g up the earth and rescuing the army of a southern king who was submerged in the ocean of the armies of the Ratta king Karuvēma (132). Depending on the analogy of the name Annavēma, Khare opines that Karuvēma must have been one of the Cōla kings of Kāncī.³ But it is difficult to accept this suggestion in view of the

^{1.} The struggle for empire, pp. 207-8.

^{2.} JNSI, XXVIII (ii), pp. 214-15.

^{3.} SMHD, I, p. 61.

fact that Karuvema is said to have been a Ratta chief, while Annavema and others of his family are never called Ratta. Unfortunately, no king named Karuvēma is known from any other source. But two Ratta lines are known to have been ruling in the Belgaum District of Mysore. One of them ruled from Saundatti and the other ruled over the Kundi country with Venugrama (Modern Belgaum) as its capital. Kārttavīrya IV, the Raţţa chief of Vēnugrāma, is known to have submitted to Singhana.1 The last known member of this family was Laksmideva II and his latest known date is A.D. 1228. Shortly afterwards, the Ratta family was dispossessed of its kingdom which was placed under the charge of Singhana's victorious general Bicana,2 Rattapati Karuvema appears to have belonged to this family. It is also not impossible that Karuvema was a nickname of either Karttavirya IV or Laksmideva II. In the absence of definite evidence, it is not possible to say anything more about the course of events leading to this conflict.

The recently discovered Ardhapur stone inscription, dated Saka 1111 (=A. D. 1190), has brought to light another line of Ratta chiefs ruling in the Parbhani region as feudatories of the Yādavas.³ The inscription refers to three generations of the Ratta chiefs and describes last of them, Ballāla, as the 'stabiliser of the Yādava kings'. Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the family. It is not impossible that Karuvēma of our inscription belonged to this family.

Verse 22 seems to credit Khōlēśvara with some victories in Mālava, Vanga, Nēpāla, Gurjara, Kōsala, Hōysala, Tēlunga and Cola countries and against Mahāhammīra also. This stanza is in the form of an address to women of the harems of these kingdoms and states that they (women) had angered Khōlēśvara, the destroyer of the king of Bhambhāgiri. We have already seen that Singhana's campaigns against Mālava and Gujarat were led by his general Khōlēśvara. We have also taken note of Singhana's relations with the southern kingdoms, viz., Hōysala, Cōla and Tēlunga (Kākatīya). The verse under consideration indicates that Khōlēśvara took part in his master's

^{1.} The struggle for empire, p. 189.

^{2.} EHD, pp. 537-38.

N. S. Pohanekar, Ratta-vambiya Ballāla yācā Ardhāpura bilālēkha, published by Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay.

southern expeditions also. The Vanga contemporaries of Singhana were the Sena kings Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna. But it does not seem very likely that Singhana or his general Khōlēśvara actually came into conflict with the Sēna kings of Bengal. His claim to success against Nēpāla also does not appear to rest on facts. But his claim as regards Kōsala or Chhattisgarh, however, seems to be based on more solid achievements. Pratāpamalla, the last known Kalacuri chief of Ratanpur, ruled at least up to A. D. 1218. It is possible that he or his successor was defeated and his kingdom annexed by Singhana. That Singhana and his successors down to the end of the dynasty maintained their hold over Chhattisgarh region is indicated by the discovery of the coins of Singhana in the Raigarh District of Madhya Pradesh¹ and of those of Singhana, Kṛṣṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmacandra at Sonepur in Orissa.² The Yādava conquest of South Kōsala was evidently achieved by Khōlēśvara.

From what we have seen, it would appear that the extension of the Yādava power in the north was almost entirely the work of Singhana's able general Khōlēśvara But the activities of Khōlēśvara were not confined to the north alone. He had some achievements in the south also to his credit. As we have already seen, he subdued a Ratta chief of Mysore and also participated in some other southern campaigns of Singhana. The capture of the fort of Torgal was also due to him. In the light of these facts, the popular notion that Khōlēśvara was in charge only of the northern expeditions of Singhana must be substantially modified. The great encomium showered on him in this as well as in other inscriptions edited in these pages is fully justified by the glory he brought to his master.

But Kholeśvara was not only a great general. He distinguished bimself equally well in peaceful pursuits of life. As the traditional

^{1.} JNSI, VIII, pp. 147 ff.

^{2.} Ibid., XV. pp 126 ff. As pointed out by B.B. Nath (ibid., p. 129), the discovery at Sonepur of the coins of three successors of Singhana shows the improbability of the occupation of Kosala by Nasir-ud-Din as suggested by Altekar on the basis of the association of a gold coin of Nasir-ud-Din with those of Singhana found in the Raigarh District (ibid., VIII, 147 ff). There is also nothing to support Altekar's conjecture that the local Kalacuri rulers of Jabalpur and Tummana were known as Kökkalla and Jajalla (EHD, p. 540). It is more probable, as suggested by D.C. Ganguly, that these were kings ruling in parts of Mysore. Vide The struggle for empire, p. 189.

progenitor of his line, sage Mudgala, is stated to have been absorbed in meditating upon Siva, it may be concluded that Saivism was his family religion, and the erection by him of the temple of Sakaleśwara (Śiva) at Amrapura (mod. Ambe) is in keeping with this fact. As already stated above,1 the present inscription originally belonged to this temple, its object being to register certain grants to the temple. But Kholeśvara practised religious toleration. While Saivism was his family religion, he probably inherited love for Vaisnavism from his mother, whose ancestor Vasudeva is said to have kept himself busy worshipping Vāsudēva (Visnu-Kṛṣṇa). It was probably under his mother's influence that he built a lofty temple of the god Sarngadharin at Acalapura (v. 17), modern Ellichpur, Amraoti District, Maharashtra. It must be mentioned in this connectin that there is even now a temple of the god Sarngadhara at Ellichpur, and while the temple itself is a modern construction, the image is undoubtedly old and most probably represents the one installed by Kholeśvara.

Khōleśvara was a Brahmana by birth, and though he had given up sastra for śastra, he solicited the welfare of the Brahmanas. As we have already seen, his father, Trivikrama, was born at the agrahara village Umbarapanktika which, as will be shown below, should be identified with present Amraoti. In all probability, Kholeśvara was also born at the same Brahmana village. He himself founded some agraharas. A great agrahara named Khollapura after himself was created by him on the bank of the river Payosni. In extent and glory it is said to have resembled Hastinapura (v. 18). Another extensive agrahāra named Vārāņasi, resorted to by numerous Brahmaņas, was founded by him in what was known as Varadatata (v. 19). had established several agraharas, free water-sheds (prapas), free feeding houses (sattras) and built temples and step-wells (vapis) in Varadatata (v. 20). Yet another agrahara township, an abode of the learned Brahmanas, was founded by him on the river Vanjara, in Amradeśa (v. 21).

Kholesvara was excessively fond of virudas or titles. Line 25 tells us that he had acquired by the prowess of his own arms a

^{1.} Supra, p. 5.

Yad Ins. 4

multitude of virudas, and lines 25-33 give us what is called a string of names (nāmāvalī) or regal titles (rājāvalī). Much of the historical information discussed above is afforded by them.

Khōlēśvara seems to have been kind-hearted and endowed with a high moral character. While he was the very staff of Yama in punishing the circle of his foes, he was also a preceptor in the art of reinstating kings who had been dispossessed of their kingdoms, gave shelter to those afraid of their enemies and treated young women of others as his own sisters (11 25-26).

Next, as regards the localities mentioned in our inscription. As stated above, Acalapura, where Khöleśvara erected a temple of Sarngadharin, is identical with modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District. It is referred to under the name Acalapura in some early inscriptions. The Khollapura agrahara founded by Kholladeva and named after himself is modern Kholapur, 16 miles west of Amraoti. The Varanasi agrahara may be identified with modern Banarsi, a small village a little to the north-west of Amraoti. It is interesting to note in this connection that the surname Banarase is quite common in this part of Maharashtra. It is quite likely that the surname originated from this agrahara village. Umbarapanktika, the native place of Khóleśvara, has not been satisfactorily identified so far. In view of the fact that all the three places in this region which were the venues of Kholesvara's pious activities are situated in the present Amraoti District, it may be suggested that Umbarapanktika is the same as the chief town of the district.1 The name is still popularly pronounced as Umaravati. The place is referred to by the name Umbaravati in the Gövindaprabhu-caritra, a Mahanubhava work of the 13th century A.D.2 The river Payospi, on whose bank Khollapura was situated, is modern Purna and Kholapur is on its eastern bank. Varadātata, which witnessed the pious works of Kholeśvara, is Berar, Varadataţa being the prototype of the name Berar, as pointed out by Khare3

^{1.} Udumbaramanti, mentioned in the Bhandak plates. of Rāṣṭrakuṭa Kṛṣṇa I, dated Śaka 694, has been identified by K.N. Dikshit with Rani Umraoti in the Yeotmal Taluk, Yeotmal District. Vide Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, 2nd Session, 1923, p. 626. However, Rani Umraoti is out of question in the present context as all the places in Vidarbha mentioned in the present as well as the next inscription are situated in the Amraoti District.

^{2.} Edited by V.B. Kolte (Malkapur, 1960), 236.

^{3.} SMHD, I, p. 58.

Amrapura (1 36), the headquarters of Kholesvara, is Ambe, the findspot of the inscriptions edited here. But Amrapura is not the original form of the name. It is mentioned as Amba in the Ambe inscription of Udayaditya, dated A.D. 114.1 But even this does not seem to represent the original form of the name. Both these appear to be Sanskritised forms of the original name. Amrapura appears to be the Sanskritised form of Amba or Ambe, Sanskrit amra and Marathi amba or ambe being synonymous (-mango). The name Amba is found in the Marathi portion of the present record itself (1 39). It is mentioned as Āmbē (Khōlanāvakāce Āmbē) in the Mahānubhāva work Līlācaritra, composed in c. Saka 1200.2 Thus the original name of the place was Amba or Ambe, Amrapura being merely an attempt at Sanskritisation. It is also supported by the use of Ambēdēsu (1 36) and Amradēśa (11 21, 35) as synonyms. These two names evidently denote the region round Ambe Jogai. The river Vanjara on which an agrahara created by Kholeśvara was situated is the present Manjara. The village Laghu-Bauct has been identified with one of the villages called Baochi in the neighbourhood of Ambe. One of these is situated 19 miles west by south from Ambe between Ambe and Kalamb; the other Baochi is situated 16 miles to the south of Ambe between Ambe and Latur. As pointed out by M. G. Dikshit, the latter village seems to be intended. The adjective laghu was added to the name of the village to indicate its smaller extent as compared to the other Baochi which may have been known as Brhad-Bauct. The practice of prefixing brhat and laghu to place names is noteworthy.4 Kējadēśa is the country round present Kej, 22 miles to the west of Ambe. Ausadeśa denoted the region round Ausa, 34 miles to the south of Ambe. Udagiri has been identified with Udgir, the headquarters of the Udgir Taluk, Oosmanabad District, at a distance of 52 miles from Ambe. Saya may be the same as Sai situated at a distance of about 21 miles from Laghu Bāūci. Javalagāva is modern Javalagamva, 71 miles south-

Ibid., IV. Il 3-4, p. 61. This name seems to emphasise the fact that Ambe was a well-known centre of the Mother Goddess cult. The name Ambakeetra found in the local Yogedvari-mahatmya has the same significance.

^{2.} Ekānka, edited by H.N. Nene, No. 12.

^{3.} Marathi Samsodhana Patrika, Vol. IX (i), p. 25.

^{4.} Vide ibid., pp. 24-5,

east of Ambe in the Mominabad Taluk, Bhir District. Cățusa is the same as the village Chat, 33 miles to the south of Ambe. Ādasa is the modern village of Adas to the west of Ambe. Bilvapāli, Rāhaṭavamdī and Sālivāva cannot be identified.

Finally, it must be pointed out that a perusal of the list of localities mentioned in the present inscription will reveal that they were situated in two distinct regions: Amraoti District of Vidarbha and the Bhir and Oosmanabad Districts of the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. The same may be said about the localities referred to in the next inscription. As stated earlier, Trivikrama and probably his son Khōlēśvara were born at Amraoti. The next epigraph contains a hyperbolic description of Amrapura, modern Ambe, which is said to have been Khōlēśvara's headquarters. The closeness of Khōlēśvara's association with Ambe is indicated by the description of Ambe as Khōlanāyaka's in the Lilacaritra. It would thus follow that Khōlēśvara was a native of Vidarbha but afterwards migrated to Marathwada when he was appointed a general and provincial governor with Ambe as the seat of his administration, by his Yādava overlord, as it was more centrally situated.

TEXT

1. ॥ ओं कमो हेरंबाय ॥ यस्यास्यु(स्यो)न्ततःकुंभमंडलंगलस्सिदूररकतोवरे सप्पं×कंवल्वा(बा)ल वृत्तसरलो वंत×करे भा[सते हेलालोडित-मोदकाइमक *]-9

The villages mentioned in the Marathi portion were correctly identificated.
 M. G. Dikshit, ibid., pp. 24-3. Tulpule also follows him. Vide Pracina Marothi Koriva Lekha, p. 120.

^{2.} Supra. pp. 15, 25, 26.

There is nothing to support the opinion of Altekar (EHD, p. 541) that Kholesvara was a native of Khandesh.

^{4.} Khare has omitted Wi.

^{5.} Khare 'स्योग्नत'.

^{6. .} सर्वष्कंदलिवाल°.

^{7. .} दंतब्करे.

^{8. ..} भ्राजते.

Restoration of the missing portion of this, as well as other lines, is based on the next inscription.

- 2. वलस्सुं(दशुं) डाग्रमागे¹ स वो मूयाई मवतीसुत×प्रतिदिनं² विघ्नीघित-विद्युत्तये [१।। ⊗]³ छ।।⁴ अस्ति ध्वस्तसमस्तवेरिनिकर(रः) प्रौ-[दप्रतापानलः कुंदरवैतदिगं ⊗]-
- तकीति रमलः श्रीसिंघणः क्षोणिपः ॥ येनाहारि हरीमसंभृतमितस्कीतं समस्तं क्षणाहाज्यं प्राज्यमधा [जर्जुनस्य ६ दिलता धारा धरामू ※] -
- 4. वर्ण(णम्) ।। [२ ।। ※] तेलुंगो वेन नीतो निधनमितिबलो गूर्जं रो क् जर्जरहर्व के कि कि कि कि प्रापनोर्व ।। परिजनसिहतो होसल [:पत्बलांभः चोड: कोडं ※]
- 5. पयोधे रणभृवि सुभटो¹³ मृत्युकालं¹³ मृकालो¹⁴ गौडः कीडानिरस्तः कृत इह सहसा प्राप्तदिकत्स्तुक्वतः ।। [३ ।। ※]¹⁵ तस्सँग्याधि[पतियंशोधि-वतिः प्राप्त ※]-
- 6. ग्रतायोन्निर्तिवृद्धालंक्कित्रिक्ष्य(स्व)णामलमिवः(तिः)¹६ पुण्यंकमृत्तिस्छ्(स्यि) तिः ॥ सोजन्यामृतवःरिधिर्गुणनिधिर्भीमो¹७ महत्यां यु[िध ध्वस्ता-हंमतिसन्निधिव ∰]-¹8

1. Khare, व्यव: शंहासमागे,

2. Khare. °सुतदप्रतिदिनं.

3. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

4. .. has omitted it.

5. Khare, oalfao.

6. ., °जनस्य.

7. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

8. ,, 'तेलंगी.

9. Khare, गुजरी,

10. ., जज्जेरखं.

11. . केशापनीढ.

- 12. , 現可(刊)引. As observed above, s and bh are often formed alike. In the next inscription, where also this stanza occurs, the reading is clearly bh.
- 13. Khare, मृत्य (त्यु)कालं. The medial u, which is turned to right, is quite clear.
 - 14. Khare, तृ(त्रि)कालो.

15. Metre, Sragdhara.

16. Khare, "त्वणामलमति:.

17. Khare, °Hichi.

18. " °मरिमंत्रिधि°.

19. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

- तीतवेता जयित लितकीति मृद्यालास्यो मृतींद्रः ॥ [५॥ 🕾]² वंशेभुत्तस्य सम्बंप्रवरगुणगणस्लाघनीयस्वरूपो विष्ठः श्रीमाइ[देवस्त्रि-भवनस्ज 🕾]
- 9. न(न:) स्तोमविधामभि: ॥ तस्माहिस्यातकीलिविमलमित्रवारो-भवत्स्वामिदेव: सीमा सौजन्यसिधोस्त्रिजगित विवृ[वा जंगम: क #]-
- त्पवक्ष: ॥ [६॥ 8]³ तत: प्रसिद्धोमलपण्यम् तिस्त्रिविक्रमोजायत विप्रवर्यः ॥ यदुद्भवातं वरपंदितकाह्यः सर्वोग्रहारो विमलो [व][भूव ॥ ।॥ ₩ | [त ₩]-
- [स्मा] व्वन्भतवीयंविकमधरः स्रोले[इवरः] क्मापतिन्नी व्याचारविचार-निमंलियरामग्रेसरोजायत ॥ विश्वामित्र इवापरस्त्रिभवानी [निर्मात 🕸]-
- मोशस्तया शक्त्यागस्त्य इवा'खिलारिजलधीन्यातं प्रभयं: क्षणात ॥ [८ । । 🕾] ⁸ प्रचुरविमलबुद्धिः सर्वतः प्राप्तसिद्धिविदलितपरसैन्यः स जिलन दिव सत्व 8]-
- न्यः ॥ जयति ललितम्तिविद्वविष्यातकीतिहित्रभवनकृतमानः खोल्लदेवा-मिथान: ।। [९ ।। ⊗]10 त्रिविकमस्तस्यास्य विकमाकांतम्भुजः ।। मा-
- 14. तवंशमतो वक्ये 11 सदगणीय महोदधे: ।। [१ ।। *] 18 कक्यपाल्यस्य वंशेमृत्महर्षेमंहता वर: ॥ गोविदो नाम शिष्टानामस्य.13 कल्याणभूभूजां (जाम्) ॥ [११ ॥ 🕾]14 वासवे
- वोमवत्त[स्माह]सुदेवाचंने रतः ॥ विद्याविनयसंपन्नः सत्यधर्मपरायणः ॥ [१२॥ *]15 द्विजक्मदस्थांशर्याचतां कल्पवको विमलबहल18नीतिर्द्धीमताम-

^{1.} Khare, °南f看°.

^{2.} Metre, Malini.

^{3.} Metre, Sragdhara.

^{4.} .. Indravajra.

^{5.} Khare takes it as the concluding letter of the last line.

^{6. &}quot; °र्नीत्या°.

^{7. ,,} takes all this as forming part of the last line.

^{8.} Metre : Sardulavikridita

^{9.} Khare, "बृद्धि(दि:).

^{10.} Metre, Malini.

^{11.} Khare बक्ष (क्ये).

^{12. ..} Anustubh.

^{13. ,, °}मग्र: (इय:),

^{14. ..} 16. Khare, °मदुल°.

^{15.} Metre, Anustubh.

- 17. द³ चंद्रास्या प्रतिवृ(वृ)द्व³पंकजदृशामग्रेसराभूव् भुवि।। सावित्री किमहो पित[व]त[र]ता किंवायवारुवतीत्येवं या सुचरित्रवण्णंन विधी स्पाति समभ्यागता
- 18. ॥ [१४ ॥ ॐ] ⁵ अजायत सुतस्तस्यावितो वासवो यथा ॥ क्रोलेश ⁶ इति विख्यात ४ ८ विवाकरः ⁷ ॥ [१५॥ ॐ] ⁸ कि कि तस्य यशो [म]लं त्रिभुवने स्तुस्य(स्यं) महासूरिमि[यं]स्या-
- 19. द्यापि करालखड्गनिहताः कूर्जत्यमी गूर्जराः 10 ।। यंत्राकवंगनियंद-[श्र बहलफू]त्कार 11 घोरध्वनित्रस्ते में कलकन्यकापरतटे सार्खं 12 परं फेरवे 13 ।। [१६॥ *] 14
- 20. अपि च ।। यदनकाराचलपुरे चमस्कारास्पदं महत् ।। मंदिरं मं[दराकारं] स्कारं ओक्षाङ्गंधारिणः ।। [१७।। ८०] कोल्लपूरामिधं चक्रे [यो]प्र[हा]र-[मनुसमं] (मम्)।। ती-
- 21. रे पर्योख्या बि(बि)पुलं वित्यान्यवस्तिनापुरं (रम्) ॥ [१८॥ अ] । अप्रहारं तथेवैकं विस्तीणं वरवातटे ॥ वाराणसीति विख्यातममितन्नाहाणाः अर्थं (यम्) [१९॥ अ] 18 कि च बहुना । ।

11. · · °-新17.

12. " सार्ध.

13. .. -रर्थ: .

14. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

15. Metre, Anustubh.

16. Khare, विपलं.

17. " "

^{1.} Metre, Malini.

^{2.} According to Khare, this is the concluding part of the last line.

^{3.} Khare, °प्रतिबुद्ध°.

^{4.} Khare, °वर्णन°.

^{5.} Metre, Śardulavikridita.

^{6. ..} खोल्लेश.

^{7.} The intended reading appears to be विख्यातो रिपुष्वान्तदिवाकर: . I owe this suggestion to my friend K.V. Sarma,

^{8.} Metre, Anustubh.

^{9.} Khare, स्तुत्यं.

^{10.} Khare, गुजंस:.

^{18.} Metre, Anustubh.

^{19.} Khare, कि बबहुना.

- 22. देवालयान्यग्रहारा यस्य¹ तिष्ठंश्यनेकशः । प्रपा: सत्राणि र[स्या]णि वा[प्य]श्च वरदातटे ।। [२०॥ ﴿]³ आस्रदेशे तथा चक्रे योग्रहारं⁴ महा[पु]रं(रम्)। विदुषामाश्च-
- 23. यं रम्पं विमले⁵ बंजरातटे। [।२१।। ⊕] किञ्च⁷।। वा(बा)ले⁵ सालवि बंगि गूर्ज्जार महाहंमीरि⁹ नेपालिके¹⁰ मातः कोसलि चोलि हो [स]लि तथा तेलुंगिके¹¹-
- 24. स्तःपृरि ।। विश्वाक्षो निजरत्नकंकणमणे(णेः)¹³ भवद्भक्तंरि¹³ यद्भंमागिरि-भूभृतः प्रतयकुरुक्षोलेश्वरो¹⁴ रोधितः ।। [२२।। ८८)¹⁵ यस्येयं¹⁶ नि
- अभुजोपाण्जितिब(वि) रदसमूहस्य¹⁷ नामावली । विरुद्धसंडलीक¹⁸बंडनै-क्यमदंड ।। वंडवशीकृतमंडलीकसउ(अ) न्तराव¹⁹ ।। स्वमंड-
- 26. लक्षड्डिवयक्तास्तःपुररायपुन(नः)स्थापनाचायं²⁰ ॥ प्रत्ययिप्रलयभयभीत-द्यारणागतवक्रयंजर ॥ आख्डनवयौवनचनस्तनीपरनारीस²¹-
- 27. होदर ॥ चाहंबदेशाधीव्वरपरमारमोजदेवदेशा(शे)व्वर²⁸ ॥ कलिगराजधरा-भयतमात्रावरोधक²⁸ । नुपसिंघवर ॥ बाणखेटीय²⁴ हे-

2. , सर्वा(त्रा)णि.

3. Metre, Anustubh.

4. " °ग्रहार(रं).

5. Khare निमंते.

6. Metre, Anustubh.

7. .. 何可。

8. Khare, चोले.

9. ., महाहम्मीरि.

10. " वेणे भिके.

11. .. तेलंगिके.

12. " °ниј.

13: .. तब- -ति°.

14. .. ° यंद्रं नागिरिभूभज: पलय: खोलेश्वरो.

15. Metre, Sardulavihridita.

16. Khare, यस्ययं,

17. Khare, जराज्य पाजितविरुदनमृदस्य.

18. ., वि-मंडलीक°.

19. .. स-राय.

20. " °विमुक्तार: शरण्य-नस्थापनाचायं,

21. " °परमुतापरनारीस°.

22. " ॰देशेश्वर.

23. " °वरामयतमार्यावरोधप्रकर.

24. .. बाणस्वेटीय॰.

^{1.} Khare, यस्य (अ).

- 28. माडिमां(वा)हिनीमानदलनदक्षिणानिल¹।। तथा [च] कितिकत्मवक्षालन-क्षम । सेक्य (१) देशाधीश्वररामपाल-पलायनपरंपराचतुर ॥
- 29. विधानघोव । वावन्नवेशीय॰मंडलीकभुजगकुःश्विकृतनवेनतेय ॥ विषम-तरतोरगल॰ लंकाविभंजनराम ॥ प्रबल—
- 30. तरनागणशिर(रः) कंदकुद्दाल ।। राजवंय(श)मा(मां)डॉल(लि)ग(क)राज-पितामह भंमागिरीश्वरा⁷भीरसिंहराजलक्मीदेवकुलवनदहनदावानल ।। गूज्जं-
- 31. रवरसीहडिशिर(रः)कमलमूल[न]।लोत्पाटनकर ॥ घाराधिपविस(श)व-सुमल्लदेवपालमानवनभंजनप्रभंजन ॥ र[ट्ट]पति[क] दवे[म][म *]क-
- 32. र⁸करिप्रबहणतुरगवीचो(चि)प्रवलतर⁹रणार्ण्यनिमग्नदक्षिणनृपितसेनापृ[ध्वी] समुद्धरणमहावराह ॥ विवृधजनमनोमानसराजहं-
- 33, स ॥ हंसदारविदुकुंदचंदनरस¹⁰प्रस्पद्धिकीत्तिसुषा[ध]वितितित्रभुवनेत्यादि¹¹-राजावलीविराजमान-श्रीकोलेश्वरदेवो विज-
- 34. यते ॥ प्रतापानलसंतापतिपता रियुचासकाः । सेहिरे नापि तिच्चत्रं यस्पासिधवजीवनं (नम्)[॥२३॥ *]12 ॥छ॥छ॥13 इदानीं घीमता14 खोले-

^{1.} Khare, "ता(वा)हिनीमानदलनदिक्षणानल.

^{2. .. ---.}

^{3. .. ——.}

^{4. &}quot; °प्रवर.

^{5. &}quot; निघान - - - - देशीय°.

^{6. &}quot; पो(हो)र(य)सल°.

^{7. &}quot; ° बरामीर°.

^{8.} Khare reads ka before ra in this line, but the stroke for ka is quite clear at the end of the last line.

^{9.} Khare, °₹ (₹)°.

^{10.} Khare, °चंद्रनभस°.

^{12.} Metre: Anustubh.

^{13. &}quot; प्रभाष्यिनिग्गैतं वाध तिष्तारिभुवासकाः ॥ सेहिरे पापितिव्वत्रं यस्याधिपवज्जीवनं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

^{14.} Khare and Tulpule, श्रीमता.

Yad, Ins. 4

- 35. इवरेण सकलेदवरवेवस्य विशेषभोगाय यवा यहानं तदेव महाराष्ट्रभाषयात्र लिक्यते ॥छा।छा। भाम्मदेशे लघुवाउ-
- 36. ची⁵नाम ग्रामो दत्त: ॥ तथा आ(आं, बेदेसु केलदेसु⁴ ॥औसदेसु⁵ ॥ उदिगिरि ॥ एवं देसी चौँविडिं चौँसह प्रतिग्रामी⁶ बौमुलिक⁷ ॥ तथा आम्न्रपुरे⁵
- 37. हाटवटी एकि ।। वठार एकु⁹ ।। तथा पु(प)रडी¹⁰ गुरवा सत्र¹¹ चौय¹² स्वणं-¹³ संबंधे एहिं¹⁴ चौंदेसी चौंबिंड म।स¹⁵ प्रतिपाॐ¹⁶ कवडेका¹⁷ ।। देवासि बिडे सह
- 38. १ ॥ चौँदेसी 18 पलेचे 19 बैल 20 एकु सपुण्ड 21 सर्वेनमस्य ॥ बिल्वपालिन्न तेना 23 पालिचे ३ 23 गाउवलोलेसमीप मला १ राहटबंडी 24 मला [॥] 25 देवासमी-
- 39. प²⁶ मला १²⁷ तथा पूर्वता मला १²⁸ एवं²⁹ मले ७ ॥ हाटी³⁰ मालिणी प्रति

1. Khare, & 11 & 11 2.

2. Khare, आंब (知)°.

3. ,, लघुदाडधी,

4. ,, तथा बेढे सुकेडांदेज,

5. , असि दत्तं.

6. "रघुवेसीगें विडिवोसह प्रति°.

7. Khare has left the first two letters undeciphered. Dikshit reads the first two letters as ghau (?) da but at the same time concedes the possibility of the first aksara being read as bau. Tulpule: बीमुलिक.

8. Khare, आंब (अ) पूरे.

9. Khare, - Gaeinff

10. " तथा पुर ॥ ; Dikshit : मंबापुर ॥ ; Tulpule, तथा परही ॥

11. Dikshit, गुरवास ७.

12. Khare, °क्षोम॰ ; Tulpule : चीय .

13. Tulpule, 刊可°.

14. ,, leaves it undeciphered.

15. Khare, मात्य°.

16. Tulpule, प्रतिपाओ.

17. .. वातडेआ.

18. Khare, - - देसी; Tulpule : ची देसी.

19. " and Tulpule, पालवि. 20. " and Tulpule, बेल.

21. ,, पलसपुण ; Tulpule, एका सपुण.

22. " has left the 6 letters before a undeciphered.

23. ,, and Tulpule, पालिवे.

24. ,, म१-१- -हरवंडी ; Tulpule ; राहटवडी.

25. " मला-; Tulpule, मला १.

26. According to Khare, it forms the concluding letter of the last line.

27. Khare, मजा-.

23. Khare, मला-.

29. ,, पूर्व.

30. " हा(द्रा)व्टी(टी).

चौसरं ।। घाणे ६ ।। आंबा बिक्षणे कामतु १ ।। तथा पूर्वता कामतु १ ।। सायप्रविलो ।

- 40. णा बोथवा । ग्रास् पाठीं पांच पौफली ।। मोबीबाबी आसूपाठी आडु ।। कड्बेका गवता पेंडी ।। पांदडिए विकलिए पाने(? ल्ले) बोललिए पाने
- 41. १२¹⁰ ॥ पालेशा फर्ना सूंक¹¹ ॥चाट्सी॥ आडसी कामतु¹³ १ सातिवावी¹³ १ म्हले सेत १ जवलगर्वी कामतु¹⁴ १ ॥ अणुमात्रं ज्ञावस्वं यो
- 42. [र] मसा हर्त्तु विश्वविद्यति ॥ इह [तस्य] विक् कुलच्छेदः [परत्र] नरकं वजेत् ॥१॥ [२४ *] विक् स्वदत्तां परदत्तां या यो हरेत वसंघरां (राम्)॥ विक् वर्षसहस्राणि विक
- 43. [ध्टायां] जायते कृषिः ।। २।। [२५ *] वहिमवंसुषा भूक्ता राजिम [: *] 20 सगराविभिः ।। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य ृतवा फलं(लम्) ।। २।। [२६ *] 21 महंजजाः परमही—
- 44. पतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भवि भाविभूषाः ॥ ये पासयंति मम

11. Khare, 刊年.

12. Khare, - 48.

13. " सालिबाहा.

14. ,, वामड,

15. " हुर्तुः.

16. " — — .

17. Metre, Anustubh.

18. " 有印:.

19. ..

20. ,, राजभि:

^{1.} Khare, Я - - - - ; Tulpule, Япань.

^{2. ,,} आंब°; Tulpule, श्रांबां°. 3. Khare, कामत.

^{4. &}quot; कामड.

^{5. &}quot; माय प्रविलो°; Tulpule, सोमप्रतिलो°.

^{6. &}quot; — — **वा**.

^{7. ,,} आंत्रगण पोफला. The remaining part of the line has been left undeciphered by Khare.

^{8.} Tulpule, गांबी वानी.

^{9.} Tupule, बामणिए.

^{10.} Dikshit, ? C. Tulpule reads 12, but gives 10 in his translation of the Marathi portion. Vide op. cit., p. 121.

^{21. ,, ,,}

षमंभिमं समग्रं तेवां मया विरचितोञ्जलिरेव मूब्ति ।।४।।[२७ இ]¹ छ ।। छ ।।² श्री

- 45. ।। स्वस्ति श्री सकु³संवत् ।। १९५०।। सस्वंधारिणि वं संवत्तरे ।। श्रीमता कोलेश्वरेण प्रासाबो रचितोर्य (यम्) ।। लिबितं तस्क्ष्रीकरण-पंडितरामेण ।। मं-
- 46. गलं⁷ महाश्री: शुभं भवतु ।। श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री स्वस्तीश्री मेदिपीचे आधिवाणियचे⁸ सानुनुगु नो(ना)व⁹सरेसाते हाच पूभु नाऐ क्य] कंडार-
- 47. णधले 10 भूजंउ खिया 11 विताणि यदा आमुलार्थे सेवटि 12 कंडारिलि 13 ॥ओं॥

^{1.} Metre, Vasantatilaka.

^{3.} Khare, 司事°.

 ^{...} लिखितं.

^{7.} Tulpule, °गल.

^{9. ..} नाव.

^{11. ,,} भूर्नुउखिआ,

^{2.} Khare, 西川田川

^{4.} Tulpule, सवंधारिणि.

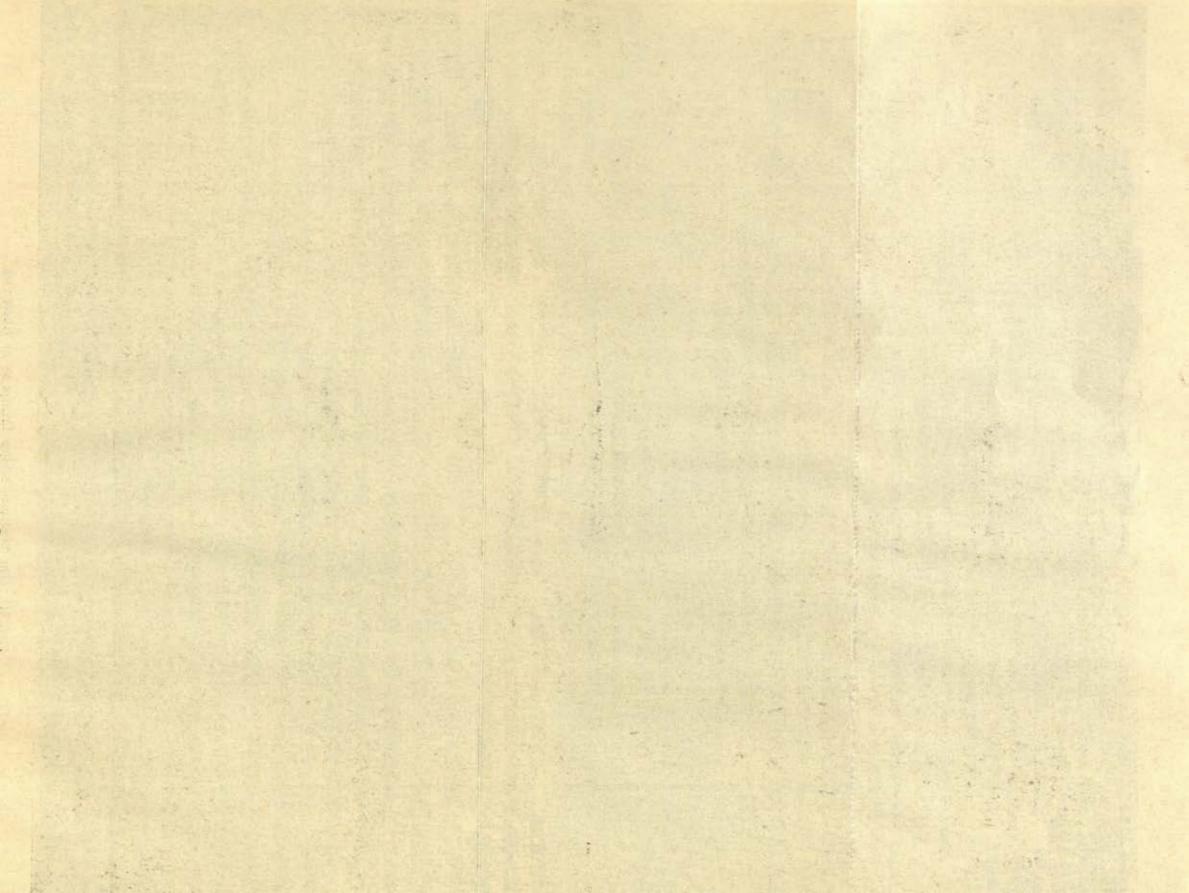
^{6.} Khare, - - : Tulpule, °स्तेण.

^{8.} Tulpule, आधिवाणिअचे.

^{10. &}quot; ॰दीघले.

^{12.} The reading is somewhat doubtful.

^{13.} This is the only word in this line read by Khare.



III

THE YÖGËSVARĪ TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF KHÖLËSVARA

This inscription was first noticed by James Burgess who found it covered with whitewash and otherwise damaged so that parts of it had become illegibe.\(^1\) It was first published with an introductory note and free rendering in Marathi, but without facsimile, by G. H. Khare.\(^2\) In view of its historical value it is edited here afresh from estampages kindly made available by M. G. Dikshit. The inscribed slab is built into the western wall of a structure known as Chaubhara at Ambe. The slab measures 2' 8" high by 2' \(^2\)\frac{1}{2}" broad. There are altogether forty-one lines of writing, each line comprising between fifty and sixty letters. The average size of individual letters is about \(^1\)" broad by \(^1\)" high. Being exposed to the inclement weather for over seven centuries, some \(aksaras\) have become illegible. On the whole, however, the inscription is fairly well-preserved.

The characters belong to the Nägarl alphabet of the thirteenth century A. D. As regards palaeographical features, most of the observations made in connection with the preceding record are equally applicable in the present case also. The following additional remarks may, however, be made. The letters are not so neatly formed as in the previous inscription, probably because the scribe was not quite efficient in his work. The prsthamātrās are employed throughout, the solitary exception in a long record of forty-one lines being cakrē at the end of l 25. The medial a normally takes the form of a vertical stroke to the right of the letter in question, but in one case $(prapta^{\circ}, l$ 5) a top-stroke is employed for the same purpose. As a rule, the medial u is added at the bottom of a letter, but in one place $(mrtyu^{\circ}, l$. 5) it is in the form of a side-stroke (\dashv) attached in the middle of

^{1:} ASWI, III, p. 49.

^{2.} SMHD, I, pp. 68-76.

the akşara on its proper left. The letter b has a notch in its left limb, there being no example of b with a cross-bar as in the preceding record.

Except for the concluding words referring to the engraving of the record which are in Marathi, the whole inscription is in Sanskrit, and but for the initial salutation to the god Vighnarāja (Gaṇapati), the words api ca in 1 25 and kim vahunā in 1 27 and the concluding portion giving the names of the writer and the engraver, the whole epigraph is in verses composed in various metres. There are altogether forty-two stanzas.

As for orthography the following points deserve notice. At one place, viz., tribhuvano, 134 r is used for ri. Sometimes v is used in place of b, e.g., lamvodara, 110, prativuddhao, 120, and vice versa, as in sarbāmga, 113. Likewise, there is a confusion between s and s, e.g., subhraih for subhraih, 18, samao in place of samao, 113. N is nowhere employed, and even when it is indispensable, the writer has avoided it at the cost of correctness, as in samrgao in place of sarngao, 125. The verses are numbered. Except for the dandas at the end of verse-halves, verses and sentences, no punctuation mark is employed. Even when a word or part thereof has been twice engraved by mistake, no mark is used to cancel the redundant letters as in kanyakanya, 124.

The record is not dated, but as it refers to the temple of Sakalēśvara, it must be later than the preceding inscription which records the construction of and gifts to the temple. Like the previous record, it belongs to the time of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa and his general Khōlēśvara. It aims at recording the construction by Khōlēśvara of a temple dedicated to the goddess Yōgēśvarī and the grant of the village Talainī to it.

The inscription commences with the salutation to the god Vighnarāja (Gaņēśa) in a prose formula and a verse invoking the blessings of the same god (v. 1). This is followed by two stanzas eulogising some of the more important conquests of Singhaṇa (vv. 2-3). We are next introduced to his general Khōlēśvara (v. 4) and his head-quarters, Āmrapura (modern Ambe), the provenance of the inscription (vv. 5-12). Verses 13-22 furnish an account of his descent on both the sides. Then follows a detailed narrative of Khōlēśvara's military and cultural achievements (vv. 23-41). The concluding verse (42) gives

us information about the author of the record, followed by the prose portion mentioning the writer and the scribe (1 41).

As we have seen above, the preceding inscription mentions the names only of the writer and the scribe, the name of the author being conspicuous by its absence. We are fortunate in having the name of all the three functionaries in the case of the present epigraph. It was composed by a Brāhmaņa physician and poet named Mādhava, son of Bhatṭa Dhanēśvara of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gōtra² and the Taittiriya śākhā (of the Yajurvēda). It was written by one Trilocana and engraved by one Sēmā Prabhu. Thus, there were three stages in the preparation of an inscription: composing, writing on the stone or metal for the guidance of the scribe, and engraving.

Although the main object of the inscription is to record the building of and the grant of a village for the temple of Yogesvari at Ambe, the major portion of the record constitutes a grandiloquent eulogy of Kholesvara and his master Singhana. The same is the case with the preceding inscription. The present epigraph is actually styled prasasti by its author (v. 42).

About half the number of stanzas in this inscription are common to the previous epigraph.³ Many of them are also found in No. 1.⁴ These verses are of inestimable help in restoring the missing portion of the last inscription. However, a comparison of these stanzas will reveal that in a few cases there are differences of isolated words⁵ and spellings.⁶

^{1.} See supra, p. 8.

^{2.} It is interesting to note in this connection that the Vākāṭakas were also Brāhmaņas of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gōtra. The Brāhmaṇas of Taittirīya sākhā are found in large numbers in the Deccan and South even now.

^{3.} This may perhaps indicate that the author of both these inscriptions was the same.

^{4.} As stated in connection with Inscription No. 1, the twenty-two verses found in it are identical with the corresponding portion of the present inscription.

E.g., vimala-bahula-kirttir-dhimatam, 1 19, in place of vimala-bahula nitir-ddhimatam, 1 15 of the previous inscription.

^{6.} E.g., Gurjjaro jarijaratvam, 1 3, in place of Gurjaro jarjaratvam, 1 4, of the last inscription.

The two stanzas describing Singhana's conquests and most of those eulogising Kholeśvara's achievements are also found in the Sakaleśvara temple inscription and their contents have been discussed in connection with it. They need not be repeated here.

The present inscription mentions only one new military exploit of Khōlēśvara not known from the last record, viz., that he brought a maddened elephant of Kalinga origin from Cakrakōṭa, the ancient capital of the Nāgas ruling in the former Bastar State. In the absence of more evidence on the point it is not possible to ascertain the nature of this exploit.¹

An interesting feature of this inscription is a long, eulogistic account of Amrapura, modern Ambe Jogai, the headquarters of Khōlēśvara (vv. 5-15). We are told that it was an ornament of the earth, comprised many janapadas and was adorned by many gardens. The town was an extensive one, its beauty being enhanced by numerous buildings. It was surrounded by a lofty rampart wall (prākāra) and a moat (parikha) and shone with enormous prosperity. It was beautified by tastefully decorated mansions. Here were situated the temples known as Kēdārēśvara, Ambarēśvara, Māņikyēśvara and Sakalēśvara adorned with glittering gems, little tinkling bells, toranas and flags fluttering on their tops; they were crowded by a multitude of devotees and penance-observers. There was also a sky-scrapping temple dedicated to the long-bellied god (i. e., Ganēśa). Its crossways were incessantly resorted to by multitudes of travellers fatigued by journey. The courtyards of houses were slightly sprinked with saffron-water and houses beautified with decorative designs in various colours (rangamālikās) formed of rows of pearls and rubies. Much of this description is indeed very general and of the varnaka type intended to suggest the prosperity of the capital. The only piece of historica information relates to the presence of the temples mentioned above. Of these, the construction of and grants to the Sakalesvara temple form the main purpose of the last inscription.

^{1.} Khare thought that verse 33 of this record contained reference to Kholzśwara's victory over a Nāyaka king (SMHD, I, p. 70). But according to our reading of the relevant portion (kfto='pahriya sarvasvam c-āvanīpo vanīpakah), there is no mention at all of any Nāyaka king and the verse states in a general manner that Kholzśwara having deprived a ruler of the earth (avanīpa) of all his belongings made him a protector of the forest (vanīpaka), i.e., drove him away to the forest.

From the tenor of its description the temple of Yogesvari built by Kholesvara appears to have been an imposing structure. It is said to have resembled the peak of the divine mountain (i. e., Meru), an expression evidently suggestive of its great height. It was adorned with golden kalaśas. Kholeśvara endowed the temple with beautiful golden ornaments set with a variety of precious stones, and granted the village Talain1 to it. The goddess Yogesvari is naturally eulogised very fervently. Thus it is said that her praises were sung by Isa (Siva), Visnu, Sakra and other gods in wonder-inspiring prose and verse. Her attendant spirit (cara) is represented as dancing in the courtyard of the temple (vv. 38-40). This shows the great popularity of the Mother Goddess cult at Ambe which came to be known as Ambe Jogai in allusion to the goddess Yogesvari, It is noteworthy in this connection that Ambe was a centre of the Yogint cult even prior to the time of Kholesvara. This is indicated by the Ambe inscription of Udayaditya, dated A.D. 1144, which refers to the place as Ambā and states that the vajra-danda of the Yoginis may befall one who might obstruct or revoke the grant made by Udayaditya.1

Other pious acts of Khōlēśvara are also recorded. Those which have already been referred to while dealing with the preceding epigraph need not be repeated here. According to the present inscription, Khōlēsvara excavated a huge tank resembling a river in Dhāraura-dēśa and constructed a temple of Viṣṇu^a and enlarged a temple of Vināyaka (v. 41).

As for the localities mentioned in our inscription, Talaini may be identified with the village of Talani in the Bhir District. But we cannot be sure on this point as the boundaries of the donated village are not mentioned. Dharaura-dēśa where Khōlēśavara got a tank excavated probably denotes the region round Dharar in the Bhir District. It is mentioned under the name Dharaura-vişaya in the Dharur plates of Raştrakūta Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 722.4 Other localities have already been identified in connection with the Sakalēśvara temple inscription.

^{1.} Vide SMHD, IV, p. 61, text-line 10; Tulpule, op. cit., p. 36.

^{2.} Is it the same as the temple of Śārngadhārin at Acalapura ?

^{3.} The Maharastra-grama-suci mentions a village of this name in the Bhir District.

^{4.} EI, XXXVI, p. 254, text-line 43.

TEXT

- ओं नमो विश्वराजाय ।। यस्यास्थीन्नतकुं ममंडलगलितदूररक्तोदरे सप्यंः कंवलिबाल¹मुलतरलो व(वं)तः² करे भासते³ ।। हेलालोडित-
- 2 मोडकारयकवलः झुंडाग्रमागे स को भूयाद्धैमवती भुतः प्रतिदिनं विद्नौध-विच्छित्तये ॥१॥ अस्ति व्यस्तसमस्तवैरिविसरप्रौढप्रतापा-
- नलः कुंदश्वेतदिगंतकीित्तरमलः श्रीसिंघण कोणिपः ।। येनाहारि हरीभ-संभृतमित्रकीतं समस्तं क्षणाद्राज्यं प्राज्यमचाज्यं (जर्जु) नस्य दिलता धारा
- धरामूवर्ण(णम्) ।।२॥ तेलंगो येन नीतो निधस(न) भितबलो गुज्जंरो जज्जंरत्वं केशि: केशापनोदं 10 परिजनसहितो होसलः पत्वलामः ।। चोडः कोडं पयो-
- 5. धे रणभुवि सुभटो¹¹मृत्युकालं नुकालो¹²गौड: कीडानिरस्त: कृत इह सहसा प्राप्तविक्कस्तुक्षकः(क्कः)¹⁴॥३॥¹⁵तत्सैन्याधिपतियंशोधिवसति(तिः) प्राप्तप्रतापों(पो)न(न्न)ति-
- 6. विश्वालकृतिश्वत्व(स्व)णा¹⁶मलमितः पृथ्वेकपूर्तः¹⁷स्थितः¹⁸ ॥ सौजन्या-मृतवारिधिर्गुणनिधिर्मीमो¹⁹ महत्यां पृथि ध्वस्ताहंमितसं(स)न्निधि-²⁰ विजयते सोलेश्वर¹-

1. Khare, सर्वद्यतिवाल°.

3. " भ्राम (ज)ते.

5. Metre, Sardula vikridita.

7. Khare, onu जनस्य

9. " fаца°.

11. , मुत(भ)टो.

13. " °िनरस्त (स्त:).

15. Metre, Sragdhara.

17. Khare, पुण्य(ण्ये)कमूर्ति:.

19. " °र्भीमो(ब्मो).

21. " स्रोलेश्वर(र:).

2. Khare, दत:.

4. " °द्धे(दे)मवती°.

6. , श्रीसिंघण:.

8. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

10. Khare, केशापनोढं (ढ:).

12. .. तृ(त्रि)कालो.

14. , दिक्षस्तुक्तका(क्क:).

16. " °हत्वणा°.

18. " स्छ (स्थ)ति:.

20. " °हमरिमंत्रिधि (धी) वि.

- 7. क्मापितः ।।४।। यस्य चांब(चाम्र)पुरं ह्येतं(त)स्नगरं भूषणं भृवः ।। नानाजनपदाकीण्णं नानारामोपशोभितं(तम्) ।।४।। यदं(द)स्तढंर्म-मस्तोकं विशालं शालशोभितं(तम्) ।। उच्चं(च्च)-
- 8. प्राकारपरिसामूरिभैरवमासुरं(रम्) ॥६॥६ विचित्रैरस्न [सं *] क(का) शैरितश्चेतश्च मंडितै! ॥ हम्पें रम्यतलै: सु(शु) औः समंतादुपशोभितं (तम्) ॥७॥ स्पुरं(र) मणिरणकु (त्कु) द्वार्थं
- 9. टिकातोरणध्वजौ:(जै:) ॥ तो सो(सौ)धा मस्तकविन्यस्तपताकांदोलनैरिप ॥ ८॥ अनंताराधकवाततपोधनशतावृतै: ॥ केदारांबरमाणिक्यसकलेश-
- 10. सुरालयै: ।।६[।। *] विश्व भाति नभोविबचुंबिलंबो(बो)वरालयं(यम्) ।। व चतुः (तु)प(हप)थे पयश्चातं(त) विश्व विद्यानिकानाश्चितं (तम्)।। १०।। व कुकुननिह्यंदमंदसं[सि]वतचत्वराः व ।। गृहा मौ-
 - 11. क्तिकसाणिक्यश्रेणिमद्रंगमालिकाः ॥१९[॥ *] 22 यत्र वाति मरुत्फुल्ल-पंकजामोदमेदुरः 23 ॥ नित्यं मुग्धवधूधैर्यंहर[:*] स्मरविवद्धंनः 24 ॥१२॥ 25 तस्याधुनाद्विजवरप्र-
 - 12. वरस्य राजचंच¹⁶च्छिरोमणिविघ्ष्टपदद्वयस्य ॥ खोलेडवरस्य नयज्ञास्त्र²⁷-

1.	Metre,	Śardulavikridita.	2.	Khare,	द्योतंन्न(न)गरं.
3.		°पदाकीणं (णं).	4.	Metre,	Anustubh.
5.	Khare,	यदन्त-ग्न मस्तोकं.	6-		,
7.		विचित्रैरत्रकंशैभि:-	8.	Khare,	ह्यै (म्यें)°.
9.	"	रम्यतरै:.	10.		गुर्भै:.
11.	Metre,	Anuştubh.	12		°रणक्षुद्र°.
13.	Khare,	°हवर्जै:.	14,	"	सोघ°.
15.	Metre,	Anustubh.	16.	Metre,	Anustubh.
17.	Khare,	लंबो°.	18.	Khare,	. चतुःपथे.
19.		श्रांतं(तै:).	20.	Metre,	Anustubh.
21.		संच सं-ऋषत्वराः .	22.		"
23.	**	°सेदुर:.	24.	Khare,	जुद्धवधू धैयं हरस्मरविवर्धनः .
25.	Metre,	Anustubh.	26.		°वंश°.

27. Khare, "साध".

विचारचारुवातुर्यमुज्जवलगिरोः(रः) क्वियते प्रशस्तिः ॥१३॥ हरचरणसरोजाराध-

- नैकाग्रवृध्टिः स(श)म²वमनियमाविक्षीणसर्वां(वां)गग्यिष्टः ।। विवित-परमतस्वोनागतातीतवेत्ता जयित लिलतकोत्तिर्मृद्गलास्यो मुनींबः ।।१४।।⁴ नेतुमभ्या-
- 14. गतेष्वरयं यस्यातिष्यमत्रध्यतां(ताम्) ॥ वृद्यांताः सस्व (स्व)मासाद्य प्रसादमकरोत्पृतः ॥१५॥ वंशेमूत्तस्य सर्वप्रवरगुणगण विष्ठ [: *] श्री भाइदेव-
- 15 स्त्रिभुवनस्जनस्तो (स्स्तो) मविश्वासभूमि: ॥ तस्माद्विस्यातकोत्ति । विमलमतिरुवा(वा)रोश्मवस्त्वामिवेवः सीमासौजन्यसिन्धोस्त्रिजगति विव्वा(वा) जंगं(ग) मः कल्पवृक्ष [: *]10
- 16. ॥१६॥¹¹ ततः प्रसिद्धा(द्धो)मलपुष्यमूर्ति¹²स्त्रिविक(क्)मो¹³कायत विश्वयः ॥ यदुःद्भवादुंबरपंक्तिकाह्यः सर्वोग्रहारो विमलो बसूत्र ॥१७॥¹⁴ त्रिविकमस्तस्या-
- 17. स्य विक(क)म(मा)कां(कां)ता भूभूजः ॥ मातृवंशमतो वक्षे(क्ये) सद्गुणीय-महोवधे: ॥१८॥ कश्यपास्यस्य वंशो(श)भूम्महर्षे महतां वरः ॥ गोविवो नाम शिष्टान।मग्नः(१४४:)क-
- 18. त्याणमूभुवां(जाम्) ॥१६॥^{२७} वासुदेवोभवत्तस्माद्वासुदेवाचंने रतः॥ विद्या-विनयसंपं(प)न्नः सत्यधर्मपरायणः ॥२०॥^{२०} द्विजकुमृदसुर्थाशुर्याचर्ता कल्पवृक्षो

7. Khare, भण(ण:).

8. Khare, 'कोति'.

9. " °रुदारो°.

10. ., कस्पवृक्षः .

11. Metre, Sragdhara.

12. .. ° मृति°.

13. Khare, ° [स्त्रविकमो°.

14. Metre, Indravajra.

15. " विकमकांत°.

16. " Anustubh.

17. Metre, Anustubh.

18. Khare, संपं(प) न्नो.

19. ..

^{1.} Something like 'शोज्जवलिय: appears to be the intended reading.

la. Metre, Vasantatilaka.

^{2.} Khare 可中°

^{3. &}quot; °ноа по.

^{4.} Metre : Malini.

^{5.} Khare: - - गतस्ये - -रन्यानिष्यमतस्यनां.

^{6.} Metre, Anustubh.

- 19. विमलबहुलकी तिथीं मता मग्रगण्यः अरिकरिगणिसहो वासुदेवास्मजो भूत्सकल-गुणिनधानं निवदेवामियानः ।।२१॥ तस्माद्रूपवती सती शसि(शि) कला -
- लावण्यमुद्रास्पवं(वम्) ॥ चंबाख्या प्रतिवृ(वृ)ढ पंकजवृज्ञामग्रेसराभूद् भृवि ॥
 सावित्री किमहो पतिव्रतरता किवायवारुंबती त्येवं या सुचरित्रवर्ण्णनिवधी
- 21. स्याति समभ्यागता ॥२२॥ तस्यामव्भृतवीर्यविकमधरः स्रोलेश्वर(रः) क्मासुरो नीत्याचारविचारनिर्मलिगरामग्रेसरोजायत ॥ विश्वामित्र हवापर⁷-
- 22. स्त्रिभुवनीं निन्(नि)र्मातु भीशस्तथा शहरयागस्त्य इवाखिल।रिजलधी-न्पातृं प्रभूयं: क्षणात् ॥२३॥ प्रचुरा विमलवृद्धिः प्राप्तसर्वव(प्र)सिद्धिः-(द्धि) विदलितव(प)रसेन्यः सा -
- 23. ज्जनब्बस्त दैन्यः ।। जयित लितिमूर्तिः विश्वविक्यातकीर्तिः स्त्रिभुवन-कृतमानः खोल्लदेवामिधानः ॥२४॥ कि कि तस्य यशोमल[त्रि]भुवने स्तुत्यं महा-
- 24. सूरिमियंस्याद्यापि करालखड्गिनहवाः(ताः)कूजंत्यमी गूज्जंराः ॥ मं(यं)-त्रा¹⁷कवंगिनवं(यं)वस्त्रबहलफं(फू)का(त्का)र¹⁸घोरध्वनित्रस्तैमें कलकन्य कन्य(मेकलकन्य)कापरत-

1. Khare, °नीतिधींमतां(ता).

2. Metre, Malint.

মহারিকলা.

4. Khare, प्रतिबद्ध .

5. " ° दन्धती°.

6. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

7. .. इवापरो(र)°.

8. Khare, त्रिभवनं.

9. " faufg°.

10. Metre, Sardalavikridita.

11. " प्रवर°.

12. Khare, "सर्वस्व(प्र)सिद्धि:(द्धि)".

13. According to Khare, this forms the first letter of line 23; but the stroke for sa is quite clear at the end of line 22.

14. Khare, ° विमलमूर्ति°.

15. Khare, कीर्ति.

16. Metre : Malini.

17. " यंत्रा°.

18. Khare, 'नियंदभवहल- कार'.

- 25. टे सार्ढं परं फेरवै: ।।२४॥ अपि च ॥ यक्चकाराचलपुरे चमस्कारास्पदं महत् ॥ मंदिरं मंदराकारं स्कारं श्वीशांगं(शाङ्कं)वारिण: ॥२६॥ बोल्लू(ल्ल)पु(पू)राभिष(धं) चिक्रे
- 26 योग्रहारम्(म)मृ(नु)त्तमं(मम्) । तीरे पयोष्ण्या विपुलं त(य)यान्यं (न्य)-ह(ड)स्तिनापुरं (रम्) ॥२७॥ इप्रश्रारं तथैवैकं विस्तीण्णं व(व)रदातटे ।। वाराणशी(सी)तिविख्यातममितवा(बा)ह्मणा-11
- 27. श्रयं(यम्) ।।२६॥ कि व(ब)हुना ि [1] * देवालयान्यग्रहारा यस्य तिच्ठच्य(न्त्य)नेक शः । प्रपा(पाः)सत्राणि रम्यानि(ण) िवाप्य इच वरवात टे ।।२६॥ वहंदा वहंदा येन जितः
- 28. संग्रामभूमिषु ।। मोजदेवाभिषः ऋृद्धः चतुरंगवलौ(ला)न्वितः । [। *]३०॥³ भानीतो मत्तमातंग(गः)कलिंगश्चककोटवः(तः)¹१ । प्रतिषेषकृतामंतं(मन्तं)²० विधाय वि²¹-
- 29. धिवद्रणे ॥३१॥³² रामपालो द्विषत्कालः करालकरवालतः ॥ पलां(ला) -यनपरो³³ येन कृतो वाराणसीक्वरः ॥३२॥³⁴ छेदितं येन सहसा नागणस्य

1. Khare, -रधै: .

2. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

3. Metre, Anustubh.

4. Khare खोल्लपूराभिधं.

5. Khare, योग्रहारं (र)मनुत्तमं.

6. , नीरे.

7. Metre, Anustubh.

8. .. तथात्वेकं.

9. Khare, विस्तीणं.

10: ,, वरदातटे.

11. .. °बाह्यणा°.

12. Metre, Anustubh.

13. ,, कि बहुना।।

14. Khare: यन्य (त्र) ति (ति) ष्ठ (ष्ठं) त्यनेकश: .

15. " रं(र)म्यानि.

16. Metre, Anupfubh.

17. " चाहंदा°.

18. ,, ,

19. .. °मातंगव्किलगः शुव्ककोटरः (रे).

20. .. कृतान्तं तं.

21. According to Khare, this forms part of the next line; but the letter is clear at the end of line 28.

22. Metre, Anustubh.

23. Khare, °पलायन°.

24.

- 30. जिरो रणे ॥ कृतोपहत्य सर्वस्वं चावनीयो वनीपक.1 ॥३३॥° तोरगल्लामिधं इगाँ यो ममई क्षणं दलं(बलात्) ॥ यत् मत्तिश्वी-शानामासीवप्राह्मतो गतं(तम्)
- ।।३४।।5 यस्याचातमयेन मूतलगता भूपा मजते गिरि(रिम्)। केचिद्मूमि-31. गृहाणि वेश्ममु कवल्लौ(?)हानि वेश्मानि च ॥ किंचान्ये चरणाप्रधावम (न)8दिवद्धा-
- सं निजं क्वंते तं मुक्तं (क्त) स्थितमाबभंज सहसा भंभाद्रिभूपं भवि ॥३५॥³० 32. गुजराञ्जजरीकृत्व11 सं(स) निक्कृत्व12 विश्वर: क्षणात ॥ भगुकच्छाधिवः (प)-स्याब्धी स्तंभी ये-
- नाधिरोपित: ।।३६।।13 कि शोर्य वर्णनीयं सकलरिप्जनानंदकंदापहारी-33. स्योदायं वा किमस्याधिनमितवनाइदेन' वृत्यं प्रकारि ॥ 15 कि वा दे-
- 34. वाचनादिष्प्रति 16दिनम खिला घौष संपिद्ध दारि स्फ्जं से जोथवा कि तु(त्रि) भवनभवनो सा(सा)रि17 खोलेव्वरस्य ॥३७॥ है तेनेवं सुरबीलश्रुंगसदशं दे-
- बालय(यं) निर्मितं (तम्) यत्रारो [पित] है मरं (र) म्यकलशब्या जेन शक्ति-त्रयं(यम)।। आविभैतिभवायवामत ११ भजां व (व हा १० त्रयं वाधूना यत्कांत्या भवनत्रयोत्व(त्व)ण²¹मलं
- घाते मुझं मृझ्यते³² ॥ [३८ ॥*]²³ विभूषणानि हैनानि नानारत्नमयानि च ॥

3. Khare तोरगल्वा°.

5. Metre, Anustubh.

., भूतलपरा. 7. Khare, करल्लोहानि.

- - न्वितमानभंजवहसा भंगादि भूपं.

10. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

11. Khare : गुज्जेरान्जर्जरीकृत्य.

12. Khare संनिकृत्य.

13. Metre, Anustubh.

°धनाचेन.

15. Khare, प्रकारो.

रप्रति°. 16.

17. , त्रिभवनभवनोत्सारि.

18. Metre, Sragdhara.

19. " स्तूत°.

20. Khare, ब्रह्मत्रयं.

21. .. °ल्बण°.

22. . - - - भवात . 23. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

^{1.} Khare : क्षतीपहत्य सर्वस्वं चावनीशो च नायक: .

^{2.} Metre, Anustubh.

^{4.} Khare, ममदं.

कि चान्येन रणाय- - -.

दवी देव्ये तथा प्रामं तलिणीति च - कतं (तम्) 113 हा। यामीकः कमलासनी 4

- 37. मधुरिपुः [शका]वयोग्ये सृराः स्तुत्वन्त्यद्भृतगद्यपद्यविससद्वाग्भिः प्रगत्मा-मिमा(माम्) । भक्त्या सूत इवांगनायरिरणत्संनृपुरो यद्वरो नृत्यं(त्य) स्य(त्यं)-
- 38. गणमंडपे भवतु सा घोगेश्वरी वः श्रिये(ये) ॥४०॥ प्रासाव(व) सकलेश्वरस्य रचितो धारो १रदेशे सरिन्तकां मास्य व(?) विलोलवीचिनिकरं पु(पू) 10-
- 39. ण्ण(ण्णं)ते(त)टाकं कृतं(तम्)।। विष्णोरायतनं ता(त)वा च विततं निर्माय वैनायक(कः)। प्रशासाव(वः) प्रगुणीकृतोयमिक्तलं(लः)। अक्षोलेटवरेणाधुना। ।। ४१।। विष्णोरायकं विष्णेरायकं विष्णेरायकं
- 40. भिष्यगप्रणी [: *] कविवर[: *] श्रीनाधवो विप्रराडस्त्रे विक(क)म-कवत(ब्द) विकेलिविपुला चन्ने प्रस(दा)स्ति वृत्रभां(भाम्) ।। पुत्रो भट्टघनेश्वरस्य सुमतो(ते:) श्रीविष्णुवृद्धस्य वि
- 41. यो वंशेजायत शासया विमलया यस्तैतिरीय: कृती ॥४२॥²⁰ स्वस्ति श्री त्रिलोचनेन लिखितं (तम्) ॥ सेमआ त्रभुता रेंणें कांडारिली²¹

1. Khare, - - 東京.

2. Metre, Anustubh.

3. ., यामीशं.

4. Khare, कमलामलां.

5. ., - - ये ये.

6. ,. °द्वाणि: प्रगल्भा निजां(जा).

7. " °राग्राव्डिरो(स).

8. Metre, Śardulavikridita.

9. " घारोर°.

10. " °न्नकांभा-व[-]विलोलवीचिनिकरशृ°.

11. ° व्यत्ये (न्त्य) - कं कृतं. Khare takes all this portion as forming part of line 38.

12. Khare, वैनायकं.

13. Khare, °मखिलं.

14. Metre. Śardulavikridita.

15. " °ट्(-)क्षे.

16. Khare, विकम सं (शं)क°.

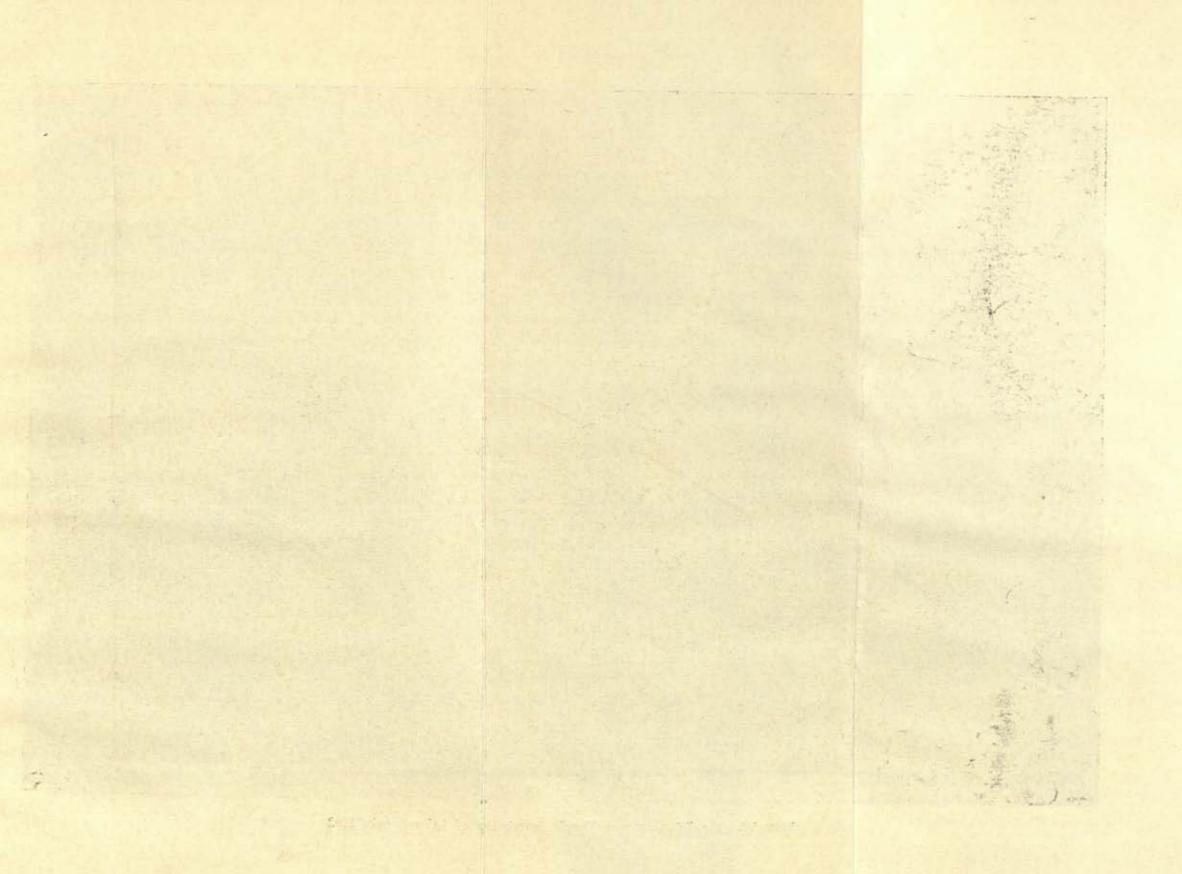
17. ,, प्रशस्ति,

18. " सुमते: .

19. " °वदस्य.

20. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

21. The reading of this portion is extremely doubtful.



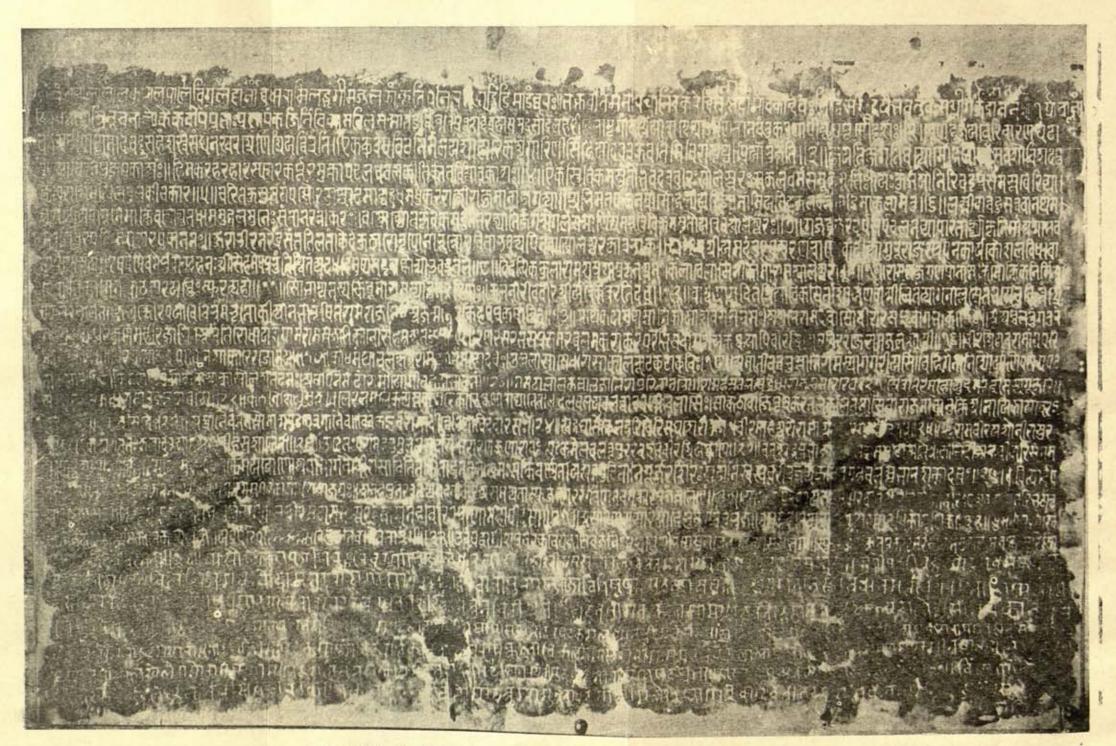


Plate IV. The Ramanarayana Temple Inscription of Laksmi, Saka 1162

THE RĀMANĀRĀYAŅA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSMĪ, ŚAKA 1162

The inscription was discovered under peculiar circumstances by James Burgess¹ and was first published with a photozincograph, an introductory note and an English translation by G. Bühler.² Later, G. H. Khare made some observations on this inscription and suggested some emendations in Bühler's reading of the text.³ The Marathi portion of the inscription was re-edited with a facsimile and a few observations by S.G. Tulpule.⁴ Of the four Yādava inscriptions at Ambe edited here, this is the only one known to most of the historians of the Yādavas.⁵ But many of the readings of Bühler are not supported by the facsimile and he has left several lacunae. The historical import of this inscription has also not been fully appreciated. In view of these facts, it is being edited here anew from the excellent impressions kindly placed at my disposal by M.G. Dikshit.

The record is cut into a rectangular slab of black basalt built in the wall on the south side of the east porch of a shrine now known as Khōlēśvara's Maţha at Ambe. But, as shown in the sequel, it actually represents the temple of Rāmanārāyaṇa built by Lakṣmi in memory of her brother Rāmadēva, son and successor of Khōlēśvara. The slab bearing the epigraph measures 2' hlgh by 3' 3½" broad. The inscription consists of altogether twenty-seven lines of writing besides three short lines in the lower right corner. The first twenty lines and the

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^{1.} ASWI, III, p. 49.

^{2.} Ibid., pp. 85-92, Pl. LVII.

^{3.} SMHD, I, pp. 76-8.

^{4.} Tulpule, op. cit., pp. 129-32, Pl. 26.

^{5.} The only historian who has utilised the evidence of the other Ambé inscriptions is Altekar. R. G. Bhandarkar, H. C. Ray and A. K. Majumdar have used only the present inscription.

portion of verse 34 in line 211 have been executed neatly and clearly, while the remaining portion is done negligently. The strokes in the first part are neat, beautiful and proportionate, while those in the second portion are ugly and disproportionate. This makes the task of deciphering it a bit more difficult. The prsthamātrās are commonly employed in the first portion, but they are conspicuously absent in the second part. Whereas each line in the first portion contains on an average about 90 akṣaras, that in the second portion has between 55 and 60 letters only. In view of these facts it is probable that these two portions were engraved by two different persons, the second one being done by an unskilled mason.²

The characters are Nagari regular for the period to which the inscription belongs. The pṛṣṭhamātrās are common in the first part, though at many places top-strokes fulfil their function. E.g., mṛgāṅka-śriyō, l 2, °yaśō°, l 3, °yōṣid°, l 4. They are not to be found in the second part. There is one example of the medial ā being denoted by a top-stroke, viz., °sthāpana° l 7. The letter k is exactly like its modern Nāgari form; but in one case (kumbha°, l 4) its left limb is without a loop. The letter n is often formed like t, as in nirmala°, l 3, kumbhayōni°, l 4, etc. Bh can be clearly distinguished from t; but it has a peculiar form with the lower half of its vertical projecting sometimes to the right and its lower end turned to left, e.g., abhimata°, l 5, °gāmbhīrya°, l 6. We have both the forms of b: with a notch (e.g., °brahma°, l 2) or a cross-bar (throughout line 1). S has sometimes a slanting cross-bar, as in °yōṣid°, l 4. Nn is formed by adding a horizontal cross-bar across n.

The Language is Sanskrit but for the last line and the three short lines in the lower right portion which are in Marathi. Except Om in the opening line, the whole of the Sanskrit portion is in verse, there being altogether forty stanzas in various metres. As regards orthography, the following observations may be made. The consonants

^{1.} Not first 19 lines as stated by Bühler, op. cit., p. 85.

^{2.} As suggested by Buhler, op. cit., p. 85. Khare's alternative suggestion that the second portion may have been engraved afterwards does not appear to be very cogent, for, in that case, we must suppose that when the inscription was first engraved, its main object, viz., the building of the Ramanarayana temple, was not mentioned and that it came to be specified in verse 35, afterwards.

following r are sometimes reduplicated, as in "marttanda", 1 2, karnnamto, 1 14, devarccasu, 1 22, and sometimes not, as in °cakravartini, 13, varnyo, 18, acaryao, 18. Sometimes, v is used in place of b, as in śavda°, 12, vrumo, 19. Similarly, ri is used for r, as in ritvijo, 1 18. There are some other errors of sandhi also, e.g., t in place of tt, as in satva°, 15, °bhūtrivikrama°, 16, tatva°, 124. Jihvāmūlīya is commonly used, vide ll 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25. Upadhmānīya is employed only once, see l 15. As regards punctuation marks, one or two dandas are used at the end of verse-halves, verses and sentences in prose.1 The verses are numbered, the serial number being flarked by one or two dandas on either side. When a wrong medial sign is engraved by mistake it is cancelled by a cancellation mark attached to its bottom, e.g., °pamkajinī, 12, °matīva, 13, °bhrta, 110. Where a letter (or letters) is left out by mistake, it is added in two ways : (1) after inserting kakapada mark at the appropriate place, the missing letter or letters being given above the line as at present, see 123 where a kākapada is inserted between prakāśakha° and cittēna and the missing letters, cite, are given above it; (2) the missing letter or letters are given along with the serial number of the relevant line on the top of the slab before the commencement of the record.2 The latter method is also adopted for making corrections.3 Turning to the Marathi portion, the use of the abbreviations da for dasami and kam for kamdarili (engraved) is noteworthy.

The date of the inscription is given in Marathi in 127 as Karttika śuddha daśamī, Śaka year 1162, the cyclic year being Śarvarī. The cyclic year Śarvarī fell in the expired Śaka year 1162. The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 27th October, 1240 A.D.4 The inscription refers itself to the reign of Singhana when Lakşmī, the daughter of Khōlēśvara, was looking after the affairs of the principality

^{1.} In many cases a single danda is employed after verse-halves and two dandas at the end of the verses, as at present.

^{2.} There are two examples of this practice, viz., (i) In 18, v. 10, da was left out between Kholēśvarā° and °bhūt; alongwith the serial number of the appropriate line (i.e., 8), it is given at the proper place above line 1. (ii) In 19, v. 13, the letter na in bhayēna, which was left out, is also similarly given.

In odvijānām, l 5, v. 6, n was formed like t; the correct form of the letter alongwith the serial number of the line is given on the top of the slab.

^{4.} L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai, I.c., Vol. IV, p. 82,

on behalf of the son of Rāma, the son and successor of Khōlēśvara. Its object is to record the construction of a temple of Rāmanārāyaņa by Lakşmi in the locality called Brahmapuri (probably a Brāhmaņa settlement) at Ambe.

The inscription begins with benedictive stanzas invoking the elephant-headed god (Ganapati) and the goddess of speech (Vagdevi, i.e., Sarasyati, vv. 1-2). The next verse describes in a general manner the Yadava emperor Simha (v.3). We are next introduced to the family of the Maudgala Brahmanas and Kholesvara, the son of Trivikrama (vv. 4-9). Then follows an account of the personal excellences and exploits of Kholesvara's son Rama who died while fighting a battle against the Gurisras on the other bank of the Narmada (vv. 10-32, 38-9). Next we come face to face with Kholesvara's daughter, Laksmi, who acted as regent for the unnamed son of Rama, kept herself constantly busy with pious works like the construction of of temples, parks and step-wells and built the temple of Ramanarayana in Brahmapuri to serve as a memorial to Rama (vv. 35-6). Three verses are devoted to the praise of the prasasti (33-4, 40). Verse 37 is of an imprecatory character. Lastly, the Marathi portion specifies the date, grants, the author and the scribe (127 and the three short lines).

The epigraph, which is styled prasasti, was composed by one Vagdevatabhatta¹ and inscribed on the slab by one Joiya, son of Rameya, a resident of the village Novara.

The grants made by Laksmi for the enjoyment of the god (dēva-bhōga) Rāmanārāyaņa consisted of a village named Bāmdhadēgamvā, two malās (fields where fruit-trees are grown) and three oil-mills.

Turning to the historical information afforded by our record, we find that the Yadava emperor (Yadava-cakravartin) Simha² is described in very vague terms attributing to him a sole (ekachhatra), long

^{1.} Bühler's view that the prašasti was composed by the poet Kavirāja, whom he identified with the homonymous author of the Rāghava-pāndavīya, cannot be accepted, for in l 27 Vāgdevatābhaṭṭa is clearly described as prašastikartā. This was first hinted at by Shri Khare, SMHD I, p. 78. But his ascription of this view to Burgess is incorrect.

^{2.} Buhler thought that Singhana was also known as Simhamedha. Vide ASWI, III, p. 86. This suggestion was evidently based on a misreading in verse 9 of our inscription. But, as shown below, the correct reading is Simhamega, not Simhamedha as held by Buhler.

reign and success against his proud, powerful enemies. Leaving aside the general description.1 Kholeśvara is styled as a very eagle in crushing the pride of the serpents that were the Gurjaras, a very lion to the host of the maddened elephants that were the Malavas, and an axe in destroying the line of the Abhīra kings (v. 8). We have already discussed these achievements of Kholesvara at length in connection with an earlier inscription.2 He was probably succeeded by his son Rāma, also called Rāmadēvas and Rāmarāja,4 as a commander (sainyādhipati) of Singhana. He naturally claims the larger portion of the record. But bereft of all hyperbole, the only piece of historical information that we get about him is that once at the command of his master he led a campaign against the Gurjaras; passing through many districts (visayas) he reached and crossed the Narmada and fought a severe battle with the Guriaras: initially he seems to have achieved some success, but ultimately he lost his life in the battle. Although nothing is stated about the outcome of the war, there can be no doubt whatever that it ended in a tragedy for the Yadavas.

According to Bühler, the Gujarat expedition led by Rāma probably took place towards the end of the second or in the beginning of the third decade of the thirteenth century A.D. and the Gujarat adversary of Rāma was Rāṇā Vīradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasāda.⁵ This view, however, is not supported by the available evidence. As pointed out by R.G. Bhandarkar,⁶ the fact that Rāma's son was a minor and his (Rāma's) sister Lakṣmī was acting as a regent on his behalf at the time when the record was put up shows that the battle in which Rāma met with his death could not have been fought long prior

Khölöávara is described as the very staff of Yama, evidently to his
enemies, preceptor of the art of giving protection to those seeking shelter and as
an ācārya in the art of installing (or rather reinstating) kings. Vide v. 9.
Virudas of similar import are said to have been assumed by him in the Sakalēávara
temple inscription, ll 25-26.

² Supra, pp.10 ff. The suggestion of Buhler that the Abhira chief defeated by Kholesvara should be identified with Narasimhs I, the Ballala-Yadava king of Dvarasamudra (ASWI, III, p. 86), is no longer accepted by historians.

^{3.} Verse 14.

^{4.} Verse 10.

^{5.} ASWI, III, p. 86.

^{6.} Collected Works, III, pp. 154-55.

to A.D. 1240, the date of the inscription. That the battle did not take place so early as the end of the second or the beginning of the 3rd decade of the thirteenth century, as suggested by Bühler, is also indicated by the fact that as late as A.D. 1228, Rama's father Kholesvara was at the height of his career, as known from his Sakalēśvara temple inscription of that year. Similarly, the Vaghēla chief Visaladeva, and not Viradhavala, was the Gujarat adversary of Rāma, for Viradhavala breathed his last and was succeeded by his son Visaladeva as a mahamandaleśvara under the Caulukya king Bhima II in V.S. 1295 (=A.D. 1237).1 It is pertinent to note in this connection that in the Kadi grant, dated A.D. 1261, Visaladeva describes himself as 'the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army' (Simghana--sainya--samudra--samsosana--vadavanala).2 In the Dabhoi inscription also he claims to have successfully fought with the Daksinēśvara.3 It follows from these facts that Rāma's Gujarat expedition took place sometime between A.D. 1237, the date when Visaladeva succeeded his father Viradhavala as mahamandaleśvara, and 1240, the date of the inscription under consideration. Visaladeva must have fought this battle on behalf of his nominal overlord, Bhima II.

Rāma, like his predecessors, was a Śaiva by religion; but his sister Lakṣmī was a devotee of Viṣṇu in his man-lion form. Unfortunately, we know nothing about Rāma's minor son, not even his name.

Of the localities named in our inscription, Brahmapurl, where the temple of Rāmanārāyaṇa was situated, seems to denote a Brāhmaṇa settlement round what is called Khōlēśvara's Matha which actually represents the Rāmanārāyaṇa temple built by Lakṣmi. The village Bāmdhadēgāmvā, which was gifted to this temple, and Novarā, the residence of the scribe, cannot be identified.

^{1.} H.C. Ray, Dynastic history of Northern India, II, p. 1032.

^{2.} IA, VI, pp. 191, 212.

^{3.} EI, I, pp. 20ff.

^{4.} Verse 25.

^{5.} Verses 35-36.

TEXT

- श्रीं । लीलालोलकपोल¹पालिबियलहानांबुबारामिलद्भृ(द्भ्टं)गीमंजुल³
 फांकृति-ध्वितरमूद्य³ड्डिंडिमाडंबरः ।। भक्तव्रातमनोरथानिव करे बिश्रन्सदा⁴
 मोदकान्देवः सिद्धिसमृद्धये मवतु वः स श्रीयजॅद्धाननः।। । [।। *]⁵
 श्रोत्राह्मां(ह्मा)⁵-
- दि-वच:-प्रदास्त्रभुवनालोकं क'दीपप्रभा: प्रज्ञापंकजिनी विकासविलसन्मात्तंड-विवित्वव: । शब्द(ब्द) विव्यसमुद्रसांद्रलहरोहेलामृगांकि विवो वाग्देब्याः प्रणतानवंतु करुगापीयूषपूर्णा वृक्षः ॥२॥ वृष्यद्दुजंयवैरिवारणघटा-
- वक्षस्तरीपाटनीवं¹⁸चद्दुस(स्स)ह¹⁶शस्त्रसंघनखरश्रेणिश्चयं विश्वति ॥
 एकछ(चछ)त्रमतीव¹⁵ निनंलयशोहारकश्रुंगारिणी(णि)¹⁶ सिहे यादव-

1. Bühler, °कपाल°.

2. Buhler, °द्भंगी°.

3. " °न्दा°.

4. .. बिभ्रत्सदा.

5. Metre, Śardulavikridita.

6. "°膏1°.

- 7. Bühler : °ल्येकंक°.
- The scribe had first engraved short medial i, but later cancelled it and added the correct medial sign (i. e., i).
- 9. Bühler, oglet".
- 10. .. read प्रणवाववंतु but suggested in a footnote that it was meant for प्रणताववंतु. However, the stroke for ta is quite clear.
- 11. Bühler, oguf.

12. Metre : Śardulavikridita.

13. " °टोत्पटनो°.

14. Bühler, °द्दुस्सह°.

- 15. ,. left the three letters after I unread. In the second of these letters the scribe had by mistake engraved short medial f, but later corrected it, realising his error.
- 16. Bühler : °शृङ्गारिणीं.

चक्रवर्तिनि चिरात्पृथ्वीं प्रियां भुंजिति । ३॥ जयित जगित धन्यो मीद्गला[नां] स वंशो विशवपु-

- 4. व्ययोधिद्रत्नपुंजप्रकाद्यः ।। हिमकरहरहारस्कारकपूरमुक्तापटलश्रवल-कीर्तिकांत विश्वावकाद्यः ।। ४ ॥ एकस्त्रिविकमसुतोभववत्र वीरः खोलेस्व(स्व)रः सकलधर्मसमूहमूर्तिः ।। यः कुंभयोनिरिव वृष्तसमस्त-वैरिव्या-
- जौबुराशिमखिलं चुलुकीचकार ।। ४ ॥ चिरतकुसुमसंपत्सीरभास्वाद-माद्यव्यमधुकरराजीराजमाना जगर्थां(स्थाम्) ।। अभिमतफलनम्ना मौब्गलाह्वद्विजाना भियमिह कुलवल्ली वृद्धिमाकस्पमेतु ।।६॥ लक्ष्मी-बान्बहुसस्व(स्व) वान्य म-
- 6. हागोशीयंवानूमिमास्कि वर्ण्यांच्युतश्वाम मृद्गलमुनेः संतान¹⁰रस्नाकरः। विस्थो(श्वो)¹¹द्योतकृदेकमद्भुततरक्योतिर्जगन्यंगलं सन्माणिक्यमभूत्रि(त्त्रि)-विक्रमसुतो यत्रैष खोलेक्वरः ॥७॥¹² गर्जद्गूर्जरवर्षसप्वलनव्यापारताक्ष्यकृति-मद्यन्मालव
- 7. मत्तिब्रुरपित प्राम्भार¹⁸यंचाननः ॥ क्रूराभीरनरेंब्रसंतितलताछेदे¹⁴ कुठारो नृपो नामून्तो भविता भवत्यपि न वा खोलेश्वरकात्रमाक् ॥ ८॥ [ए]व श्रीयमवंड एव अरणवाणैकवोक्षागुरू राजस्था¹⁶यनकायंकोशलविधावा-

^{1.} Metre : Sardulavihridita.

^{2.} Bühler : °स्नात ; Khare : ॰६कांत °.

^{3.} Metre, Malini.

^{4.} Bühler, खोलेश्वर: .

^{5. &}quot; Vasantatilaka.

^{6.} Na, being formed like ta, was likely to be mistaken for the latter; the scribe has, therefore, given the correct form of the letter alongwith the serial number of the line (5) on the top of the slab.

^{7.} Metre : Malini.

^{8.} Bubler, offe ..

^{9.} Bühler, °ब्यूत °.

^{10. ..} संभाव°.

^{11. ..} fasalo.

^{12.} Metre : Sardulavihridita.

^{13. &}quot; अप्राधारवार".

and another management states.

^{14.} Bühler, श्रूराभीरनरेंद्रसंतत्तिलवोछेदे.

^{15.} Metre, Sardulavikridita.

^{16.} Medial a above the letter.

- 8. चार्य एव स्वयं(यम्) ॥ एव द्वेषिवनेषु वावदहनः श्रीसिहमेष्पप्रभुं निद्ध्वतं व्यवधादमुख्य सदृश×कोन्योभवव् मूतले ॥१॥² विद्वत्पिककुलारामशस्त्र-शास्त्र³कृतश्रमः । कलाविलासिनीकामो रामः क्षोलेदवराव⁴मूत् ॥१०॥³ रामराजगुणप्रोता सुक्तिमोक्तिकनिर्मिता ।
- 9. त्रिलोकीकानिनीकंठे हारयिष्टः स्कुरस्यहो ॥११॥ सौनाग्यं तस्य किं वृ(ब्रू)मो⁷ रामस्याद्भृतकपिणः ॥ कुलनारीव वीरश्रीयंत्रैकत्र रांत द्रषे ॥१२॥ वाग्देष्या मृदितं श्रिया विकसितं शौर्येण चोग्मीलितं स्यागेनोस्ल-सितं भ्रयेन विकतं श्रे-1
- 10. योभिक्तृं(उत्रृं)भितं(तम्)¹² ॥ कुभ्यत्की¹³रपयोघिविश्रमभृता¹⁴ कीत्यां मभो मूचितं रामे राजनि बन्य¹⁵जन्मिन न कि¹७ हवंप्रकर्वान्वितं(तम्) ॥१३॥¹७ अथैकवा¹७ मृदा स्वामिकार्योत्सवससंश्रमः । ज्ञुमे रामदेवोसौ बीरो रस इवांगभाक् ॥१४॥¹० अत्युष्चलत्तुंगतुरं-

1. Bühler, °सिंहमेघ°.

2. Metre, Sardulavihridita.

3. .. शब्दशास्त्र°.

 da, which was left out at the proper place, is given together with the serial number of the line (i.e., 8) above line 1.

5. Metre, Anustubh.

6. Metre, Anusfubh.

7. Bühler, AHT.

8. ..

9. " मूदितश्रिया.

- 10. " H . But the stroke for ye is quite clear in his photozincograph, and na, which was left out by the scribe by mistake, is given above line 1. There is a kakapada between ye and cha to indicate that a letter (na in this case) is missing here.
- 11. Bühler did not read this letter.
- 12. ,, यामिक्जूंभितं.
- At first the scribe engraved short medial i, but later, realising his mistake, he cancelled it and added the long medial i, as required.
- 14. Bühler, भूतो. Originally, the scribe had engraved a prosthamatra, but cancelled it later and added the a mark.

15. Bühler, goqo.

16. Bühler, ff न.

17. Metre, Sardulavikridita.

18. , जनेकदा,

19. .. Anustubh.

- 11. गपूग¹वल्गस्खुरक्षुं(क्ष्)ण्ण²महीरजोमि: । सूर्यं तिरोधाय जगाम राम-स्तेजोधिको नो सहतेन्यतेज: ॥१५।³ रण⁴रसरभसप्रमृशरबलमकराकर-परीतसर्वांग:। युक्त×क्यापि वीरश्रियंच विरराज रामजलक्षायी ॥१६॥⁵ चीरश्रियेव रामांगपरि-
- 12. व्वंगोरकया तदा ॥ तिरस्कृत्याकं वीपार्वि विकाकारि रजोमयी ॥१७॥ कोधमं पाचलक्षु व्धरामशौर्यमहोदधेः । उल्ललासा सिधारासा (स्य) कालकूट- छटा छविः । [। *] १८ ॥ अमांतीव व अमुस्तानि रामस्यां गरीयसि ॥ बहिगंतानि शौर्याणि परागपट-
- 13. लछ(च्छ)लात् ॥१६॥¹¹ क्रमेण विषयांत्सर्वास्त्यव¹²त्वा कोलेशनंबनः । अवाप नर्मवा रामो योगीव ब्रह्मभावतां(ताम्) ॥२०॥¹³ नर्मवा लोलक् स्तोलजालंरा-पूरिता¹⁴ बनौ । रामहस्तचलत्खड्ग¹⁵धाराजलमरैरिव । [। *] २१ ॥¹⁶ अत्रांतरे महो(हा)युद्धमभूद्रामस्य गूजंरे(रैं:) [। *]
- 14. यं(य)त्र संगरसंक्द्वो¹⁷ रामो रुद्र इवाबनी ॥२२।।¹⁸ कंठे निक्षिप्तमृक्ता-विलरलमलिकन्यस्तकस्तूरिकाभि×कण्णाँतोद्योतितालीवलवलयवलच्चारुवेणी-विलासं: । सोत्कंठो वािबपृष्ठे¹⁸ करतलकलितेनासिना राजमानो मृक्तिश्रीनायिकाया वर इ-

1. Böhler, °गमाणां.

2 Bühler, °क्षणण °.

3. Metre, Indravajra.

. 4. .. 天虹°.

5. .. Giti.

6. . °दीपाति°.

7. .. Anustubh.

8. " °घारास्य.

The state of the s

10. , अथातीव.

11. ..

9.

12. " कर्षणविषमान्सवी°.

13. ..

14. Bühler, 'जालेंगपूरिता ; Khare, जलैरापूरिता.

15. " "वलस्खडग".

16. Metre, Anuqubh.

17. ,, - - संगर-क-.

18. "

19. " साकंठा-जित-.

- 15. व¹ बवृशे रामदेवः प्रसिद्धैः । [। *]२३ ।।² मास्वानिव तमस्तोनान्गरुड× पन्नगानिव [। *] विवेक इव रागा³दीन्वैरिणो विददार सः ॥२४॥⁴ सङ्गधातोछ(च्छ)लव् मूरिवैरिसंघिशरों बुजैः ।⁵ बीरमाहेश्वरो रामो व्योमलिंगम[पूपु]जत् ॥२४॥° रामबीरयशोनीरा सुर-
- 16. स्त्री मुख्यंकजा।। ततः क्षणादमूद् ब्योम सरसी हंसशालिनी ।।२६॥ उदितः परिमह तुमुले लसदिसधारारणक्वणारावः ।। पदकमल विलन्तूपुरस्य इव वीरिक्षियं कोषे ।।२७॥ चंचत्खड्गप्रभाजालिमलद्वामस्स विस्मितः ।। कालिन्दीजाह्मवीवारिसंगम-
- 18. चंद्रमंडलगतं लक्ष्मैतदाचक्षते तन्मन्ये कवय× कुरगमपरे छाया धराया जगु: ॥ जानेहं पुनरत्र तस्य महतो¹६ बीरस्य रामस्य ता स्कृजंत्संगररंग-

Bühler takes it as forming part of the last line, but the letter is clearly visible at the beginning of line 15.

^{2.} Metre, Sragdhara.

^{3.} Bühler, रासा°.

^{4. ..} Anustubh.

^{5.} Bühler, खड्यधारोछल - - वैरिसंघिशरोछय:.

^{6.} Metre, Anustubh.

^{7.} Bühler, °朝°.

^{8.}

^{9.} Bühler, °लसदस्वैधरारणववणाराव: . In a footnote he suggests to read it as लसदस्त्रैधरी रणस्वणाराव: . !

^{10.} Bühler, पदकतल°.

^{11.} Mette, Arya.

^{12. ..} द्रोमंच°.

^{13. ..} Anuetubh.

^{14. ..} वण्यंते.

^{15. &}quot; Sardulavikridita,

^{16. .. -# -.}

वंगितचमस्कारप्रशस्तेलिपि(पिम) ॥३०॥ यागः संगर एव यज्ञवसुधा रेवातटी रि(ऋ)स्विजो योद्धारः पश्चवद्धतानरिभटान्हुं -

- 19. स्वा बहुनुद्भटान् ।। कैवत्यं फलमद्भृत×(तं) क्तुविः।मेक(कः) स वीरस्तवा रामः सू(क्रू)र हिताक्षने हिविरव प्राणानहो(हो)धी वसौ ॥३१॥ असारेण ससारं यो द्विभुजेन चतुर्भुजं(अम्)॥ वपुर्गृहीतवान् राम× कस्तस्माविषको विणक् ॥३२॥ सुमनोमरपरिक-
- 20. रिता जयित श्रीरामकीतिकल्पलता ॥ यदुपरि परिमललृब्धा विलुठित वाग्वेवताशृंगी ॥३३॥ उवंबद्वागीशप्रवरकविराजार्ण्य किनिः प्रशस्ति-श्रीरेवा मुललितपवन्यातसुभगा ॥ स्फुरद्भावाकूतप्रकटितरसा राममुर-जिन्मन×कासारेस्मि-
- 21. न(न्न)तिमहति हंसीव रमतां(ताम्) ॥३४॥¹¹ यासौ क्षोलेशपुत्री नर-हरिचरणांभोज¹²लब्धप्रसादा लक्ष्मी श्रीरामसूनोरतिविततमहाराज्यभारे नियुक्ता । प्रासादारामवापीप्रमृतिबहुतपो(रो)दग्र¹³धर्मकनिष्ठा
- 22. प्रासावं श्रह्मपुर्या(याँ)¹⁴ विलिशतमकरोब्रामनारायणे सा । [। *] ३४॥¹⁵ देवाच्वांतु¹⁶ तपस्सु राज्यविधिवु¹⁷ प्रासावकार्येदवहो लक्ष्म्या¹⁸स्तम्म-नसोवधानमचलं¹⁹ यस्ते मनारिवस्मय(यम्) । य-
 - 1. Metre, Sardalavikridita.
 - Bühler, योग: स पर एव यज्ञ-बुधारे - रिब्दिजो यो द्वार: पसुव - रि - . Khare, याग: संपद एव यज्ञवसुधा रेवाय तीरे दिजो योदार:
 पशुवद्धतानरिभटानृ .
 - 3. Bühler, - - यन , Khare, 'स्वा वह - टान .
 - 4. , जूर°. 5. Bühler, हविरिखं.
- 6. " °नहीषी".
- 7. Metre, Sardulavikridita. For a similar idea see Venisamhara, I.25.
- 8. . Anupfubh.
- 9. Metre, Arya.
- 10. Bühler, °जाणव°.
- 11. " Sikharini.
- 12. .. नवहरिवर - .
- 13. " °तपोदग्र°.

14. .. °पुर्यां.

- 15. " Sragdhara.
- 16. .. देवार्चासु.
- 17. Bühler, राज्यविधिय.

18. " लक्मी°.

19, " °स्तम्मनसोवधा - - - -

- 23. द्वा स्त्री(?)नरकेसरित्रभुपव¹प्राप्तत्रसादस्फुरतारस्फारपर²प्रकाशखिते² वित्तेन⁴ चित्रीयते ।।३६ । [। *]³ देवभोगकृते दत्तं प्रामादि हरतो हठात् ।। अपि कल्पशतै: पुंसो नरकान्नास्ति
- 24. निष्कृति: ।।३७।।⁶ प्रौडस्त्यागे स रामो नयविनयविदामग्रगण्यस्त राम(मः)⁷ शौर्यस्वामी स रामो हरपदकमलष्यानधीर: स रामः ।। झङ्गाधीश⁸स्स राम× कविजनवचतां⁹ स्तुत्य एकः स रामस्तत्व(स्व)ज्ञानां¹⁰ स रामो नि-¹¹
- 25. जकुलसरसीराजहंस: स राम: ॥३६॥² राम: षट्तकंगोध्ठघां¹³ विहरति कवितास्वेष¹⁴ राम× कलावित्केल्यां(ल्या)मास्ते¹⁵ स राम: समरभर- कथालापलीलासु राम: ॥ राम: संगीतचाक्ष्यिनिष्¹⁰ नटन-
- 26. ¹⁷टीवालगोपालखेले रामो रामस्स रामस्त्रिजगित सुमहान् कोयमद्वैतवादः ॥३६॥¹⁸ स्फारवंती मृहू रामनारायणपदप्रमाः। जाग्हवीव पुनात्वेखा प्रशस्तिभुवनत्रयं(यम्) ॥४०॥¹⁹
- Böhler, नरके स पित्रतु पदं.
 Bubler, °स्फुरत्ता - - पुर°.
- The last two letters were left out by mistake and after inserting the bakapada mark indicating the place of the missing letters were added above the line.
- 4. Bühler, विश्लेन,

- 5. Metre, Sardulavikridita.
- 6. Metre, Anustubh.
- 7. Bühler, रामो.
- 8. Bühler, लक्काधीश°.
- 9. " कविरुतवचसां.
- 10. .. तत्वज्ञानी.
- 11. According to Bühler, line 24 ends with रामो and the next line begins with [नि], but the stroke for नि is quite clear in the facsimile at the end of line 24.
- 12. Metre, Sragdhara.
- 13. Bühler, पटवकंगोध्ठधां.
- 14. Bühler : कवितास्थेष.
- 15. , केल्या - .
- 16. . संगीतरा-व्वनिष् - .
- Last three letters of the last and the first letter of this line were left undeciphered by Bühler.
- 18. Metre, Sragdhara.
- 19. Metre, Anustubh .

27. स्वस्ति श्री सकु ११६२ सावरी संवत्सरे । कार्तिक सुद्ध व १० देवमोगा दत्तु प्रामृ १ वाबडेगांवा । मले: २ घाणे ३ वाग्देवताभट्टु प्रसस्तिकर्ता ॥ १०

× × × ×

(Three short lines at bottom right)

11 विताणी नोवरा जोइया रेमेयपू(?)तु प्रसहित12 कं

^{1.} Bühler has left it undeciphered.

^{2. ,} and Khare, 刻.

^{3.} Khare, 祝香.

^{4.} Bühler, मंबत्सरे.

^{5. &}quot; भूद°.

^{6. ..} बवभोगा.

^{7. ..} 一顿 --.

^{8. &}quot; मडेनं गा ; Khare, बांघडे गावा.

^{9. &}quot; बाग्देवता - - ; Khare, वाग्देवताभट्ट.

^{10. .,} प्रसस्ति - - ; Khare, प्रशस्तिकर्ता ; Tulpule : प्रशस्तिकर्ता.

^{11.} Of this portion Bühler could read only two letters, viz., जा वा.
Khare read it as follows: + + + जाइवा च मवा स + +
नु प्रसस्ति. Tulpule was the first to read this portion completely.

^{12.} Tulpule, प्रशस्ति,

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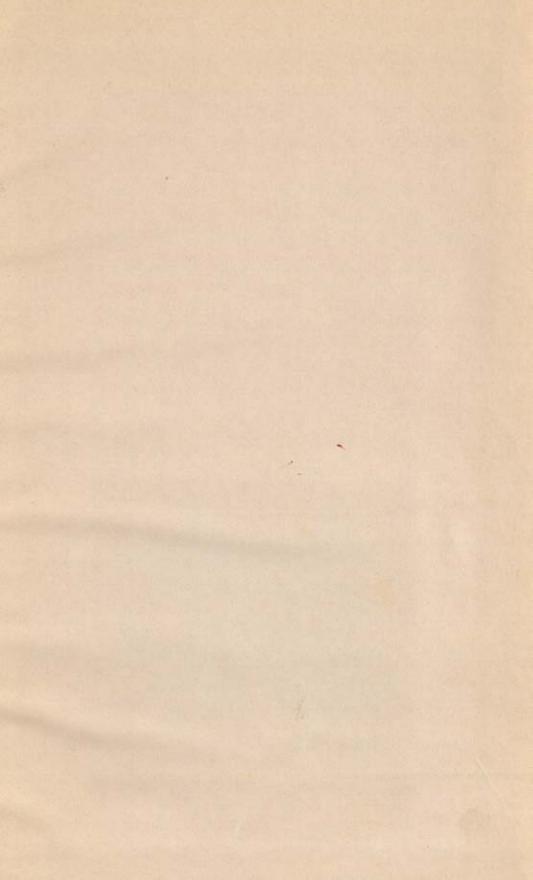
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14	14	Khōlēśa	Khlōēśa
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30	19	[स्माद्वा]सु	[स्माद्व]सु
31	5 -	*हंघती	*वधती
39	10	Sēmaā	Sēma
39n.6	1	farjjaratvam	jarijaratvam
40	25	sprinkled	sprinked
42	1	सप्यै:	सर्पं:
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48	10	सद्वैद्यो	सबैबो



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